OKSAPMIN CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Marshall Lawrence
Summer Institute of Linguistics
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0. **Introduction**

There are 10 contrastive clause types in Oksapmin.\(^1\) These clauses can be conceptualized as a two-dimensional system with five orders (equational, general, indirect, destination, and quotative) and two series (unexpanded and expanded). In each order the expanded series has one more optional nuclear tagmeme than the unexpanded series.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unexpanded</th>
<th>Expanded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equational</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Equation</td>
<td>Equation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Semitransitive</td>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destination</td>
<td>Motion</td>
<td>Motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotative</td>
<td>Undirected</td>
<td>Directed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quote</td>
<td>Quote</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chart 1: System of Clause Types**

A number of peripheral tagmemes may optionally occur in the clauses of this system, with restrictions only in the Equational Clauses.

As well as the peripheral tagmemes there are a number of nuclear tagmemes. A nuclear tagmeme is restricted in its occurrence and serves as a contrastive feature of the clause type in which it occurs.

Within this system of clauses, a number of clause types may be changed into other clause types. These changes are accomplished primarily by the addition of a prefix or auxiliary verb within the Verb Phrase and occur horizontally and vertically on Chart 1 but not diagonally.

In the examples given below, the tagmemes are indicated by the appropriate symbol in parentheses following the word-by-word translation. A morpheme-by-morpheme translation is given only when this is relevant on the clause level.
1. Peripheral Tagmemes

The peripheral tagmemes are: Location, Subject, Time, With, and Manner. The With tagmememe has reference to accompaniment or instrument. The With and Manner tagmemes do not occur in the Equational Clauses. No more than three peripheral tagmemes have been observed in a single clause.

The peripheral tagmemes may occur in any order, but Location, Subject, and Time usually occur first in the clause, in that relative order. The With and Manner usually immediately precede the Predicate. Only one tagmememe at a time (nuclear or peripheral) has been observed to follow the Predicate, and that only in sentence-final position.

Four of the peripheral tagmemes are expounded by noun phrases. The occurrence of the noun phrases in these tagmemes is shown in Chart 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Phrase Type</th>
<th>Peripheral Tagmemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location Phrase</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Noun Phrase</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Phrase</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dapat Relator-Axis Phrase</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-si Relator-Axis Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 2: Exponents of Peripheral Tagmemes

1.1 Manner Tagmememe

The Manner tagmememe is expounded by an adverb or a dependent clause. Adverbs include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahaar</td>
<td>'slowly, quietly, secretly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimat(aa)</td>
<td>'permanently'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aakit</td>
<td>'strongly, loudly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>'for no reason', 'doing/with nothing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it(aa)</td>
<td>'again'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapkap</td>
<td>'quickly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaakun</td>
<td>'for a little while', 'temporarily'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titsi</td>
<td>'again, some more'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb of a dependent clause expounding a Manner tagmememe takes the following forms:
(a) Punctiliar (3) -m with S class (4) verbs suffixed to the verb stem plus past punctiliar aspect.

(b) Continuative -m ~ -t ~ -s suffixed to the verb stem ( -m with M class verbs, -t with R class verbs, and -s with S class verbs.)

When a dependent clause expounds Manner it usually indicates how an action is done. But when the verb of a dependent clause is in the continuative form and expounds the Manner of a Motion Clause it indicates reason.

oh he (S) sen axe gusum sharpening (M) apripaat comes (P_m)

'He is coming to sharpen the axe.'

oh he (S) ung string-bag(O) dar getting (M) us has-gone (P_m)

'He has gone to get the string bag.'

The clause kin hapaat/daipaat 'doing what?' may expound a Manner tagmeme. When it does the clause means 'how?' if the verb is in the punctiliar form. If the verb is in the continuative form the clause means 'why?'.

kin how? (M) hat saproh will-go (P_m) 'How will he go?'

kin why? (M) ham saproh will-go (P_m) 'Why will he go?'

When the Object of the main clause is the same as the Object of the dependent clause expounding Manner, it is not repeated.

oh he (S) tong shoe (O) aap daphot taking-off (M) maripaat holds (P_i)

'He is holding the shoe he took off.'

2. Nuclear Tagmemes

The clause-level nuclear tagmemes are: Indirect Object, Object, Destination, Quote and Predicate. This is the preferred order in which they occur within a clause but they may occur in any order. The Predicate tagmeme is the only obligatory tagmeme to the clause.

