Urim grammar

by

Ritva Hemmilä and Pirkko Luoma

Table of Contents

Abbreviations

ADJ	adjective-forming suffix
ADV	adverb-forming suffix
AP	adjectival phrase
ATR	attributive modifier
BEN	benefactive
C	conjunction
CMP	completive aspect
CNT	continuative aspect
D	definite
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
EMP	emphatic
FUT	future
G	genitive
HES	hesitation word
HYP	hypothetical
ID	indefinite
IMP	imperative
IN	instrument
INT	intention
IO	indirect object
IR	irrealis
L	locative object
LOC	locative/directional clitic
M/ MAN	manner preposition
NEG	negative
NP	noun phrase
N.Past	near past
O	Object
OBL	Oblique marker
P	predicate
PERF	perfective aspect
POS	possessive
Prep	preposition
PUR	purpose
Quant	quantifier
REL	relative pronoun
REC	reciprocative
RED	reduplication
S	subject

T	topic
TR	transitivizer
V	verb
Vitr	intransitive verb
Vtr	transitive verb
Ve	existential verb
Vm	motion verb

Pronouns:

du	dual
pauc	paucal
pl	plural
sg	singular
Inc	inclusive
Exc	exclusive

1. Introduction

Urim is a non-Austronesian language spoken in Papua New Guinea. Laycock (1973) classifies it as a stock-level isolate of the Torricelli Phylum. It is spoken by about 3400 people, who live in 16 villages in the southern foothills of the Torricelli Mountains. Twelve of the villages are located south of the Sepic Highway, and one is north of the highway, in the Maprik Sub-District of East Sepik Province. The remaining three of the villages are located west of the Bongos River in the Nuku Sub-District of the West Sepik Province. The villages west of the Bongos River speak the Kukwo dialect, and the villages east of the Bongos River speak the main Urim dialect (also called Yangkolen by the Kukwo people). The Urim language has also been called Kalp, which comes from the word *kalpm* 'no' in the Kukwo dialect.

 Earlier linguistic work on Urim was done by Glasgow and Loving (1964) and D.C. Laycock (1966 and 1973). The authors entered the area in 1979 under the auspices ot the Summer Institute of Linguistics The data for this paper were collected mainly between 1980 – 1995 in the village of Laningwap. The data includes a corpus of about 40 spoken and written texts along with some elicited material. The team participated in a grammar analysis seminar at the S.I.L. center in Ukarumpa in 1981. Their consultants were Robert Bugenhagen and Robert Conrad. Pirkko Luoma participated in a second grammar analysis seminar in 1993 and was greatly helped by her consultant Robert Bugenhagen. Paul Heinemann also provided many valuable suggestions and helped with the formatting of the paper.
This grammar consists of three parts that have been written independently from each other. The first part, chapters 1 to 3, was written by Pirkko Luoma with some additions by Ritva Hemmilä. Chapter 4 is an unpublished article written by Ritva Hemmilä in 1984. Chapters 5 and 6 were written by Ritva Hemmilä with some corrections and additions by Pirkko Luoma.

1.1. Brief Summary of Urim Phonology

1.1.1. Phonemic and Orthographic Inventory

ɑ	ɑː	e	eː	i	iː	k	l m	ᵖm	ñ	ᵗn	ŋ	ᵏŋ	o	oː	p	r	s	t	u	uː	w	j	h
a	a	e	e	i	i	k	l m	pm	n	tn	ng	kg	o	o	p	r	s	t	u	u	w	y	
A	A	E	E	I	I	K	L M		N		Ng		O	O	P	R	S	T	U	U	W	Y	

1.1.2. Consonants

	Bilab	LabDen	Dental	Alveo	Postalv	Retro	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn	Glottal
Plosive	p			t				k			
Nasal	m			n				ŋ			
Trill				r							
Tap/Flap											
Fricative				s							h
Lateral Fricative											
Approx							j				
Lateral Approx				l							
Ejective Stop											
Implos											

/w/   voiced labial-velar approximant

/ᵖm/   prestopped bilabial nasal

/ᵗn/   prestopped alveolar nasal

/^{k}ŋ/   prestopped velar nasal

p	por	'story'		**r**	rep	'wild pandanus'
	yapo	'to tie'			tarel	'frog sp.'
	wap	'tree sp.'			yar	'sorcerer'
	pringil	'part of a hook'			krong	'mountain'
	plulplel	'to turn around'			arm	'to sow'
	melp	'wasp'			armpen	'to buy'
	yaprekg	'smell'			amprepm	'dry coconut leaf'
	talpuk	'branch'			arkul	'to catch'
					makrep	'tree sp.'
^{p}m	-					
	paipmel	'badly'		**s**	sulm	'orange sp.'
	kipm	'you (plural)'			asen	'to ask'
	kipmteng	'you (paucal)'			wes	'stone'
	arpmen	'to watch'			pispus	'to pop'
	walpm	'liver'			kansim	'to sweep'
m	ma	'milk, breast'		**l**	lan	'to boil (water)'
	amo	'to die'			male	'cave'
	lim	'nose'			wel	'bird'
	ampen	'breadfruit'			plan	'to show'
	kirmai	'plant sp.'			palk	'skin'
	almpen	'to mash'			plalplal	'hang swinging'
	yelm	'earthquake'			almpil	'to turn around'
					anelkgen	'untie'
w	wan	'house'			angkleikg	'count'
	yawor	'pork'				
	-			**k**	ka	'grasshopper'
	kwap	'work'			raku	'to give birth'
	akwe	'to call'			wak	'plant sp.'
	kalkwon	'to knock'			klak	'to wash'
					werk	'feather'
t	tam	'beetle sp.'			akle	'to scold'
	ata	'only'			karkuk	'to have a bath'
	yat	'also, enough'			angkli	'to throw'
	trum	'silk cotton'			tirktorket	'weak'
	kotwang	'big axe'				
	manto	'pig'		**^{k}ŋ**	-	
	yatman	'pairless'			wakget	'hot'
					wakg	'fire'
^{t}n	-				walkget	'hairy'
	atnen	'because'			takgni	'sun'
	hatn	'walk, roam'				
	kruitnkruitn	'to crowl'		**ŋ**	-	
					angen	'to win'
n	nim	'slit drum'			wang	'time'
	wanukg	'greens'			plalng	'finished'
	yan	'father'			elngen	'to stop'
	wanteng	'rattan'			angken	'to pick'
	tulntul	'run'			ungkwan	'to chase away'
	kuin	'middle'			plalngten	'all'
				h	or	'to come out or in'
						(comp. *or* 'hit')
					-	
					-	

j	yul	'fish'
	wayu	'taro'
	-	

wanyun	'door'
wrikya	'things, belongings'

1.1.3. Vowels

i		u
e		o
	ɑ	

/ii/   /ee/   /ɑɑ/   /oo/   /uu/   /ei/   /ɑi/   /oi/   /ui/

Vowel length seems to be phonemic in one-syllable words. Minimal pairs have been found between /ɑ/ – /ɑ:/ and /e/ -/e:/ and /i/-/i:/. Examples: /wɑŋ/ 'time', /wɑːŋ/ 'tree trunk, middle part of', /nɑŋ/ 'name', /nɑːŋ/ 'ridge', /hen/ 'wild sago', /heːn/ 'outside', /pirŋ/ 'noon', /piːrŋ/ 'to run'.

i	ilm	'to shoot (irrealis)'
	ngko	'fall (irrealis)'
	kil	'he/she'
	wapin	'lizard (generic)'
	weti	'now'
	io	'to droop from side to side'
	wail	'big'

e	elng	'to put'
	mel	'person'
	akle	'to scold'
	preul	'yam type'
	meen	'slowly' [meheːn]

u	ur	'indef. pronoun; one'
	wris	'one'
	mpu	'half, piece' [umpu]
	hul	'snake (generic)'
	tu	'they'
	atnuurng	'to leave' [ətnuhurŋ]
	maur	'spirit'

o	ok	'mouth'
	ros	'tight, crowded'
	ko	'axe'
	io	'to droop from side to side'
	moo	'pig trail' [moho]

ɑ	atne	'stay (habitually, long time); perform magic'
	itna	'stand, stay'
	pal	'woven sago mat'
	okipma	'food'
	mai	'to gather into arms' [mɑhi]
	naurk	'mango'

ii	inowis	**'funny'** [hɪnowis]
	kin	**'woman'**
	witnin	**'louse'**

ee	-	
	hen	'outside'
	-	

ɑɑ	al	'eat'
	wang	'tree trunk, middle part of'
	-	

ei	ei	'yes'
	keipmung	'tree sp.'
	arein	'grieve, be sorry'
	ampei	'vine (generic)'

ɑi	aimol	'banana sp.'
	kaimung	'cococnut shell'
	kainil	'moon'
	mainmainen	'push to do something'
	waiwai	'be hot, have fever'
	kai	'to go'

ui	muikgmayen	'sister'
	muinwror	'brother'
	komuin	'axe'
	melp kruruitn	'wasp grubs'

oi	kroitnimpon	'grass sp.'
	kwei poin	'yam type'
	marmungkoin	'starfruit'

1.1.4. Syllable Patterns

V	**a** 'gen.mk'	**a**.kor 'to look for'	ilpm.**a**.ak 'lazy'	**i**.o 'to droop, slumber'
	ai 'loc.mk'	**ai**.mol 'banana sp.'		wan.**ai** 'to the house'
VC	**ok** 'mouth'	**al**.meng 'broom'	al.**al**.el 'tossed it'	ma.**ur** 'spirit'
	aip 'lid'	**aim**.po 'coconut shredder'		aur.**aur** 'al kinds of'
VCC	**elng** 'put'	**arm**.pen 'to buy'	ak.**alm**.pe 'to pay back'	u.pa.**arng** 'to cover'
CV	**yo** 'tree'	**na**.mung 'banana'	ku.**ku**.la 'light'	a.**wi** 'to take, get'
	kai 'to go'	**kai**.nil 'moon'		am.**pei** 'vine, rope'
CVC	**lim** 'nose'	**kam**.pel 'cut branch'	a.**kupm**.en 'mine'	ta.**por** 'to break'
	kuin 'middle'	**waim**.plu 'vine sp.'	keim.**keim**.pet 'plant sp.'	a.**rein** 'to be sorry'
CVCC	**kirk** 'grave'	**walm**.popm 'blood'	kirng.**kirng**.ket 'close to'	ng.**kark** 'to be afraid'
CCV	**kla** 'mark'	**kro**.wis 'sour'	n.**tra**.wel 'strike him'	ang.**kli** 'to throw away'
	kwei 'yam'	**klei**.nuk 'meteor'	ang.**klei**.wel 'swallow it'	kwei.**kwei** 'things, pl.mk'
CCVC	**klak** 'to wash'	**klom**.pis 'numb'	ung.**kwan**.tel 'chase him'	ang.**klin** 'to help'
	kraik 'plant sp.'	**klaing**.kil 'shred, piece'	ang.**kweing**.en 'insisting'	am.**preing** 'distribute'
CCVCC	**plelng** 'to turn'	**plalng**.ten 'all'	krirng.**krurng**.ket 'clattering'	kwelng.**kwelng** 'to whine'

1.1.5.   Stress in Urim

Stressed vowels are usually longer, louder and less ballistic than the unstressed vowels. (Stress has to have at least two of these features.) Stress is assigned to the word on the basis on the relative height of the vowels involved. The stress is assigned to the vowel in the word that is the most open, or to the second/last vowel if they are equally open.

The phonetic components of word stress are length (of vowel or whole syllable) and intensity. Pitch is not a component of stress but functions independently at the clause level.   This makes it somewhat difficult to analyse the stress of words in isolation in Urim. Usually stress falls on the first or second syllable of the word.   The suffixes (–e, -en, etc.) never get stress.

/'ɑtopen/	\<atopen\>	'to rejoice'
/ə'ᵏŋɑːmu/	\<ikgamu\>	'greens sp.'
/'tɑlpuk/	\<talpuk\>	'tree branch'
/u'riːᵖm/	\<wripm\>	'wind'
/'tɑpon/	\<tapon\>	'wring'
/ti'pon/	\<tipon\<	'wring (irrealis)'[1]

Certain morphological and phonologial features seem to co-occur with word stress in Urim. Morphemic length of vowels and glides usually occur only in stressed syllables, and the vowels of stressed syllables often are phonetically long.

In unstressed syllables preceding the stressed syllables, all vowels nearly always get reduced. Reduced means that the full vowel /e, ɑ, o, u/ becomes centralized, short, sometimes phonetically non-existent or sometimes it takes on the qualities of the stressed vowel following. This reduction rule only operates inside the morpheme not over morpheme boundaries (except in a few strongly

---

[1] A phonetic analysis of *tapon* and *tipon* was made at Turku Univerity Phonetic Department 1984.   It was found that in irrealis form the vowel shortens so much that the vowel disappears altogether phonetically. The pitch and intensity contours instead are similar in both words.

lexicalized cases like *pipa* /pɑ-pɑ/ [pə'pa:] 'if'. Compare the following examples: *rmpa* /ɑrmpɑ/ [ərmpɑ] 'lie', *armpen* /ɑrm-en/ [ɑrmpen] 'buy'.

Pitch and length are the main phonetic components clause and sentence intonation. Higher pitch and lengthening of vowel mark interrogative clauses. Same features also occur at the end of tail-head lingkages: .... *kil rpma* [ərpma:]. *Kil rpma* [ərp<u>ma</u>::]...... '...... he stayed. He stayed and ....'. Normally clause rhytm places the main stress to stressed syllables of words, but interrogatives and tail-head lingkages are exceptions.

1.1.6.   About Orthography

The phoneme /h/ is marginal. There are few one syllable minimal pairs that could be confusing but usually the context helps to determine the right meaning. Therefore /h/ is not written in the practical orthography.

<or> [o:r] 'beat'		<or> [ho(:)r] 'go,come in/out'
<am> [ɑm] ,now'		<am> [hɑm] 'hide'
<a> [ɑ] 'and, REL'		<a> [hɑ:] 'wander'

The reduced vowel [ə] is handled in the orthography in two different ways: it is not symbolized at all, or it is symbolized either with <i> or <u>.

Another area is the writing of [w(u) - u] word initially in an unstressed syllable. In the present orthography word initial /u/ is usually written by < w >, especially if the next syllable starts with /r/ or /l/: *wris* /u'ris/ [uris ~wris ~wuris] 'one', *wlikg* [u'li:kŋ ~ wu'li:kŋ] 'spittle'. In some cases, like *wris* /uris/ above, the sound is also phonemically /u/, since the word derives from *ur* [u:r] 'one'. Closed syllables starting with [wu] are usually written by < wu > to avoid complex consonant sequences: *wulkga* 'unripe', *wurpmungen* 'bushy'. Word initial /wu/ is written with <wu> is the following syllable has /u/, and <wi> if the following syllable has any other vowel.

The orthography used in this paper differs a little from Urim practical orthography in that the marginal phoneme /h/ and palatalization after vowel /i/ are overtly indicated (*hokg* 'to sleep', *angkliin* 'to help'). In the present orthography they are not indicated.

1.2. Urim Morphophonemic Rules

1.2.1.   Insertion Rules:

Rule 1.   Morpheme final /m/, /n/, or /n/ have homorganic voiceless stops [p], [t], or [k] inserted after them, if the following morpheme begins with a vowel, /h/, /w/, /y/, or /r/.

```
                                              V

   m     ------------>     mp                 w

   n     ------------>     nt      /  ---------- +    h

   ŋ     ------------->    ŋk                 y

                                              r
```

These rules apply both at morpheme boundaries and across word boundaries, but there are several restrictions and exceptions:

--The rule always applies between the verb (suffixed or not) and object pronominal clitics. In this environment even the phonemes /ᵖm/, /ᵗnʔ/ and /ᵏŋʔ/ and the palatalized [ñ] can get homorganic clusives after them, but not always.   Palatalized [ñ] changes [t] into [ts] as the rule 7 states.

*nam-**p**opm*	'bit me'
*antin-**t**opm*	'measured me'
*talpulng-**k**el*	'drive him away'

*ingkliin-**t**opm* [iŋkliñtʃopm]   'help me!
help:IR-1sgO

*elng-**k**irmpa (or elng-**t**irmpa)*
put-sit   'put somewhere'

- The rule almost always applies before nominal suffixes **-is** 'attributive modifier' and **–et** 'attributive modifier', and verbal suffix **–en '**applicative'. (Here it is not applied after palatalized [n].)

*pung-**k**is*	/puŋ-is/	'yellow'
*ikg-wam-**p**et*	/iᵏŋ-wɑm-pet/ look-hand-ADJ	'stealing'
*wunong-**k**et*	/wunoŋ-et/	'easy'
*yo tilpming-**k**et*	/jo tilpmiŋ-et/	'tree sp.'
*karpon-**t**et*	/kɑrpon-et/ stick-ADJ	'sticky'
*alm-**p**en*	/ɑlm-en/ hit-TR	'stir'
ain-et	/ɑin-et/ whiskers-ADJ	'hairy'

- The rule does not apply, if the syllable before the suffix is unstressed:

ampen-et	/'ɑmpen-et/	'slowly'
kapring-en	/'kɑpriŋ-en/	'round up game'

-- The rule does not apply when the noun suffix **-en** or other enclitics (locative **ai** and imperative **o**) are attached to the word.

wunog-en	'openly'
tilpming-en	'wild, untamed'
yo tukgun-en tree ripe-ATR	'fruit-bearing tree'
hu kitnong-en	'rain water'

	water	sky-ATR	
wang-en			'middle one'
alung	*om*		'pour now!'
pour	IMP.now		
anong	*ai*		'to the village'
village	remote		
a-men-en			'ours'
G-1pl-ATR			

- The rule almost always applies in reduplicated words, compounds and noun complexes. The more lexicalized and common the construction is, the more regularly the rule applies. In more loose idioms and phrases the rule applies optionally depending on the speed of pronunciation.

*nung**k**-wor*	/nuŋ-wor/	'dry'
*num**p**-ya*	/num-jɑ/	'vagina'
	body-road	
*wam**p**-arpm-e*	/wam-ɑrpm-e/	'to hold (with hands)'
*wam**p**-wam*	/wɑm-wɑm/	'ten'
*Yan**t**-am*	/jɑn-hɑm/	'a name'
	father-hide	
*won**t**-rakol-e*	/won-rɑkol-e/	'to remember'
	inside-break-TR	
alm alm	[ɑlmp-ɑlm]	'shot and shot'
lelng-lelng	[lelŋklelŋ]	'wriggle'
wrong wail	[wroŋkwɑil]	'crowd, people'
crowd big		
num alkil	[numɑlkil, numpɑlkil]	'his skin' (rapid speech)
alung hu	[ɑluŋku:]	'pours water' (rapid speech)
tom rokopm	[tomprokoᵖm]	'my backside hurts' (rapid speech)

Rule 2. At morpheme boundaries a homorganic nasal is inserted before voiceless stops, if the preceding morpheme ends with a vowel or /l/.

p	---------->	mp		V		
t	---------->	nt	/		+	------------
k	---------->	nk		l		

This rule applies over morpheme boundaries in compound words and over word boundaries in idiomatic expressions and reduplicated phrases. In orthography inserted nasal is usually written inside a phonological word.

ipmampeipm/	[əp'mɑmpeipm]	'navel cord'

aln-tu	[ˈɑlntu]	'their' (emphatic)
kaing-kai	[ˈkɑiŋkɑi]	'keep going'
kaing-kul	[ˈkɑiŋkul]	'crossways'
itna kai Awon	[ᵊˈtnɑŋkɑi]	'is in Awon'
stand go Awon		

Restrictions: The rule does not apply after an unstressed syllable:

'ela kai mpang	'is situated in the woods'

Possibly there are also other restrictions, since examples of this rule are comparatively few.

Rule 3.   A semivowel /w/ is usually inserted between vowels at morpheme breaks, if the second morpheme is a one-syllabic suffix or a bound personal pronoun. The semivowel /j/ is used instead of /w/ if the phonetic features of the preceding word make pronunciation of /w/ more difficult (for example, if the preceding syllable has /w/ already).

Orthographic form	**Phonemic form**	**Gloss**
ari-we	/ɑri-e/	'know'
ela-we	/elɑ-e/	'be full'
aye-wo	/ɑje-o/	'brought us'
titno-wen	/titno-en/	'crazy'
hiino-wis	/hiino-is/	'funny'
hu-wet	/hu-et/	'wet'
ak awi-ye	/ɑːk ɑwi-e/	'to each'
awi-yel	/ɑwi-el/	'take it!'

When the second morpheme is a clitic, or if the rule is applied between word boundaries in rapid speech, the inserted consonant tends to be /j/ after /i/, and /h/ if the preceding syllable has /w/ already.

Native speakers tend to write only those inserted semivowels that occur inside the phonological word. The inserted semivowels between a bound personal pronoun and word are written but the inserted sounds occurring between a clitic and word are not written:

Orthographic form	**Phonemic form**	**Phonetic form**	**Gloss**
rpmi o!	/irpmi o/	[ərˈpmijo]	'sit!'
kai-no ai	/kɑino ɑi/	[ˈkɑñowɑi]	'up there'
kai ai	/kɑi ɑi/	[ˈkɑjɑi]	'over there'
ari-we o	/ɑri-e o/	[ɑriˈweho]	'look out!'
angklei o	/ɑŋklei o/	[ɑŋˈkleihoː ʔ ɑŋkleijoː]	
			'swallow!'
hi ai	/hi ɑi/	[ˈhijɑi/ˈhihɑi]	'never mind'

When the rule is applied optionally between words in rapid speech the inserted consonant is more often [h] than [w] or [j]. The Laningwap dialect tends to have more inserted [h] sounds, Yakrumpok uses more the semivowel [w]. Laningwap people say that old people use more [h].

Orthographic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
kai are yo	[kɑihɑre joː]	'went and cut trees'
ak ilkim	[ɑkhəlkim]	'dug a hole'
rpma anong	[ərpmɑːhɑnoŋ]	'stays in the village'

Rule 4.   A transitional vowel is usually inserted between consonants at morpheme boundaries, if these consonants do not combine with each other within a word. The vowel is typically an unstressed central vowel [ə] alternating with [ɨ] and [e].

Ø ---------> V / C + ------------- + C

Orthographic form	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
wangnim	/wɑŋ-nim/	[wɑŋᵻnim]	'vine sp.'
kitn la	/kitn lɑ/	[kitñelɑː]	'you say'
Kin-ling	/kiin-liŋ/	[kiñeliŋ]	'a name'

 This rule applies always within a phonological word, and optionally within phrases or clauses.

1.2.2.   Deletion Rules

Rule 5.   If two vowels occur at word or root boundaries the second one is usually deleted.

V -----------> Ø / V + ------------ + V

Orthographic form	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
yo ok	/jo ok/	[joːk]	'tree fruit'
ake-nti-we	/ɑke ɑnti-e/	[ɑːkentiwe]	'not enough, cannot'
pa angkat-en	/pɑ ɑŋkɑt-en/	[pɑŋkɑten]	'and carrying'
wulmpa arpm-e	/wulmpɑ ɑrpm-e/	[wulmpɑrpmeː]	'look out'

This rule does not apply when suffixes or clitics are attached to words. In those cases rule 3 is applied instead.

Exceptions:

When bound pronoun is added to the verb *la naki* 'tell', first vowel is deleted:

Orthographic form	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
/lɑ nɑki-etn/	[lɑːnɑkeᵗn]	*la nak-etn*	'told to you'

When the habitual-continuative suffix *-e* is added to the four existential verbs *rpma, itna, rka,* and *rmpa*, the <u>first</u> vowel is deleted instead of the second.

