

Conjunct-Disjunct Alignment in Oksapmin

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1 Evidentiality

- Evidentials present a situation by reference to its reception by a conscious subject (Comrie 2000; Johanson 2000); the evidence a speaker has for their utterance
- In the Oksapmin example below, the reported evidential clitic =*li* ‘REP’ indicates that the speaker’s evidence for the utterance is hearsay

(1) *jaxe uxe ij tit tabubil jə-xət*
so 3sf.POSS string.bag INDF PN DEM.DST-up

wə=m-ti-p=li

leave=MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP

‘So she has left her bag up at Tabubil {I was told she did it}.’ (OKSAPMIN)¹

- In addition to the reported event and the current speech event, evidentials introduce a third event: the perception event
- The epistemic stance or the source of information are determined relative to the deictic centre, namely the ‘here’, ‘now’ and ‘I’ of the perceiver (Mushin 2001: 11)
- “Subjectivity in language is not simply about representing the speaker’s imprint. Rather it is about the representation of some designated experiencer’s imprint which may or may not coincide with the identity of the speaker.” (Mushin 2001: 12-13)

1.1 What Counts as Evidential?

- Evidentiality in the broad sense (e.g. Chafe 1986; Mushin 2001):
 - core meaning of expressing **attitudes towards knowledge**
 - may consist of **any type of expression**, including adverbs
- Evidentiality in the narrow sense (Willett 1988; Aikhenvald 2004):
 - core meaning of expressing **source of evidence**
 - **grammatical system**, often one morphological paradigm

¹ Abbreviations for Oksapmin: 1 First person; 2 Second person; 3 Third person; ADJ Adjective; ANPH Anaphoric; CAUS Causative; CERT Certain; d Dual (of pronoun); DEF Definite; DEM Demonstrative; DST Distal; EMPH Emphatic; Eng English; EX Exclusive; f Feminine; FOC Information focus; FP Far past; HAB Habitual; HES Hesitation; IF Immediate future; INDF Indefinite; INFR Inferred; IPFV Imperfective; LINK Prosodic linker; m Masculine; NEG Negative; NOMLS Nominalizer; O Object; p Plural (of pronoun); PER Personal-factual evidential; PFV Perfective; PL Plural; PN Proper noun; PNCT Punctual; POSS Possessive; PQ Polar question; PROB Probable; PRS Present; PRX Proximal; QUOT Quote; RECG Recognitional; REFL Reflexive; REL Relative pronoun; REP Reported evidential; RESP Response; s Singular (of pronoun); SBRD Subordinator; SEQ Sequential; SG Singular; SIM Simultaneous; TODP Today past; TOP Topic; VIS Visual-sensory evidential; YESTP Yesterday past

1.2 Evidential Typologies

1.2.1 Willett (1988)

- Willett’s (1988) survey is based on grammaticized evidential systems in 38 languages
- “For the purposes of synchronic comparison, I here choose to consider evidentiality in the narrower sense of “information source” and look only at languages that have grammaticized this meaning.” (Willett 1988: 56)
- Like other grammatical domains, such as tense, languages with grammatical evidentiality differ in the number of distinctions made

Types of Evidence	{	– Attested	{ Visual
	{ Direct		{ Auditory
	{		{ Other sensory
	{		
	{		{ Reported
	{		{ Second-hand
	{		{ Third-hand
	{ Indirect		{ Folklore
	{		{ Inferring
	{		{ Results
	{ Reasoning		

Figure 1 Willett’s (1988: 57) evidential categories

1.2.2 Aikhenvald (2004)

- “Evidentiality is a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information. [...] this covers the way in which the information was acquired, without necessarily relating to the degree of speaker’s certainty concerning the statement or whether it is true or not” (Aikhenvald 2004: 3)
- “Linguistic evidentiality is a grammatical system (and often one morphological paradigm).” (Aikhenvald 2004: 6)
- “One evidential morpheme often covers several related sources.” (Aikhenvald 2004: 3)

I.	Visual	I. & II.	I. & II.
II.	Sensory	Direct	Firsthand
III.	Inference		
IV.	Assumption		III., IV., V. &
V.	Hearsay	V. & VI.	VI.
VI.	Quotative	Reported	Non-firsthand

Figure 2 Aikhenvald’s (2004: 65) recurrent semantic parameters

1.3 Personal Evidential Terms

- Aikhenvald notes the existence of the Kashaya ‘performative’ (generally called ‘personal’ in this paper) and other first-person-only evidentials (2004: 232) but does not integrate them into her typology; she further notes that first person often forms a gap in evidential paradigms (2004: 232)
- Nor does Willett classify Kashaya’s performative as evidential: “Not included is a pair of ‘performative’ suffixes used when the speaker was the agent of the action

reported, since the source of evidence does not seem to be their primary meaning.” (Willett 1988: 91)

- Despite not being included in these typologies, personal forms found in a number of languages would seem to be a further candidate for a ‘recurrent semantic parameter’

1.3.1 Performative in Kashaya

- The ‘performative’ evidential in Kashaya, a Pomoan language spoken in California, USA, signifies that “the speaker knows of what he speaks because he is performing the action himself or has just performed it” (Oswalt 1986: 34)
- It occurs in contrast to factual-visual, visual, auditory, inferential and quotative

- (2) *mi-li ʔa me-ʔe-l p^hakúm-mela*
 there-VISIBLE I your-father-OBJ kill-PERFORM
 ‘Right there I killed your father.’ (KASHAYA; Oswalt 1986: 35)

1.3.2 Personal Agency in Central Pomo

- Central Pomo, a Pomoan language from California, USA, has evidential morphemes which indicates ‘personal agency’ and ‘personal affectedness’ (Mithun 1999: 181)
- These contrast with factual, visual (personal experience), hearsay, auditory, inferential

- (3) *da-čé-w=la*
 pulling-seize-PFV=PERSONAL.AGENCY
 ‘I caught it’ (I know because I did it) (CENTRAL POMO; Mithun 1999: 181)

- (4) *da-čé-w=wiya*
 pulling-seize-PFV=PERSONAL.AFFECTEDNESS
 ‘I got caught’ (I know because it happened to me) (CENTRAL POMO; Mithun 1999: 181)

1.3.3 Participatory and Factual in Foe

- Foe (East Kutubu branch of Trans New Guinea), spoken in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, has a ‘participatory or factual’ category

- (5) *na mini wa-bubege*
 1s today come-PRES.PART.FACT
 ‘I am coming today.’ (FOE; Rule 1977: 74)