The obligatory occurrence (+), optional occurrence (+), and obligatory absence (−) of these nuclear tagmemes in the various clause types is shown in Chart 3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Nuclear Tagmemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Equation</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Equation</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semitransitive</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motion</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motion Transitive</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undirected Quote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saying Quotative</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naming Quotative</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directed Quote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saying Quotative</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naming Quotative</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 3: Contrastive Clause Types

These tagmemes, with the exception of Quote, are expounded by a phrase. The occurrence of the various phrase types in the clause-level nuclear tagmemes is shown in Chart 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase Type</th>
<th>Nuclear Tagmemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Object Phrase</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Noun Phrase</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Phrase</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destination Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptive Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-si Relator-Axis Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 4: Exponents of Nuclear Tagmemes
The type of Verbal Predicate is determined by the class of verbs expounding the Verb Phrase, or by the form of a Derived Verb Phrase, or by the form of the auxiliary in a Complex Verb Phrase.

When an Indirect Object Phrase expounds the Object tagmeme it has a specialized meaning. It singles out the action as being set on that particular goal to the exclusion of some other goal.

Guyem  oh  aapnong  hapaat
Guyem  he (S)  house-to (O)  makes (Pe)

'Guyem is making a house (not a fence or something else).

Kuramoh  imaahonogmoh  haa  dinohmur
Kuram (S)  pig-to (O)  let-him-eat (Pe)

'Let Kuram eat the pig (not the person).'

2.1 Equational Clauses

Equational Clauses have no characteristic nuclear tagmeme whose presence distinguishes them from all other clause types. They differ from all other clause types in three respects:

(1) The exponents of the Equational Predicates are different from the exponents of the Predicates of other clause types.

(2) The negative is formed differently.

(3) The peripheral tagmemes With and Manner do not occur with the Equational Clauses.

2.1.1 Intransitive Equation Clause

The Predicate of this type of clause may be expounded by a Descriptive Phrase, a Possessive Phrase, a General Noun Phrase, or a -si Relator-Axis Phrase.

moh  puramakaaw  isip  yahohmuro
this (S)  cow  big  good (Pe)

'This is a nice big cow.'

tom  winoh  Mim
water name(S)  Chim (Pe)

'MThe name of the water is Mim.'

kuuo  haano  kat  ihir  tamaam
women-and  men-and  some  they(S)  tamaam-sorcerers (Pe)

'Some men and women are tamaam sorcerers.'

sitophe  garpohmur  nute  timapti  aapoh
stove (S)  small (Pe)  our  sleep  house (L)

'The stove is small in the house where we sleep.'

mahanoh  Aahenohmuro
over-here (L)  Hagen (Pe)

'Over here is Hagen.'

nuhurhe  daa  yah-si
we (S)  thought  good-with (Pe)

'We are happy.'
haredpapat       tem-simur
under-from (L)    hole-with (P<sub>et</sub>)       'Underneath (it) has a hole.'

2.1.2 Transitive Equation Clause

The Predicate of this clause type may be expounded only by a General Noun Phrase or
a -si Relator-Axis Phrase. In each case the nouns that may expound the Nucleus of these
phrases are limited to two.

am (aa)       '(working) knowledge about'
hanhaan (aa) 'ignorance of',  'not a working knowledge'

The first of these two nouns is used for the positive and the second is used for the negative.

haan   ihirwi      aamoh      amaa
men  they-only (S)   aam-sorcery (O)   knowledge (P<sub>et</sub>)

'Only the men know aam sorcery.' or, 'Only the men practice aam sorcery.'

kimonoh  kuu     kimon-sorcery (O)  women   ihir     hanhaanmur
'The women don't know kimon sorcery.'

In place of the Object tagmeme a Quote tagmeme (Q) may occur with a Transitive
Equation Clause.

ihir   paadt-e   da     timbas-e     noh     hanhaansi
they  are? - quote  or     none -quote (Q)  T (S)  ignorance-with (P<sub>et</sub>)

'I don't know if they are here or not.'

2.2 General Clauses

The General Clauses also lack any characteristic nuclear tagmeme such as is found in the
Indirect, Destination, and Quotative Clauses.

2.2.1 Intransitive Clause

An Intransitive Predicate has, in the Verb Phrase expounding it, a class of Intransitive
Verbs, or an Intransitive Equational Predicate plus auxiliary hapaat, or a class of Semi-
transitive or Transitive Verbs with the prefix ta-, or an adjunct plus the auxiliary aripaat.

haanip   maa      hapuripioh
people (S)  die (P<sub>i</sub>)       'The people die.'

maasinoh  tapurkweraa
machine (S)  turns (P<sub>i</sub>)       'The machine turns...' 

nuhurhe   yimtiproheho
we (S)    will-cry (P<sub>i</sub>)       'We will cry.'

kaa   mahatoh  koraan
top     up-here (L)  arrived-at (P<sub>i</sub>)       '(We) arrived on top...'

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...down at Oksapmin the plane had not come yet...'

We will sleep at the house up here now.'

'Now (we) sat down in the house...'

...a pig was sleeping.'

The man who holds the aramem stick runs quickly.'

2.2.2 Transitive Clause

A Transitive Predicate has, in the Verb Phrase expounding it, a class of Transitive Verbs, or a Transitive Equational Predicate plus the auxiliary hapaat, or an adjunct plus the auxiliary porpaat.