Orthographic form	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
/ɑrpmɑ-e/	[ɑrpmeː]	*arpm-e*	'sit habitually'
/ɑrkɑ-e/	[ɑrkːeː]	*ark-e*	'occupy; bear fruit'

Rule 6. Morpheme-initial consonants /w/ and /h/ tend to be deleted in compound words, reduplications and often also in phrases. When the deletion happens inside a phonological word, it is usually also written.

Orthographic form	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
/ɑk hu-el hu-el/	[ɑk huːweluwel]	*ak hu-wel hu-wel*	'walk in rain'
/hel-hel/	[helel]	*hel-el*	'desire, crave'
/mɑkres-hipm/	[mɑkresiᵖm]	*makres-ipm*	'fan (of makres-tree leaves'
/kul hor/	[kulor]	*kul hor*	'come outside'
/titɑl hɑm/	[tɨtɑlɑm]	*tital ham*	'altogether lost'
/wɑm-wɑsen/	[wɑmɑsen]	*wam-asen*	'arm'

1.2.3. Assimilation Rules

Rule 7. Palatalization rules:

a) The consonants /n/ and /ᵗn/ are palatalized following the vowel /i/ and diphthongs /ai/, /ei/, /oi/, /ui/. In the process the second vowel of the diphthong /i/ is lost.

b) If a morpheme starting with /t/ or /k/ follows a nasal, it loses its palatalization and the clusive changes into an affricate or /ʃ/.

This rule always applies over morpheme boundaries inside a stem, nearly always inside a compound or phrase, and elsewhere only in rapid speech.

Orthographic form	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
ampriin	/ɑmpri-n/	[ɑmbriːñ]	'hinder'
kai-no	/kɑi-no/	[kɑñoː]	'go up'
kitn ti	/kitn ti/	[kitntʃi]	'you here'
pain tingkil	/pɑin tiŋkil/	[pɑːntʃeŋkil]	'toilet pit'
kin-kipman	/kin-kipmɑn/	[kiːntʃɨpmɑn]	'people, a couple'
akwin-sopm	/ɑkwin-opm/	[ɑːkwinʃopm]	'teased me'

Rule 8. Glide strengthening. When the consonant cluster /nj/ occurs over morpheme boundaries inside a word, the phoneme /j/ changes into /s/, /ts/, or /z/. The rule does not apply over word boundaries.

Orthographic form	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
man-yan	/mɑn-jɑn/	[mɑːnzɑːn]	'parents'
but:			
wan-yun	/wɑn-jun/	[wɑnjun]	'door'
wan wail yun		[wɑn wɑil yuːn]	'door of a big house'

1.2.4. Dissimilation Rules:

Rule 9.   The suffix **-n** becomes /-ŋ/ following /r/ or /l/, because clusters /rn/ or /ln/ are not allowed word finally.

   n ----------> ŋ   /   r, l +   ------------

Orthographic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
kapor-ng	/kɑpor-n/	'break'
pir-ng	/pir-n/	'run to'
plel-ng	/plel-n/	'turn around'
akul-ng	/ɑkul-n/	'to pick'

Rule 10.   In successive syllables inside a morpheme, vowels are normally ordered from open to closed. Any sequence of vowels which contravenes this or in which the vowels are phonemically identical, will result in the first vowel being reduced to a central vowel [∂]. Exception: The vowels /u/ and /o/ do not change except sometimes when there is a phonemically identical vowel in the other syllable. Stress is never on the syllable with a reduced vowel.   This 'vowel disharmony' rule always applies inside the morpheme. Sometimes it also applies over morpheme boundaries in compounds and in those reduplications that are clearly phonological words.

Orthographic form	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
pipa	/pɑ pɑ/	[pəpɑː]	'if'
men-tekg	/men-wekŋ/	[məndeːᵏŋ]	'we two'
rpma	/ɑrpmɑ/	[ərpmɑː]	'sit'
le-las	/lɑslɑs/	[lɨlɑs]	'crawl'
mil-mal	/mɑlmɑl/	[məlmɑl]	'thunder'
but:			
erk-erk	/erk-erk/	[erkerk]	'stoop'
hir-ir	/hir-hir/	[hirir]	'close'
kork-wang	/kork-wɑŋ/	[korkwɑŋ]	'rickety'
kukwa	/kukwɑ/	[kᵘkwɑː]	'open'

Reduced vowels in unstressed syllables tend to assimilate to the preceding full vowel or consonant /w/ and /j/ at the beginning of that syllable.

ok-ipma	/'ok-ɑpmɑ/	['okopmɑ]	'food'
wli	/*w*i'li/	[wᵘ'li]	'will arrive' (irrealis form
of *wuli*)			

1.2.5. Re-syllabifications

Often the application of morphophonemic rules or application of suffixes changes the syllabic structure of the word:

Orthographic form	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
kai am	/kɑi ɑm/	[kɑⁱ.jɑm]	'went now'
kai o	/kɑi o/	[kɑ.joː]	'go!'
kai ai	/kɑi ɑi/	[kɑⁱ.jɑⁱ]	'went over there'
won-iket-en	/won-iket-en/	[wo.ni.ke.ten]	'forget'
maur-et	/mɑur-et/	[mɑu.ret]	'spirit-dwelling'
(*ma'ur*	'spirit')		

1.2.6. The Ordering of Rules

Urim is not a very complicated language morphophonemically. In most cases one or two rules are enough to explain the changes. Often the ordering of rules is not essential, but in some cases it is crucial that the one rule be applied before the others:

/kɑi-nɑr/   ------>   */kañɑr/   (rule 7. palatalization)   -----> (rule 10)

*/kə'ñɑr/   ------>   /kiñɑr/   <*kinar*>   (rule 11. vowel harmony)

The vowel harmony rule applies only after palatalization rule.

The following words with alternative phonetic forms serve as good examples of alternative possible orders of rules:

Orthographic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
elng rmpa	[elndrəmpɑː] or	'put to lie'
	[elndərmpɑː] or	
	[elŋkərmpɑː]	
perngen	[pərŋken] or	'quickly'
	[pərnden]	
elng itna	[elntətnɑ] or	'put to stay'
	[elŋtətnɑ] or	
	[elŋkətnɑ]	

ordering 1

SD	/el-n-ɑrmpɑ/	/el-n-ɑtnɑ/	/pir-n-en/
rule 9 (n -->ŋ)	elŋ-ɑrmpɑ	elŋ-ɑtnɑ	pirŋ-en
rule 10 (schwa)	elŋ-ərmpɑ	elŋ-ətnɑ	pərŋ-en
rule 1. (C-insertion)	elŋ-**kə**rmpɑ	elŋ-**kə**tnɑ	pərŋ-**k**en

(the schwa-rule could be placed anywhere in the process without any change in the result)

ordering 2

SD	/el-n-ɑrmpɑ/	/el-n-ɑtnɑ/	/pir-n-en/
rule 10. (schwa)	eln-ərmpɑ	eln-ətnɑ	pərn-en
rule 1. (C-insertion)	eln**d**-ərmpɑ	elntətnɑ	pərn**d**en
rule 9.		el**ng**tətnɑ	
metathesis	elnd-**rə**mpɑ		

1.2.7.   About Application of Rules

Many rules, especially the schwa-rule (rule 10) but also most consonant insertion rules (rules 1, 2) and the palatalization rule (rule 7) are conditioned by stress so that they either occur only in unstressed syllables (schwa-rule) or in or after stressed syllables (consonant insertions).

Assimilation rules 7 and 8 and dissimilation rules 9 and 10 apply only inside a phonological word (except rule 7 b: t --> ts change after palatalization, which can occur over word boundaries). These rules serve to help in recognizing the phonological word.

Insertion and deletion rules 1-6 apply frequently over word boundaries in phrases and also elsewhere in rapid speech. The closer knit the structure is, the more regularly most of these rules apply.

Examples of the application of rule 1.:

obligatory	/num-et/	[numpet]	*numpet*	'sick'	(suffix)
	/wɑm-wuhor/	[wɑmbuhor]	*wampuhor*	'fingernail'	(noun compound)
	/wɑm-ɑrpme/	[wɑmpɑrpme:]	*wamparpme*	'hold by hand'	(verb compound)
	/ɑlm-ɑlm/	[ɑlmpɑlm]	*alm alm*	'kept shooting'	(reduplication)
	/yikɑk wom wekg/	[jikɑkwompwe^{k}ŋ]	*yikak wom wekg*	'twelve'	(phrase)

optional	/nɑm wɑrim/	[nɑmpwɑrim / nɑmwɑrim]	*nam warim*	'bit the child'	(clause)

2. Word Classes and Morphology

2.1. Introduction

The following word classes are distinguished in the syntactic description of Urim:

1. verbs
2. nouns
3. pro-forms
4. prepositions
5. adjectives
6. quantifiers
7. adverbs
8. demonstratives
9. conjunctions
10. interjections

The remainder of this chapter will examine each of the word classes in more detail, describing their syntactic characteristics and morphological structure.

It is typical of Urim words in all word classes, that the same phonological form may instance multiple classes; for example functioning as a noun and a verb, or as an adjective and an adverb. Some phonological forms exhibit even more than two word classes. In some cases one of the functions is clearly primary and the other function(s) secondary (for example many verbs can function as heads in noun phrases without any morphological marking to indicate a change in category). More often it is impossible to tell which word class is primary for a phonological form; it is bi- or multi-categorical.

Examples:

Kupm	*ariwe*	*hapm*		*angkut*
1sg	know.R	cloth		sew.R

'I know how to sew clothes' (the verb *ariwe* 'know')

Itni	*kolti*	*eng*	*kitn*	*uwi*	*ariwe*
stand.IR	only	OBL	2sg	get.IR	knowledge

'Be patient until you learn it' (nominal use of *ariwe*)

Kil	*melnum*	*paipm*
3sg	person	bad

'He is a bad man' (adjective *paipm* 'bad')

Kil	*nikg*	*or-en*	*paipm*
3sg	stomach	hit-3sgO	bad

'He is very hungry' (adverbial use of *paipm*)

Kuina	*pa?*
what	that

'what is that?' (demonstrative *pa* 'that')

Hu	*wei*	*pa,*	*mentepm*	*irki*	*wan*
water	rain.IR	if	1pl.Inc	stay.IR	house

'If it rains, we will stay at home'   (conjunction)

Mentekg	*atning*	*pa!*
1d	listen.R	EMP

'We <u>are</u> listening!'   (emphatic adverb)

2.2. Verbs and Their Morphology

Urim verbs are defined as forms having the following characteristics:

1. They may function as the main predicate in simple clauses

Kil	*alm*	*manto,*	*nalu*	*wayu*
3sg	shoot.R	pig	pick.R	taro

'He shot a pig and took some taro'

2. They exhibit ablaut alternations for irrealis versus realis modality. Approximately two thirds of the verbs exhibit this property. But all onomatopoetic and descriptive verbs and also many directional verbs fail to exhibit this property: no irrealis forms of these verbs have been observed.   One possible reason for this might be that these types of verbs in Urim tend to occur together with other verbs (in serial structures, etc.) rather than alone. To express modality several times in the same clause would be unnecessary.

Realis Form	Irrealis Form	Meaning
alm	*ilm*	'shoot'
kansim	*kinsim*	'sweep'
rpma	*rpmi*	'sit'
pelng	-	'fly'
no	-	'come up'
lam	-	'hide'
kwekwek	-	'squeal'
(polng)polng	-	'drop'
lilos	-	'melt'
pluiplai	-	'blink'

3. Most verbs in Urim cannot occur in noun phrases. There are exceptions; 1) bi-categorial words—the same lexical form can function either as verb or as noun. 2) Certain verbs have been grammaticalized into prepositions. 3) The distinction between adjectives and stative verbs is not clear in Urim. Many stative verbs may also function as adjectives in noun phrases, with no derivational morphology to indicate a change in syntactic category.

4. Due to the realis/irrealis distinction, verbs as group also have some phonetic characteristics. A large percentage of verbs begin with the vowel *a* (realis) or *i* (irrealis).   Most Urim words beginning

with the vowel /a/ are verbs. Verb roots usually consist of one or two syllables, with longer roots being comparatively rare.

Morphologically, Urim verbs are simple in structure, not exhibiting any inflection for person or number.[2] The most important morphological category marked on verbs is a modal one. There is a distinction of realis/irrealis mode that is indicated by the vowels *i* 'irrealis' and *a* 'realis'. The placement of these two vowels varies quite a bit depending on the canonical shape of the verb, but usually they occur on the first syllable of the verb stem.

Aspectually, there is a habitual aspect suffix *-e,* and the use of reduplication of the verb stem to express repeated or continued action. Most aspects in Urim are expressed by serial structures or aspectual adverbs.

Two or three types of transitivity altering suffixes are also observed: 1) the transitivising suffix *-en* , 2) the indirect object marker *–n*,which is possibly related to *-en*, and 3) the suffix *-e* which seems to have both aspectual and transitivity changing functions. Forms homophonic with the suffixes *-en* and *-e* are also used derivationally.

The overall order of constituents in the Urim verb is:

verb root   (Habitual-Continuative *-e*)   (Transitive *-en*)   (IO-marker *-n*) (Object Pronominal Clitic)

In Urim a verb stem can be simple, reduplicated, compound, or consist of a root morpheme plus a derivational affix (sometimes more than one) (see the section 2.12.3).

2.2.1.   Realis-Irrealis Mode

Ablaut involving the modal morphemes *i* 'irrealis' [3] and *a* 'realis' is exhibited by approximately two thirds of the verb stems. These vowels usually occur on the first syllable of the verb. In many Urim verbs the first syllable consists of this vowel only. Consider the following forms:

	Realis Form	**Irrealis Form**	**Meaning**	**Canonical Form Of Root**
1.	*al*	*il*	'eat'	_C
2.	*ak*	*ik*	'do'	_C
3.	*alm*	*ilm*	'shoot'	_C
4.	*a-mo*	*i-mo*	'die'	_CV
5.	*a-ye*	*i-ye*	'carry'	_CV
6.	*a-wi*	*u-wi*	'take,get'	_CV
7.	*a-kor*	*i-kor*	'search'	_CVC
8.	*a-lupm*	*i-lupm*	'put into'[4]	_CVC

---

[2] Although there is no Subject-indexing person-number inflection on the verbs, Urim does have a set of Object pronominal enclitics, which are phonologically bound to the verb stem when they occur. These are analysed here as separate words on the grammatical level, which fill the Object NP slot.

[3] When *i* occurs before [w] or in a verb stem containing a following [u], then it is rounded to [u].

9.	*ampe*	*impe*	'extinguish'	_CV
10.	*arkol*	*irkol*	'pull'	_rCV
11.	*antokg*	*intokg*	'make'	_CVC
12.	*naki*	*niki*	'tell'	C_CV
13.	*kalpo*	*kilpo*	'beat, tap'	C_CV
14.	*tapor*	*tipor*	'break'	C_CVC
15.	*kainsil*	*kinsil*	'lie'	C_iCCVC
16.	*naimpil*	*neimpil*	'twist'	C_iCCVC
17.	*rka*	*rki*	'hang'	rC_
18.	*itn⁴a*	*itni*	'stand'	VC_
19.	*rpma*	*rpmi*	'sit'	rC_
20.	*rmpa*	*rmpi*	'lie'	rC_
21.	*ela*	*eli*	'be'	VC_
22.	*ark-e*	*irk-e*	'hang (Habitual)'	_rCV
23.	*arpm-e*	*irpm-e*	'sit (Habitual)'	_rCV
24.	*armp-en*	*irmp-en*	'lie +transitivizer = buy'	_rCV
25.	*ng-ka-t*	*ng-kit*	'lift'	ngC_C
26.	*ng-kark*	*ng-kirk*	'fly from, be afraid'	ngC_C
27.	*ang-kli*	*ing-kli*	'throw'	
28.	*ang-ko*	*ing-ko*	'fall'	
29.	*angklin*	*ingklin*	'help'	

From the above forms we can see that the modal vowel usually occurs in the first syllable of the verb.   However there are some exceptions: forms 17-21 and 25-27.   In these verbs the realis /irrealis vowel occurs in the second syllable of the verb.   Forms 17-21 are all locative verbs.   The occurrence of the modal vowel in the last syllable could be a feature of this verb class.   Locative verbs are exceptional in other respects as well.   It is harder to say why verbs 25-27 differ from other phonetically similar verbs 28-30.   One possible explanation for all those cases is phonetic.   When the first syllable of the verb ends with a nasal or liquid, even the realis vowel *a* gets so reduced that the distinction of realis/irrealis would be hard to hear.   Notice that the verbs with a habitual or transitive suffix (forms 22-24) place the realis/irrealis vowel at the beginning of the same verb-stem!

When the vowel of the second syllable is /a/, this process of reduction is even stronger - this might explain why only some of the verbs having the consonant [ŋ] on the first syllable place the modal vowel on the second syllable.[5]

---

[4]   Sequences of voiceless stop plus homorganic nasal release are interpreted as unit phonemes. The reversed sequences of nasal plus homorganic stop are interpreted as consonant clusters. (See Luoma, 1985)

[5]   This data would seem to be an excellent candidate for an optimality theory approach (which assumes that languages have multiple constraints interacting which are ranked as being more or less important, and the forms which have the least weighty violations are the ones which actually occur).

Phonetically, the irrealis vowel tends to get reduced and shortened so that it practically disappears, especially when a verb stem begins with a nasal or liquid—i.e. a [-obst] consonant—the irrealis vowel can the consonant coalesce, yielding a syllabic consonant. In these cases irrealis *i* is not written in orthography (which follows pronunciation rather than the underlying morphemic form). Irrealis *i* is sometimes pronounced (and written) [u] especially if the obstruents /k/ or /p/ precede or follow it and if the second syllable or verb stem has *u*-vowel: *karkuk - kurkuk* 'bathe', *nakure - nukure* 'decorate', *kaluk - kuluk* 'wash''.

Irrealis verb forms are used in the following contexts:

1. Utterances having future time reference.

Kutnukg	*kitn*	*kul*	*pa,*	*kupm*	*ikilmpen*	*-teitn*	*marpm*	*pa*
later.IR	2sg	come	C	1sg	pay.back.IR	-2sgO	money	D

'When you come back, I will pay you the money.'

Ti	*mpa*	*kupm*	*intokg*	*kolai?*
C	FUT	1sg	do.IR	how

'So what shall I do?'

Iri	*-weitn*	*ik*	*wang*	*ur*	*a*	*kitn*	*no.*
see:IR	-2sgO	do.IR	time	ID	G	2sg	come.up

'I will see you when you come'

2. Hypothetical Conditionals

Hu	*wei*	*pipa,*	*ake*	*mpa*	*kupm*	*kai.*
water	rain.IR	if	not	FUT	1sg	go

'If it rains, I won't go.'

3. Protases and Apodoses of Counterfactual Conditionals

Kol	*a*	*tu*	*uwi*	*-yopm*	*iye*	*kai*	*karapus,*
like	C	3pl	take:IR	-1sgO	carry.IR	go	jail

ti	*kol*	*ake*	*kupm*	*iri*	*anong*	*al-kupm*	*ai.*
C	like	not	1sg	see.IR	place	G-1sg	remote

'If they would have taken me to jail, I would not have seen my village any more.'

4. Commands

There seem to be several factors involved in the placement of the vowel, which have different rankings:
1. Avoid 3 syllable verbs (most important)
2. Avoid vowel clusters **VV
3. Avoid syllable final consonant clusters **CC
4. Avoid syllable initial consonant clusters **...CC
5. Place the vowel as near to the front of the root as possible (least important).
The forms occurring are those, which best satisfy these principles. If it is not possible to satisfy all of them, then forms which violate the lower principles are preferred to those which violate the higher ranked ones.

> *Mentekg*   *<u>il</u>*   *nok*   *pa*   *rpmi*   *ti=wom!*
> 1du   eat.IR   sago   C   sit.IR   here=IMP.now
> 'Let us eat sago sitting here.'

> *Kipm <u>rkul</u>*   *yangkipm*   *a*   *maur*   *wailen*   *pa*   *tongtong*   *(o)!*
> 2pl hold.IR   talk   G   spirit   big   that   tight   IMP
> 'Hold fast to God's talk!'

5. Prohibitions

> *Kil*   *ake*   *mpa*   *<u>il</u>*   *hu*   *titno*   *pa.*
> 3sg   not   FUT   eat.IR   water   mad   that
> 'He must not drink alcohol'

> *Ampake*   *ur*   *<u>rpmi</u>*   *ilpmak,*   *kalpis.*
> should.not   ID   sit.IR   lazy   no
> 'No one should be lazy.'

6. Past Habitual

> *Ik*   *wang* *a* *hokg* *pa,* *kupm* *mpa* *<u>la -nik -en</u>*   *la*   *wang* *a* *hokg* *pa-ke*
> do.IR time G sleep D 1sg   FUT say-tell.IR-3plO say time G sleep D-EMP
> 'At the time of sleep I would tell them that it was time to sleep now.', or 'At the time of sleep, I will tell them that is time to sleep now'.

2.2.2. Reduplication of Verb Stems to Encode Imperfective Aspect: i.e, Repeated, Continual, or Habitual Action

In Urim reduplication is a common morphological device in all word classes. It functions both inflectionally and derivationally. Reduplication of verb stems is used to express imperfective aspect; i.e. habitual, repetitive, or continuative/durative action. The exact type of aspect that reduplication encodes depends partly on the semantic type of the verb. With punctiliar verbs reduplication encodes repeated actions; *topratopra* 'jump several times'. With verbs encoding more continuous motion reduplication marks durativity; *kai-kai-kai* 'keep on going'. With transitive verbs reduplication may encode either habitual or durative aspects, but sometimes is also used to express added intensity. When reduplication encodes habitual aspect, the verb stem is repeated only once, but in reduplications expressing repetition or continuity/duration, the verb stem can be repeated several times depending how much the speaker wants to emphasize the length of the action. Reduplicated verbs often occur between two clauses expressing that the action continues until something else happens or until the end of the process is reached.

Examples of habitual aspect:

> *Pikekg*   *ak*   *wang*   *hep*   *pa*   *tu*   *al*   *al*   *melnum*
> PAST   do.R time   before   that   3pl   eat.R   eat.R   person
> 'In olden times they used to eat men'

> *Melnum* *pa* *awi*   *hapm*   *wompel* *al-kil* *a*   *ak*   *alo-lo*   *nimpik*
> man   that take.R cloth   piece   G-3sg REL   do.R wipe.R-wipe.R snot
> 'The man took his handkerchief'

> *Tu wrong-kwail al al mahing, kil al-kil wris pa al al yampon*
> 3pl crowd-big eat.R eat.R undone 3sg G-3sg one that eat.R eat.R done
>
> 'The people used to eat uncooked food, she herself used to eat cooked food.'

Examples of repetitive-continual aspect:

> *Kupm alm -alm -alm hining*
> 1sg shoot.R-shoot.R-shoot.R in.vain
> 'I kept shooting at it, but in vain'

> *Kupm ak yikal or -or -or-or-or, pa amo*
> 1sg do.R bow hit-hit-hit-hit-hit C die.R
> 'I kept hitting and hitting it with the bow, until it died'

Examples of reduplication expressing durative aspect.

> *Wakg angko al nar kai Mayen yilo pa kaing-kaing-kai*
> fire fall.R eat:R go.down go Mayen back that go -go -go
> *kinar ai*
> go.down remote
> 'The fire fell and burned Mayen's back all the way down.'

> *Mentekg hokg rmpa rmpa, takgni am no ti -ke*
> 1du sleep lie.R lie.R sun now rise here-EMP
> 'We went on sleeping until the sun was risen'

Phonologically, reduplication is usually complete, but it can also be partial. In the following example only the reciprocal pronoun is reduplicated (not the verb itself) to encode durative aspect:

> *Ekg erkisen tita tita*
> two persuade.R REC REC
> 'They kept persuading each other.'