- ‘Participatory or Factual’ contrasts in a verbal paradigm with ‘Seen’ (visual), ‘Unseen (sense perception)’ (sensory), ‘Mental deduction’ (assumption), ‘Visible Evidence’ (current inference), ‘Previous Evidence’ (past inference)
- The ‘participatory or factual’ category indicates that: “The speaker is either **participating actively and consciously in the action**, or is **making a statement of known fact** without regard to the way the knowledge has been gained. Hence this aspect is nearly, but not always, used when the speaker is participating in the action.” (Rule 1977: 71)

- “When my wife and I first analysed the Foe language, we had [participatory or factual] aspect classified as a 1st pers[on] subject-verb agreement, and the [seen] aspect [...] as a 2nd/3rd pers[on] subject-verb agreement. It was not until later, when we came across numbers of examples of sentences wherein the [participatory or factual] aspect was used for actions which a 3rd person/s were doing, and also of the [seen] aspect being used for things the speaker was doing, that I realised that **the basic relationship was not between subject & the verb, but between the speaker & the verb.**” (Rule 1977: 71)

1.3.4 Personal-Factual in Fasu

- Fasu (West Kutubu branch of Trans New Guinea), spoken in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, contrasts personal-factual with visual-sensory verbal inflection (see Loeweke and May 1980 for data; San Roque and Loughnane In prep., for analysis):
 - *-sua*: “the speaker is telling about something that he himself participated in” (1980: 74)
 - *-rakasa*: “the speaker is talking about something he saw or heard in the near [or far] past” (1980: 74)

(6) *ano pu-sua-fa-po*
 I go-PAST.PER-NEG-statement
 I did not go. (Fasu Loeweke and May 1980:74)

(7) *nomo apea pe-rakasa-fa-po*
 my house come-PAST.VIS-NEG-statement
 ‘He didn’t come to my house.’ (Fasu Loeweke and May 1980:67)

1.3.5 Personal Evidential Terms: Summary

- Evidentiality is an areal feature of Highlands Papua New Guinea and is found in the East Kutubu, West Kutubu, Ok-Oksapmin, Enga, Duna-Bogaia and Bosavi families (San Roque and Loughnane In prep.)

Language	Language family	Reference	Author’s name for category
Central Pomo	Pomoan	Mithun (1999)	personal agency and personal affectedness
Kashaya	Pomoan	Oswalt (1986)	performative
Foe	East Kutubu, Trans New Guinea	Rule (1977)	participatory or factual
Fasu	West Kutubu, Trans New Guinea	Loeweke and May (1980), San Roque and Loughnane (In prep.)	personal-factual
Oksapmin	Ok-Oksapmin, Trans New Guinea	Loughnane (2009)	personal-factual
		Lawrence (1987)	agent’s viewpoint

Figure 3 ‘Participatory’, ‘performative’ and ‘personal’ categories

1.4 *Personal-Factual Semantics in Visual and Direct Evidentials*

1.4.1 **Visual Evidential in Tariana**

- The visual evidential in Tariana has the following main uses:
 - “1. Information obtained through seeing
 - 2. Information on events which can be easily observed
 - 3. To refer to events for which speaker takes full responsibility
 - 4. Generally known (and observable) facts; **the preferred evidential in stories relating personal experience.**” (Aikhenvald 2003: 294)

- Visual evidence:

(8) *tʃinu niwhã-ka di-na*
dog 3snf+bite-REC.P.VIS 3snf-OBJ
‘The dog bit him (we have seen it).’ (Aikhenvald 2003: 287)

- With first person subject:

(9) *nu-pita-ka-sita*
1sg-bathe-REC.P.VIS-PERF
‘I have already bathed.’ (Aikhenvald 2003: 290)

- Fact/easily observable event (‘from a story about a man who did not want to observe a taboo not to hunt on Good Friday’):

(10) *ikasu yaphini-nuku itʃiri*
today thing;like-TOP.NON.A/S game

ma-inu-kade-naka nemhani
NEG-kill-NEG-PRES.VIS 3pl+go.round
‘On a day like today no one goes around hunting.’ (Aikhenvald 2003: 290)

1.4.2 **Direct Evidential in Shipibo-Konibo**

- Shipibo-Konibo declarative sentences require either *-ra* ‘direct’ or *-ronki* ‘reported’ (Valenzuela 2003: 33)
- “*-ra* indicates that **the speaker is a performer in the situation described**, is an observer, [or] has first-hand sensory knowledge (through vision, hearing, smell, taste, or touch)” (Valenzuela 2003: 35)

(11) *Nokon jane r-iki Inkan Soi*
POSS1 name:ABS DIR.EV-COP Inkan Soi
‘My name is Inkan Soi.’ (Valenzuela 2003: 35)

1.5 *Evidential Hierarchies*

- In grammaticized evidential systems, ‘stronger’ evidentials are preferred over ‘weaker’ evidentials: if a speaker has stronger evidence, she should give it
- Using a weaker evidential than expected results in pragmatically marked utterances

- Evidential hierarchy for Tuyuca and Tariana (Aikhenvald 2004: 307):
 Visual > Non-visual > Inferred > Reported > Assumed
- Evidential hierarchy for Kashaya (Oswalt 1986: 43):
 Performative > Factual-Visual > Auditory > Inferential > Quotative

2 Conjunct-Disjunct Systems

- Conjunct-disjunct systems, see e.g. Curnow 2002, are generally thought to track arguments of the verb (typically the subject) according to the pattern shown below:

	Statements	Questions
1st person	conjunct	disjunct
2nd person	disjunct	conjunct
3rd person	disjunct	disjunct

Figure 4 Distribution of conjunct and disjunct forms (e.g. for Awa Pit, Curnow 2002)

- Conjunct-disjunct systems are found in the following language families:
 - Tibeto-Burman: Kathmandu Newari (Hale 1980; Hargreaves 1990), Lhomi (Vesalainen and Vesalainen 1980), Akha (Thurgood 1986), Sherpa (Woodbury 1986; Kelly 2004; Schöttelndryer 1980) and Tibetan (Tournadre 1996; DeLancey 2001; Hargreaves 1991; Bendix 1992)
 - Mongolic: Monguor/Minhe Mangghuer (Chinggeltai 1989; Slater 2003)
 - Caucasian: Akhvakh (Creissels 2008)
 - Barbacoan: Guambiano (Vásquez de Ruiz 1988), Awa Pit (Curnow 1997), Tsafiki (Dickinson 2002)
- “**Conjunct-disjunct person-marking systems are not evidential in nature** [...]. They may, however, be similar to evidentials in their semantic extensions, and also in their interaction with evidentials proper (if the language happens to have them).” (Aikhenvald 2004: 127)