'This wife cooked some food...'

'We ate the food...'

'a husband and wife were building a house.'

'My father pulled off some vine...'

'(They) take (it)....'

'(They) built a house over here at Saremptai.'

'We bought a tin of fish along the road...'

'(They) put the light fixture underneath.'
gin (T) tohwaan (O) mamaa gonaptioh
now sweet-potato (O) plant (P_t)

'Now (we) plant sweet potato.'

kaakmoh kwai taan kwes poraa
head (O) stone flat (W) split (P_t)

'(He) split (his) head with a flat stone...'

saamin tit sut itiroh
wild-pig one (O) killed (M) put (P_t)

'... (he) had put aside the pig that he had killed...'

am hapaat
knowledge does (P_t)
'(We) learned (the language)...'

2.3 Indirect Clauses

Two characteristic features of the Indirect Clauses are:

(1) The optional occurrence of the Indirect Object tagmeme.

(2) The possible occurrence of the second order verb prefix na– (1st or 2nd person indirect object) on the verb expounding the Predicate. The absence of this prefix signifies a third person indirect object. (8)

2.3.1 Semitransitive Clause

A Semitransitive Predicate has, in the Verb Phrase expounding it, a class of Semitransitive Verbs (9), or a class of Intransitive Verbs with the prefix pa–, or an Intransitive Equational Predicate plus the auxiliary nahaphaat/daipaat, or an adjunct plus the auxiliary naporpaat/porpaat.

Kepen ohnong mahan amburaa
Kevin he-to (10) over-here (L) get-him (P_st)

'(I) get Kevin over here...'

ihir gonnong i na– hatiprohe
they (S) you-to (10) cross to-you - will - do (P_st)

'They will get cross at you,'

waa maraa (P_st)
look-at do-it

noh gurnong (M) fix na– ham
I (S) you-to (10) just to-you-doing (P_st)

'I am just helping you...'

gwaar duupsi hatnong taioh na– mandaatporhan
bridge base-with up-to place (L) to-us-left (P_st)

'(He) left us above the approach to the bridge...'

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2.3.2 Ditransitive Clause

A Ditransitive Predicate has, in the Verb Phrase expounding it, a class of Ditransitive Verbs, or a class of Transitive Verbs with the prefix po-, or a Transitive Equational Predicate plus the auxiliary nahapaat/daipaat, or an adjunct plus the auxiliary naporpaat/papoaat.

'the European gave me this water container."

they-from (S) maam uncle

daringapaarl did-to-him (Pdt) 'They shot my uncle with an arrow."

'he showed me his arm..."

here-they-to (10) tong shot

'he shot at the people here..."

'he shot an arrow at them."

hangopaal "...down at the house Marshall had fed them some awaam bird."

2.4 Destination Clauses

The Destination tagmeme is diagnostic of the Destination Clauses.
2.4.1 **Motion Clause**

A class of Motion Verbs expounds the Verb Phrase of a Motion Predicate.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kaar} & \text{tit} & \text{aprisaa} & \text{came (P)} \\
\text{car} & \text{one(S)} & \text{came (P)} \\
\text{baarushoh} & \text{Kereporaapnong} & \text{maa} & \text{hwipoh} \\
\text{plane (S)} & \text{Telefomin-to (Dn)} & \text{went (P)} \\
\text{baarushoh} & \text{aapnong} & \text{ham} & \text{arosaa} \\
\text{plane (S)} & \text{house-to} & \text{down (Dn)} & \text{went-in (P)} \\
\text{mandaap} & \text{kupwi} & \text{susaa} \\
\text{road} & \text{along-only (L)} & \text{went (P)} \\
\text{Gayaap} & \text{taan} & \text{kupoh} & \text{Yarapeng} & \text{nuhut} & \text{ner} \\
\text{Gayaap} & \text{side} & \text{along (L)} & \text{Yarapeng} & \text{we-two (S)} & \text{bird} \\
\text{hahmar} & \text{maraptiin} \\
\text{hunting (M)} & \text{came-until (P)} \\
\text{noh} & \text{kimsi} & \text{kom} & \text{marapraamur} \\
\text{I (S)} & \text{tomorrow(T)} & \text{behind (M)} & \text{will-come-up (P)} \\
\text{kaaput} & \text{gorhwe} & \text{paat}: & \text{tainongmoh} & \text{aprin} \\
\text{in-future(T)} & \text{your} & \text{being} & \text{to-this-place (Dn)} & \text{come! (P)} \\
\text{nuhur} & \text{ning} & \text{ungsii} & \text{susaa} \\
\text{we (S)} & \text{possum} & \text{string-bag-with (W)} & \text{went (P)} \\
\text{ihit} & \text{gusut} & \text{apriptin} \\
\text{they-two (S)} & \text{fighting (M)} & \text{came-until (P)} \\
\end{array}
\]

'A car came...