Reduplication is also a derivational device in Urim. Especially onomatopoetic and descriptive verbs are often reduplicated stems.

> *klilngklulng* 'wriggle'
>
> *pingpong* 'crack'

There are also a few verbs derived from other verbs by reduplication:

> *ari* 'see' *ariri* 'watch'
>
> compare to: *ari-ari* 'keep on looking, stare'

> *pirng* 'run to' *pirpir* 'run'

2.2.3. Imperfective Aspect Suffix *-e*

The suffix *–e* has both grammatical and derivational uses. It occurs in relative clauses when the relative noun has the role of Locative Object within the relative clause, and serves to disambiquate the relative clause from a chained clause. Since the principal function of this suffix is to express continuity or habituliaty, it can only be used when the relative clause is semantically compatible with it (see section 5.1.5.2).

Uwi   tangkurong   pa   irpm -e   atom   iser   mi   pa!
take:IR   leaf.stem   that sit.IR-CNT then   weed.IR grass   that
'Take the leaf stem to sit on and weed the grass!'

Mentekg   kawor   wan   mpa   mentekg hokg-e   pa
1du   go.in   house   FUT   1du   sleep-CNT that
'We went to the house, where we would sleep <u>in</u>'

Melnum   arpm-e   helikota
man   sit -CNT   helicopter
'Helicopter pilot'

Sometimes a verb stem can exhibit two –*e* suffixes in succession.

kipm melnum a   nungkulkg atn   -e -we   pa, kipm itning   o!
2pl person REL ear   stand.R-CNT-TR that 2pl listen.IR IMP
'If you people have ears, listen!'

anong   paipm   a   wakg   atn   -e   -we
village   bad   REL   fire   stand.R-CNT-TR
'place of fire, hell'

Since the first part of the verb form *atne* already expresses duration 'stay a long time', the second *-e* can either be a second instance of the imperfective adding a further habitual component ('used to stay a long time') or a transitive suffix referring to the location of the subject or Head of RC. Here it is interpreted as transitive suffix referring to the head NP of relative clause, which is at the same time the locative object of the verb in RC.

Derivationally, the suffix *-e* is especially common in verbs expressing movement and location.

Consider the following examples:

ari	'see'	*ari-we*	'know'	(continuity or transitivity)
alil	'plant'	*alil-e*	'pile up'	(action repeated)
akul	'wipe'	*akul-e*	'cut road'	(action repeated until goal reached)
alupm	'put into'	*alupm-e*	'fill'	(action repeated until goal reached)
no	'come up'	*no-we*	'to dress'	(transitivity)
nar	'come down'	*nar-e*	'drop down(tr)/flow down'	(continuity/transitivity)
kaino	'go up'	*kaino-we*	'climb up'	(transitivity)
angko	'fall'	*angko-we*	'fall purposefully'	(transitivity)
rpma	'sit'	*arpm-e*	'wear/sit a long time or habitually'	(transitivity, habitual, continuity)
rka	'hang'	*ark-e*	'prick, hang a long time'	(transitivity, continuity)
tna	'stand'	*atn-e*	'perform magic/stay a long time'	(transitivity, continuity)

These examples of derivational uses of *-e* seem to indicate that the suffix *-e* is used to express both continuity/duration/habitual and alter transitivity. Adding the suffix *-e* to the verb stem quite often increases its transitivity. It is often used to change semitransitive verbs to fully transitive verbs.

Semitransitive verbs are those verbs expressing motion or location, which have an obligatory complement with the semantic role of goal, source or location. This second argument is morphologically unmarked like the object of full transitive verbs (see the Chapter 4).

Conclusion:

The suffix *-e* is most probably imperfective (usually expressing duration) when used inflectionally. If the suffix *-e* were a transitivity marker in the examples at the beginning of this section, its function would be not to add another object to the predication, but rather to refer back to the location where the action takes place much the same way as prepositions in the English translation. Still, most probably the inflectional *-e* is a durative suffix.

When used to change the meaning of verbs this suffix has both durative and transitive functions, often both at the same time so that the verb form has two separate meanings.

The fact that suffix *-e* can be occur twice on the same verb stem seems to suggest that there are actually two homophonous suffixes with partly overlapping functions.

2.2.4.   The Applicative Suffix-*(e)n*

When the applicative suffix *–e(n)* is added to an intransitive verb, it converts it into a semitransitive or transitive predicate by promoting a peripheral argument into the clausal core as an Object. The semantic role of the promoted argument seems to be lexically determined.

The term semitransitive refers here to situations in which the action does not highly affect the referent of the object. Compare the following examples:

Kil   hokg
3sg   sleep
'He sleeps'

Kil   hokg   kiin
3sg   sleep   woman
'He sleeps with a woman (having sexual intercourse)'

Kil   hokg-en   wakg
3sg   sleep-TR   fire
'She sleeps by the fire'

Kil   hokg-en   warim
3sg   sleep-TR   child
'She sleeps with her child'

Tu   kin   atop
3pl   woman   dance.R
'The women dance'

Man   atop -en   warim   al-kil
mother   dance.R-TR   child   G-3sg
'Mother rejoices over her child'

Sometimes the alternation between V-*(e)n* NP and V *eng* NP does not seem to be correlated with any obvious difference in the same meaning:

Warim   hakg-en   yan
child   cry-TR   father
'The child cries after his father'

Warim   hakg   eng   yan
child   cry   OBL   father
'The child cries for his father'

2.2.5.   Applicative Construction Indicating Dative-Shift

In a process called dative-shift a highly topical, pronominalized peripheral clausal argument is promoted to core argument status.   Formally this is done by 1) moving the argument from its position after direct object before it, and 2) changing the oblique preposition *eng* to a suffix *- n* and free personal pronoun to a bound pronoun. The suffix between the verb stem and pronoun is necessary, since Urim does not have any separate bound indirect pronoun forms.   The semantic role of the derived predicative Object is commonly either Locative Goal or Recipient-Benefactive. Pragmatically the promoted argument is highly topical and at the same time not in focus.   Dative-shift is not applied when the pronoun is in focus or emphasized. Consequently all modifiers on the pronoun block the dative-shift. (Same thematic principles govern the uses of free and bound object pronouns, see Section 2. 4. 1. 2)

Tu   ale   wan   eng   kupm
3pl   build.R   house   OBL   1sg
'They built a house for me'

Tu   ale   -n -topm   wan
3pl   build.R-TR-1sg   house
'They built me a house.

Tu   kul   eng   kupm
3pl   come   OBL   1sg
'They come to me'

Tu   kul   –n -topm
3pl   come-TR-1sgO
'They come to me'

Atom   kupm   la   naki   <u>kil</u>   pa:.....
then   1sg   say   tell.R   3sg   DEF
'Then I said to <u>him</u>:...'

2.2.6.   Other functions of the applicative suffix *-(e)n*

In many instances the addition of the applicative suffix has semantic effects beyond the simple promotion of an argument to core status, which are not completely predictable.

akur	'hurt'	*akur-ng*	'quarrel about something'
alm	'beat'	*alm-pen*	'beat a long time; react'
almpil	'turn'	*almpil-ng*	'turn repeatedly'
ampri	'block'	*ampri-n*	'forbid'
angklo	'pluck off'	*angklo-n*	'separate from, be forbidden'

arkol	'pull'	*arkol-ng*	'pull, tempt'
elng	'put'	*elng-en*	'stop doing'
pir(pir)	'run'	*pir-ng*	'run to'

In some cases it is hard to tell whether the suffix is inflectional or derivational. Consider the following examples:

> *aipur   nung*
> bind.R   firewood
> 'Bind the firewood together for carrying'

> *aipur -ng   nung*
> bind.R-TR   firewood
> 'Secure firewood (the basket or something where the firewood is in)'

> *ak   rkwa*
> do.R   basket
> 'Make a basket'

> *ak   -en   yipmingki   wring*
> do.R-TR   fence   garden
> 'surround the garden with a fence'

Phonetically the derivational suffix **-n** has following forms:

> **- ng**   after /r/ or /l/
> **- en**   after other consonants
> **- ñ**   after palatalized vowels
> **- n**   after other vowels

The form of the applicative suffix produced by dative-shift is clearly **-n** but it does not follow exactly the same phonetic rules as the derivational **-n.** (compare for example: *arkol-**ng*** 'pull something' and *tu kul-**n**-topm* 'they come to me'). This might be caused by the fact that the bound pronoun affects the pronunciation of **-n** placed between it and the verb stem. The transitive suffix -**(e)n** described in the previous section seems to follow same morphophonemic rules as the derivational -**n**, but to be sure of this, more examples are needed.

It is possible for the imperfective suffix **-e** and the transitive suffix -**n** to occur together on a single verb stem:

amo	'be sick, die'	*amo-we*	'be sick, paralyzed'	*amo-we-n*	'be sick with something'
angko	'fall'	*angko-we*	'drop itself'	*angko-we-n*	'prepare, attack'
aye	"carry'			*aye-we-n*	'track game'
rpma	'sit'	*arpm-e*	'sit (long time), wear'	*arpm-e-n*	'wait for, watch over (sitting)'
rka	'hang'	*ark-e*	'bear fruit, live in, pierce'	*ark-e-n*	'wait for'
		ark-e-we	'stuck with, bound by'		
itna	'stand'	*atn-e*	'stay a long time'	*atn-e-n*	'wait for, watch over

                                   (standing), lean against'
          'perform magic'

atn-e-we   'stay permanently'   *itna-we-n*   'track game'

examples:

Kil   amo -we -n   pisak
3sg   die.R-CNT-TR cold
'He is sick with cold'

Tu   angko-we -n   okipma
3pl   fall.R-CNT-TR food
'They prepared food'

2.3. Nouns

Nouns are distinguished in Urim by the following properties:

1. They may function in isolation, without any further morphological marking as arguments in a predication
2. They occur initially in the noun phrase, with all noun phrase modifiers following them.
3. They can be optionally pluralized.

Nouns are not usually derived from other words by suffixes, but compound noun stems are common (see the Chapter 2. 12).

2.3.1. Important Semantic Classes of Nouns

Among nouns, the following semantic distinctions have significant morpho-syntactic consequences.

1. personal (thought of as being in the same class as people) versus non-personal
2. potent (self-moving) versus non-potent
3. temporal versus non-temporal nouns
4. inherently related nouns (inalienably possessed nouns)

Personal Nouns

Personal nouns have the following morpho-syntactic properties:

1. They are questioned by a distinct interrogative word *mla* 'who? Sg/Pl. Non-personal nouns are questioned with *kuina* (or *na*) 'what?'

2. They are optionally explicitly pluralized using the third person plural independent pronoun *tu* in a noun complex construction, e.g. *tu melnum* 'they person / people', and, in addition, they can sometimes be reduplicated. As is the case with other nouns, reduplication indicates indefinite plurality. The kinship words *man* 'mother' and *yan* 'father' can additionally have an plural (?) suffix *-in*, *tu yantin* 'the fathers' (this suffix is not

productive, and occurs only in few words). Non-personal nouns are overtly pluralized either by reduplication or the use of quantifiers.

Ikga	*tu*	*warim*	*warim*	*iri*	*kul*
FUT	3pl	child	child	see.IR	come

'Later the children will see.'

Tu	*aye*	*okipma*	*wuli*	*nimong*	*nimong-en*
3pl	carry.R	food	arrive.R	basket	basket-ATR

'They brought many baskets full of food'

Wan	*wekg*	*pa*
house	two	that

'The two houses'

Wan	*wrong-kwail*
house	crowd-big
'All	houses'

3. Usually only personal nouns can be referred to with pronouns. [6] An exception is the personal pronoun *kil* 'he/she', which is also used as a deictic (see 2. 9 'Demonstratives').

Potent Nouns

Potent nouns (humans, animals, machines, and natural phenomena like the wind, the sun, the earthquake and landslide) are distinguished by their ability to occur as subjects in transitive clauses expressing action-processes. Transitive clause subjects in Urim are usually Agents.

Wripm	*tikale*	*wan*
wind	break.R	house

'The wind broke the house'

Takgni	*al*	*-o*	*paipm*
sun	eat.R	-1plO	bad

''The sun burned us badly'

Nepm	*wikgwikg*	*karkur*	*-opm*	*wam*
leg	four	smash:R	-1sgO	hand

'The car smashed my hand'

Kirmpa	*kil*	*mpa*	*am*	*iye*	*-wo*	*kinar*	*ntokg*	*-to*	*paipm*	*ur*	*ti-ke*
dove	3sg	FUT	now	carry.IR	-1plO	go.down	make.IR	-1plO	bad	ID	D-EMP

'(I thought) the plane will surely crash and destroy us now.'

Sometimes non-potent nouns are raised to the status of subject of transitive clause. In the following example, the person affected is in topic position and the instrument in subject position, to express that the action was accidental.

---

6   In folk tales animals are frequently treated as personal nouns, since they act so much like people.

> *(Kupm)*   *ko*   *angket-opm*
> 1sg   axe   cut.R -1sgO
> 'I accidentally cut myself with an axe'

Another means to raise an inanimate entity to the subject position of a transitive clause is to add the verb **ak** '(use something to) do' to the predicate. Consider the following examples:

> *Nok*   *ak*   *karpon*   *tis*
> sago   use.R   stick.R   plate
> 'Sago sticks to the plate'

> *Kuntuk*   *wulmpa*   *ak*   *aur*   *okipma*
> pot   eye   use.R   cover   food
> 'The lid of pot covers the food'

compare to:

> *Kil*   *aur*   *kuntuk*   *ak*   *hipm*
> 3sg   cover   pot   use.R   leaf
> 'He covers the pot with leaves'

Compare also following examples:

> *Ki*   *ak*   *ar*   *wanyun*
> key   use.R   close.R   door
> 'The key closed the door'

> *Wripm*   *ar*   *wanyun*
> wind   open.R   door
> 'Wind opened the door' (potent noun as subject)

The semantic roles of the Subject in these transitive clauses are Cause or Instrument. The verb *ak* in the second members of the example pairs could be interpreted as causative marker. On the other hand, notice the use of *ak* as an Instrument marker in third and fourth example (see 2.5.1).

Temporal Nouns

Temporal nouns like *kong* 'morning' are distinguished by their ability to function as temporal adverbials and their potential use as predicates in temporal clauses like the following:

> *Kong*   *ise*
> morning   PERF
> 'The morning came.'

> *Ran=o!*
> dawn=IMP
> 'Let there be light!' (From Genesis 1:1)

The following examples show that these words really are nouns that can function as head of a NP.

ak   kong   ti
use.R   morning   this
'this morning'

ran   wris-wris
dawn   one-one
'every day'

Inherently Related Nouns (Inalienable Genitives)

Urim has three types of inherently related nouns, 1) kinship terms, 2) body parts, 3) other part-whole nouns.   Kinship terms behave syntactically like other nouns, but have some structural peculiarities. Many kinship terms are semantically plural. Some kinship terms seem to have some kind of non-productive gender suffix: *mamiin* 'grandfather', *mamikg* 'grandmother', *yalmpiin* 'son-in-law, *yalmpikg* 'daughter-in-law'.

All part-whole nouns are distinguished by their ability to occur in genitive constructions consisting of just two juxtaposed nouns (possessor-possessed ordering), without the presence of a genitive pronoun or an intervening genitive preposition *a*.   Consider the following examples:

mirmping   talpuk
tree sp.   branch
'branch of a *mirmping* tree'

mayen   yilo
old.woman   spine
'the old woman's spine'

rkim   walmpopm
python   blood
'the python's blood'

wan   kimpo
house   top
'top of the house'

Compare these five examples with the following alienable genitive examples (which have possessed-possessor ordering):

por   ketn   a   wampung
story   little   G   tree.kangaroo
'a little story of/about a tree kangaroo'

yangkipm   a-kupm
talk   G-1sg
'my talk'

Part-whole relationships of inanimate entities are always expressed without a genitive marker, but with body parts of animate entities, the genitive construction with ***a*** is quite common. It seems that the genitive construction of juxtaposed nouns is used mainly when the possessor is referentially generic:

Kil   awi   manto   tukgunakg ur   pa
3sg   take.R   pig   head   ID   D
'He took a pig's head'

Tukgunakg   a   manto   ti
head   G   pig   this
'The head of this pig'

Kil   ak   nalulng   wulmpa a   wusok   am   al.
3sg   use.R   dig.out.R eye   G   small   now   eat.R
'It dug out the little brother's eye and ate it.' (the expression **wusok wulmpa* never occurs)

When a genitive construction containing a body part occurs as the Object of a transitive clause the possessor argument can be raised to object position before the noun. This happens only when the possessor is topic, which is usually the case (same way as with bound pronouns; see the section 2. 4. 1. 2). The raising seems to happen only when the possessed noun is a body part:

Trapuk   al   -<u>opm</u>   <u>hi</u>
fly   eat.R-1sgO   sore
'A fly eats my sore!'

kil   or   <u>itna -wopm</u>   <u>wulmpa</u>
3sg   hit   stand.R-1sgO eye
'He hit me to the eye'

Kil   ak   ok   nam -<u>popm</u>   <u>wam</u>
3sg   use.R   mouth   bite.R-1sgO   hand
'She bit me in the hand.'

Kitn   <u>aro -wopm</u> <u>won</u>   ok   anong-en   Urim
2sg   break.R-1sgO inside mouth   village-ATR   Urim
you are teaching me the Urim language

When the possessor of a body part is expressed by a noun phrase (instead of pronoun), a third person pronominal clitic *-el* is obligatorily attached to the noun phrase referring to the body part.[7]

Kipman <u>aro</u>   <u>won -el</u>   warim   kipman   al-kil
man   break.R inside-3sgO   child   man   G-3sg
'Fathers are teaching their sons'

Genitive noun phrases containing a body part do not easily occur in subject position. Instead topicalized experiencer constructions are used. Compare the following examples:

---

7   Possibly this happens only with those predicates that obligatorily require the use of a bound pronoun, for example: *ak akor (el)* 'quarrel with somebody', *alk(el)* 'give to somebody', *num wakget (el)* 'have a fever', etc.

Wan   *a-kupm-en*   *paipm*
house   G-1sg-ATR   bad
'My house is not good'

Kupm   *nepm*   *paipm-topm*
1sg   leg   bad -1sgO
'My leg is bad/I'm lame' (More literally, 'As for me, leg is bad for me.')

Kupm   *num*   *wakget-opm*
1sg   skin   hot   -1sgO
'I have fever' (More literally, 'As for me, skin is hot for me.')

Locative nouns

Locative nouns can be considered a special type of inherently related nouns since they can occur in same kind of genitive constructions. In Austronesian languages, such locative nouns are the primary means for encoding more specific locations. This seems to be the function of locative nouns in Urim also. Locative nouns usually occur in genitive constructions, but can also occur in isolation. In these cases the genitive is contextually given (see also locative adverbs 2.7.3).

Wan   *ela* <u>*ya*</u>   <u>*yamping*</u>
house stay road   side
'The house is near the road'

Manto   *itna*   *kinar*   <u>*wan*</u>   <u>*tipmakg*</u> <u>*watneikgen*</u>
pig   stand.R go.down house   verandah underneath
'A/The??? pig is under the house'

Wan   *ela* <u>*ya*</u>   <u>*yamping*</u>
house stay road   side
'The house is near the road'

Manto   *itna*   *kinar*   <u>*wan*</u>   <u>*tipmakg*</u> <u>*watneikgen*</u>
pig   stand.R go.down house   verandah underneath
'A/The??? pig is under the house'

Kitn   *rpma*   <u>*wulom*</u>
2sg   sit.R   edge
'You are sitting on the edge'

<u>*anong*</u>   <u>*wulom*</u>
village   edge
'the edge of the village'

2.3.2.   Plurality

Two pragmatic factors seem to govern the use of the pronoun *tu* to mark plurality. It is not used if the group of people referred to constitutes new information, is generic in reference, is non-topical, or plurality is sufficiently clear from context or numerals:

Kiin   *wekg*   *ur*   *pa*   *itna*   *ya*
woman   two   ID   D   stand.R   road
'There were two women standing on the road'   (new information)

Pikekg   *ak*   *wang*   *hep*   *tu*   *al*   *-al*   *melnum*
Past   use.R   time   before   3pl   eat.R-eat.R   person
'At olden times they used to eat people'

The pronoun **tu** is used to mark the combination of plurality <u>and</u> definiteness. That is why **tu** is also used with inherently plural nouns, which do not need any additional markers for plurality:

Tu   *(kiin*   *kipman)*   *wrong*   *wailet*
3pl   woman   man   crowd   big
'All (other) people'

Most inherently plural nouns in Urim are kinship terms. They are usually compounds formed from other nouns:

man-san	'parents'	(*man+yan* 'mother-father')
muikg-muin	'siblings'	(*muikgmayen+muinuror* 'sister-brother')
mamikg-mamiin	'grandparents'	(*mamikg mayen + mamiin wror*)
kiin-kipman	'people'	(*kiin+kipman* 'woman-man')
watnom	'children, descendants'	
wrong(kwail)	'crowd of people'	
wrongmanto	'enemy, enemies'	
yikalik	'bow and arrows'	(*yikal-ik* 'bow-arrow')
wrikya	'things, cargo'	

There are two other ways to mark plurality in nouns: the word *kweikwei* 'things' and reduplication. The word *kweikwei* is used to mark the plurality of non-human nouns, usually when the group of entities is indefinite. Reduplication can be used both with human and non-human nouns. Also modifiers can be pluralized by reduplication - sometimes the plurality of noun phrase is expressed only by reduplicating the modifier.

Kapaka   *kweikwei*   *rka*   *ti*
bat   plural   hang.R   here
'There are bats here'

Men   *kinar*   *awi*   *namung*   *kweikwei*   *kinar*   *elng*   *rmpa*
1pl.Exc   go down   take.R   banana   plural   go.down   put   lie.R
'We went down, took some bananas and put them down'

Ikga   *tu*   *warim*   *warim*   *itning*
FUT   3pl   child   child   hear.IR
'So that later the children and children's children will hear'

Kupm   *la*   *por*   *nirkgiin*   *nirkgiin*
1sg   say   story   garden land   garden land
'I want to tell about garden lands'

Pa   *wang*   *wor*   *a*   *kipm*   *angkliin*   *men*   *wail-wail*   *a-kipm*
D   time   good   REL   2pl   help.R   1pl.Exc   big-big   G-1sg
'That is a good time for you to (come and) help us big brothers and sisters'

hom-hom-pen   'all kinds of (animals)'
clan-clan-ATR

Ampei   *wail-wail*   *wanteing*   *wor-wor*   *men...*
vine   big-big   ropes   good-good   1pl.Exc
'Many big vines and good ropes we...'

2.3.3. Lack of Nominalized Forms

Many forms in Urim may function either as nouns or verbs, with no overt morphological marking a change of word class. The following two pairs of sentences illustrate this (for further details, see Section 5. 2. 1):

Tu   *alm-wrong*
2pl   shoot-crowd
'They were fighting'

Alm-wrong   *wail*   *palng*
shoot-crowd   big   appear
'A big war came'

Kupm   *asen*   *kol-kil...*
1sg   ask.R   like-this'
'I ask like this...'

Asen   *a-kupm-en*   *pa*   *kol-kil*
question.R   G-1sg-ATR   D   like-this
'My question is like this...'