2.1 Newari

- In declarative sentences, conjunct most often occurs with a first person subject and disjunct most often occurs with a non-first person subject

- (12) *Ji ana wanā.*
 I went there (**conjunct**). (Hale 1980: 95)
- (13) *Cha ana wana.*
 You went there (**disjunct**). (Hale 1980: 95)
- (14) *Wa ana wana.*
 He went there (**disjunct**) (Hale 1980: 95)

- Questions with a second person subject are conjunct:

(15) *Cha ana wanā lā?*

Did you go there (**conjunct**)? (Hale 1980: 95)

- Hale explains this distribution as follows: “**Finite conjunct forms are appropriate only where the actor of the clause is portrayed as a true instigator**, one responsible for an intentional act.” (Hale 1980: 96)
- “[O]ne might say that the conjunct-disjunct form of a true question anticipates that of its answer.” (Hale 1980: 99)
- Certain ‘impersonal’ verbs only ever take the disjunct, for example, *sila* ‘come to know’ and *tāla* ‘hear’: “The reason that impersonal verbs have no finite conjunct form is [... t]hey have no actors that qualify as true instigators.” (Hale 1980: 96)
- Personal verbs with a first person subject sometimes also take disjunct forms: “Even with personal verbs disjunct forms replace conjunct forms where the actor is not portrayed as true instigator.” (Hale 1980: 96)

(16) *Jji lā palā.*

I cut the meat (intentionally) [**conjunct**].

(17) *Jji lā pala - cha khana makhu lā?*

I cut the meat (quite by accident) [**disjunct**] - you saw me didn’t you?

(18) *Che danā lā?*

Did you get up (voluntarily) [**conjunct**]?

(19) *Che dana lā?*

Did you get up (involuntarily) [**disjunct**]?

- Hale says that first person questions are tricky and regards this as a gap in the paradigm
- ‘True’ first person questions, where information is genuinely sought, take disjunct:

(20) A: *Chqq nhāca ilij lwāāgu khq lā?*

Did you see them fighting some time back?

B: *Ji ugu ilae ana wana lā?*

Did I go there at that time (I don’t recall)? [**disjunct**]

A: *Cha du thqq cwqq.*

It seems that you were there. (Hale 1980: 100)

- Rhetorical first person questions take the conjunct; “**the speaker cannot ask a true question about an action in which he portrays himself as a voluntary instigator**. Either he was the voluntary instigator and knows perfectly well what he did or else he performed the act unwittingly and was not the voluntary instigator.” (Hale 1980: 99-100)

- (21) A: *Cha nq̄q ana wana.*
 You went there too. [**disjunct**]
 B: *Ji ana wanā lā.*
 Did I go there? (I most certainly did not!) [**conjunct**] (Hale 1980: 100)

- Second person rhetorical question:

- (22) *Che wala lā.*
 Did you come? (Most certainly not!) [**disjunct**] (Hale 1980: 100)

- Indirect quotes with a third person subject in the quote, which is coreferential with the subject of the verb of speech, take conjunct

- (23) *Wq̄q wa ana wanā dhakāā dhāla.*
 He said he went there (himself) [**conjunct**]. (Hale 1980: 95)

- (24) *Wq̄q wa ana wana dhakāā dhāla.*
 He said that he (someone else) went there [**disjunct**]. (Hale 1980: 95)

- (25) *Waa “Ji ana wanā,” dhakāā dhāla.*
 He said, “I went there [**conjunct**].” (Hale 1980: 95)

- Declarative sentences can be thought of as having an ‘inherent quote frame’
- Summary of the Newari conjunct-disjunct system:

<i>Actor is co-referential with:</i>	<i>(Actor is Instigator)</i>		<i>(Actor is not Instigator)</i>
	Declarative Pattern	Interrogative Pattern	Impersonal Pattern
Quote Frame Actor (Speaker)	Conjunct	(gap)	Disjunct
Quote Frame Goal (Hearer)	Disjunct	Conjunct	Disjunct
Other	Disjunct	Disjunct	Disjunct

Figure 5 Finite Conjunct-Disjunct Patterns in Newari Verbs (Hale 1980: 101)

- Hargreaves (1991) distinguishes a set of criteria for the selection of the conjunct term in Newari as follows:
 - the verb must be in the control class;
 - it must be intentional action on the part of the actor: “the dynamic force was [...] in accordance with the contents of the mental representation”; and
 - “one of the pre-conditions for a **declarative speech act** is that **the speaker has evidential authority** for the information in the utterance; in contrast, one of the pre-conditions for an **interrogative speech act** is the assumption that **the addressee has the evidential authority** for the information in the utterance” (Hargreaves 1991: 381)
- Bendix agrees that the conjunct term in Newari is used for the subject of intentional actions and further says that the disjunct term “indicates observed evidence of the action” (Bendix 1992: 227); he identifies it as an evidential system

- “I have argued that **this distinction can be interpreted as part of the evidential system**, where the conjunct forms represent **the speaker's direct perception of the act of volition which leads to an action**, and the disjunct form represents its absence (DeLancey, 1985, 1986, 1990a; see also Hargreaves, 1991). Since only the perpetrator of an act can possibly have direct knowledge of the act of volition which led to it, this distinction can be made only in statements with first person actor and in questions with second person actor.” (DeLancey 2001: 372)
- “The conjunct/disjunct system of Newari [...] can be described in terms of a personal experience epistemological stance” (Mushin 2001: 60).

2.2 Tibetan

- Tibetan (DeLancey 2001): no direct knowledge, direct knowledge of volition (conjunct), direct knowledge of event (disjunct), resultant state
- Tibetan (Tournadre 1996): *égophorique volitif* (personal agency), *endopatique* (personal affectedness), *constatif* (visual), *inférentiel* (inferential), *oui-dire* (hearsay), and *révélatif* (mirative).