'The plane went to Telefomin.'

'The plane went into the hangar...'

'(We) went all the way on the road...'

'Yarapeng and I came hunting along the Gayaap side until...'

'I will come behind tomorrow.'

'In the future come to your own place.'

'We went with a string bag of possum...'

'They came on fighting until...'
2.4.2 Motion Transitive Clause

A class of Motion Transitive Verbs expounds the Verb Phrase of a Motion Transitive Predicate.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nuhur} & \quad \text{ungo} \quad \text{oh} \quad \text{baarus} \quad \text{temnong} \quad \text{daipti} \\
\text{we} (S) & \quad \text{string-bag-and} \quad \text{it} (O) \quad \text{plane} \quad \text{hole} \text{(Dn)} \quad \text{put} (P_{\text{mt}})
\end{align*}
\]

'We put the cargo, etc., in the plane...'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{baraak} & \quad \text{maa} \quad \text{Kereporaapo} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{Wepiaahnong} \\
\text{writing} (O) & \quad \text{Telefomin-or} \quad \text{just} \quad \text{Wewak-to} \text{(Dn)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{darheriyaa} & \quad \text{send} (P_{\text{mt}}) \\
\text{send} & \text{(P}_{\text{mt}})
\end{align*}
\]

'(They) send the letters to Telefomin or Wewak...'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kereporaapnong} & \quad \text{be} \quad \text{Arenong} \quad \text{amaa} \quad \text{baraak} \quad \text{darheriptioh} \\
\text{Telefomin-to} & \quad \text{just} \quad \text{Lae-to} \text{(Dn)} \quad \text{writing} (O) \quad \text{send} (P_{\text{mt}})
\end{align*}
\]

'(They) send the letters to Telefomin or Lae.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ti} & \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{some} (O) \quad \text{ground} \quad \text{hole} \quad \text{maham} \quad \text{poprisaa} \\
\text{ton} & \quad \text{down-here} (L) \quad \text{bring} (P_{\text{mt}})
\end{align*}
\]

'(They) bring some of them under the ground...'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kopiah} & \quad \text{bekungsi} \quad \text{poprisaa} \\
\text{coffee} \text{(O)} & \quad \text{with-bag} (W) \quad \text{bring} (P_{\text{mt}}) \quad \text{'(They) bring the coffee in bags...'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{temnong} & \quad \text{maham} \quad \text{kimonoh} \\
\text{to-hole} & \quad \text{down-here} (Dn) \quad \text{kimon-sorcery-material} \text{(O)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaawsi} & \quad \text{matperhan} \\
\text{with-stick} (W) & \quad \text{put} (P_{\text{mt}})
\end{align*}
\]

'(They) put the kimon sorcery material down into the hole with a stick...'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kin} & \quad \text{mat} \quad \text{papripote} \\
\text{how} (M) & \quad \text{will-carry} (P_{\text{mt}}) \quad \text{How will (we) carry (him)?'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tomoh} & \quad \text{Pahaning} \quad \text{go} (S) \quad \text{aayohom} \quad \text{pisonmur} \\
\text{water} \text{(O)} & \quad \text{Pahaning} \quad \text{filled-for-them} \text{(M)} \quad \text{take} (P_{\text{mt}})
\end{align*}
\]

'Pohaning, you take the water filled up for them!'

2.5 Quotative Clauses

The Quote tagmeme is diagnostic of the Quotative Clauses. The exponents of the Quote tagmeme are: Sentence, Paragraph, and Discourse. These may or may not be marked by a quotative enclitic -o or -e.

There are two sub-types of Quotative Clauses for each of the two Quotative Clause types: Saying Quotative and Naming Quotative.

In the Naming Quotative the Quote tagmeme is obligatory and it may have an optional Object tagmeme preceding it.
The Saying Quotative Clause may also have an optional Object tagmeme but it usually follows the Quote tagmeme. The nouns that my expound the Object in this case are limited to:

meng(aa) 'talk'
sawaa 'instruction, teaching'

These nouns are most often used when the Quote tagmeme is expounded by a Discourse.

go...ihahanoh... oh arwaanana.... gaarnaha!iprohemur you if-act-like-that it neighbour will-be-cross-at-you

- o quote (Q) itaanir ihir sawaaoh ariptoh
  our-fathers they (S) instructions (O) say (Puq)

'If you do that... your neighbours will get angry at you, " our fathers instruct.'

gin go...amaa mengiroh-o.... noh hanhaanmur-o... noh
now you talked -quote T ignorance -quote T

hanhaanmur-o ignorance -quote (Q) am potipoh Pitaa ohwe
said-to-them (Pdq) Peter his

'mengo tem talk (O) 'Now you talked... 'I don't know... I don't know' " Peter said.'