Some words can function either as heads or modifiers within the noun phrase, for example:

titnongket   'strong/strength'

Wripm   *titnongket*   *pa*   *tikale*   *wan*
wind   strong   D   break   house
'The strong wind ruined the house'

titnongket   *a*   *Wail-en*
strength   G   big-ATR
'The power of God'

There are a few (mostly personal) nouns that seem to be formed from adjectives, but probably they are lexicalized results of ellipsis:

Tu   *wail*   *kai*   *ise*
3pl   big   go   PERF
'The big ones are gone'

Kupm   *karken*   *maing*
1sg   dislike   raw
'I do not like raw food'

wail-en   'big brother'   *wusok-en*   'little brother'
big-ATR   little-ATR

compare to:

(melnum)   *wailen*   'leader, older man'.
(person)   big-ATR

2.4. Pro-forms

2.4.1. Pronouns (Pro-NPs)

Urim has a set of free pronouns (more properly pro-Noun phrases), a set of bound Object pronominal clitics, and a set of genitive pronouns. In interrogative sentences, a number of different interrogative pronouns can occur. Reciprocal action is expressed by the same pronoun for all persons and numbers. Each of these types of pronouns will now be examined in more detail.

Independent / Free Pronouns

There are thirteen independent pronouns in Urim. These distinguish the following semantic categories: 1) first, second, and third persons, 2) singular, dual, paucal, and plural numbers, and 3) (in just the first person plural pronouns) whether or not the hearer is included.

Person	Singular	Dual	Paucal	Plural
1	*kupm*	*mentekg*	*minto*	*men* (Exclusive)
				mentepm (Inclusive)
2.	*kitn*	*kipmekg*	*kipmteng*	*kipm*
3.	*kil*	*tuwekg*	*tunteng*	*tu*

From this tabulation, it can be seen that the dual forms consist of the plural form plus the numeral *(w)ekg* 'two'. The non-first person paucal forms contain the formative **-teng,** which does not resemble the numeral *wraur* 'three'. The first person paucal form appears to consist of the first person plural exclusive pronoun plus a formative **-to.** [7] The paucal forms are used to refer to three to six individuals. This is why the term paucal has been used rather than trial. The first person plural inclusive form appears to be formed by adding the second person plural object clitic **=epm** to the first plural exclusive form **men.** The short forms **ekg** for the dual forms and **to** and **teng** for the paucal forms are used often after it has been made clear first to whom they refer. **Ekg** is also used to co-ordinate two NPs.

---

[7] The formative *-to* is strongly reminiscent of the first person plural Object clitic *=o* commonly found on verbs. This clitic appears in the form *-to* after the consonant /n/. The formative *-to* in the first person paucal pronoun possibly gets its consonant /t/ in the same way (morphophonemic rule 1).

Wapwar wekg pa naki tita, atom ekg no   yo kitnimping pa akikgla.
cousin   two   that tell.R REC then 3du come.up tree tree.sp.   D spy
'The two cousins talked to each other and they climbed to kitnimping tree and spied.'

Tuwekg pa la-la,   'Am ekg   rpmi   ti -ke,
3du   DEF say-say   now 3du   sit.IR   here-EMP

yek ti mpa nti   mla rpmi!' Teng   rpma ha ha   ...
DIM this FUT with.IR who sit.IR 3pauc   sit.R be.R be.R
'They said, "Poor thing she has no one to be with her, so we'll stay here." So they were
staying there...'

Muikmuin yek-wekg pa   ekg rpma anong.
siblings   DIM-two   D   two sit.R   village
'There were two dear children, sister and brother, in the village'

Atom men   huk wampung   pa Kinawor ekg   Kinming, ekg lap.
then   1pl.Exc give tree kangaroo that Kinawor 3du   Kinming   3du roast
'Then we gave the tree kangaroo to Kinawor and Kinming and they roasted it.'

It will also be noted that all singular and second person forms begin with <k>; all non-singular third person forms begin with *tu-,* and all non-singular first person forms begin with *m (e,i)n-.*

The pronouns may occur in the following clausal slots: 1) subject (or topic in topic clauses), 2) non-topical first object, 3) second object, and 4) object of a preposition.

_Tu_   alk =opm   okipma
3pl   give.R=1sgO food
'They gave me food' (Subject)

Kupm   helengkep uleket
1sg   head   painful
'My head hurts' (Topic)

Kil ake   awi   _men_   ti
3sg   NEG   take.R 1pl.Exc   this/here
'He did not take us.' (Subject and topical Object)

_Tu_   huk okipma _kupm_
3pl   give food   1sg
'They gave me food' (Subject and second Object)

_Tu_   ale   wan   eng   _kupm_
3pl   build:R house OBL 1sg
'They built a house for me' (Subject and Object of a preposition)

*Kupm a   la ok   yangkipm inti   _kitn_*
1sg   INT   say mouth   talk   with:IR   2sg
'I want to talk with you.' (Subject and Object of a preposition)

Since Urim verbs do not have passive forms, the third person plural pronoun *tu* is used when the Subject referent is very generic or indefinite. Indefinite reference is sometimes also expressed by zero anaphora, if some other NP is in the topic position in the clause. Third person singular indefinite referents are also often expressed by using the noun *kamel* 'body' (comp. old English!) at least in the object position. The third person plural pronoun *tu* is also used within the noun phrase to encode plurality of human (or at least animate) entities (see section 2. 3. 1. 1)

Tu	*awi*	*nampro*	*a*	*tu*	*ak*	*alm*	*melnum*	*amo*	*pa*
3pl	take.R	ginger	REL	3pl	use.R	shoot.R	person	die.R	D

'They took ginger that is used to kill people.' (generic reference)

Wang	*kil*	*pa*	*al*	*al*	*manto,*	*pikekg-takai*	*pa*	*alm*	*melnum al.*
time	3sg/this	D	eat.R	eat.R	pig	past-long.ago	D	shoot.R	person eat:R

'Nowadays people use to eat pigs, long ago they shot and ate men.' (zero Subjects)

Nangil	*nam*	*kamel*
mosquito	bite	body

'Mosquitoes bite men' (generic reference)

The third person singular person pronoun *kil* sometimes functions as a demonstrative pronoun instead of the near demonstrative *ti,* and may in this function be attached to other singular pronouns or nouns (see also the first example above). In this function *kil* can refer both to animate and inanimate entities:

Kupm	*kil*	*anong*	*yiprokg*
1sg	here	village	origin

'I here am local'

Kitn	*uwi*	*kil*	*aki*	*kitn*	*uwi*	*pa?*
2sg	take.IR	this	or	2sg	take.IR	that

'Do you take this or that?'

Hapm	*kil*	*ros!*
cloth	3sg/this	tight

'This piece of clothing is tight!'

In Urim, personal pronouns may be modified by demonstratives and quantifiers. When the far demonstrative *pa* occurs modifying a personal pronoun, this construction has thematic function. The demonstrative *pa* is used with personal pronouns to emphasize, express contrast, and mark something as topical. This last function of *pa* makes it possible that in Urim texts two persons can be referred by personal pronouns all the way through after initial introduction, even when the actor or speaker changes:

Kupm	*asen*	*kil*	*pa*	*om:....*	*Ari*	*kil*	*pa*	*la-la:...*
1sg	ask.R	3sg	D	now	but	3sg	D	say-say

'I asked him now:.... And he said:...' (*pa* marks the change of speaker))

Kipm	*pa*	*wakg*	*ur*	*kol*	*men*	*kil*	*aki?*
2pl	D	fire	ID	like	1pl.Exc	3sg/here	or

'Do <u>you</u> have a fire like we here?' (contrast, emphasis)

Personal pronouns may also occur as part of coordinated and complex noun phrases:

Wang	*ur*	*pa*	*mentekg*	*Karis*	*hel*	*kainil*
time	ID	D	1du	Karis	roam	moon

'One day I and Karis, we two went to hunt in moonlight.'

Ikga	*kupm*	*mentekg*	*kai*
later	1sg	2du	go

'Later we two will go'

Object Pronominal Clitics

The Object pronominal clitics are phonologically adjoined to the verb. They conflate the non-singular number categories of the free pronouns, distinguishing only: 1) first, second, and third persons, and 2) singular versus non-singular numbers.

Person	Singular	Non-Singular
1	=*opm*	=*o*
2	=*etn/eitn*	=*epm*
3	==*el*	=*en*

Following the applicative verbal suffix -***n,*** a further inclusive versus exclusive distinction is made in the first person plural forms:

1	=(n)tilo	/-(n)=ilo/	(Inclusive)
1	=nto	/-n=o/	(Exclusive)

In the form –***(n)tilo*** /n/ surfaces in quick speech, but not in slow and careful speech.

It can be seen that the singular Object pronominal clitics and the second person plural form resemble the free pronouns, but have undergone two changes: 1) loss of initial /k/, and 2) lowering of the high vowels /i,u/ to /e,o/.

The Object pronominal clitics occur in the first Object slot, immediately following the verb, and are phonologically bound to the verb. Consider the following examples:

Takgni	*al*	=*o*	*paipm*
sun		eat.R-1plO	bad

'The sun burned us badly'

Kil	*antin*	=***t****opm*
3pl		measure.R-1sgO

'He measured me'

Nikg	*alm*	=***p****opm*
stomach		shoot.R-1sgO

'I'm hungry'

Tu kul -n =topm
3pl come-TR-1sgO
'They come to me.'

Tu ale =wen ya-ya
3pl put.R-3plO road-road
'They left them out (of the car) along the road'

Uwi – n – til=o!
take.IR-TR-3sgO-1plO
'Take it for us!'

   As the examples show, there are some morphophonemic changes when the pronoun clitic is attached to the verb. These changes follow the general morphophonemic rules explained in Chapter 1.

It is also possible for the free pronouns to occur in the Object slot. Compare the following examples:

Tu   or-opm
3pl   hit-1sgO
'They hit me'

Tu or kupm ti-ke!
3sg hit 1sg this/here-EMP
'It was me they hit!'

Atom kupm la nak -el: ...
then   1sg say tell.R-3sgO
'Then I told to him:...'

Atom kupm la naki kil pa la-la: ....
then 1sg say tell.R 3sg D say-say
'Then I told told to him:...' (changing topic)

   A bound pronominal Object is used when there is no need to highlight the pronoun for purposes of contrast, emphasis, etc. The free pronoun is always used if any modifier co-occurs with the Object pronoun. In the example immediately above, the demonstrative pronoun **pa** is used either for emphasis or because the actor changes after this clause.

   What is said here applies also when a personal pronoun is used to refer to a peripheral clausal argument (its semantic role typically being Recipient-Benefactive or Locative-Goal) . It is promoted to core argument in the form of bound pronoun when the referent is an already activated topic that is simply being maintained. All uses of the bound Object pronouns are thematically unmarked 'normal' uses. The use of a free pronoun in this position indicates extra prominence or emphasis on the referent (for more examples see Section 2.2.4).

   The object pronominal clitics also occur as the result of a syntactic process of possessor ascension, which lifts the possessor of an inalienable noun (usually a body part) out of the noun phrase to serve as the Object of the verb. It is possible to have both the Object clitic and a co-referential genitive pronoun if the possessor referent is especially emphasized or in focus, as in the second example below:

Drapuk   al   -opm   hi
fly   eat.R-1sgO   sore
'A fly eats my sore!'

Kil   ak   ok   nam -popm   wam (a-kupm)
3sg   use.R   mouth   bite.R-1sgO   hand (G-1sg)
'She bit me in the hand.'

Kil   or   itna -wopm   wulmpa
3sg   hit   stand.R-1sgO   eye
'He hit me in the eye'

When the verb and body part form a lexical unit, the Object pronominal clitic is obligatory.   This might be the origin of the use of suffix **-el** in idioms and lexemes as adverbializer. Compare especially the two first examples below:

Kitn   aro -wopm   won   ok   anong-en   Urim
2sg   break.R-1sgO   inside   mouth   village-ATR   Urim
'You are teaching me the Urim language' (not lexical)

Kitn   aro   won -el   kupm   melnum   titno-wen
2sg   break.R   inside-3sgO   1sg   person   crazy-ATR
'You are teaching me, an ignorant person.' (lexical)

Kipman   aro   won -el   warim   kipman   al-kil
man   break.R   inside-3sgO   child   man   G-3sg
'Fathers are teaching their sons' (idiom)

kansim   epik-el   wan
wipe.R   trash-3sgO   house
'clean the house of trash'

al   itna   wam-pel
eat.R   stand.R   hand-3sg
'eat while walking'

ingkit   won -el-en!
carry.IR   inside-3sg-3pl
'remind them!' (notice: two personal pronoun clitics!)

ak   ikg-wam-pel
do.R   look-hand-3sg
'to steal'

ak   hep-el   tita
do.R   first-3sg   REC
' to compete'

la   paipm-el

say   bad-3sg
'to ridicule'

Genitive Pronouns

The genitive pronouns exhibit the same person, number, and exclusive-inclusive distinctions as the independent pronouns, being formed by phonologically adjoining the relative clause complementizer *a* to a following independent pronoun. In essence, then, genitives in Urim are formally a kind of minimal relative clause: pig that (is) I/mine = my pig.

In addition, one or both of the following two modifications to the pronominal forms are possible: 1) the attributive suffix *-en* may be added to them, and 2) an /l/ may be added between the relative clause complementizer *a* and the independent pronominal form.   Thus, there are four possible forms for each genitive pronoun. [8]

Person	Singular	Dual	Paucal	Plural	
1	*a(l)kupm(en)*	*a(l)mentekg(en)*	*a(l)minto(wen)*	*a(l(p))men(en)*	(Exc)
				a(l)mentepm(en)	(Inc)
2	*a(l)kitn)en)*	*a(l)kipmekg(en)*	*a(l)kipmteng(en)*	*a(l)kipm(en)*	
3	a(l)kil(en)	a(l(n))tuwekg(en)	a(l(n))tunteng(en)	a(l(n))tu(wen)	

The genitive pronouns occur following the noun and indicate relationships like: 1) kinship, 2) body parts, 3) ownership, 4) production, 5) belongingness, 6) Exclusion/Emphatis (only the forms containing the consonant /l/ but lacking the suffix; *alkupm* etc.).

Kiin   a-kupm-en   raku   warim
woman   G-1sg-ATR   deliver   child
'My wife gave birth to a child'

Ling   awi   tuwal   a   naimun   pa   elng   itna   meng   al-kil-en
cassowary   take.R   beak   G   hornbill   D   put   stand:.R   throat   G-3sg-ATR
'The cassowary took hornbill's beak and put it to his own throat.'

Kupm   awi   kosakal   al-kupm   pa   aye
1sg   take.R   bush knife   G-1sg   that   carry:R
'I took my own bush knife with me'

Anong   Laningwap   a-mentepm-en
village   Laningwap   G-1pl.Inc-ATR
'Our village Laningwap'

Kil   kai   anong   a-kupm   a-kil
3sg   go   village   G-1sg   G-3sg
'He went to our (his and mine) home village'

Atom   kupm   mpa   ikgilen   kupm   al-kupm,
then   1sg   FUT   take.care.IR   1sg   G-1sg

a   kitn   pa   mpa   ikglen   Tepit   a-lkil.

---

[8]   The additions of extra [n] or [p] to certain forms are probably just results of emphatic pronunciation.

and   2sg   D   FUT   take.care.IR   David   G-3sg
'Then I will take care of myself and you will take care of David himself.'

Pikekg   tu   <u>aln-tu</u>   kipman   pa   ak   kwap   pa,
Past   3pl G-3pl   man   D   do.R   work   that
'The men themselves did that work'

Tu   ngkaten   nang   al-kil -en   a   ak   arkol   nim   pa   ak
3pl   start.R   song   G-3sg-ATR   G   do.R   pull.R   garamut   that   do:R
'They started to sing the song of its own of pulling the garamut drum.'

Wrong   tiur   al-kil   pa itna   eng   atop   arkol   eng   nim   pa
crowd   some   G-3sg   D   stand.R   OBL   dance.R   pull.R   OBL   garamut   D
'There is its own group standing for welcoming the garamut drum by dancing.'

Why the genitive pronoun sometimes takes the attributive suffix **-en** and sometimes not needs to be further studied. Probably the reason is pragmatic. The form with suffix **-en** is more emphatic. For example, in a text dealing with a dispute about ownership of garden lands almost all of the genitive pronouns have suffix **-en** because they are emphatic—i.e. 'mine and NOT yours'. In the forms with **-en** the possessor appears to be more "attributive", not in focus and more tied to what is possessed.[9] Whereas in the form without the suffix **-en** the genitive pronoun is more "loose" and more like a relative pronoun. These two constructions may occur even as alternatives in the same context:

Yangkipm   waiketn   <u>a-kupm(-en)</u>   am   kai   kol-pa-ke
talk   small   G-1sg-ATR   now   go   like-that-EMP
'That was my little talk'

Yangkipm   a   kupm (la)   pa   aklale.
talk   REL   1sg   say   that   true
'My talk is true = The talk that I talk is true' (relative clause)

The genitive pronoun forms containing /l/ are used when the possessor is focused information or emphatic / in contrast to someone else. Such forms often have the meaning 'one's own'.

Wurkapm   ti   <u>al-kitn-en</u>   aki   a   mla?
paper   this   G-2sg-ATR   or   G   who
'Is this book yours or whose is it?'

Kil   kil   wam   <u>a-kupm</u>
3sg/this   3sg/here   hand   G-1sg
'This here is my hand (not a snake).'

---

9   Here the suffix *-en* is very much like the attributive suffix *-en* that marks modifiers and forms adjectives from other words. Also certain other modifiers of NP sometimes occur with *-en*, sometimes without it:
warim   kin   'girl, daughter'
child   woman

warim   kin-en   tukgunakg   'the oldest daughter'
child   woman-ATR   head

Kil   wam   al-kupm-en
3sg/this hand   G-1sg-ATR
'This is <u>my</u> hand (not someone else's)'

When there is more than one third person participant or group of participants in the immediate context, the genitive pronoun forms with and without /l/ are used to distinguish possessors.   The forms with /l/ usually refer to the contextually nearest revious third person possessor (usually this is the Subject) and those without /l/ to some other third person possessor. Compare the following two examples:

Melming   ukwa   melnum pa   kai   wan   al-kil -en
Melming   send.R person that   go   house   G-3sg-ATR'
'Melming sent the man to his house (=the man's own house).'

Melming   ukwa   melnum pa   kai   wan   a –kil -en.
Melming   send.R person that   go   house   G-3sg-ATR
'Melming sent the man to his house (=Melming's house).'

Use of the demonstrative pronoun *pa* also helps to identify the referent since it marks topic and the change of topic:

Kil   antokg   kupm   palng   wor   kai   wam   a-kil -en.
3sg   make.R   1sg   become good   go   hand   G-3sg-ATR
'He caused that I became well in his hands'

Kil   antokg   kol-pa   num   a-kil   pa   kukula   wor
3sg   make.R   like-that body   G-3sg   that   light   good
'When he (Tingkorin) did like that, his (Ariyek's) body felt light and good.'

Kil   pirng kai   anong   naki   wusok   al-kil   pa:
3sg   run   go   village tell.R small   G-3sg   that
'She ran to the village and told his younger brother:'

With body parts, genitive pronouns are used only if it is necessary to mark the right owner. An 'unnecessary' use of genitive pronoun with body parts is often emphatic and can be glossed 'own, himself':

Tu   am   angkom ak   nepm aln-tu am   kai   ise
3pl   now   walk.R use.R leg   G-3pl   now go   PERF
'Now they walked away using their own legs.'

Reciprocal Pronoun *tita* 'each other'

The form *tita* 'each other' is used anaphorically to express reciprocal action, regardless of the identity of the actors.

Tu   or   tita
3pl   hit   REC
'They hit/fought each other.'

tu	*or-en*	*tita*	*waring*
3pl	fight-TR	REC	betel nut

'They are fighting each other over about betel nut.'

Mentekg	*nikg-walpm*	*kalkut*	*eng*	*tita*	*rpma*
1du	belly-liver	heavy	OBL	each.other	sit.R

'We were worried (lit: 'Our bellies were heavy) about each other.'

Tu	*huk*	*tita*	*nep*	*kitnin*	*pa*	*plalng,*	*tu*	*huk*	*tita*	*manto*
3pl	give	REC	coconut	sugarcane	that	finished	3pl	give	REC	pig

'After they had given each other coconuts and sugarcane, they gave each other pigs.'

wureren	*tita*
near	REC

'near each other'

or-tita	*wail*
hit-REC	big

'A big fight'

2.4.2. Interrogative Pro-forms

The interrogative words in Urim are listed below:

mla	'who? (sg/pl)'
kuina, na	'what?' (*kui-* comes from *kwei* 'thing; yams')
ahi[10]	'where?'
wang ahi, wangkarke, ak wang na	'when?'
kolai [ko.la.i:]	'how?'
ahi, (mla, kuina)	'which one?'
eng (kui)na, eng ntei, atnen (kui)na	'why?'
aripm	'how many, how much?'

Interrogative words in Urim are not fronted. Instead, they occur in the same position where the constituent being questioned normally occurs in declarative sentences. Some sentential examples of the use of interrogative words are given below:

who?

Kitn	<u>*mla*</u>	*(pa)?*	*-Kupm*	*Mowal.*
2sg	who	(there)	1sg	Mowal

'Who are you (sg)?   -   I am Mowal.'

(Melnum)	<u>*mla*</u>	*antokg*	*pa?*
person	who	do.R	that

'Who (sg) did that?'

---

10   In the expressions *ahi* and *kolai* there is a clear syllable boundary heard between the vowels /a/ and /i/. Intonationally, the /a/ often has a higher pitch than what precedes it and it is followed by a rise on the /i/ starting lower than the /a/.

Tu   <u>*mla*</u>   *(mla)*   *antokg*   *pa?*
3pl   who   who   do.R   that
'Who (pl) did that?'

what?

Kipm   *warim*   *antokg*   <u>*na?*</u>   *Men*   *ak*   *katnong*
3pl   child   do.R   what?   1pl.Exc   do.R   playing
'What are you (pl) children doing? - We are playing.'

Kitn   *alm*   <u>*kuina?*</u>
2sg   shoot.R   what?
'What did you shoot?'

Tu   *kai*   <u>*ak*</u>   <u>*wang na?*</u>
3pl   go   use.R   time   what?
'When did they go?' (preposition phrase)

when?

Tu   *kai*   <u>*ak*</u>   <u>*wang na?*</u>
3pl   go   use.R   time   what?
'When did they go?'

<u>*Wang-kark-e*</u>   *tu*   *kai?*
time-hang-CNT   3pl   go
'When did they go?'   (compound lexeme)

(Note that the form *karke* only has a temporal reading, whereas the expression *ak wang na* 'when' is more general, being used to question events, things, and times)

where?

Kil   *rpma*   *kai*   <u>*ahi*</u>   *Kil*   *rpma*   *kai*   *ai*
3sg   sit.R   go   where?   3sg   sit.R   go   remote
'Where is he? - He is over there.'

why?

Kitn   *or*   *warim*   *pa*   *eng*   <u>*na*</u>
'2sg   hit   child   D   OBL   what?
                                       <u>*eng*</u>   <u>*intei*</u>
                                       OBL   why?
                                         <u>*atnen*</u>   <u>*(kui)na*</u>
                                           because   what?
'Why did you hit the child?'

how?

Mpa   *kupm*   *intokg*   <u>*kol-ahi*</u>
FUT   1sg   do.IR   like-where?
'How shall I do it?'

how many?

>
> | *Kitn* | *alm* | *manto* | *aripm?* |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | 2sg | shoot.R | pig | how.many? |
>
> 'How many pigs did you shoot?'

which one?

The word *ahi* 'where' is used for 'which one?' especially if the alternatives are there to be seen. Otherwise *mla* 'who?' and *kuina* 'what?' are used.

>
> | *Mpa* | *kupm* | *uwi* | *hapm* | *ahi?* |
> |---|---|---|---|---|
> | FUT | 1sg | take.IR | cloth | where? |
>
> 'Which piece of clothing shall I take?'