(26) *blo=bzang-gis* *thang=kha* *bkal-song*
 P.N.-ERG thangka hang-PERF/**DIRECT**
 'Lobsang hung up a thangka (religious painting).' (direct perception) (DeLancey 2001: 371)

(27) *blo=bzang-gis* *thang=kha* *bkal-bzhag*
 P.N.-ERG thangka hang-PERF/**INFERENCE**
 'idem.' (inference from direct knowledge of a subsequent state, e.g., the speaker sees firsthand that the thangka has been hung) (DeLancey 2001: 371)

(28) *blo=bzang-gis* *thang=kha* *bkal-pa red*
 P.N.-ERG thangka hang-PERF/**INDIRECT**
 'idem.' (hearsay, inference, or general knowledge)

(29) *nga-s kho* *dbril-pa yin*
 I-ERG he knock.down-PERF/**CONJUNCT**
 'I knocked him down.' (intentionally)

(30) *nga-s kho* *dbril-song*
 I-ERG he knock.down-PERF/**DIRECT**
 'I knocked him down.' (unintentionally)

3 The Oksapmin Language

- Oksapmin, a member of the Ok-Oksapmin subgrouping (Loughnane and Fedden 2011) of the larger Trans New Guinea family, is spoken in Sandaun Province, Papua New Guinea (map from Ross 2005)

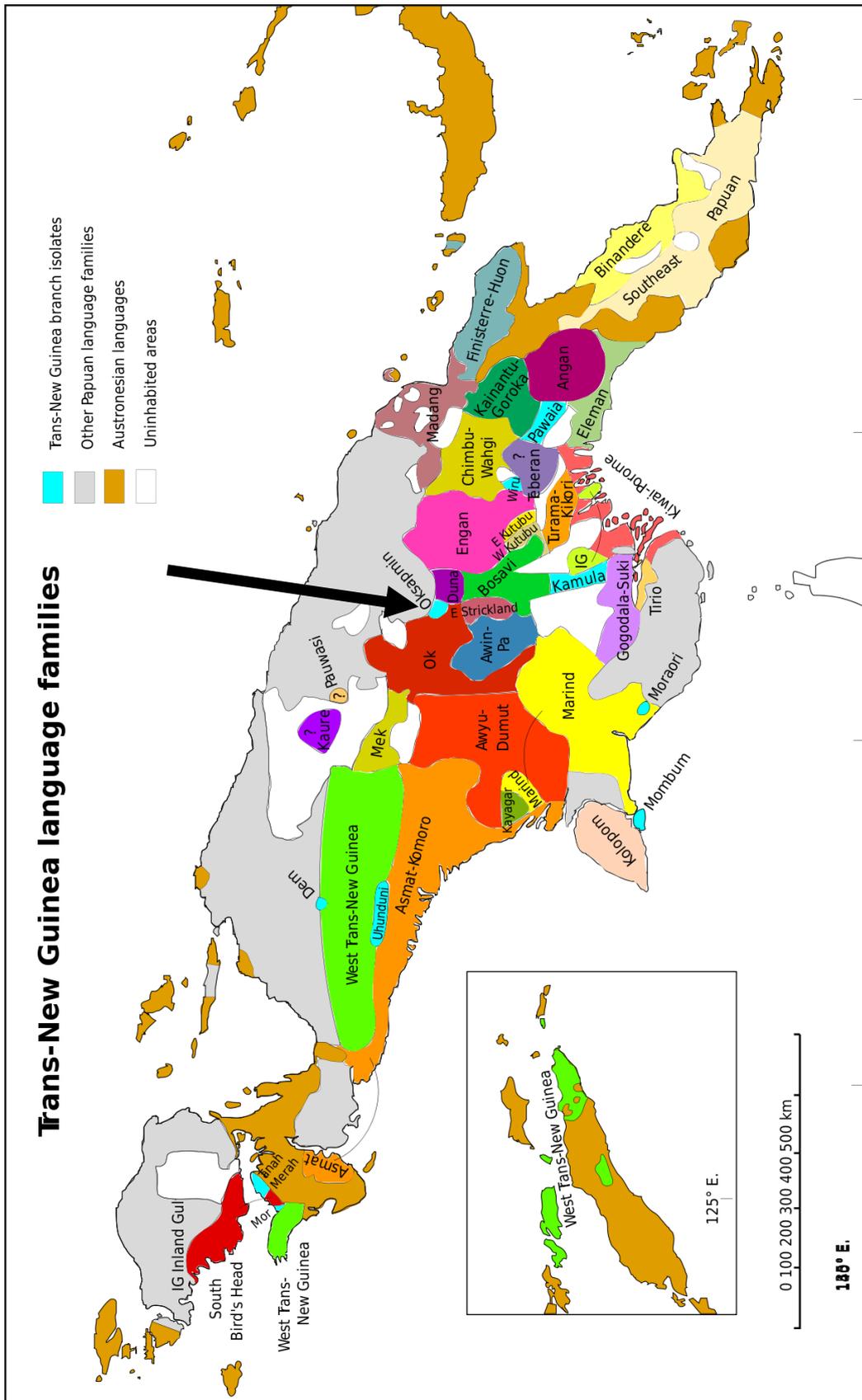


Figure 6 Location of Oksapmin (after Ross 2005)

3.1 Typological features:

- Verb final syntax; most frequent order SOV (although OSV also possible)
- Clause chaining with simultaneous versus sequential medial verbs
- Light verbs with coverbs
- Verb prefixes track valence and object marking
- Verb suffixes mark tense, aspect, number of the subject, and evidentiality
- Subject person is not marked on the verb
- Minimal noun morphology
- Argument noun phrases can be dropped where reference is clear from context

4 Evidentiality in Oksapmin

- Oksapmin marks evidentiality in a number of ways:
 - Two distinct sets of past tense inflection: personal-factual versus visual-sensory
 - Modal clitics: reported (=li), visual-sensory (=xe)
 - Inferred pre-verbal particle (*se ~ sa*)
 - Complement clauses with *x-* ‘be’ (visual-sensory)
 - Clause chaining with *x-* ‘be’ (auditory, visual-sensory)
- Evidential hierarchy for Oksapmin

Personal-Factual > Visual-Sensory > Auditory > Reported > Inferred

4.1 Personal-Factual versus Visual-Sensory in Oksapmin

- Oksapmin obligatorily distinguishes ‘personal-factual’ from ‘visual-sensory’ evidentiality in the past tense inflection, along with aspect, tense and subject number
- Personal-factual is the ‘strongest’ type of evidence available in Oksapmin
- Personal-factual is morphologically less complex than the visual-sensory
- Past tense forms are evidential in the narrow sense as they both 1) have source of evidence as their core meaning and 2) form a single morphological paradigm

	Personal-Factual				Visual-sensory			
	Perfective		Imperfective		Perfective		Imperfective	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Today past	<i>sut</i>	<i>sutja</i>	<i>sul</i>		<i>sunuŋ</i>	<i>sungwe</i>	<i>supatnuŋ</i>	<i>suptigwe</i>
Yesterday past	<i>sutil</i>		<i>sut</i>		<i>sungwel</i>		<i>supatgwel</i>	<i>suptigwel</i>
Far past	<i>sutip</i>	<i>sutpa</i>	-		<i>sungop</i>	<i>sungopa</i>	<i>supatgop</i>	<i>suptigopa</i>
			Habitual				Habitual	
			<i>susux</i>	<i>susxe</i>			<i>sunipat</i>	<i>sunipti</i>