Pitaa ohwe mengoh gure... am potipoh
Peter his talk (O) your said-to-them (Pdq)

'Peter said to them, "Your..."'

2.5.1 Undirected Quote Clause

The Undirected Quote Verb aripaat 'says, calls' or the Intransitive Predicate doa hapaat 'thinks' may expound the Verb Phrase of an Undirected Quote Predicate.

In the Undirected Quote Clause, what is being said is not directed to any particular hearer (s).

(a) Saying Quotative:

tit haan imaaah baaapsi inpor- arimaah
one man (S) pig small-with let-me-stay- quote (Q) said (Puq)

'One of the men said, "Let me stay with the little pig"...'

Maaso oh waamar deleper aririt
Marshall he (S) looking let-us-go-across-quote (Q) when-said (Puq)

'When Marshall said "Let's go across and look"...'

oh bap noh hanhaanmur-o noh hanhaan arihe
he (S) the ignorance -quote ignorance (Q) said (Puq)

'He said, "I don't know. I don't know."'
"The pilot said, "Over here is Hagen."..."

'Having said (this)...'

'Down at the house Tandaitsaar said, "I am sick. I have had an attack of malaria,"...'

(They will go to) what (we) call the soul house...

'(We take) what (we) call the tongs...'

2.5.2 Directed Quote Clause

The Directed Quote Verb porpaat 'says, tells to someone, calls' is the exponent of the Verb Phrase of a Directed Quote Predicate.

In this clause type, what is being said is directed to someone. Thus an Indirect Object tagmeme is possible and the verb may have the second order verb prefix na- as in an Indirect Clause.

'I said to Maptis, "You stay well until I come back,"...'

'He said to his wife, "Cook some food!"...'

'Yes," I said, "Why did you play ball?"...'

...haa aruushengwerim zuhutong (Q) to-us-said (Pdq)
"...to let it grow up," (he) told us...

(3) Naming Quotative:

\[
yot \quad \text{mengoh} \quad \text{daa-o} \quad \text{maa} \quad \text{poriptionh} \quad \text{call} \quad (P_{dq})
\]

'(We) call two things the soul.'

\[
tamaam-o \quad \text{maa} \quad \text{poriptionh} \quad \text{call} \quad (P_{dq}) \quad \text{tamaam.}^{'}
\]

\[
tamaam-quote (Q) \quad \text{maa} \quad \text{poriptionh} \quad \text{call} \quad (P_{dq}) \quad \text{tamaam.}^{'}
\]

'(I'm going to talk about) what (we) call

\[
tamaam-quote (Q) \quad \text{maa} \quad \text{poriptionh} \quad \text{call} \quad (P_{dq}) \quad \text{tamaam.}^{'
\]

The dead people's things (we) call paan.'

\[
\text{haputpaq} \quad \text{ireohmur} \quad \text{paan-o} \quad \text{maa} \quad \text{poriptionh} \quad \text{call} \quad (P_{dq})
\]

The dead people's things (we) call paan.'

\[
\text{ohwe} \quad \text{winoh} \quad \text{Tamenporyon} \quad \text{potip} \quad \text{Tamenporyon} (Q) \quad \text{called} \quad (P_{dq})
\]

'(She) called his name Tamenporyon.'

3. Change of Clause Type

By the addition of a first order verb prefix or an auxiliary verb in the Verb Phrase, and in some cases by the addition or deletion of a clause-level nuclear tagmene, a number of clause types may be changed into other clause types. These possible changes are shown in Chart 5. There are three types of change: unrestricted, restricted, and fossilized. Unrestricted changes are shown with double arrows and may be applied to every clause of that particular type. Restricted changes are shown with single arrows and may be applied only to clauses of that particular type which contain certain verbs in their predicate. Fossilized changes are shown with a broken arrow. They appear to have once been restricted changes, but the resultant verb forms have become fossilized and are now considered verbs in their own right.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equation</th>
<th>Unexpanded</th>
<th>Expanded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>Cl_{ei}</td>
<td>Cl_{et}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cl_{l}</td>
<td>Cl_{t}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cl_{st}</td>
<td>Cl_{dt}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destination</td>
<td>Cl_{m}</td>
<td>Cl_{mt}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotative</td>
<td>Cl_{uq}</td>
<td>Cl_{dq}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 5: Possible Changes of Clause Type
An understanding of the possible changes of clause type in Oksapmin is important on
two accounts. First of all it gives the language learner more control over the language.
Secondly, it is valuable both in the setting up of a system of clauses and in evaluating that
system.

3.1 Unrestricted Changes

The mechanism used in unrestricted changes is an auxiliary verb hapaat or nahapaat/ daipaat.