>
> | *Warim* | *ahi* | *a-kitn-en?* |
> |---|---|---|
> | child | where | G-2sg-ATR |
>
> 'Which child is yours?'

>
> | *Warim* | *mla* | *wet* | *kai?* |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | child | who | N.Past | go |
>
> 'Which child just went?'

>
> | *Kitn* | *a* | *anong* | *kuina?* |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | 2sg | G | village | which |
>
> 'Where are you from?'

2.5. Prepositions

Prepositions are defined as uninflected forms, which take a noun phrase complement and serve as a mediating form between the noun phrase and the predicate, specifying its semantic role in the predication. In Urim, there is only one 'real' preposition: ***eng***.[11] It is used to encode nearly all oblique/peripheral arguments in the clause encoding a wide variety of semantic roles, including: 1) Benefactive, 2) Recipient, 3) Locative Goal, 4) Purpose, 5) Reason, and 6) 'about/concerning'. In most cases *eng* appears to mark the referential domain with respect to which the predicate is true or applicable. Perhaps this is its most basic meaning.

The form ***eng*** alternates with another, rarer form ***ekg***. In the Kukwo dialect and in the western villages of the Yangkolen dialect, this other form is more commonly used for these functions.

>
> | *Kil* | *ale* | *wan* | *eng* | *kupm* |
> |---|---|---|---|---|
> | 3sg | build.R | house | OBL | 1sg |
>
> 'He built a house for me.' (Benefactive)

---

[11]Note that the same phonological form *eng* followed by *a* is also used to express incipience 'about to'; e.g., *Kil eng a angko* 'He was about to fall'.

> *Uwi*   *pa*   *iye*   *kul*   *eng*   *kupm!*
> take.IR   that   carry.IR   come   OBL   1sg
> 'Bring it to me!' (Recipient /Goal)

> *Kil*   *la*   *naki*   *kupm*   *eng*   *kwap*
> 3sg   say   tell.R   1sg   OBL   work
> 'He spoke to me about the work.' ('about'/'concerning')

> *Kupm*   *tukwok*   *eng*   *okipma*
> 1sg   short   OBL   food
> 'I am short of food.' ('about'/'concerning')

> *Ngkom*   *mehen*   *eng*   *mang!*
> walk.IR   slow   OBL   mud
> 'Walk slowly because of the mud!' (Reason)

> *Tu*   *kai*   *ari -wel*   *eng*   *okipma*
> 3pl   go   see.R-3sgO   OBL   food
> 'They went to see him about food (most likely to get food).' (Purpose)

> *Wan*   *ti*   *pik*   *eng*   *warim*
> house   this   full   OBL   child
> 'This house is full of children' ('about'/'concerning')

> *Tu*   *la*   *wasrongen*   *eng*   *armpen*
> 3pl   say   like   OBL   buy
> 'They want to buy' (clausal object)

Eng can be used twice in the same sentence in two different meanings:

> *Kupm*   *huk*   *wor*   <u>*eng*</u>   *kipmekg*   <u>*eng*</u>   *wurkapm*
> 1sg   give   good   BEN   2dual   REA   paper
> 'I thank you for the book.'

There is further discussion of *eng* in section 5.3 'Adverbial Clauses'.

2.5.1. Paucity of Urim Prepositions Compensated for by Serialized Constructions

Given the paucity of 'true' prepositions in Urim, some other means of expressing peripheral semantic roles like Instrument, Locative source, site/Location, Locative Goal, and Time are necessary. These semantic roles are usually expressed by serial verb constructions. Some of these constructions are more lexicalized and preposition-like than others, but the verbal modal distinction of realis-irrealis is always present.

Instrument Serializations

The notion of Instrument is usually expressed using a serialization containing the verb *ak* 'do'.

Kupm   <u>*ak*</u>   *yikal*   *or*   *or*   *or,*   *pa*   *amo.*
1sg   use.R   bow   hit   hit   hit   D   die.R
'I kept hitting it with the bow until it died.'

Kil   <u>*ak*</u>   *marpm*   *armpen*   *hapm*
3sg   use.R   money   buy.R   cloth
'He bought the clothes with money.'

Kil   *awi*   *ko*   <u>*ak*</u>   *are*   *yo.*
3pl   take.R   axe   use.R   cut.R   tree
'He cut the tree with an axe.' (Literally, 'He took an axe, with (it) cut the tree.')

Kolen   *karek*   *a*   <u>*ak*</u>   *hiplepm (ak)*   *aur*   *nampi*   *al-kil*   *pa*
like   hen   REL   useR   wing   use.R   cover   chick   G-3sg   D
'Like a hen that with its wings covers its chicks'

In the following example it looks like *ak* were used to encode purpose, but it can also be explained as a case of double deletion (both purpose *eng* and repetition of NP deleted).

Elk   *-opm*   *wakg*   <u>*ak*</u>   *ari*   *nangil*
give.IR-1sgO   fire   use.R   see.R   mosquitoes
'Give me a torch to see (with it) mosquitoes'

* *Elk-opm*   *wakg*   *eng*   <u>*ak*</u>   *wakg*   *ari*   *nangil*
give-1sgO   fire   PUR   use.R   fire   see   mosquitoes
'Give me a torch in order to see with it mosquitoes'

Examples of the verb *ak* as a normal predicate:

Kil   *ak*   *rkwa*
3sg   do.R   basket
'She is making a basket'

Kopi   *kitn*   *ik*   *kol-kil*
coffee   2sg   do.IR   like-this
'Coffee (trees) you should handle like this;...'

Temporal Serialization

Serializations consisting of the verb **ak** (IR **ik**) 'use,do' followed by a temporal noun plus the predication are one means of expressing temporal arguments.

Ik   *Sande*   *pa*   *kil*   *wuli*
use.IR   Sunday   D   3sg   arrive
'He will come on Sunday.'

Pikekg   *ak*   *mining*
before   use.R   dark
'last night'

Ak-angklei   kong   pa   kupm   aro   ikgyokg-el   tu.
do.R-swallow.R morning D   1sg   split.R sleepiness-3sgO   3pl
'Every morning I woke them up.'

Tu   kai   ak   wang   na
3pl   go   use.R   time   what
'When did they go?'

Kupm   angko   hu   ak   warim
1sg   fall.R   water use.R   child
'I was baptized when child'

Manner serializations

The same verb **ak** '(use something to) do' is sometimes used to mark manner phrases.   These manner expressions are usually idiomatic.

tu   ak   wail   wuli
3pl   use.R   big   arrive
'They came in crowds'

Locative Goal Serializations

Serializations with motion verbs (*kai* 'go', *kinar* 'go down', *kaino* 'go up', *no* 'come up', *nar* 'come down') usually express the notion of goal, but may also express the notions of source, origin, or place of action.

Wa men   awi   kiin   kipman wekg pa aye   kinar   Punam pa.
and 1pl.Exc take.R woman   man   two   D carry.R go.down Punam D
'And we took the couple to Punam.'

Atom   kil   pirng   kaino   wan
then   3sg   run.to   go.up   house
'Then he ran to the house.'

Rku   kipm   al-kipm   iye   kinar   kanokg   pa!
push.IR 2pl   G-2pl   carry.IR go.down   ground   EMP
'Humble yourselves!'

Sisas   awi   mentepm   ti   kai wam   a   Seten   aye   kul
'Jesus   take.R 1pl.Inc   here   go   hand G   Satan   carry.R come
wam   a   Maur   Wail-en
hand   G   Spirit   Big-ATR
'Jesus has taken us from Satan's hand to God's hand.'

Kil   lap   wapiin   kai   wakg
3sg   roast   lizard   go   fire
'He roasted the lizard on fire'

Kupm   palng   wor   kai   wam   a-kil -en
1sg   become   good   go   hand   G-3sg-ATR
'I became well in his care.'

Kitn   *kai*   *anong*   *ahi?*   *Kupm*   *kai*   *Sepik*
2sg   go   place   where?   1sg   go   Sepik
'Where are you from? - I'm from Sepik.'

Kai   <u>*akwe*</u>   *nokg*   *pa*   *palng*
go   day   salt   that   appear
'The salt was ready by the next day.'
(The verb *kai* 'go' in time expression is rare. It is used here to mark the end of the process)

Tu   *antokg*   *kuina*   *kai*   *kil?*
3pl   make.R   what   go   3sg
'What did they do to him?'

In the above examples the serial motion verb is necessary to define the semantic role of the NP. When a position verb is predicate, the NP expressing Locative Goal has the status of Object in Urim and is grammatically unmarked like the object of transitive verbs. (This is why these predicates are called semitransitive in Urim.) With semitransitive verbs the serialization with motion verbs is used to add extra information about the direction of the distance of the Goal in relation to the speaker.

Namung   *palk*   *rmpa*   *hipm*
banana   skin   lie.R   leaf
'There are banana peels on the leaf.'

wan   *itna*   *kai*   *mpang*
house   stand.R   go   wood
'The house is in the woods.'   (the house and the wood are not near the speaker)

Kil   *rpma*   *anong*
3sg   sit.R   village
'He is in his home village'

Kil   *rpma*   *kai*   *anong*
3sg   sit.R   go   village
'He is in another village'

Tu   *itna*   *wring*
3pl   stand.R   garden
'They are in the garden.'

Tingkil   *itna*   *kinar*   *ai*
toilet   stand.R   go.down   remote
'The toilet is over there.'

Outer Location

Serializations containing one of the position verbs *rpma* 'sit', *rmpa* 'lie', *itna* 'stand', *rka* 'hang', *ela* 'be situated', or *a* 'be', are used to express Outer Location (= the site where the event takes place).

Warim	*pa*	*hokg*	*akwekgel*	*rmpa*	*wrik*
child	that	sleep	soundly	lie.R	bed

'The child slept soundly on the bed.'

Kil	*awi*	*kai*	*al*	*rpma*	*kai*	*pa*
3sg	take.R	go	eat.R	sit.R	go	there

'He took the (food) and went and ate it over there.'

Atom	*men*	*elng*	*okipma*	*pa*	*(elng)*	*rmpa*	*tipmakg*
then	1pl.Exc	put	food	that	put	lie.R	shelf

'Then we put the food on the shelf.'

Locative Source Serializations

To express the notion of Source, a serialization consisting of: 1) a position verb (listed above)plus 2) a notion verb like *kai* ' go', *kaino* 'go up' or *kinar* 'go down' is used.

Kil	*rpma*	*wrik*	*angko*	*kai*
3sg	sit.R	bed	fall.R	go

'He fell off from his bed.'

Kil	*itna*	*kai*	*anong*	*wuli*
3sg	stand.R	go	village	come

'He comes from the village.'

Kupm	*wet*	*a(ng)*	*kaino*	*ya*	*nar*
1sg	N.Past	be.R	go.up	road	come.down

'I just came down from the road.'

Coming (or other action involving movement) from a direction (without the meaning of staying there first a longer time) is expressed without a position verb:

kil	*kinar*	*ya*	*no*
3sg	go-down	road	ascend

'He is coming from the direction of down river'

Kil	*awi*	*kuntuk*	*kai*	*wakg*
3sg	take.R	pot	go	fire

'She took the pot from fire.'

In addition to this analytic construction expressing Source, there are a number of compound verb stems expressing separation from some locative source which appears to begin with a bound verbal form *ang-/ing-* (these forms come from the realis -irrealis forms ***a-i*** 'be'). These are listed below:

angkark	'flee'	(from *kark* 'afraid')
angkli	'throw away'	(from *kli* 'husk')
angklon	'be forbidden. separated from'	
angko	'fall from'	
angket	'cut off'	

Kil   angko   yo
3sg   fall.from.R   tree
'He fell from a tree.'

Comitative Serializations

Serialized constructions with the verbal preposition *nampokgen* 'accompany' are used to express comitative notions. This word is fully grammaticalized to a preposition and is not used as a verb anymore, but has retained realis-irrealis form. Its original meaning is not known and especially the young people do not seem to connect the different realis and irrealis forms with mode, but use them inconsistently. There are several freely alternating or dialect dependent forms of the word: *nampokgen* (IR *nimpokgen*) and *nampikgen* (IR *nimpikgen*) in Urim 1 sub dialect, *nampon* (IR *nimpon*) and *nampiin(en)* (IR *nimpiin(en)*) in sub dialect 2 and in Kukwo dialect. These can be used when the accompanying party is either human or non human.

Serialized constructions with the verb *anti* (IR *inti*) 'agree, comply with' are only used if the accompanying party is human. The verb *ngkaten* (IR *ngkiten*) 'lift up with, carry with' is used in constructions expressing accompaniment when the object is actually physically carried.

Kupm   la   inti   kitn   oklala
1sg   INT   with.IR   2sg   speak
'I want to talk with you.'

Men   kai   akyakur kiin   al-kil   nampokgen   walpopm   al-kil   pa
1pl.Exc go   fetch.R   woman G-3sg   with.R   grandchild G-3sg   D

aye   kai   anti   Mantualep   Kinawor   hokg.
carry.R go   with.R   Mantualep   Kinawor   sleep
'We went to get his wife with the grandchildren and took them to sleep with Mantualep and Kinawor.'

Kol-pa   ti   kupm   rpma   nampokgen   ipma   kaikuten
like-that   C   1sg   sit.R   with.R   belly   heavy
'Therefore I am worried.'

Nangil   nam-popm   nampokgen   hapm
mosquito   bite-1sgO   with.R   cloth
'Mosquito bit me through my clothes.'

Uwi   kan tukgunakg pa nimpon nampro pa il   rpmi   ok   pa!
take.IR grub head   D   with.IR ginger   D   eat:IR sit.IR   mouth D
'Take grub head with ginger and eat/chew it in your mouth!'

Kupm   ngkaten   monmon   wuli
'1sg   carry.with.R   baby   arrive
'I arrived carrying the child'

Kil   ngkaten   numpet   ak   kwap.
'3sg   carry.with.R   sick(ness) do.R   work
'Although he is sick, he works'

> *Wapin nugkworen angkat melnum nampokgen-tel aye   kinar   hu*
> lizard   scaly   carry.R person   with.R   -3sgO carry.R go.down water
> 'Crocodile carries people with it into the water'

Frequentative Serializations

The verb *anti* 'agree, comply with' is also used in frequentative serializations with numerals and quantifiers:

> *Karek   kil   la   anti   wraur.*
> rooster   3sg   say   with.R   three
> 'The rooster crowed three times.'

> *Kupm   la   nak -eitn   anti   aripm   ur   ise!*
> 1sg   say   tell.R-2sgO with.R   how.many   ID   PERF
> 'How many times have I told you already!'

Reason Serializations

Serialized constructions with the word *(ok)atnen* are used to express reason relationships. Morphologically, it is reminiscent of the two forms *ok* 'mouth' and *atnen* 'wait for, watch, hit a target'. This construction may take either a noun phrase or sentence complement. Usually *atnen* has somewhat negative meaning:

> *Hu   pa   awe   perper   atnen   tu   alm   nok   kai   wrik   miring-ket.*
> water D   rain.R often   because 3pl   shoot.R sago   go   place   spirit-ATR
> 'It rains so often because they are making sago at a place where ancestral spirit is dwelling.'

> *Kitn   or   nimpa   pa   okatnen   kuina?*
> 2sg   hit   dog   D   because.of   what
> 'Why did you hit that dog?'

> *Kitn   numpet   atnen   kweikwei   (a)   pekekg   kitn   al   pa.*
> '2sg   sick   because.of   food   (G)   past   2sg   eat:R   D
> 'You are sick because of the food you ate.'

Distributive Serializations

The following serial constructions with the verb *ak* 'do' are used to express distribution notions: *akawiye* (*ak-awi-e*, literally 'do-take-HAB') and *aknirake* (*ak-nirak-e,* literally 'do-differ-HAB'):

> *Melnum   pa   ampreing kwap   pa   akawiye warim   pa.*
> person   D   share.R   work   D   each.R   child   D
> 'The man gave work to each child.'

> *Ngket   wusok-wusok iknirake   melnum aripm   a   rka   wan   pa.*
> cut.IR   small-small   each.IR   person   how.many REL hang.R house   D
> 'Cut it in small pieces enough for each person there are in the house!'

> *Melnum   wris-wris   aknarake   anong*
> person   one-one   each.R   village
> 'One man from each village.'

Additive Serializations

There are also two other serialized constructions containing the verb *ak* 'do', They are used to express additional notions: *aken* ' to work with, add into' (*ak-en* 'do-with/TR') and *aklanti* 'in addition to' (*ak-la-anti* 'do-say-with'):

Mpa	*kupm*	*ikor*	*yul*	*iken /iklanti*	*nung*	*eng*	*uwi*	*hapm*
FUT	1sg	search.IR	fish	in.addition.to.R	firewood	OBL	take.IR	cloth

'I'll catch fish (and bring it) in addition to the firewood to exchange for clothing.'

2.6. Adjectives

Adjectives are defined as forms that can serve as either: 1) attributive modifiers of nouns within the noun phrase, occurring immediately after the head noun and before all other modifiers, or 2) as predicates. When adjectives occur as predicates, they never exhibit a realis-irrealis distinction. In Urim, it is not usually possible for an adjective to occur in isolation as the head of the noun phrase, except in elliptical contexts.

Pilpatni	*kaki*	*kwei*	*rampukg.*	*Men*	*a*	*tu*	*wrongkwail*	*pa*	*al*
Pilpatni	peel.R	yam	dry	1pl.Exc	G	3pl	crowd	that	eat.R

mahing,	*kil*	*al-kil*	*pa*	*kai*	*al*	*yampon*	*kai*	*wan*	*ai.*
uncooked	3sg	G-3sg	that	go	eat.R	cooked	go	house	remote

'Pilpatni peeled yam and dried it. We other people ate it raw, she herself went to eat it cooked in the house.'

It is common in Urim for words to exhibit more than one syntactic function without any change in form to mark the change in category, much like in English e.g. the word *fish* can function both as a noun and a verb. This is especially true with the words that can function as modifiers of noun phrases or as predicates. Very often the same word functions both as adjective and adverb in Urim without any morphological change, for example such common words as *paipm* 'bad; badly' or *wor* 'good; well'.

2.6.1. Underived Adjectives

The class of underived adjectives in Urim is comparatively small. As in many other languages, the basic, most common adjectives are usually morphologically simple. Semantically these basic adjectives encode permanent properties of the entities, such as size, shape, age, or colour. Some of the principal underived adjectives in Urim are listed below:

Form	Meaning
wor	'good'
paipm	'bad'
wail	'big'
wasek	'small'
watin	'long, tall'
tukwok	'short'
kupuk	'cold'
hute	'straight'
wror	'old'
kukula	'light/not heavy'

kalkut	'heavy'
tingklak	'dry'
waipmun	'black'
walim	'brown'
tukgun	'ripe'
maing	'undone, uncooked'
pirpik	'soft, rotten'
malkgu	'soft'

Examples of attributive and predicative uses of adjectives in Urim are given below:

Pa ya hute wor
that road straight good
'That is a good, straight road'

manto wail pa kai mpang
pig big that go forest
'The big pig went to forest'

Hapm pa ake tingklak, hu -wet itna
cloth that not dry water-ADJ stand.R
'The cloth is not dry; it is still wet.'

Note from the last example above that when an adjective is used attributively, the noun phrase being characterized is set off from the predicative adjective by a demonstrative (*pa, ti, kil, ai*).

The border between verbs and adjectives in Urim is in many cases difficult to draw. Even such basic adjectives that denote less permanent properties may occur as predicates not only in nominative clauses (first example) but also in intransitive clauses with the imperative clitic *-o.* (possibly only in special uses like incantations) and in experiential clauses that have both a topic and a Subject (last example):

Hu ti wakget ise
water this hot PERF
'This water is already hot/has become hot.'

Hu ti watet-o!
water this red -IMP
'Let this water become red!' (incantation in a divination rite)

Kupm num wakget-opm
1sg skin hot -1sgO
'I have fever'

Those adjectives that can occur in an experiential construction with an accusative object could also be analysed as verbs.

On the other hand many stative verbs denoting state or change of state can function as attributive modifiers within the noun phrase:

kupm   *tapor*   *yo*
1sg   break.R   tree
'I broke the tree'

kiin   *a*   *nepm*   *tapor*   *pa*   *rpma*   *wan*
woman G   leg   broken.R   D   sit.R   house
'The woman with broken leg is in the house'

There are some minor syntactic differences between stative verbs and adjectives denoting non-permanent properties. 1) The verbs expressing process or state (which can function as either attributive modifiers in the noun phrase or as intransitive predicates) can usually also function as transitive verbs. Pure adjectives cannot. 2) Only adjectives occur as complements of resultative clause, that is, they require the help of some predicate when a process is described. But, as we have seen, adjectives may occur as predicates with the completive aspect marker *ise,* when the attention is focused to the actual result, not to the process itself. 3) Only adjectives occur as modifiers in noun complexes, that is, in the animal and plant names.

Examples of a process verb:

Kil   *hum*   *kuntuk*
3sg   break   pot
'he broke the pot'

Kuntuk   *pa*   *hum*   *ise*
pot   that   break   PERF
'the pot broke'

Examples of adjectives as predicatives in resultative clauses:

Kil   <u>*anip*</u>   *watin*
3sg   grow.R   long
'he grew tall'

Melnum   *pa*   <u>*palng*</u>   *wror*   *ise*
man   that   become   old   PERF
'the man grew old'

2.6.2.   Derived Adjectives

Adjectives formed by derivation are very common in Urim. There are a number of ways to derive adjectives from other words: verbs, nouns, adverbs and other adjectives.

Adjectives derived with *-et*[13]

The suffix *-et* is one of the most productive and possibly the commonest way to form adjectives. It can be added to verbs, nouns, and other adjectives.

Verb + et --> Adjective

---

[13]   *-et* has several other allomorphs: *-pet, -tet, -ket, -wet* (see morphophonemic rule 1.)

Verb	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
wale	'fold'	*wale-wet*	'folded'
rakol	'tear'	*rakol-et*	'torn, tattered'
tirktork	'sway, totter'	*tirktork-et*	'weak'
ka(t)nukg	'(go/come)behind'	*ka(t)nukg-et*	'later(one)'

Noun + -et --> Adjective

Noun	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
tawong	'hole'	*tawong-ket*	having holes'
mingkirp	'rust'	*mingkirp-et*	'rusty'
mining	'night, darkness'	*mining-ket*	'dark'
kwap	'work'	*kwap-et*	'laborious'
num	'body'	*num-pet*	'sick'
wakg	'fire'	*wakg-et*	'hot'
tupmungkul	'bone'	*tupmungkul-et*	'bony'
nungkulkg	'ear'	*nungkulkg-et*	'stubborn'
warim	'child'	*warim-pet*	'having children, with child'

Noun Phrase / Verb Phrase + -et ---> Adjective

Phrase	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
hu-nokg	'sea' (water-salt)	*hunokg-et*	'belonging to sea suffering from tinea'
werk-alm	feathers-shoot	*werkalm-pet*	'greyhaired'

Adjective + -et ---> Adjective

Adjective	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
wor	'good'	*wor-et*	'clean'
tingklak	'dry'	*tingklak-et*	'old'

Adverb + -et ---> Adjective

Adverb	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
man(man)	'differently, separately'	*man-et*	'other, different'
ampen	'slowly, with difficulty'	*ampen-et*	'slow, difficult'
titi	'equally'	*titi-wet*	'equal'

Examples:

Hunokg   tapor
sea   break.R
'The sea breaks'

Kil   melnum   hunokget
3sg   person   tinea
'He has tinea'

Tu   rpma   wan   man
3pl   sit.R   house   other
'They sit/are in another house'

Kil   melnum   manet   ur
3sg   person   different ID
'He is a different (strange) man'

Practically all adjectives formed by *-et* are transparent; the stem from which the adjective is formed is recognizable and also occurs without the suffix. There are a few examples like *watet* 'red', *lepet* 'sharp', where the stem does not occur alone.