Figure 7 Past tense verb forms for the regular verb *su-* ‘kill’

- Previously discussed as ‘viewpoint’ by Lawrence (1987):
 - Personal-factual (Lawrence’s Set A) “is used when the participant from whose viewpoint the story is being told is also the subject of the clause” (Lawrence 1987: 58)
 - Visual-sensory (Lawrence’s Set B) “is used when the participant from whose viewpoint the story is being told is not the subject of the clause” (Lawrence 1987: 58)
- The personal-factual past tenses have the following main uses:
 - first-person statements about events which the (reported or current) speaker consciously performed
 - second-person questions about events which the speaker anticipates that the addressee consciously performed
 - third-person statements with the reported marker, where the subject is the reported speaker or main character in a narrative
 - uncontested facts (third person) for which the speaker has accumulated various types of evidence which is also available to the addressee
- The visual-sensory past tenses have the following main uses:
 - events which the speaker witnessed (second or third person);
 - events which the speaker heard or otherwise sensed (second or third person);
 - first-person questions
 - first-person statements where the speaker does not have or doubts participatory-factual evidence of the event or is putting the onus of evidence onto the hearer for pragmatic reasons
- Personal-factual past tenses are most frequently used for first-person statements about events which the current speaker consciously performed

(31) *nox tap tit su-ti-p*
 1s pig INDF kill.PFV-**PER**.FP.PL
 ‘I killed a pig {I did it}.’

- Visual-sensory past tenses are most frequently used for events which the current speaker witnessed

(32) *ox tap tit su-n-gop*
 3sm pig INDF kill-PFV-**VIS**.FP.SG
 ‘He killed a pig {I saw it}.’

- The personal-factual and visual-sensory past tenses often occur in combination with the reported marker with the same meanings, but calculated with respect to the reported speaker rather than the current speaker

(33) *ox tap tit su-ti-p=li*
 3sm pig INDF kill.PFV-**PER**.FP.PL=**REP**
 ‘He_i killed a pig {it is said he_i did it}.’

- (34) *ox tap tit su-n-gop=li*
 3sm pig INDF kill-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
 ‘He killed a pig {it is said it was seen}.’

4.1.1 Grammatical Restrictions

- There are certain grammatical restrictions on the distribution of the evidential past-tense verb forms
- Personal-factual forms only may occur with the following
 - Modal clitics (see section 4.2.1) and the inferred particle (see section 4.2.2)
 - Complement clauses with *x-* ‘be’ (see section 4.2.3) and *mda-* ~ *o=ml-* ‘finish’

- (35) *mlo-l mda-m=a kalnənip mox*
 come.up-IPFV.PER.TODP finish-SEQ=LINK pole.of.house ANPH

duŋ li-n-gop=li
 pierce SAY-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP

‘(The arrow) came up and then pierced a house pole {it is said it was seen}.’

- Visual-sensory forms (or nominalized forms) only may occur with the hortative particle

- (36) *amnən ox əpil=xənox a məmxaŋ toxaŋ*
 uncle.2POSS 3sm come(.PRS.SG)=SBRD HES what’s.it sweet.potato

jox xa de-nuŋ=mul=o li-m
 DEF HORT eat-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG=CERT=QUOT say-SIM

‘‘If your uncle comes, let him eat, um, what’s it, the sweet potato!’’ (she) said and...’

4.2 Other Evidential Strategies

- The other minor evidential strategies fill in the gaps or act in place of the past tense evidential distinction

4.2.1 Modal Clitics

- In addition to a number of other phrasal clitics, Oksapmin has a number of modal clitics: =*xən* ‘IRREALIS’, =*kin* ‘PROBABLE’, =*mul* ‘CERTAIN’, =*naŋ* ‘COUNTERFACTUAL’, =*xe* ‘VISUAL-SENSORY’, =*d* ‘POLAR QUESTION’, =*w* ‘RESPONSE’ and =*li* ‘REPORTED’
- Only =*xe* ‘VIS’ and =*li* ‘REP’ are evidential in the narrow sense; the rest are primarily epistemic in nature
- These clitics, with the exception of =*w* ‘RESP’ and =*li* ‘REP’, generally occur only with the personal-factual forms (although see section 5.2.1); these can be thought of as ‘overriding’ the past-tense evidential system
- Other phrasal clitics, including =*li* ‘REP’, work in combination with the past tense evidentials

- The following two consecutive lines from a text describing a single action demonstrate the inability of the clitic =*mul* ‘CERT’ to appear with the visual-sensory past tense; same epistemological stance, expressed by two different strategies

- (37) a. *ep=e kol ux=a xesup wanxe=nəp*
 sorry=EXCL sister 3sf=EMPH angry a.lot=VERY
- m-de-ti-p=**mul**=o=li*
 PRX.O-MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG=CERT=EMPH=REP
 ‘Gosh! The girl was definitely really angry with him {it is said}.’
- b. *xesup wanxe=nəp m-de-t*
 angry a.lot=VERY PRX.O-MAKE-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
- x-n-gop=li*
 be-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
 ‘She had gotten really angry with him {it is said that he saw}.’

- In some cases, a modal clitic must be used where personal-factual and visual-sensory evidence cannot be available, e.g. in knowing the internal thoughts or feelings of others

- (38) *sup ux be da x-s li*
 mother.3POSS 3sf just think DO-PNCT SAY(.PRS.SG)
- jox sik xəx=xə da x-ti-l=**kin**=o*
 TOP sick(Eng) DO.PRS.SG=VIS think DO-PFV-PER.YESTP=PROB=EMPH
 ‘The baby’s mother probably thought that the baby was sick.’

- The visual-sensory clitic is (non-obligatorily) used with present and future tenses (which have no evidential inflection), and verbless clauses

- (39) *gin m-dl s-ja=xə*
 now PRX.O-take-SEQ go-PRS.PL=VIS
 ‘Now, they just now took (the money) and went {I saw it}.’
- (40) *gin tom tisix=xə*
 now water cold=VIS
 ‘The water is cold now {I see/feel it}.’ (Elicited)

4.2.2 Inferred Pre-Verbal Particle

- The inferred particle *se ~ sa* ‘INFR’ must occur with the reported marker or in a complement clause of speech or thought and occurs only with the personal-factual when in the past tense
- If the speaker is not conscious, neither the personal-factual nor the visual-sensory can be used; in the following example, the speaker was asleep and did not feel the rat biting her at the time

- (41) *se xim jox n-a-d-m pt-t=li*
 INFR skin DEF 1/2.O-BEN-eat-SEQ be-IPFV.PER.YESTP=REP
 ‘The rat must have been eating my skin {I infer}.’