3.1.1 Equational Clause to General Clause

Rule: Equational Clause Predicate + hapaat 'does'

The noun phrase expounding the Predicate in this case is restricted in that no Noun
Phrase Laterals (10) may occur in the changed Predicate. Usually only the head of the
noun phrase occurs.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{oh} & \quad \text{kamohaim} & \quad \text{headman} & \quad \text{(Pe)} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{(S)} & & \\
\rightarrow & & & \quad \text{hah} & \quad \text{did} & \quad \text{(Pi)} \\
\text{Daraam} & & & \quad \text{haan} & \quad \text{man} & \quad \text{dokaa} & \quad \text{tall} & \quad \text{(Pe)} \\
\rightarrow & & & \quad \text{Daraam} & \quad \text{haan} & \quad \text{dok} & \quad \text{hapaat} & \quad \text{does} & \quad \text{(Pi)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Daraam is getting to be a tall person.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tommoh} & \quad \text{mumunaa} & \quad \text{hot} & \quad \text{(Pe)} \\
\text{this-water} & \quad \text{(S)} & & \\
\rightarrow & & & \quad \text{hapaat} & \quad \text{does} & \quad \text{(Pi)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'This water is getting hot.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hawit} & \quad \text{yiwitbasmur} & \quad \text{not-dwarfed} & \quad \text{(Pe)} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{(S)} & & \\
\rightarrow & & & \quad \text{yiwit} & \quad \text{hapaat} & \quad \text{does} & \quad \text{(Pi)} \\
\text{Howard} & & & \quad \text{naa} & \quad \text{not} & \quad \text{dwarfed} & \quad \text{does} & \quad \text{(Pe)} \\
\rightarrow & & & \quad \text{hapaat} & \quad \text{does} & \quad \text{(Pi)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Howard is not dwarfed.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haan} & \quad \text{paahohsi} & \quad \text{with-hunger} & \quad \text{(Pe)} \\
\text{man} & \quad \text{(S)} & & \\
\rightarrow & & & \quad \text{hapaat} & \quad \text{does} & \quad \text{(Pi)} \\
\text{haan} & \quad \text{paahoh} & \quad \text{hunger} & \quad \text{does} & \quad \text{(Pi)} \\
\rightarrow & & & \quad \text{hapaat} & \quad \text{does} & \quad \text{(Pi)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'The man is getting hungry.'
uh  aamoh
she (S)  aam-sorcery (O)  hanhaanaa
  ignorance (P_{et})

'She doesn't know aam sorcery.'

---

uh  aamoh  hanhaan  hapaat
she (S)  aam-sorcery (O)  ignorance  does (P_s)

'She is becoming ignorant of aam sorcery.'

3.1.2 Equational Clause to Indirect Clause

Rule: Equational Clause Predicate + nahapaat/daipaat\(^{(1)}\) with the addition of an optional Indirect Object Tagmeme. Note that the noun phrase which previously expounded Subject now expounds Indirect Object.\(^{(2)}\)

Again, the noun phrase expounding the transformed Predicate is restricted.

When a first or second person indirect object is understood or overtly marked in the clause, the verb form nahapaat 'does to me/us/you' is used. When the indirect object is third person the verb form daipaat 'puts in' is used but with the meaning, in this case, 'causes someone/something to be'.

bareroh  dokaa
child (S)  tall (P_{ei})

'The child is tall.'

---

bareroh  dok
child (10)  tall
  daipaat  causes -it-to-be (P_{st})

'Someone is causing the child to get tall, ' or

'Someone is raising the child.'

nokh  kamohaimmur
I (S)  headman (P_{ei})

'I am headman.'

---

nohnong  kamohaim  nahapaat
1-to-me (10)  headman  does-to-me (P_s)

'Someone is making me headman.'

aapmoh  yahaa
this-house (S)  good (P_{ei})

'This house is good.'

---

oh  yah
he (S)  good
  daipaat  causes-it-to-be (P_{st})

'He makes (it) good.'

ungoh  temsi
string-bag (S)  with-hole (P_{ei})

'The string bag has a hole.'

---

ungoh  tem
string-bag (10)  hole
  daipaat  causes-it-to-be (P_{st})

'Someone puts a hole in the string bag.'
uh  tamaam  amaa
she (S)  tamaam-sorcery (O)  knowledge (P_{et})

'She knows tamaam sorcery.'

- - - → uhlong  tamaam  am  daipoat
to-her (10)  tamaam sorcery (O)  knowledge  causes-her-to-be (P_{dt})

'Someone teaches her tamaam sorcery.'

3.2 Restricted Changes

The mechanism used in restricted changes is a first order verb prefix pa- (with basic low tone) or ta- (na -tu before a velar stop). pa- is used when an optional clause-level nuclear tagmeme is added; ta- is used when an optional clause-level nuclear tagmeme is deleted.

3.2.1 General Clause to Indirect Clause

Rule:  na  pa + General Clause Predicate with the addition of an optional Indirect Object tagmeme. Note again that the noun phrase which previously expounded Subject now expounds Indirect Object.