Adjectives derived with the attributive suffix *-en*[14]

Suffixing with *-en* is another important means for deriving new adjectives. This suffix can be added to verbs, nouns, other adjectives, and adverbs.

Verb + -en ---> Adjective

Verb	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
titno	'be mad, grazy	*titno-wen*	'crazy, ignorant'
aut	'tie'	*aut-en*	'knotty, in knots'
hum	'break, yield'	*humpen*	'loose, spread, open'

Noun + -en ---> Adjective

Noun	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
tungkur	'pit, hole'	*tungkur-en*	'rutty'
kuin	'middle part'	*kuin-en*	'middle'
hu	'water'	*huwen*	'watery, liquid'
kitnin	'sugar(cane)'	*kitnin-en*	'sweet'
kin	'woman'	*kin-en*	'married (of men)'
nang	'ridge'	*nang-en*	'elevated, on the ridge'
klal	'brightness, light'	*klal-en*	'clear, bright, light in color'
nikg	'stomach'	*nikg-en*	'always hungry'
yangkipm	'talk'	*yangkipm-en*	'talkative'

Adjective + -en ---> Adjective

Adjective	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
tukgun	'ripe'	*tukgun-en*	'fruit-bearing'
wuri	'clear'	*wuri-wen*	'clear'
wor	'good'	*wor-en*	'allowed, lawful'

Adverb + -en ---> Adjective

Adverb	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
kwa	'up'	*kwa-wen*	'early; high up (one)'
wet	'today's past'	*wet-en*	'new'
en	'outside'	*en-en*	'outside (one)'

---

[14]   As is the case with *-et, -en* exhibits several different allomorphs: *-en, -wen, -yen, -pen, -ten, -ken.*

Examples:

> *Warim   titno!*
> child   be.crazy
> 'The child it crazy'

> *Kupm   titnowen   ya*
> 1sg   ignorant   road/way
> 'I do not know the road'

> *Namung   pa   tukgun*
> banana   D   ripe
> 'The bananas are ripe'

> *Walok   tukgunen   wor*
> papaya   fruit-bearing   good
> 'A good fruit-bearing papaya'

About the lexical and syntactic uses of *-en*:

The suffix *-en* is highly productive and can probably form an attributive modifier out of any semantically suitable noun.

> *anong   nang-en*
> village   ridge-ATR
> 'village on the ridge'

> *melnum   hen   -en*
> person   outside-ATR
> 'outsider'

> *mining   kwa-wen*
> night   up -ATR
> 'early night'

> *melnum   Maprik-en   ur*
> person   Maprik-ATR   ID
> 'a man from Maprik'

When added to a noun, the suffix *-en* usually has the meaning 'belonging to something or somebody' or 'with'. In this meaning the suffix is often more syntactic than lexical. One function of he suffix possibly is to bind the parts of nominal phrases together:

> *kilpakg   miring-en*
> fire place   white man-ATR
> 'a western style stove'

> *kiin   kipman-en*
> woman   man-ATR/with
> 'both men and women

> *nimong*   *epik-en*
> basket   rubbish-ATR
> 'a waste basket'

> *Man*   *al-kil*   *pa*   *nepm*   *paipm-en*   *rpma*   *anong*
> mother   G-3sg   D   leg   bad-ATR   sit.R   village
> 'His mother who was lame, stayed in the village.'

> *mining*   *ran-en*
> night   day-ATR/with
> 'by day and night'

Note that the suffix *-en* is also used to mark the specifying or part-of-whole noun of a noun complex:

> *okmilip*   *yipuk-en*
> tongue   top-ATR
> 'the tip of tongue'   (yipuk 'top of something')

> *yangkipm*   *yiprokg-en*
> talk   base   -ATR
> 'the meaning of talk'   (*yiprokg* 'base, root; origin')

In many cases the addition of *-en* to an adjective forms another lexical adjective or at least changes the semantic meaning of the adjective slightly, but in some cases it is hard to detect what is the semantic difference between the form with *-en* and the one without it. One possible explanation is that the addition of *-en* emphasizes the adjective (see the similar use of *-en* with possessive pronouns; Section 2. 4. 1. 3). Another explanation is that the addition of *–en* somehow metaphorically extends the meaning; for example from physical bigness to a more abstract kind of bigness:

> *marpm*   *wusok*
> money   small
> 'small amount of money'

> *marpm*   *pa*   *wusok-en*
> money   D   small-ATR
> 'that is an easy price'

> *wan*   *wail*
> house   big
> 'big house'

> *kwap*   *wail-en*
> work   big-ATR
> 'a big task'

Adjectives derived with *-is* and *-e*

Some adjectives are derived by adding the suffix *-is* to a noun referring to the item or substance having the property of the adjective.   Only rarely does *-is* form adjectives from other word classes than nouns. The suffix is not very productive anymore, which can be seen in the fact that there are a number of cases where the bound formative of an adjective formed by *-is* does not occur in isolation

anymore. Adjectives formed by **- is** are far less common than adjectives formed by **-et** or **–en**, but many of them are common lexemes.

Noun + -is ---> Adjective

Noun	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
wanukg	'greens, vegetables'	*wanukg-is*	'green (color)'
pung	'plant sp.(source of yellow dye)'	*pung-kis*	'yellow color'
kinipm	'gall'	*kinip-is*[15]	'bitter; stingy'
hiino	'joke'	*hiino-wis*	'funny'; joking
upmukg	'mold'	*upmukg-is*	'moldy'

Verb + -is ---> Adjective

Verb	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
kungkurung	'(to) thunder'	*kungkuru-wis*	'furious'

Meaning of root is unknown in following cases:

kro*		*kro-wis*	'sour'
klom*		*klom-pis*	'numb'
mam*		*mam-pis*	'stinking, to stink'

 Some numerals are also formed using the suffix **-is**:

ur	'indefinite deictic'	*ur-is*	'one'

Examples:

> *Men   ak   hiino alm -peitn*
> 1excl   do.R   joke   hit.R-2sgO
> 'We are poking fun at you'

> *Por   ti   hiinowis,   a?*
> story   D   funny   or
> 'Isn't this story funny!'

> *Tu   kai anel   wanukg*
> 3pl   go   pick.R   greens
> 'They went to pick greens'

> *Kupm   karken   hapm   wanukgis*
> 1sg   dislike   cloth   green
> 'I do not like green clothes'

A handful of adjectives are observed to end in a final **-e.** This suffix might be related to the suffix **-e** that is used with verbs to mark transitivity or continuity. The idea of continuity or permanence can be thought to exist also between the source noun and resulting adjective in the following examples:

---

[15]   The consonant /m/ disappears for some reason; compare to *kinipm-et* 'not growing a big garden'.

Noun etc.	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
raim	'intestines'	*raim-pe*	'crooked, bent, curly'
hut	'completely, altogether'	*hut-e*	'straight'
ak klal	'do brightness'	*aklal-e*	'true'

Examples:

> *Lam   amo   hut   ise*
> lamp   die.R   straight   PERF
> 'The lamp went completely out'

> *Kupm   kul   hute*
> 1sg   come   straight
> 'I came straight/directly'

The adjective *aklale* 'true' has kept the realis/irrealis mode distinction:

> *Mpa   kitn   la   yangkipm   iklale   kolti*
> FUT   2sg   say   talk   true.IR   only
> 'You must talk only true talk'

2.6.3.   Comparison of Adjectives

In Urim, there is no morphological means of expressing degrees of properties. Instead, various phrasal constructions are used. A common device is the addition of a form identical to the adjective *paipm* 'bad' after the adjective to express 'very'. Frequently, the form *namput* 'mention' is also interposed between the adjective and *paipm*. When *namput paipm* is not preceded by an adjective, it has the meaning 'very good'. With adjectives, however, it strengthens the goodness of the property they encode. Sometimes also the word *maur* 'spirit' or the expression *maur alkil* is used in the same meaning. This expression can also be used with adverbs.

> *kalkut   paipm*
> heavy   bad
> 'very heavy'

> *kiin   wor   namput   paipm*
> woman   good   mention   bad
> 'a very good woman'

> *kinipis   maur*
> stingy   spirit
> 'awfully stingy'

> *watipmen   maur (al-kil)*
> plenty   spirit (G-3sg)
> 'very much'

Some adjectives have their own special intensifiers. For example, the word *manten* (< *man* 'main, principal, major') is used after the adjective *wail* 'big' to express hugeness. In the same way the word *mileng* 'very' is used with the adjective *watin* 'long'; *watin mileng* 'very long'.

Kil   *wail*   *man-ten*
3sg   big   main-ATR
'He is very big'

Wan   *wail*   *man-ten*
house   big   main-ATR
'a huge house'

Meng   *al-ki l-en*   *watin*   *mileng*
neck   G-3sg-ATR   long   very
'Its neck is very long'

When two particular referents are compared with respect to some property, a serialized construction containing the verb *angen* 'surpass' is used:

Kil   *wail*   *angen*   *-topm*
3sg   big   surpass.R-1sg.O
'He is bigger than me'

To express superlative notions, a similar construction is used:

Kil   *wail*   *angen*   *men*   *plalng-ten*
2sg   big   surpass.R   1pl.Exc   finish-ATR
'He is the biggest of us all'

The forms *waiketn /waikotn* 'small, a little', or its shorter forms *ketn/kotn*, or the reduplicated forms *waiketnketn/waikotnkotn, ketnketn/kotnkotn* are used adverbially to indicate possession of a property to a small degree.

Kitn   *wor*   *waiketn-ketn*   *aki*   *kalpis?*
2sg   good   small -RED   or   not
'Are you a little bit better or not?'

To indicate an even lesser degree, the sympathetic diminutive word *yek* 'poor' is placed after the adjective *wasek* 'small'. If the modified noun is non-singular in reference, part of the adjective is repeated, *waseksek*, and if the word *yek* is used it is repeated, too:

Kupm   *wet*   *arkolng*   *yul*   *wasek-sek*   *yek-yek*   *kolti*
1sg   just   pull.R   fish   small-RED   poor-RED   only
'I only caught very small poor fish'

In the case of color adjectives, and a few other adjectives, (potentially multiple), occurrences of the attributive suffix **-en** serve to indicate a progressively less vivid color, or lesser property e.g.

watet   'red'
watet-en   'a little bit red'

watet-en-en   'even less red'
watet-en-en-en   'hardly red at all'

klalen	'light'
klalen-en	'a little bit light'
klalen-en-en	'hardly light at all'
walim	'brown'
walim-pen-en-en	'just a little bit brown'

(compare to the similar way that time adverbs can have reduplicated suffixes to indicate the length of time: *pikekg* 'yesterday', *pikekg-tak-ai* 'long ago' , *pikekg-tak-tak-ai* 'very long ago')

Finally, complete possession of a property is expressed using the adverb *wrisen* 'altogether, totally, completely; once and for all' (*wris-en* 'one-ATR'). Some adjectives require the 'comparative' *paipm* 'bad, very' to appear before *wrisen* to strengthen the property; *wail paipm wrisen* 'altogether big'. Some adjectives can have *wrisen* follow them with or without *paipm* and in both cases it increases the degree of the property. When it occurs with *paipm*, the degree is even greater. For example *wor wrisen* or *wor paipm wrisen* means 'totally good' (or perfect?). One way of expressing superlative notion with the adjective *wasek* 'small' is to add the word *tikris(-et)* after it, which can in turn be followed by *yek* 'poor':

yul	*wasek*	*tikris*	*yek*
fish	small	?	poor

'a very tiny little fish'

Another way of expressing the superlative degree of any property is to use the locative *(kai) ai* '(go)over there' after any of the degree adverbials:

kil	*wail*	*man-ten*	*paipm*	*(wrisen)*	*(kai)*	*ai*
3sg	big	main-ATR	bad	(totally)	(go)	remote

'She is extremely big without compare'

With color terms, the word *paipm* 'bad' is used to indicate a darker shade of color. When the word *paipm* is repeated in this kind of expression it does not indicate plurality but just further strengthens the property:

Kil	*tapminei*	*wanukgis*	*paipm-paipm*	*kil -ke,*
3sg	thread	green	bad -bad	3sg-EMP
kil	*pa*	*wanukgis*	*wor*	*klalen*
3sg	D	green	good	bright

'This here is very dark green thread but this is bright green'

It is also possible to circumvent comparative constructions with functionally equivalent non-comparative utterances, as in the following example:

Wurkapm	*wekg*	*rmpa.*	*Kitn*	*uwi*	*wail*	*pa*
paper	two	lie.R	2sg	take.IR	big	D
iye	*kai*	*(elng*	*wasek*	*pa*	*rmpi)*	

carry.IR	go	put	small	D	lie.IR

'There are two books. Take the big(ger) one (and leave the small(er) one).'

In the example above, even if both books were very tiny, this construction could be used.

2.7. Adverbs

Adverbs are modifiers of constituents other than noun phrases. They take in, therefore, 1) verb phrase modifiers, 2) sentence modifiers, 3) modifiers of adjectives, and 4) modifiers of other adverbs. Most adverbs in Urim are single morphemes but may also be derived words or compound constructions.

2.7.1.   Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs and adverbials constitute a large and important subclass in Urim. Since Urim verbs have no tense morphology indicating time of occurrence, temporal adverbials are especially important. The deictic temporal adverbs form a system that distinguishes several degrees of remoteness in the future and past.

The principal deictic temporal adverbs are listed below:

General Time Reference	Form	Meaning
Before Today - General Past earlier)	*pikekg*	(Earlier Past) (yesterday or
	kwekekg	'2 days ago'
	pikekgkil	'yesterday'
Today	*wuten, wet*	'short time ago, today'
	weti (wet ti)	'just now, today'
	am	'now'
	amti	'now, next moment'
	mpa (am pa)	(General Future)
After Today	*hikg(kil)*	'tomorrow'
	kwaikg	'2 days from now'
	kiki	'3 days from now'
	kwangil	'4 days from now'
	kwalel	'5 days from now'
	ikga	(Later Future) (tomorrow or later)

Note from the above forms in the list of deictic temporal adverbs that the system is somewhat symmetrical around 'now/today'. *Pikekgkil* 'one day ago' resembles the expression *hikgkil* 'one day from now', and **kwekekg** 'two days ago' (< *kwa+pikekg* 'above yesterday') resembles the adverb 'two days from now' **kwaikg** ('above tomorrow').

In addition to the forms listed above the past temporal adverb *pikekg* can be modified in several ways to indicate a more distant past. Some temporal adverbs (at least *pikekg, kwekekg* and *hikg*) can also be modified by the distant deictic *-ai*. This makes the point of time even more indefinite:

pikekg (itna) hep				'long time before'
pikekg ak wang hep, ak pikekg hep				'in olden times'
pikekg ai				'sometimes earlier'
pikekg tak ai				'long ago'
pikekg taktak ai				'long ago'
pikekg tak ur ai				'sometimes long ago'
ikg ai				'sometimes later'

Examples:

Por   a   nokg   a   pikekg   hep
story   G   salt   G   past   before
'Story about how the salt was made long time ago (time of parents and grandparents)'

<u>*Pikekg*</u> <u>*ai*</u>   *kupm kinar   ai,   <u>hikgkil</u>   <u>pa</u> *kupm wa   kinar*
past   remote 1sg   go down   remote   tomorrow D   1sg   again   go.down
'I have been down there before/long time ago, tomorrow I will go there again.'

Pikekg   tu   mamikgmamiin   <u>pikekg-ta-wai</u>
past   3pl   ancestors   past -? -ID
'Long time ago the ancestors....'

The temporal adverb *am* 'now' expresses concurrent time. It usually occurs after the subject immediately before the verb, but can occasionally occur before the subject, too. If there is *pake* or *tike* at the end of the clause, their combined meaning is emphatic and could in many cases be translated 'it is --- that', 'it is ----- who'. (There is more about the uses of *am* in the section 5.5.5)

Wang   al –kil -en   kul   wreren pa,   tu   <u>am</u>   wuli   eng   arkol   nim
time   G-3sg-ATR   come   near   D   3pl   now   arrive OBL   pull.R slit.gong
'When its time comes close, they come now to pull the slit gong'

Wet   kipman   pa ari,   atom   am   kalpis   ise.
N.Past   man   D see.R   then   now   no   PERF
'The man had just seen it, therefore it does not work any more.'

Am   wet   kupm   ti   angkon   wakg   alk -en   ti -ke.
now   N.Past   1sg   this   shovel.R   fire   give-2pl.O   this-EMP
'It was me who just gave them the fire.'

In addition to the deictic temporal adverbs, there are also non-deictic sequencing adverbial forms: *hep* 'first, ahead, in front of' and *katnukg* 'later, afterwards, behind'. This adverb exceptionally gets realis-irrealis mode; irrealis form is *kutnukg* (In the Kukwo dialect and in western villages of the Urim 2 dialect the forms are *kanukg* and *kunukg*).

These non-deictic adverbials are possibly bi-categorial, functioning both as adverbs and verbs (this would explain why *katnukg* gets realis-irrealis mode like verbs do). Consider the following examples:

'Hep   *o,*   *kupm*   *mpa*   *kutnukg*   *kai*   *pa-ke'*
first   IMP   1sg   FUT   follow.IR   go   D-EMP
Atom   *kil*   *hep,*   *kupm*   *katnukg*
then   3sg   go first   1sg   follow.R
''Go ahead, I'll come later'. She went ahead and I went later.'

Kipman   *hep*   *aye*   *warim*
man   first   carry.R   child
'The husband came first, carrying the child'

The most common position of occurrence for temporal adverbs and adverbials is clause/sentence initially. When temporal adverbs occur sentence initially, they can be followed by the deictic pronoun *pa,* especially when there is contrast to some other point of time or when the temporal adverb or adverbial starts a new chapter in the text.

Pikekgkil   *kitn*   *hokg*   *rmpa*   *kai*   *ahi?*
yesterday   2sg   sleep   lie.R   go   where
'Where did you sleep yesterday?'

Hep   *pa*   *kipm*   *wangket*   *mi-wel*   *kopi*   *pa*
first   D   2pl   cut.R   grass-3sgO   coffee   D
'First, you cut grass from the coffee'

Kutnukg   *pa*   *ikga*   *kipm*   *itopen*   *eng*   *kopi*   *a-kipm*
later.IR   D   FUT   2pl   rejoice.IR   OBL   coffee   G-2pl
ikga   *ok*   *rke*   *watipmen*
FUT   fruit   hang.IR   plenty
'Later you'll be glad because your coffee will bear a lot of fruit'

Sometimes the clause initial temporal adverb functions almost like a conjunction, starting a dependent clause and marking its temporal relation to the previous clause (see also the Section 5.5.5):

Ingkut   *mehen-mehen,*   *mpa*   *masin*   *aln-tu*   *tipor*
Sew.IR   easy-easy   FUT   machine   G-3pl   break.IR
'Sew carefully, lest their machine will break'

Itni   *kolti*   *ikga*   *kitn*   *uwi*   *ariwe*
stand.IR   only   later   2sg   get.IR   knowledge
'Just wait, you will learn it later'

Unfocused temporal adverbs usually occur following the subject and immediately before the verb. Temporal adverbs can also occur after verb; this position is more focused.

Kitn   *wet*   *kai*   *ahi?*
2sg   N.Past   go   where?
'Where did you (just) go'

Wangarke   *kil*   *numpet,*   *pikekg-tak*   *-ur*   *-ai*   *aki*   *pikekg-kil*   *aki*
when   3sg   sick   past   -long time-ID-remote   or   past-this   or

weti?
now
'When did he become sick, long time ago or yesterday or just now?'

2.7.2.   Manner Adverbs and Frequentative Temporal Adverbs

In Urim, manner adverbs normally follow the predicate and both the direct and indirect object and usually any ***eng*** prepositional phrases that are present (but they may occur before the ***eng*** prepositional phrase if they are in focus). In this respect they differ from onomatopoetic and descriptive verbs, which usually occur before the main verb (see also the section 5.4).

Kil   *kwal-kwal*   *kai*
3sg   wail-wail   go
'He went wailing'

The class of manner adverbs is quite large in Urim. Some of them are bi-categorical, functioning either as attributive modifiers in the noun phrase or as manner adverbs.

Form	Adjectival meaning	Adverbial meaning
paipm	'bad, evil'	'badly, awfully
wor	'good'	'well, very'
titnongket	'strong'	'strongly'
hute	'straight'	'straight'
raimpe	'crooked'	'crookedly'
kalnten	'strong, stubborn'	'strongly, stubbornly'
waiketn	'small'	'a little'
watin	'long'	'far, long way of'

Also some verbs and nouns can function as adverbs without any morphological change:

maur	'spirit'	'awfully, very'
mis	'heap, bunch'	'close to each other'
kirng	'border, line'	'near, close by'
karng	'(be)full of, tight'	'close, tightly'

Examples:

ya   *hute*
road   straight
'the straight (right) road'

Kil   *angket*   *hute*
3sg   cut.R   straight
'He cut (it) straight'

Kil   *melnum*   *titnongket*
3sg   man   strong
'He is a strong man'

> *Kil*   *ak*   *kwap*   *(pa)*   *titnongket*
> 3sg   do.R   work   (D)   strongly
> 'He worked hard (lit: He did that work strongly)

Manner adverbs are often formed from other words (verbs, nouns, adjectives, quantifiers) by various derivational means: reduplication or suffixes **-et** and **-en** .

wris	'one'	*wris wris*	'one by one'
		wrisen	'altogether'
wekg	'two'	*wekg wekg*	'two by two'
pirpir	'run'	*pirpiren*	'fast'
kapring	'circle'	*kapringen*	'around'
kati	'follow'	*katikati*	'level, even'
man	'other'	*man(man)*	'differently, separately'
ampen	'try'	*ampenet*	'slow, difficult; slowly'

There are also some manner adverbs that are formally reduplicated but there is no corresponding uneduplicated form:

ihr	?	*hirir*	'evenly'
tong	?	*tongtong*	'slowly, carefully'
repm	?	*repmrepm*	'evenly'

Some adjectives are transformed into adverbs by addition of the suffix **-el**. This suffix seems to only be used to form adverbs, whereas reduplication and the other derivational suffixes mentioned above are also used to form adjectives and verbs (See section 2.4.1.2 for a discussion of the possible origin of **-el.**).

paipm	'bad'	*paipmel*	'badly, not properly'
wor	'good'	*worel*	'well'
kalpm	'shore'	*kalpmilel*	'in vain, for nothing'

Quite a few adverbs are lexicalized verbal constructions with realis/irrealis distinction:

ak-klal-e	'do-brightness-CNT'	*aklale/iklale*	'truly'
ari-wor	'see-good'	*ariwor(wor)/iriwor(wor)*	'well, nicely'
ari-paipm	'see-bad'	*aripaipm/iripaipm*	'badly'

Examples of the placement of adverbs are given below:

> *Ntokg*   *mehen*   *mpa*   *kitnangku!!*
> do.IR   carefully   FUT   break.off.IR
> 'Do it carefully lest it break off'

> *Yipo*   *tongtong!*
> tie.IR   tightly
> 'Tie it tightly'

Kil   amo   hut
3sg   die.R   completely
'He died / became completely unconscious'

Yo   karkur   -el   kiminin
tree   smash.R-3sgO   completely
'The tree smashed him to death'

Tiker   wurkapm   pa   wris   wris
loosen.IR   paper   D   one   one
'Turn the pages one by one'

Kuntuk   itna   kalpmilel
pot   stand.R   nothing
'The pot is empty'

Kwap   pa   kil   ak   ari   -wor-wor
work   D   3sg   do.R   see.R-good-good
'He did the work very well'

Hapm   pa   kil   awi   kalpmilel
cloth   D   3sg   get.R   nothing
'He got the clothes free'

Ampur   la   yikakatnen!
may.not   speak   loudly
'Do not speak loudly!'