- In the following example, the speaker was unconscious after nearly drowning and this sentence occurs in the narrative just before he comes to

- (42) *jaxe tom ban mox ulex t-x-t se*
 then water a.lot ANPH splash MID-MAKE-SIM INFR

wən-xi-p=li

come.down-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP

‘The water just splashed by itself and must have come out (of my nose) {I infer}.’

- In the following example, the speaker was sick and had taken her clothes off while unconscious, then saw them lying on the floor next to her

- (43) *ej mox bap noxe xim max sa xanxan*
 gosh ANPH small 1s.POSS clothes RECG INFR not.know

x-m

əpli-l=o

li-m

net

DO-SEQ

come-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT

say-SEQ

touch

‘‘Gosh, I must have taken off my clothes {I infer}’’ I thought and reached for them.’

(Speaker translation: ‘O, why have I forgot to take with me my cloth and I've come without it, I said and I touched it.’)

4.2.3 Complement clauses with *x-* ‘be’

- Complement clauses with *x-* ‘be’ in the visual-sensory are used for visual evidence of an event that occurred previous to the time of perception, as in the following example from later in the same text as the example above

- (44) *lipin nox xotol jox=a [niŋ ox*
 true 1s see(.PRS.SG) TOP=LINK small.mammal 3m

gon-si=nəp

all-ADJ=VERY

be

HES

toŋ

foot

mox

ANPH

pəlu ml

detach DO(.SEQ)

n-a-de-l]

x-n-gopa

1/2. O-BEN-eat-IPFV.PER.TODP **be**-PFV-VIS.FP.PL

‘Truly, I saw that the rat had ripped and eaten my foot {I saw}.’

- (45) *mlo-s=a* *ej* [*ku* *muk* *ixil* *sik* *ap*
 come.up-SEQ=LINK gosh woman group 3p sick(Eng) house
- m-tpul=a* *xu-ja]* *x-n-gwel*
 PRX.O-close(.SEQ)=LINK go.PFV-PER.TODP.PL **be**-PFV-VIS.YESTP
 ‘I came up but the ladies had already shut the health centre and then gone {I saw it}.’

4.2.4 Clause chaining with *x*- ‘be’

- A sequential medial verb followed by the verb *x*- ‘be’, in the visual-sensory if in the past tense, indicates specifically non-visual sensory evidence, e.g. auditory or feeling

- (46) *jəxe* *əpli-pat-n=a* *mə=ma* *pəmlə dəx*
 then come-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK DEM.PRX=REL PN down
- mi-de=x* [...] *xan* *ixil* *meg=l* *x-n-gwel*
 DEM.PRX-across=3sm man 3p speak=SAY(.SEQ) **be**-PFV-VIS.YESTP
 ‘When I came to Pəmlə across here, [...] men were talking {I heard it}.’

- In the today past imperfective and yesterday past imperfective only, a sequential medial verb plus *x*- ‘be’ in the personal-factual may be used in place of the visual-sensory forms

- (47) *tit* *ku* *nəs* *ku* *jox* *kerina* *ux=xə*
 another woman nurse(Eng) woman DEF PN 3sf=FOC
- ulxe* *ap* *nuŋ* *mlo-s* *x-el*
 3sf.REFL.POSS house TO come.up-SEQ **be**-IPFV.PER.TODP
 ‘Another woman, the female nurse, Kerina, went up to her own house {I saw it}.’

- In the first example below the speaker was unconscious and shaking and was later told about her actions, so the visual-sensory construction with *x*- ‘be’ plus the reported marker is used; in the second example, later in the narrative, she is conscious again and the regular personal-factual form is used

- (48) *bupul* *x-t=li* *bupul* *x-t=li*
 shake(.SEQ) **be**-IPFV.PER.YESTP=REP shake(.SEQ) **be**-IPFV.PER.YESTP=REP
 ‘I was shaking and shaking {it is said she saw}.’
 (Speaker translation: ‘I don’t know but the nurse told me about my shaking.’)

- (49) *nox=xe* *bupli-l* *bupli-l* *bupli-l*
 1s=FOC shake-IPFV.PER.TODP shake-IPFV.PER.TODP shake-IPFV.PER.TODP
- bupli-l* *bupli-l*
 shake-IPFV.PER.TODP shake-IPFV.PER.TODP
 ‘I was shaking and shaking {I did it}.’
 (Speaker translation: ‘Me too was shaking and shaking and shaking.’)

5 Conjunct-Disjunct Alignment of the Evidential Past Tenses

- Oksapmin only has direct reported speech and past tense evidentials in reported speech behave exactly the same as non-reported speech, but deictic elements are calculated with respect to the reported speech event, rather than the current speech event
- Where non-reported examples are not available in the corpus, reported examples have been given instead (these are marked with double sets of quotation marks)

5.1 Declaratives

5.1.1 First Person

- First person statements, which are usually about events which the speaker consciously and deliberately performed, take the personal-factual forms when in the past tense

- (50) *nox* [...] *əbop* *dap=si* *dum-m* *sxa-sux*
 1s rope long=WITH tie-SEQ look.after-HAB.PER.FP.SG
 ‘I used to tie him up with rope and look after him {I did it}.’

- (51) *nuxut* *gəl* *ml* *di-pa*
 1dEX cut MAKE(.SEQ) eat.PFV-PER.FP.PL
 ‘We cut it up and ate it {we did it}.’

- Very rarely and exceptionally, the visual-sensory forms can occur with first person, e.g. in a dream

- (52) *nox* *ku* *dis* *utəp* *xəx* *jox* *nox* *je*
 1s night middle dream DO.PRS.SG TOP 1s mountain
- gən* *tit* *wol-pat-noŋ*
 up INDF go.up-IPFV.SG-VIS.TODP.SG
 ‘In the middle of the night when I dreamt, I went up a mountain {I saw it}.’ (Elicited)

- The speaker can also use the visual-sensory, a ‘weaker’ form of evidence than personal-factual, if their belief of the event has been brought into question

- (53) *noxə* *ma* *n-api-gwer* *ox=w=a*
 1s.POSS REL 1/2.O-give-VIS.TODP 3sm=RESP=EMPH
 ‘What about the one of mine I gave you yesterday?’ (Lawrence 1987: 62)

5.1.2 Second Person

- Second-person statements in the past tense, infrequent in the corpus, usually take the visual-sensory (examples below all relativisation; more examples are given in section 5.1.5)

(54) *gulagule təmd-il sli-pti-gwel*
 2p.REFL.POSS father&child-PL put-IPFV.PL-VIS.YESTP

toxan mədu i=təx
 sweet.potato mound DEM.DST=place
 ‘The place where your father and you grow sweet potato {I saw it}.’