When pa- is prefixed to a verb stem with basic high tone the resultant form has basic low tone.

noh  masa
I (S)  got-up (P_{i})

- - - → nohnong  na-  pa-masa
to-me (10)  to-me-  got-up (P_{st})

'Someone got me up.'

oh  tandai
he (S)  stood-up (P_{i})

- - - → ohlong  pa-tandai
to-him (10)  stood-up (P_{st})

'Someone stood him up.'

oh  kimiritip
he (S)  was-quiet (P_{i})

'He was quiet.'

- - - → pa-kimiritip
was-quiet (P_{st})

' Someone made (him) be quiet.'

oh  paa  dip
he (S)  taro (O)  ate(P_{i})

'He ate taro.'

- - - → ohlong  paa
to-him (10)  taro (O)  ate (P_{st})

' Someone fed him taro.'
3.2.2 Expanded Clause to Unexpanded Clause

Rule: + ta + Expounded Predicate with the deletion of the optional Object tagmeme. Note that the noun phrase which previously expounded Object now expounds Subject.

\[
\text{sen} \quad \text{saan} \quad \text{perpaat} \quad \text{pulls-out (P₁)}
\]

\[
\text{- - -} \rightarrow \text{sen} \quad \text{saan} \quad \text{ta-perpaat} \quad \text{comes-loose (P₁)}
\]

'The axe handle comes loose.'

\[
\text{iraat} \quad \text{kwerpaat} \quad \text{splits (P₁)}
\]

\[
\text{- - -} \rightarrow \text{iraat} \quad \text{ta-kwerpaat} \quad \text{tukwerpaat (P₁)}
\]

'The wood splits of itself.'

\[
\text{tarminoh} \quad \text{ung} \quad \text{mitporhan} \quad \text{put-in (Pₘ₁)}
\]

\[
\text{- - -} \rightarrow \text{tarminoh} \quad \text{ung} \quad \text{ta-mitporhan} \quad \text{put-in (Pₘ₁)}
\]

'(She) puts the rat in the string bag...'

3.2.3 Semitransitive Clause to Intransitive Clause

Rule: + ta + Semitransitive Predicate with the deletion of the optional Indirect Object tagmeme. Note that the noun phrase which previously expounded Indirect Object now expounds Subject.

\[
\text{ohnong} \quad \text{sutip} \quad \text{killed (Pₘ)}
\]

\[
\text{- - -} \rightarrow \text{ohnong} \quad \text{ta-sutip} \quad \text{killed (P₁)}
\]

'(Someone) killed him.'

\[
\text{nohnong} \quad \text{po} \quad \text{nahapaat} \quad \text{does-to-me (Pₘ)}
\]

\[
\text{- - -} \rightarrow \text{nohnong} \quad \text{po} \quad \text{ta-hapaat} \quad \text{does (P₁)}
\]

'He heals me.'

\[
\text{taamoh} \quad \text{ok} \quad \text{daipaat} \quad \text{causes-it (Pₘ)}
\]

\[
\text{- - -} \rightarrow \text{taamoh} \quad \text{ok} \quad \text{ta-hapaat (₁₃)} \quad \text{The ashes spill out.}'
\]

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3.3 Fossilized Changes

3.3.1 Motion Transitive Verbs

Comparing the Motion Verbs with their corresponding Motion Transitive Verbs we get the following two lists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motion Verb</th>
<th>Transitive Motion Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apripaat</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aropaat</td>
<td>'go in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arupaat</td>
<td>'go up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>depaat</td>
<td>'go across'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandepaat</td>
<td>'come across'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marapaat</td>
<td>'come up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapaat</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wandaapaat</td>
<td>'come down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waapaat</td>
<td>'go down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popripaat/papripaat</td>
<td>'bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paropaat</td>
<td>'take in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parupaat</td>
<td>'take up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pandepaat</td>
<td>'take across'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamdepaat</td>
<td>'bring across'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamarapaat</td>
<td>'bring up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisapaat</td>
<td>'take'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pukdapaat</td>
<td>'bring down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paapaat</td>
<td>'take down'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these two lists the verbs on the left have basic high tone, except apripaat 'come'. All the verbs on the right have basic low tone. It is obvious that these particular Motion Transitive verbs have been formed from Motion verbs by the use of the prefix pa-. Since, however, some of the phonemic changes between the two sets cannot be explained by normal morphophonemic rules (for example pisapaat 'take and pukdapaat 'bring down') and because of the frequency with which these forms are used they are considered to be verbs in their own right.

3.3.2 Directed Quote Verb

It is not possible to prove that the Directed Quote Verb is the result of a clause change but it seems quite feasible.