The frequentative temporal adverbs *yongkyong* 'all the time, for a long time', *perper* 'constantly, often', *pen* (or *pem*) 'again, still, first' and *lanen/lanlan* 'a long time' also occur after the predicate rather than before it.

Hu   awei   itna   yongkyong
water   rain.R   stand.R   long.time
'It was raining a long time'

Kil   karkuk   perper
3sg   bathe.R   often
'He bathes often'

itna   lanen
stand.R   long time
'wait a long time'

Kitn   itni   o,   kil   il   okipma   pa   pen.
2sg   stand.IR IMP   3sg   eat.IR food   D   first
'Wait, he will eat food first'

2.7.3.   Locative Adverbs

The most important locative adverbs in Urim are: *yela* 'everywhere', *hen* 'outside', *kwa* 'up'. Their position in the clause is the same as the position of locative objects; i.e. they usually occur immediately after the predicate.

Kil   hatn   kol-pa   yela
3sg   wander.R   like-that   everywhere
'He wandered around everywhere'

Tu   kawor   hen
3pl   go out/in   outside
'They went outside'

Kupm   itna   kwa ti   nepm   rok   -opm
1sg   stand.R up   C   leg   be.tired-1sgO
'My legs are tired because I have been standing'

Urim has also locative nouns that function very much like locative adverbs in noun phrase and sometimes occur in isolation like adverbs; *kuin* 'middle, center; in the middle', *yamping* 'side; near, by', *watneikgen* 'underneath', *wulom* 'edge, margin, side' (see 2.3.1.5).

Kil   kaino   yo   kwa
3sg   go.up   tree   up
'He climbs up the tree'

No   watin,   kinar   watin,   anong   pa   kuin
ascend   long way   descend long way   village   D   in the middle
'A long slope, the village in the middle'

wuring   kuin
garden   center
'the center/middle of the garden'

2.7.4.   Negation

There are two basic negators in Urim: *ake* 'not' (for verbal clauses) and *kalpis* (for non-verbal clauses) (=Kukwo dialect *kalpm*) 'no'. Instead of *kalpis* the more injection-like *a'a* can also be used.

The verbal negator *ake* can occur either immediately before or after the subject (more usual in texts), but if the subject is prominent and therefore fronted, then *ake* always occurs between it and the verb. *Ake* is also used in verbless equative and descriptive clauses.

Ake   kil   atning
NEG   3sg   listen.R
'He did not listen'   (emphatic)

Tu   ake   kai anong
3pl   NEG   go   village
'They did not go to village/home'

Tu   ipma   wris   pa   ake   atnurng-kopm
3pl   belly   one   D   NEG   leave.R-1sgO
'The Christians have not left me'

Kupm ake   yul   rmpa
1sg   NEG   fish   lie
'I do not have fish.'

Okipma   ti   ake   wor
food   this   NEG   good
'This food is not good.'

Kalpis is used to negate non-verbal existence and possessive clauses, occurring at the end of the clause. It frequently takes the attributive suffix *-en*. *Kalpis* (or sometimes *a'a*) is also used to answer yes/no questions and at the end of the clause to strengthen the *ake* negation of the clause.

Kupm   hapm   kweikwei pa   kalpis.
1sg   clothes   things   D   NEG
'I do not have things like clothes.'

Kupm   ya   kalpis-en   eng   kupm   awi   kweikwei   a   kol-pa.
1sg   road   NEG-ATR   PUR   1sg   take.R   things   REL   like-that
'I have no way to get things like that.'

Kupm   marpm   kalpis-en-topm
1sg   money   NEG-ATR-1sgO
'I have no money'

Kitn   ari?   Kalpis, ake   *kupm   ari.*
2sg   see.R   NEG   NEG   1sg   see.R
'Do you see(it)? No, I do not see (it).'

A'a   am   yikak   am   no   ti -ke
NEG   now   footprints   now   ascend   here-PERF
'No (what you said is not true), the footprints are coming up here.'

Ake   kupm   hokg,   kalpis
NEG   1sg   sleep   NEG
'I did not sleep, indeed not'

Kalpmen (more seldom *kalpis*) is used to negate, or actually correct, a fact in the previous statement.

Pikekg   kupm   anti   Lam   kinar   nirkgin, Lam   kalpmen,   Layun
PAST   1sg   with.R Lam   go.down   woods   lam   NEG   Layun
'I went with Lam to the woods, no - not with Lam, with Layun'

Kupm   yul   kalpis.   Kalpis   kalpmen,   ilk   -opm   o!
1sg   fish   NEG   NEG   NEG   give.IR-1sgO   IMP
'I have no fish' - 'No, (you do have some.)Give me (some)!'

Obligations are negated by *ampake* and *akempa* 'should not, ought not', and *am(p)ur* 'don't'. These words always occur first in the sentence.

> *Ampur   ak   ikgwam!*
> don't   do.R   theft
> 'Do not steal!'

> *Ampake   ur   rpmi   ilpmahak,   kalpis*
> should.not   ID   sit.IR   lazy   NEG
> 'No one should sit lazy'

> *Ampake   kil   iri*
> may.not   3sg   see.IR
> 'He is not allowed to look'

There are also some other means of expressing negation, e.g. the expression *'kai ahi?* 'where' gives a scolding meaning. There are also other roundabout ways to express negative answers (second example):

> *Kupm   a   il   yul.   Yul   kai   ahi?*
> 1sg   want   eat.IR fish.   fish   go   where
> 'I want to eat fish. There is no fish (Where you think there's fish!)'

> *Mla   aser   mi?   Kupm   karken!*
> who   weed   grass   1sg   dislike
> 'I do not want to weed grass'

2.7.5.   Modal Adverbs

In Urim most modal notions are encoded using modal verb + VP/S complement constructions, or various serial constructions.   One of the negative words explained in the previous section could be analyzed as a modal verb; *am(p)ur* 'don't'.

There are also a few modal adverbs in Urim. Imperatives are encoded with a sentence final modal adverb that is cliticized onto the last word of the sentence:

> *Kai   o!*
> go   IMP
> 'Go!'

> *Tepm   kaino   om*
> 1pl.Inc   go.up   IMP+now
> 'Let us go now!'

Permissive imperative is encoded with repeating the predicate at the beginning of the sentence:

> Kai   kitn   kai   o!
> go   2sg   go   IMP
> 'You may go now!' or 'Okay, go now!'

Urim also has two modal adverbs that are used to encode probability; *pilpa* 'perhaps, must be' and *kol* 'possibly'. The word *kol* also has several other usages; therefore it will be described in more detail in Section 5.6. It is commonly used in conditional or other clauses where the event or action is less probable. It is not used when the condition is considered a fact or at least quite possible.

The modal adverb *pilpa* always occurs sentence initially. When it occurs after predicate, it has the meaning 'about, summarily' (the third example below). Also *kol* usually occurs sentence initially as modal adverb, but may also come between the subject and the verb, but has not found after the predicate in modal meaning (see the last examples below).

Pilpa *watokumplun* *al*
perhaps insect.sp. eat.R
'Maybe insects are biting'

Pilpa *aln-tu* *ur* *ai!*
perhaps G-3pl ID remote
'That must belong to somebody else!'

angkli *tatu* *pilpa*
throw.R around summarily
'throw around summarily'

<u>*Kol*</u> *kirmpa* *pa* *kai* *ile* *itni* *tipmining* <u>*pa, pa*</u> *antiwe.*
HYP plane D go lay.IR stand.IR mountain C C enough.R
'The airplane could very well have crashed to the mountain (it was so near)!'

<u>*Kol*</u> <u>*kil*</u> <u>*wuli*</u> <u>*pa*</u> *mpa* *kupm* *ikle* *-wel*
HYP 3sg arrive C FUT 1sg scold.IR-3sgO
'If/in case he comes, I will scold him'

<u>*Kol*</u> *pikekg* *kil* *wuli* *pipa, kil* <u>*kol*</u> *am* *kupm* *ikle* *-wel* *pake*
HYP past 3sg arrive C 3sg HYP now 1sg scold.IR-3sgO EMP
'If it had happened that he arrived yesterday, I certainly would have scolded him'

Am *tu* *mansan* *a* *Aknes* *pa* *rpmi*
now 3pl parents G Aknes D sit.IR
pa *ti* *am* <u>*kol*</u> <u>*a*</u> *kipm* *inel* *kai* *hokg*
C C now HYP C 2pl pick.IR go sleep
'Now if the parents of Agnes had been there, then you all <u>would have</u> gone to sleep (there)'

Kipm *pa* *wakg* *ur* <u>*kol*</u> *men* *kil* *aki?*
2pl D fire ID like 1plEx 3sg or
'Do you there have a lamp like we here (have) ?'

Impim	*kol*	*a*	*al*	*mpangkil*	*tatu*	*ti*
borers	like	REL	eat.R	timber	all.over	here

'Wood borers like the ones that are eating timber around here'

2.7.6.   Degree Adverbs

Certain adverbs are used in Urim to encode the degree of adjectives.   Most of the degree adverbs have been already described in the section 4.5.3, since they are also used to encode the comparison of adjectives.   The most important degree adverbs are:

paipm	'badly, very
namput paipm	'badly, very
maur alkil	'awfully, exceedingly
waiketn	'a little bit'
wrisen	'altogether, totally, completely'

Degree adverbs follow the adjectives they modify.

kalkut	*paipm*
heavy	bad

'very heavy'

2.7.7.   Aspectual Adverbs and Other Aspectual Constructions

Urim has several means to express aspectual notions.   Although aspect is not usually expressed by verb morphology, the suffix *-e*, which usually encodes transitivity, seems at least with some verbs also express continuing action.   Some aspects are expressed by serial verb constructions (Section 5.4)

The serial verb constructions expressing aspect differ from other serial constructions in that the aspect marking verb occurs after the verb it semantically modifies.. In other serial constructions the modifying verb usually occurs before the main verb.   This formal difference probably means that the serial verbs expressing aspect have been more or less grammaticalized into adverbs.

The most important and most adverb-like of these verbs is *plalng* 'be finished, over'. It is used to express completive aspect.   *Plalng* occurs clause finally or before clause final function words like *ise*, *pa* or imperative *o*.   *Plalng* also occurs together with conjunctions *pa*, *pipa* (or rare form *pilpa*), expressing consequal happenings (after completing this, he will do that) (see the section 5.5.7).   As an aspect marker *plalng* can also be followed by another aspect marker *ise*.

Nung	*eng*	*a*	*plalng*	*om*
wood	OBL	G	finish	now

'The wood is almost gone now'

Kipm	*a*	*men*	*plalng*
2sg	G	1plExc	finish

'You have become one of us'

Kil   kai   am   plalng ise
3sg   go   now   finish PERF
'It is now totally lost'

Warim akitn   kangku   yampis al-kupm angkli   angkli plalng
child   2sgPos   pull.out.R bean   G-1sg   throw.R   throw.R finish
'Your child pulled out all my beans and threw them all away'

Men   lap   namung pa   plalng, apis
1pl.Ecl roast.R banana   D   finish   scrape.R
'We roasted the bananas and then scraped the ashes off'

There are also some other aspect marking verbs that occur in the clause final position, but they are more clearly serial verbs and are therefore described in Section 3.3.6. 'Serial Structures'.

The most common and important aspectual adverb is *ise* (*ase* in Kukwo dialect and western villages of Yangkolen, *ike* in eastern villages of Yangkolen). This adverb always occurs clause finally. *Ise* is a very common word in Urim and expresses usually that the action or process has been completed and that the described state is valid at the time of speaking. Therefore it often can be translated 'already'. With process verbs *ise* points to the final result or goal of process. For these reasons *ise* can be called a perfective marker in Urim (see Comrie). Since completed action is usually past action, *ise* also expresses general past and often finality as well.

Hu   kapm al   warim ise
water   pond eat.R child   PERF
'The pond ate the child'

Kong   ise
morning   PERF
'Morning has come'

kil   palng   wail
3sg   become   big
'he grew big'

kil   wail   ise
3sg   big   PERF
'He is already big/ an adult'

Kuntuk hum   ise
pot   break   PERF
'The pot broke' or 'The pot is completely broken'

Kupm antokg ampei wakg ti kol   am   ilm   melnum pa imo   ise!
1sg   make.R rope   fire   C   HYP now shoot.IR man   D die.IR PERF
'I connected the electric cord, and I could have killed that man!'

The last example shows that *ise* can also be used in a clause having irrealis modality to denote finality of action.   (The word *amo* means either 'be sick' or 'die'). *Ise* can also occur in clauses having future tense; in these cases it's meaning is less aspectual. In the following example *ise* expresses intensity of the wish.

> *Kupm   a   il   ampen   ise*
> 1sg   INT eat.IR breadfruit   PERF
> 'I want to eat breadfruit'

When *ise* occurs in a clause having the verb *plalng* 'finish' as predicate, it usually expresses that not only the action has been completed but also some entity (food, time etc.) has been finished.

> *Hapm   plalng   ise*
> cloth   finish   PERF
> 'There are no more clothes left'

> *Timpalen ok   kil   am   wang   plalng   ise*
> tree.sp   fruit   3sg   now   time   finish   PERF
> 'The time of timpalen fruit is over now'

> *Am   tu   wrong   wailet kawor   am   tu   ngkat plalng ise*
> now   3pl   crowd   big   go.out/in   now   3pl   lift.R finish PERF
> ''A lot of people went (to the road), so they had carried everything already (nothing left for me to carry).'

> *A   wurkapm pa   am   kupm   antokg   anti -wen   plalng   ise*
> and   paper   D   now   1sg   make.R   with.R-3plO   finish   PERF
> 'About the papers - I have already gone through with them'

In the following examples *ise* also seems to express that the action or process is final or irrevocable:

> *Kai   am   plalng   ise*
> go   now   finish   PERF
> 'Is totally lost'

> *Or   tita   plalng   ise*
> fight   RES   finish   PERF
> 'The fight has stopped'

In the available data *ise* seems to occur only sentence finally, while the verb *plalng* which also expresses completion frequently occurs connecting two clauses in the meaning 'when that is finished, then' (see the section 5.5.7).

> *Kil   la   kinar   Maprik   plalng   wa   no*
> 3sg   INT   go.down   Maprik   finish   and   come.up

'He wants to go to Maprik and then come back'

The notion 'about to' is expressed by the expression *eng a,* which occurs before the verb and the verb is in irrealis mode.   Often *eng a* is preceded by *wreren* 'close to'. *Eng a* can also be used with *plalng* to express that the action is about to be completed.

> *Kwikwai   eng a   ik   nanikg   mpe*
> frog.sp   about.to   do.IR urine   extinguish .IR
> 'The frog is about to extinguish (the fire) with its urine!'

> *Manto wet   wreren eng a   iro   kanokg ti, ari kitn ungkwan ise*
> pig   N.Past close.to about.to break.IR ground D   but 2sg chase.R   PERF
> 'A pig was close to break the ground but you chased it away'

> *Itni   o   kupm   al   kai eng a   plalng pa-ke*
> stand.IR IMP   1sg   eat.R   go   about.to   finish   D-EMP
> 'Wait, I am about to finish eating'

2.8. Quantifiers

Quantifiers occur in the noun phrase after adjectives encoding quality and before relative clauses (which includes genitives) and demonstratives. Quantifiers can be subdivided into: 1) numerals, and 2) non-numeric quantifiers.

2.8.1. Numerals

Urim Counting Words

The Urim counting words contain numerals and tally-directions, which are presented below with morphemic glosses.

1	*wris* (Kukwo dialect: *writs*)	ur-is		one/a-ATR
2	*wekg*			
3	*wraur*			
4	*wikgwikg* (Kukwo dialect: *witnwetn*)	wekg-wekg		two-two
5	*wampomis*	wam-wom-mis		hand-other-whole
6	*wampomis wampom wris*	wam-wom-mis hand-other-whole	wam-wom hand-other	wris one
7	*wampomis wampom wekg*	wam-wom-mis hand-other-whole	wam-wom hand-other	wekg two
8	*wampomis wampom wraur*	wam-wom-mis hand-other-whole	wam-wom hand-other	wraur three
9	*wampomis wampom wikgwikg*	wam-wom-mis hand-other-whole	wam-wom hand-other	wekg-wekg two-two

10 *wampwam*   wam-wam
                                                 'hand-hand'

11 *wampwam yikak(wom) wris*   wam-wam   yikak-(wom)   wris
                                     hand-hand   leg-other   one

12 *wampwam yikak(wom) wekg*   wam-wam   yikak-(wom)   wekg
                                     hand-hand   leg-other   two

15 *(wampwam) yikakwomis*   wam-wam   yikak-wom-mis
                                     hand-hand   leg-other-whole

16 *(wampwam) yikakwomis yikakwom wris*
                                     wam-wam   yikak-wom-mis   yikak-wom wris
                                     hand-hand leg-other-whole   leg-other   one

19 *(wampwam) yikakwomis yikakwom wikgwikg*
                                     wam-wam   yikak-wom-mis   yikak-wom wekg-wekg
                                     hand-hand leg-other-whole   leg-other   two-two

20 *kamel*   *wris*
    person   one

21 *kamel*   *wris*   *tuwek*   *wris*
    person   one   plus   one

25 *kamel*   *wris*   *tuwek*   *wampomis*
    person   one   plus   hand-other-whole

26 *kamel*   *wris*   *tuwek*   *wampomis*   *wampom*   *wris*
    person   one   plus   hand-other-whole hand-other one

30 *kamel*   *wris*   *tuwek*   *wampwam*
    person   one   plus   hand-hand

37 *kamel*   *wris*   *tuwek*   *wampwam*   *wampomis*   *wampom*   *wekg*
    person   one   plus   hand-hand   hand-other-whole hand-other   two

40 *kamel*   *wekg*
    person   two

50 *kamel*   *wekg*   *tuwek*   *wampwam*
    person   two   plus   hand-hand

100 *kamel*   *wampomis*
    person   hand-other-whole

200 *kamel*   *wampwam*
    person   hand-hand

300 *kamel*   *wampwam*   *alung*   *kamel*   *wampomis*
    person   hand-hand   over   person   hand-other-whole

379 *kamel*   *wampwam*   *alung*   *kamel*   *wampomis*   *kamel*   *wraur*
    person   hand-hand   over   person   hand-other-whole   person   three
    tuwek   *wampwam*   *wampomis*   *wampom*   *wikgwikg*
    plus   hand-hand   hand-other-whole   hand-other   two-two

| 400 | (and higher numbers up to infinity) | *kamel* | *kamel* |
| | | person | person |

Urim Counting System

The Urim counting system is a finger-and-toe tally system with three basic numerals. Numerals divisible by five like 5, 10, 15, 100, 105, 110, 115, 200, 205, 210, 215, 300, 305, 315, 400 (405, 410, and 415) areare expressed by phrases containing names of body parts which function as quantity classifiers. The words used in such phrases are: hand, leg, person, other, whole, plus, over, e.g. 115 *kamel wampomis wampwam yikakwomis* 'person hand-other-whole hand-hand leg-other-whole'. The quantity classifier for 5 means 'whole other hand' and for 10 'hand-hand (two hands)', for 15 'hand-hand (two hands and) whole other leg'. The quantity classifier for 20 is *kamel wris,* which means 'one person'. All other numerals are formed by combinations of these quantity classifiers and numerals, e.g. 8 *wampomis wampom wraur* 'hand-other-whole hand-other three'

The three basic numerals are 1, 2 and 3. The numeral 4 is derived from the numeral 2; *wikgwikg* 'two-two' (the *e*-vowel of *wekg* has probably changed somewhere along the line into an *i*; the corresponding word in Kukwo dialect is *witnwetn).* The first four numerals have the form 1, 2, 3, 2+2.

The Urim counting system has a modified (1, 2, 5, 20) cyclic structure, each cycle representing the tallying of the fingers of a hand or the toes of a foot, and there is and explicit 20- or 'person' cycle on the completion of tallying all the fingers and toes of a person (see Lean 1986).

Tallying with fingers and toes

All numbers can be tallied with fingers and toes and persons. Tallying begins on the little finger on the left hand which is bent down (often with help of the right hand) and proceeds in order until the thumb is bent down, the corresponding tally-direction is *wampomis*, literally 'hand-other-whole'. Tallying then continues by bending down the little finger of the right hand continuing in order until the thumb is reached, thus giving the total of ten (*wampwam,* literally 'hand-hand'). Sometimes upon reaching 10, the two fists are brought together.

Tallying then proceeds to the toes so that 11 is *wampwam yikak wris*, literally ' hand-hand leg one'. Preceding from the big toe to the little toe of the left foot in order, 15 is reached, 'hand-hand leg-other-whole'. One holds the left fingers on those toes tallied. Tallying continues by holding the right fingers on the toes tallied on the right foot beginning on the big toe and preceding in order until the little toe is reached, thus giving a total of 20, (*kamel wris*, literally 'person one').

2.8.2.   Non-Numeric Quantifiers

The most important non-numeric quantifiers are listed below: Some of them are bi-categorical.

Form	Word Class Function:

	Quantifier	Adverb	Adjective	Deictic
(ye)kimeket	'all, everybody'			
plalng(ten)	'all, everybody'			
waiketn(ketn)	'a little of' (uncountable)	'a little'	'small'	
watipmen	'much, plenty'			
wailet	'plenty, a lot'			
mrer alkil	'a lot'			
wrongkwail	'many, lots of'			
yaten(en)	'both'			
ur	'some'			'a, one'
ur .... ur	'one ... another'			
tiur	'some'			
wriswris	'every, each one'	'one by one, now and then'		

The indefinite quantifier **ur** is a good example of a word that exhibits several class functions. Its most common and probably basic function is indefinite deictic 'a, one' (in negative clauses 'any'). When it occurs with a mass noun, its meaning is 'some':

> *il   ur   pen!*
> eat.IR   some/one   again
> 'eat one/some more!'

> *akor   okipma   ur*
> find.R   food   some
> 'find some food'

With countable nouns the combinations **ur ai** or **ti ur** are used to express indefinite amount:

> *Awi   hipm   ur   ai   kul*
> take.R   leaf   ID   remote   come
> 'Brought some leaves'

> *Hapm   ti-ur   huwet*
> cloth   this-ID   wet
> 'Some clothes are wet'

Examples of other quantifiers are gven below:

> *Kitn   pa   ikgelen   minto   wris-wris*
> 2sg   D   look.after.IR   1pauc   one-one
> 'Take care of us each'

Tu   kimeket   kai   mpang
3pl   all   go   forest
'They all went to the bush'

Alupm   muikmayen pa kai ur, muinuror pa kai   ur.
put.into.R   sister   D   go   one brother   D   go   one
'They placed the sister into one, the brother into another (box)'

Some quantifiers, especially those that encode small or large amounts of something, can be modified by degree adverbs in the same way as adjectives (see the section 2. 6. 3).

Kil   awi   yul   wailet   paipm
3sg   get.R fish   plenty   bad
'He got very much fish'

Certain words that encode part-whole relationships are semantically close to quantifiers but differ from them in that they occur after adjectives only if the adjective refers to the whole entity (not to the part). They also can occur as the head of a noun phrase.

umpu   'half, piece, remainder'
wom(pel)   'other one, other side of'
tiwel   'half, other half, piece, part of'
mis(en)   'whole, solid'

Examples:

tapminei   umpu
rope   end
'rope's end/ piece of rope'

marpm   umpu
money   remainder
'the rest of the money'

tiwel   ur   misen   ur
half   one   whole   one
'One was part only, one was whole'

misen   ur   tiwel
whole   ID   half
'one and half'

kainil   misen   wraur   tuweket/wompel
moon   whole   three   double/other
'Three and half months'

More about the indefinite quantifier-pronoun <u>ur</u>

The indefinite quantifier *ur* is a good example of a word that has several word class functions. It resembles indefinite articles occurring on many languages, and like these, is clearly related to the numeral *uris* 'one'.   In Urim, the numeral *uris* morphologically looks like a attributive form of *ur* (ur-is 'ATR').