(55) *golgol ma p-s-nuŋ max*
 2s.REFL REL CAUS-go-PFV.VIS.TODP.SG RECG
 ‘You yourself, the one who took her {I saw it}.’

(56) *ep=o go lex ma na=əpi-nuŋ*
 sorry=QUOT 2s then REL NEG=come-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG

max=w=o
 RECG=RESP=QUOT
 ‘‘You didn’t come {I saw it}.’’

5.1.3 Third Person

- In third person statements, visual-sensory past tenses are most commonly used to indicate events which the speaker witnessed

(57) *kila ux ko-ŋ li-nuŋ*
 PN 3sf arrive-PNCT SAY-PFV.VIS.TODP.SG
 ‘Kila arrived {I saw it}.’

(58) *tom xulu jox oksapmin mə-xəm pt-nipat*
 water pond DEF PN DEM.PRX-down stay-HAB.VIS.FP.SG
 ‘There was a pond down at Oksapmin {I saw it}.’

- The visual-sensory forms also mark events which the speaker heard or otherwise sensed

(59) *nox tom din wanxe n-x-n-gwel*
 1s water thirsty a.lot 1/2.O-DO-PFV-VIS.YESTP
 ‘I was really thirsty {I felt it}.’

(60) *ake jox pipis n-pli-pat-gwel*
 stomach DEF full 1/2.O-TELL-IPFV.SG-VIS.YESTP
 (My) stomach was full {I felt it}.

(61) *tit xan tit xəles xəles li-pat-gop*
 another thing INDF noise noise SAY-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG
 ‘Something was making noise {I heard it}.’

- Less commonly, personal-factual may be used to refer to an event with a third-person subject which is a fact, known to everybody and which is above question; usually in the far past

(62) *lex ox ti=bəs x-ti-p*
 long.ago 3sm INDF=NEG DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG
 ‘(ipe rope in this area) ran out long ago {it’s a fact}.’

(63) *aw-xenil ixile dik j=olxol*
 grandparent.1POSS-PL 3p.POSS time DEM.DST=3sm.REFL

nuxul kukumi jox moxe-sxe
 1pEX bride.price DEF buy-HAB.PER.FP.PL
 ‘In the elders time, we used to pay bride price {it’s a fact}.’

- Negative clauses take the same evidential past tense as would be expected for the positive equivalent

(64) *lexox aw-xenil ixile taim dik*
 long.ago grandparent.1POSS-PL 3p.POSS time(Eng) time

jox mə=ma ten toea jox=si
 DEF ANPH=REL ten(Eng) monetary.unit DEF=WITH

na=moxe-sxe
 NEG=buy-HAB.PER.FP.PL
 ‘Long ago, in the elders’ time, they didn’t use to pay with money (lit. 10 toea) (for the brideprice) {it is a fact}.’

5.1.4 Narrative Example

- The following examples are consecutive lines from a first person narrative and illustrate the typical evidential alternation accompanying first versus third person subject alternation
- Note in fourth line no first person pronoun is present, but evidential marking and context indicate who is the subject

(65) *nox=xe kip jox əpli-pat-n nox xtol*
 1s=FOC road DEF come-IPFV.SG-NOMLS 1s see(.PRS.SG)

jox xan tit əpli-pat-nuŋ
 TOP man INDF come-IPFV.SG-VIS.TODP.SG
 ‘When I came to the road, I saw that a man was coming along {I saw it}.’

(66) *xtol jox pasta wil jox x-nuŋ*
 see(.PRS.SG) TOP pastor(Eng) PN DEF be-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
 ‘(I) saw that it was Pastor Will {I saw it}.’

(67) *jəxe nox wili=ja wili wili p-t*
 then 1s PN=O PN PN tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
 ‘So, I told Willy: “Willy! Willy!” {I did it}.’

(68) *wili=o taim jox kja xan taim=o*
 PN=QUOT time(Eng) DEF what thing time(Eng)=QUOT

p-t
 tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
 ‘“Willy, what is the time?”, (I) told him {I did it}.’

(69) *jəxe ox gi=n-pli-noy=o*
 then 3sm THUS=1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG=QUOT
 ‘He told me thus {I saw/heard it}.’

(70) *taim jox wan past et=o*
 time(Eng) DEF one(Eng) past(Eng) eight(Eng)=QUOT

n-pli-nuŋ
 1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
 ‘“The time is one past eight.”, (he) told me {I saw/heard it}.’

5.1.5 Narrative Example

- The following non-consecutive examples, all from the same text, illustrate the use of the visual-sensory with first- and second-person statements
- In the story, the king repeatedly tells Jeremiah to go home, but he doesn’t go home; the last example below is the final time the king tells him to go home
- The first two examples illustrate the typical and expected use of visual-sensory past tenses in second-person statements
- The last example illustrates the use of the visual-sensory with first person and persona-factual with second person in a pragmatically marked sentence, expressing the king’s exasperation that Jeremiah has not gone home despite being repeatedly told to do so

(71) *a go apuŋ=xe ix=xi-t olxol*
 HES 2s yesterday=FOC like.that=DO-SIM 3sm.REFL

əpi-n-gwel=w=a gin=xe ix=xi-t
 come-PFV-VIS.YESTP=RESP=EMPH now=FOC like.that=DO-SIM

olxol əpil=xə=w=a
 3sm.REFL come(.PRS.SG)=VIS=RESP=EMPH

“‘Yesterday you_j came like this {I_i saw it} and today you_j are coming like this too {I_i saw it}.”

[...]

(72) *a go apuŋ=xe i=xi-m əpli-n-gwel*
 HES 2s yesterday=FOC like.that=DO-SEQ come-PFV-VIS.YESTP

a gin=xe it i=xi-m əpil=xə
 HES now=FOC again like.that=DO-SEQ come(.PRS.SG)=VIS

m-p-n-gop=li
 PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP

“‘Yesterday you_j came like this {I_i saw it} and today too you_j are again coming like this {I_i saw it}.” He_i told him_j {it is said he_j saw}.”

[...]