The Undirected Quote Verb stem is ari (basic high tone) M class. If the Directed Quote Verb were formed from ari by the use of pa- the expected stem form would be *pari (basic low tone) M class. However, the Directed Quote Verb stem is pa~po (basic low tone) R class. In the R class verbs -ri is the form of the continuative aspect morpheme whereas M class verbs have a zero allomorph of this suffix. Thus, it may be that the ri in the expected stem *pari was regarded as the continuative aspect suffix leaving the R class stem verb pa~po.
4. **Oksapmin Clauses as a System**

We might well question the system of clauses that has been set up for Oksapmin. Does it reflect something emic to the language or not?

We have already noted that the orders Indirect, Destination, and Quotative each have a nuclear tagmeme that is characteristic of the clauses of that order. When an Equational Clause changes to a General Clause the same rule holds for both the unexpanded and expanded series. The same can be said for the change of an Equational Clause to an Indirect Clause, of a General Clause to an Indirect Clause, and of the Expanded Clauses to the Unexpanded Clauses. Therefore the clause types given under the orders set up in this system do rightly belong together. The groupings are emic.

The fact that changes occur horizontally and vertically but not diagonally also indicates that the system set up here does reflect something emic to the language.

**NOTES**

(1) The oksapmin language is spoken by 5000 people living in the area of the Telefomin Sub-District, West Sepik District. They are bounded by the Om River to the north, the Strickland River to the east, and the Papua–New Guinea border to the south. Study of the language has been carried out over a two-and-a-half-year period under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The writing of this paper has been supported in part by a grant from the New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics Research Fund. Thanks are due to Joan Healey for helpful comments on a previous draft of this paper.

(2) The abbreviations used are:

- Cl\_dq: Directed Quote Clause, Cl\_dt: Ditransitive Clause,
- Cl\_ei: Intransitive Equation Clause,
- Cl\_et: Transitive Equation Clause, Cl\_i: Intransitive Clause,
- Cl\_m: Motion Clause, Cl\_mt: Motion Transitive Clause,
- Cl\_mt: Semitransitive Clause, Cl\_t: Transitive Clause,
- Cl\_uq: Undirected Quote Clause, Dn: Destination Tagmeme,
- IO: Indirect Object Tagmeme, L: Location Tagmeme,
- M: Manner Tagmeme, O: Object Tagmeme, P: Predicate Tagmeme,
- P\_dq: Directed Quote Predicate, P\_dt: Ditransitive Predicate,
- Pe: Equational Predicate, P\_ei: Intransitive Equation Predicate,
- Pe\_et: Transitive Equation Predicate,
- Pi: Intransitive Predicate, P\_m: Motion Predicate,
Pₘₜ   Motion Transitive Predicate, 
Pₜₖ   Semitransitive Predicate, Pₜ   Transitive Predicate, 
Pᵥₖ   Undirected Quote Predicate, Pᵥ   Verbal Predicate, 
Q   Quote Tagmeme, S   Subject Tagmeme, T   Time Tagmeme, 
W   With Tagmeme, --→ 'changes to'

(3) This was previously described as Stative Relational (in section 3.4 of Marshall Lawrence, Oksapmin Verbs, unpublished ms. February 1970). However, the continuative form has since been discovered and it has been realized that these are the dependent forms of the verb manifesting the Manner tagmeme and do not belong to the Stative Relational Set.

(4) Verbs belong to three morphemically-defined stem classes, M class, R class and S class.

(5) Object and Quote tagmemes do not co-occur and are illustrated in section 2.1.2.

(6) The negative of the Intransitive Equation Clause is formed by adding the enclitic -bas to the noun phrase expounding the Predicate. The Transitive Equation Clause has special forms for the noun expounding the Predicate as shown in section 2.1.2. The negative of other clause types is formed by the morpheme naa usually occurring first in the Verb Phrase.

(7) Quote is discussed in section 2.5.

(8) In some cases the stem of the verb is changed to indicate third person indirect object. For example, na-يناap 'kills me/us/you', but supoat 'kills him/her/them'.

(9) Some verb stems belong to both the semitransitive and transitive classes. It is not always possible to determine whether a clause is Semitransitive or Transitive.

(10) A noun phrase consists of the Noun Phrase Nucleus and the Noun Phrase Laterals. The Noun Phrase Nucleus constitutes an inner syntactic layer which is expandable. The Noun Phrase Laterals constitute an outer syntactic layer which is not expandable.

(11) A number of Verb Phrases expounding a Semitransitive Predicate are probably a fossilized change of this type. For example, waa nahapaat/daiptaat 'looks at something' and po nahapaat/daiptaat 'heals someone'. The morphemes waa and po may have been nouns at one time but now have no meaning in isolation.

(12) The concepts of Fillmore's case grammar may help throw more light on such clause changes, and in fact on the whole system of Oksapmin clauses.

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(13) In a Semitransitive Predicate expounded by Verb Phrase, adjunct + auxiliary (na-hafaat/daipaat), ta- is prefixed to hafaat in the changed predicate.