(73) *bəp apuŋ mə=te n-p-n-gwel*
 so yesterday DEM.PRX=place 1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.YESTP

max=a go nə=so-l jox=o
 RECG=HES 2s NEG=go-IPFV.PER.TODP TOP=QUOT

m-p-n-gop=li
 PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP

“‘So, yesterday I_i told you_j here {you_j saw it}, but you_j haven't gone {you_j did it}.” He_i told him_j {it is said that he_j saw}.”

5.2 Interrogatives

- There is no special syntactic construction for questions: it is the same construction as for declaratives, but with a content question word or the polar-question clitic
- The only changes in TAM are changes in the expected evidential value
- As discussed in section 4.2.1, polar questions generally always take personal-factual and will only be discussed here for first person

5.2.1 First-Person Questions

- I could not find any examples of content interrogatives with first person in the past tense in my corpus

- The following elicited example of a first person question takes the visual-sensory form of *x-* ‘be’ plus a complement clause, indicating auditory evidence, plus the polar question marker (a combination otherwise not allowed in the grammar; see section 4.2.1)

(74) *ku dus nox gup x-l* *x-n-gop=d=a*
 night middle 1s snore DO-IPFV.PER.TODP be-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=PQ=EMPH
 ‘(When I stayed at your house last year,) did I snore during the night {you heard it}?’
 (Elicited)

5.2.2 Second-Person Content Questions

- In content interrogatives with second person, the personal-factual is used

(75) *noxə naŋ jox go kjan xan=o li-m*
 1s.POSS rope DEF 2s what thing= QUOT say-SEQ

n-m-a-dl s-ol=o li-nuŋ
 1/2.O-PRX.O-BEN-take(.SEQ) go-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT say-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
 ‘‘‘Why did you take my rope away {you did it}?’’, she said {I saw it}.’

(76) *go de=nuŋ xu-l=o m-p-li-n-gopa=li*
 2s WHICH=TO go.PFV-PER.YESTP =QUOT PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
 ‘‘‘Where did you go {you did it}?’’ they said to her {it is said she saw it}.’

(77) *eme go kin xe-l=a m-p-n-gop=li*
 gosh! 2s how go-IPFV.PER.TODP =EMPH PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
 ‘‘‘Gosh! How did you come {you did it}?’’, he told him {it is said he saw it}.’

5.2.3 Third-Person Content Questions

- In third person content questions, the evidential past tense used depends on what the anticipated answer will be

(78) *hai skul ixle mox*
 high(Eng) school(Eng) 3p.POSS ANPH

fopa mox de=ixil apli-n-gwel=o
 helicopter(Eng) ANPH WHICH=3p come-PFV-VIS.YESTP=QUOT
 ‘‘‘Who came in the chopper for the high school {you saw it}?’’’

(79) *de=ma nel=nəp jox d-sxe*
 WHICH=REL bird=VERY DEF eat-HAB.PER.FP.PL
 ‘Which birds did they (your ancestors) used to eat {it is a fact}?’

5.3 Reported Marker

- The evidential past tenses frequently occur with the reported marker
- It is used on every sentence in myths

- In a third person narrative the actions which the main character performs generally use personal-factual past tenses plus the reported marker; the actions which other characters perform use the visual past tenses plus the reported marker
- When a main character dies or otherwise ‘exits stage left’, then another character in the story takes up the role of perceiver

5.3.1 Reported Narrative Example

- The following examples are consecutive lines from a text
- Many of the examples contain no overt subject NP

(80) *jaxe ux gi=p-ti-p=li=o*
 then 3sf thus=tell-PFV-**PER**.FP.SG=**REP**=QUOT
 ‘So she told them as follows:’

[As for my brother, such and such happened and he became an echidna.]

(81) *a gin mə=te pat=mul a*
 HES now DEM.PRX=place stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=CERT HES

p-ti-p=li a kol ux
 tell-PFV-**PER**.FP.SG=**REP** HES sister 3sf
 ‘‘And now he’s staying here.’’, she told (them), the sister (did).’

(82) *kol ux gi=po-t-pol=xənox mə=ma blel gwe ot*
 sister 3sf THUS=tell-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD DEM.PRX=REL child small two

mox gi=m-p-n-gopa=li=a
 ANPH THUS=PRX.O-tell-PFV-**VIS**.FP.PL=**REP**=EMPH
 ‘When the sister told them thus, the two small children told her thus:’

(83) *go tap=xə pat=d=a*
 2s pig=FOC stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=PQ=EMPH

m-p-n-gopa=li
 PRX.O-tell-PFV-**VIS**.FP.PL=**REP**
 ‘‘Do you own a pig?’’, they said to her.’

(84) *jaxe mal p-ti-p=li*
 then yes tell-PFV-**PER**.FP.SG=**REP**
 ‘Then, she told (them) “yes”.’

(85) *jaxe tap jox su-ti-pa=li*
 then pig DEF kill-PFV-**PER**.FP.PL=**REP**
 ‘Then they all killed the pig together.’

6 Summary

- The use of the personal-factual in Oksapmin shows a number of similarities with the conjunct term in Newari; the visual-sensory, with the disjunct

	Oksapmin	Newari
First-person statements	personal-factual	conjunct
Second-person statements	visual-sensory	disjunct
Second-person questions	personal-factual	conjunct
Third-person statements	visual-sensory (witnessed events) / personal-factual (facts)	disjunct
Third-person questions	visual-sensory (witnessed events) / personal-factual (facts)	disjunct
Impersonal verbs	-	disjunct
Involuntarily or accidentally performed first-person statements	-	disjunct
Unconsciously performed first-person statements	neither (visual-sensory plus reported, inferred)	-
First-person statements performed in dreams	visual-sensory	-
Experiencer object verbs	visual-sensory	-
Logophoricity	personal-factual (with reported marker)	conjunct (in indirect speech)
True first-person questions	(visual-sensory)	(disjunct)
Rhetorical first-person questions	-	(conjunct)
Rhetorical second-person questions	-	(disjunct)
Pragmatically marked first-person statements	visual-sensory	-
Pragmatically marked second-person statements	(personal-factual)	-

Figure 8 Comparison of Oksapmin and Newari systems

- From the above similarities, there is a case for regarding these systems as very closely related, if not one in the same
- In Newari, a key criterion for selection of the conjunct term is being an intentional actor or ‘true instigator’; in Oksapmin, conscious performance of the action
- Given other researchers’ descriptions of conjunct and disjunct terms as either evidential or as being closely related to the evidential systems in the language in which they occur, it would seem likely that, upon further research, conjunct and disjunct terms could be integrated into future typologies of evidentiality, potentially as personal and visual evidentials
- More research is needed into factual semantics in evidential systems and whether this would constitute a further potential additional ‘recurrent semantic parameter’

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