The most common and probably basic function of *ur* is to mark indefiniteness 'a, one' (in negative clauses 'any'). *Ur* is commonly used to introduce new referents to the text, but not every time. *Ur* is used in the following cases:

-   when it is important to know the number of referents introduced, but the context or other modifiers do not tell it. For this reason *ur* is almost always used when persons are introduced. Often it can be glossed 'one' like the numeral *uris*, but the numeral does not have the function of introducing new referents. Even if the numeral occurs, *ur* is still required to show that a new referent is being introduced (see the first example below).

Angkat   warim uris ur a   manyan   ha   pa   am   kai   se.
carry.R   child   one   ID G   parents   be.R   there   now   go   PERF
'Carried away the only child of certain local family'

Kiporng   ur   pa ingkli   nar!
break.IR   one   D   throw.IR   come.down
'Break one of them and throw down!'

Mentekg   Dik nampokgen melnum   Maprik-en   ur   kai   Pakwi.
1dual   Dik with.R   man   Maprik-ATR ID   go   Pakwi
We, I and Dik, went to Pakwi with a man from Maprik.'

Kil   armpen-topm   hapm ur   a   nowe
3sg   buy.R -1sg.O   cloth   one   G   go.up
'She bought me a pair of trousers.'

Manto   wasek   ur   mentekg   katin   plalng...
pig   small   ID   1dual   surround.R   finish
'Asmall pig we got surrounded..'

Kupm   la   uwi   hapm   ur   ti
1sg   say   take.IR   cloth   ID   this
'I will take this one (garment)' (*ur* refers to the fact, that there are more than one garment to choose from)

- In the following examples, the number of the referent is already clear from the context or from the presence of a numeral, so *ur* only has the meaning of indefiniteness:

Kil   kai   wan   wusok   ur   a   ela   kuin
3sg   go   house   small   ID   G   be   middle
'He went into a house which was situated in the middle'

Tu   kai   hu   kwokg   ur   ai
3pl   go   water creek   ID   remote
'They will go to some creek (any one that is near)'

Nangil   aye   numpet   ur   man
mosquito   carry.R   sickness   ID   other
'Mosquito carries another kind of sickness'

Wayu   ur   weten
taro   ID   new
'a new kind of taro'

Irmpen-topm   yul   wris   ur   pa!
buy.IR-1sgO   fish   one   ID   D
'Buy for me one tin of fish!'

- The combination **ur pa** (demonstrative pronoun) is used to introduce newly topical or otherwise important items to the text. In this combination ur has only the meaning of indefiniteness:

Wang   ur   pa,   mentekg   Karis   hel   kainil.
time   ID   D   1dual   Karis   roam   moon
'One day we - I and Karis - hunted in moonlight.'

Men   ari   tu   kiin,   kiin   wekg   ur   pa   itna   ya
1pl.Exc   see.R   3pl   woman   woman   two   ID   D   stand.R   road
'We saw women, two strange women standing at the road'

Kiin   ur   pa   ekg   naren   ampen   tukgwan.
woman   ID   D   two   pick.R   breadfruit   ripe
'Two women were picking ripe breadfruits.'

- When **ur** is used with an uncountable or inherently plural noun, it indicates indefinite quantity 'some'

il   ur   pen!
eat.IR   some/one   again
'Eat one/some more!'

Ikor   okipma   ur
find.IR   food   some
'Find some food!'

Kupm   kai   akor   nung   ur.
1sg   go   find.R   firewood   ID
'I went to get some firewood.'

- With countable nouns indefinite amount is expressed by using the combinations ***ur ai*** or ***ti ur***

> *Kil   awi   hipm   ur   ai   kul*
> 3sg   take.R   leaf   ID   remote   come
> 'She brought some leaves.'

> *Hapm   ti-ur   huwet*
> cloth   this-ID   wet
> 'Some clothes are wet.'

- In questions and negative clauses ***ur*** is used meaning 'any, anything, anyone'. In this context the meaning is ***ur*** is very indefinite, even the existence of referent is often unsure:

> *Kitn   alilng   yul   tingklak   ur   aki?*
> 2sg   smoke.R   fish   dry   ID   or
> 'Do you have any smoked fish to sell?'

> *Ake   kupm   ari   wel   ur.*
> not   1sg   see.R   bird   ID
> 'I did not see any bird.'

> *Ake   kupm   al   ur*
> neg   1sg   eat.R   ID
> 'I did not eat anything.'

> *Ake   ur   la.*
> not   one   say
> 'Nobody said anything/ Nobody spoke.'

> *Kuina   ur   klak   -t   -opm   hapm?*
> who   ID   wash.R-TR-1sgO   cloth
> 'Who will wash my clothes?'

Compare the following uses of ***ur*** alone and with various other quantifiers:

melnum	*ur*		'a stranger'
melnum	*ur*	*ti*	'this unknown man'
melnum	*ur*	*pa ...*	'there was a man...
melnum	*ur*	*ai*	'some (unknown) men, strangers'
melnum	*ti*	*ur*	'some men (from a known group)'
melnum	*uris*	*ur*	'one certain man (from a known village or group)'
melnum	*wekg*	*ur*	'two unknown men'
melnum	*manet*	*ur*	'another unknown man'

2.9. Demonstratives

There are four demonstratives. Each of these can have both referential and psychological uses. All can also be used to refer to time and as parts of pro-adverbs. The basic deictic functions of these demonstratives are as follows:

ti   'this, here' indicates physical nearness to the speaker, to the hearer, or to both. It can also indicate psychological nearness to the speaker.

pa   'that, there' indicates a referent that is some distance away from the speaker, the hearer, or both. The referent is usually near enough to be seen. *Pa* can also signal an indefinite distance.

ai   'far away, over there, somewhere' is phonetically a clitic, but native speakers usually write it separately. *Ai* indicates that a referent is relatively far away from both the speaker and hearer. The referent is usually not near enough to be seen. *Ai* also often indicates an indefinite spatial or temporal distance.

kil   '3sg; this, here' marks physical or psychological nearness and is sometimes used instead of *ti* when referring to humans or animals, or when the proximity of a referent is emphasized. *Kil* is basically a third person singular pronoun with its use as demonstrative pronoun being secondary (see section 2.4).

The demonstratives *pa* and *ti* have a wide range of discourse functions. These are discussed more thoroughly in the paper 'Demonstrative Pronouns in Urim Discourse' (LLM 1989). Here we will indicate those functions only briefly. Both *pa* and *ti* are also used as conjunctions. These functions are described later in section 5.5.6.

2.9.1. The far demonstrative *pa*

The word *pa* is by far the commonest word in Urim. In a corpus of 28,000 words, *pa* occurs over 3,500 times. About half of these are conjunctive uses of *pa*. In spoken Urim, intonation often helps to distinguish the different functions of *pa*. When *pa* is used as conjunction, it tends to be longer and more stressed than when it is a noun phrase constituent (see also section 5.5.6).

The following examples illustrate the use of *pa* as a demonstrative pronoun:

Waring   ti,   yikal pa
betel nut   this   bow   that
'The betel nut is here, the bow palm is there'

Kupm wakrongen eng la uwi ok manet-manet, pake
1sg like OBL say take.IR mouth other-other but
pa wonet paipm
that difficult bad
'I would like to learn many kinds of languages, but it is very difficult.'

Because of its many functions at discourse level the purely demonstrative function of *pa* is somewhat restricted in Urim. It can freely occur as independent demonstrative pronoun in most positions, like the examples above show, but does not often occur as the subject of transitive or intransitive clauses. The reason is probably that an independent word *pa* starting a clause could easily be interpreted as a conjunction. Also it seems, that *pa* occurring as locative object would be easily interpreted as emphatic particle. For this reason a deictic adverb is used instead. Compare the following examples:

Mentekg *rpma* *ti!*
1dual sit.R here
'Here we are!'

Mla *itna* *-wai?*
who stand.R-remote
'Who is there?'

Kupm *rpma* *pa!*
1sg   sit.R EMP
'I am alive!'

Ti *kai* *itni* *kai* *pa!*
C go stand.IR go there
'Go to stand over there!'

Tu *awi* *wayu* *ela* *pa*
3pl take.R taro be.R there
'They took that taro'

This last example was elicited. The native speaker did not accept the expression *wayu pa* in this clause, possibly because the clause was not part of any context or text. When *pa* is used with NP, it almost always marks givenness (refers back to something mentioned in the text or known from the context) and the demonstrative meaning is bleached. Therefore different combinations of verb + *pa* are used instead to make it clear that the speaker refers to location, not to givenness.

Examples of deictic and discourse functions of *pa* with NP:

Kil *ake* *wakrongen* <u>*kipman*</u> <u>*pa*</u> *eng* *kil* *tukgunakg* *kiangen*
3sg not like   man D C 3sg head   bald
'She did not like (as husband) that man because he was bald.'

Ling   *manto* *ur* *topra* *kinar* <u>*kapm*</u> <u>*pa?*</u>
cassowary pig   ID jump.R go.down pond D
'Has a pig or cassowary jumped into that pond (and made the water dirty)?'

<u>*Kweikwei*</u> *pa* *ak* *aripm?*
things   D do.R how.much?

'How much is that?'

(Notice, that while in English a demonstrative can occur by itself to encode a Subject argument, in Urim the word *kweikwei* 'thing' is added, because **pa** does not usually occur by itself in the Subject position)

Man	*warim*	*aser*	*mi,*	*pa*	*man*	*pa*	*aser*	*hep,*
mother	child	weed.R	grass	then	mother	D	weed.R	first

warim	*kiin*	*pa*	*aser*	*kanukg*
child	woman	D	weed.R	behind

'There was a mother and child weeding, and the mother weeded ahead, the daughter weeded behind.'
(Here **pa** functions as marker of textual givenness)

Kinyom	*pa*	*ma*	*wor*	*pake,*	*Kinepan*	*ma*	*pa*	*horen*
Kinyom	D	breast	good	EMP	Kinepan	breast	D	swollen

'Kinyom's breasts were good, Kinepan had swollen breasts.'

(**pa** marks contrast here. With proper names it would be unnecessary to mark definiteness)

Atom	*kupm*	*la*	*naki*	*kil*	*pa*	*lala* ...	*Atom*	*kil*	*lala* ...
then	1sg	say	tell.R	3sg	D	talk	then	3sg	talk

'Then I said to him: .... Then he said: ....'

(**pa** is used here to mark a topic change rather than givenness, because the personal pronouns already indicate given referents.)

The combination **ur pa** has special uses introducing new topics into a discourse (see section 4.7.2.1). In some cases **pa** is used without **ur** in the same introducing function despite the fact that the referent is being mentioned for the first time and cannot be known to the hearer. In this function both deictic and definite meanings have become bleached and the sole function of **pa** is to indicate the introduction of a topic:

Warim	*kiin*	*ur*	*pa*	*kaino*	*rmpa*	*kaino*	*Untun-ai*
child	woman	ID	D	go.up	sit.R	go.up	Untun-remote

'A girl went to live at Untun'

Wusok	*wail*	*wekg*	*pa*	*ekg*	*kai*	*miring.*
small	big	two	D	two	go	white.man

'(There were) two brothers (that) went to mission station.'

Kiin	*warimpet*	*pa*	*kai*	*karkuk,*	*atom* ...
woman	young	D	go	bathe.R	then

'A young woman went to bathe, and then ...'

The position of **pa** (and other demonstratives) in the noun phrase is after quantifiers and before the indefinite pronoun **ur**. Exceptionally **pa** may occur before qualifier or quantifier. In these cases the function of **pa** is to emphasize the modifier instead of whole NP:

> *Irmpen-topm*   *hapm*   *siket*   <u>*pa*</u>   <u>*watipmen!*</u>
> buy.IR-1sgO   cloth   shirt   D   plenty
> 'Buy for me <u>lots</u> of skirts!'

> *Warim*   *alkupm*   *pa*   *ile*   *wan*   <u>*pa*</u>   <u>*wail!*</u>
> child   G-1sg   D   build.IR   house   D   big
> 'My child, build a <u>big</u> house!'

2.9.2.   The Near Demonstrative *ti*

The demonstrative pronoun **ti** 'this, here' always signals proximity to the speaker or hearer. When **ti** occurs in texts, the nearness can also be psychological. This demonstrative pronoun can have almost same discourse functions as **pa** has (givenness, contrast etc.) but concrete or psychological meaning of nearness is always present in all uses (see the paper 'The Demonstrative Pronouns *pa* and *ti* in Urim Discourse). **Ti** is also used as conjunction (see section 5.5.6).

Following are examples of the occurrence of of **ti** as a locative adverb, a demonstrative pronoun, and as a demonstrative modifier within the noun phrase:

> *Mentekg*   *rpma*   *ti!*
> 1dual   sit.R   here
> 'Here we are!'

> *Ti*   *kar*   *a*   *ak*   *kwap*
> this   car   G   do.R   work
> 'This is a truck (not for passengers)'

> *Manto*   *pa*   *kinar*   *angko*   *minip*   *ti,*
> pig   D   go.down   fall.R   river   this
> 'The pig has crossed this river.'

Ti can also refer to objects not physically near, for example to mark sudden realization or strong emotion like in the following example, where the woman has just realized that the snake killed her husband:

> *Wui, kipman*   *a-kupm*   *ti*   *am*   *hul*   *ti*   *angklei*   *ise!'*
> Oh,   husband   G-1sg   here   now   snake   here   swallow.R   PERF
> 'Oh, the snake has swallowed my husband'

> (In this quote from a story the speaker is located in a village as she talks, while the snake and husband are in the jungle.)

2.9.3. The Personal Pronoun *kil* as Demonstrative

The third person pronoun **kil** funtions sometimes as near demonstrative substitute for **ti**. It is used especially often when referring to humans, but can also refer to non-human entities (see also the section 2. 4. 1. 1). Sometimes **kil** seems to be used to mark even closer proximity than **ti**, like in the first example below:

Pa	<u>mentepm</u>	<u>kil</u>	kaino	plalng	ti	paipm,	kai	<u>kipm pa</u>	kaino	-wom,
C	1pl.Inc	3sg/here	go.up	finish	here	bad	go	2pl D	go.down-IMP.now	

kupm	ikga	ikupe	<u>tunteng</u>	<u>ti</u>	kinar	hokg.
1sg	later	with.IR	3pa	here	go.down	sleep

'It would be bad if we all went up, you can go now, I will go later down to sleep with these few.'

In the following two examples, **kil** functions as a demonstrative pronoun:

Kitn	uwi	kil,	aki	kitn	uwi	pa?
2sg	take.IR	3sg/this	or	2sg	take.IR	that

'Do you take this or do you take that one?'

Kuina	kil?
what	this

'What this is?'

2.9.4. The Remote Demonstrative *ai* as a Pronoun and its Other Functions

As a demonstrative **ai** refers to entities that are even further away than those referred to with **pa** and seems in this respect to belong to the same set as **ti** and **pa**. The referent is far from both speaker and hearer and is usually not visible. **Ai** functions as a modifier within the noun phrase, as a locative adverb, and as a demonstrative pronoun.

Kil	palng	anong	alkupm	ai
3sg	arrive	village	G-1sg	remote

'He/She/It arrived at my village (which is situated far away from the speaker and hearer)'

Wuring	itna	ya	watinet	ai
garden	stand.R	road	long	remote

'The garden is situated a long distance away'

Tu	kai	antokg	kot	kai	anong	wail	ai
3pl	go	make.R	court	go	village	big	remote

'They went to have the district court session in that distant big village

Ekg   no   kitnimping ur   itna   kinar   hup   ai
two   go.up   tree.sp.   ID   stand.R go.down   slope remote
'They two climbed the *kitnimping*-tree which was standing at the slope'

Ingkon   wakg   ur   a   irkim   ai!
shovel.IR fire   ID   G   boa   remote
'Get some fire from the snake (who is living) over there!'

Usually *ai* refers to a known and definite long distance, but it can sometimes have the meaning of an indefinitely long distance or stretch of time:

Mla   itna   -wai   ari   kupm   ti?
who   stand.R-remote   see.R   1sg   here
'Who is there watching me here?' (The speaker knows that somebody is looking at her since her magic fails to work, but does not know where the onlooker is)

Jisas   pikekg   anti   Got   ai   rpma
Jesus   before   with.R   God   remote   sit.R
'Jesus was before with God' (who lives indefinitely far or in place not known)

In some cases *ai* refers more to the direction than to the actual location of the referent and is therefore frequently used with verbs expressing movement. As direction marker *ai* can also have the meaning 'till, as far as':

Kupm   yangkipm   kalpis.   Al-kitn-en   ai
1sg   talk   not   G-2sg-ATR   remote
'I have nothing to say. Its your turn to talk.'

Kaino   itna   kaino   wulom-ai
go.up   stand.R   go.up   tail- remote
'Went up to the tail.'

Tu   kai   wuring   ya   wai   plalng...
3pl   go   garden   road remote   finish
When they had reached the garden road.'

Tu   melnum   a   kinar   hu   kanokg   ai
3pl   man   REL go.down   water   ground   remote
'The men who dived until they reached the bottom of the water'

Syntactically *ai* differs from other demonstratives (*ti, pa, kil*) in many important ways:

1) *Ai* seems to occur alone only when it functions as a locative adverbial adjunct. (This is contrary to pa which can occur alone in Subject or Object position). Sometimes it occurs as Head in time expressions as well, but this seems to be the result of ellipsis.

Hu   awe   wuli   ai
water   rain.R   come   remote
'There is rain coming over there'

Warim pa hokg rmpa wai
child D sleep lie.R remote
'The child is sleeping over there.'

Ak ai kul ai am antokg kol-pa ur pake
do remote come remote now make.R like-that ID EMP
'From the ancient times (we) perhaps did like that'

2) Also when occurring with NP, *ai* usually modifies only those NPs that function as Locative Adverbials or Locative Objects. It is also used in time adverbials. But if the NP has the role of Subject or Object in the clause, locative marker *ai* usually modifies it with the help of a relative clause. Some exceptions do occur (see the last example):

Kil wurekg ang -kinar kirk -ai kul no
3sg get.up from-go.down graveyard -remote come come.up
'She got up and came here from that far-away graveyard'

Yo kaino wai trum
tree go.up remote kapok
'The tree over there is a kapok-tree.' (tree is visible)

Tu alm pikekg kolen Kukwo-ai alm
3pl shoot.R before like Kukwo-remote shoot.R
'They shot in the same way as the people of Kukwo (which is far) used to shoot.'

3) *Ai* is commonly used with time adverbials referring to the length of time while the word *pa* occurs with time adverbials only as a thematic particle. The near demonstrative *ti* 'this,here' and *kil* 'he,this' instead can be used demonstratively also in time expressions.

Hikgkil aki, kwahikg ai aki
tomorrow or after tomorrow remote or
'Tomorrow or perhaps the day after tomorrow' (the meaning of indefiniteness also?)

<u>*Pikekg*</u> <u>*ai*</u> *kupm kinar ai,* <u>*hikgkil*</u> <u>*pa*</u> *kupm wa kinar*
Past remote 1sg go down remote tomorrow D 1sg again go.down
'I have been down there before/long time ago, tomorrow I will go there again.'

(In this example above *ai* refers to a more distant point of time than plain *pikekg* 'in past', *pa* instead has only emphatic meaning)

Kil kaling plan ang-kai paipmen -ai
3sg teach.R show from-go little child-remote
'He taught (him) from the time when he was still a little child.'

4) Sometimes *ai* is used almost like a derivative suffix forming adverbials from adjectives:

Ake   kupm   la   yiprokg-en-ai
NEG   1sg   say   root   -ATR-remote
'I did not explain it thoroughly/ did not tell everything'

Kil   angko   watin-ai
3sg   fall.R   long-remote
'He went far away'

Compare:
Kil   angko   watin
3sg   fall.R   long
' He grew tall'

Ai is also oblicatorily occurs in some temporal adverbial expressions:

pikekg ai	'before, (sometimes)earlier'
pikekg tak ai	'long ago'
pikekg taktak ai	'very long ago'
pikekg tak ur ai	'sometimes long ago'
ikg ai	'sometimes later'

5) The demonstrative *ai* does not have same thematic functions than *ti* and *pa*. It is never used to mark topicality, emphasis or focus. Occasionally *ai* is used to replace *pa* as mark of anaphoric reference if the speaker wants to refer to the distance or direction of the referent.

Mentekg   ak   kuntuk   apaharng   rmpa   wan   pa .. .
1dual   use.R pot   cover.R   lie.R   house   D

mentekg   rpma   wan   ai ...
1dual   sit.R   house remote
'We have it in the house covered with a pot .. we sit in that house ..'

6) *Ai* never functions as a conjunction like *pa* and *ti.*

Sometimes *ai* is used as an alternative for *pa* to mark general remoteness in contrast with the near demonstrative *ti*. This happens because in certain contexts *pa* would be always interpreted as a discourse marker. For example when *pa* occurs after the indefinite quantifier *ur*, the combination *ur pa* indicates the introduction of a new topic to the discourse.

When occurring together with indefinite pronoun *ur*, *ai* usually also has the meaning of indefiniteness; it refers either to indefinite amount or to the indefiniteness of the referent itself. Consider the following examples:

Uwi   hipm   ur   ai   kul!
get.IR   leaf   ID   remote   come
'Bring some leaves!'

Mla   *ur*   *ai*   *kul*
who   ID   remote   came
'Whoever came'

melnum   *ur*   *ai*
man   ID   remote
'somebody / an unknown man'

compare to:
melnum   *ur*   *pa*
man   ID   that
'This certain man' (introducing a new participant)

Ai is used as far demonstrative instead of *pa* also with locative words like *hen* 'inside' or *wompel* 'other side'. For example, the expression *wan wunen pa* could easily be interpreted as 'in the mentioned house' or '<u>inside</u> the house' (as contrast to outside) in discourse context:

Kil   *kawor*   *wompel*   *ai*
3sg   go.in   other   remote
'He went to the other side (of river)'

Kupm   *rpma*   *wompel*   *ti*
1sg   sit.R   side   this
'I live on this side (of the river)'

Wan   *wunen*   *ti*
house   inside   this
'Inside this house'

Wan   *wunen*   *ai*
house   inside   remote
'Inside that house'

Kawekg   *hipm*   *rpma*   <u>*wunen*</u>   <u>*ai,*</u>   *kiyom*   *hipm*   *rpma*   <u>*hen*</u>   <u>*ti*</u>
tree.sp.   leaf   sit.R   inside   remote   tree.sp.   leaf   sit.R   outside   here
'*Kawekg*-leaves are (bound) inside (the arm), *kiyom*-leaves outside (upper part of the arm)

Notice that in the last example *ai* and *ti* are clearly in contrast and the referent marked with *ai* is not very distant spatially from that marked with ti.

Phonologically *ai* behaves like other clitics; it is pronounced together with previous word and is usually unstressed. Native speakers generally write it as an independent word same way as other clitics.

Another possible connection exists between *ai* and the interrogative pronoun *ahi.* The phonetic form of the interrogative pronoun can be derived from the word *ai* by adding rising question intonation. As the result of rising intonation the second vowel /i/ lengthens. After that the word is re-syllabified and /h/ is added between the vowels to mark the syllable break. Notice, that also the demonstrative pronoun *ai* tends to have indefinite meaning.

Kitn   kai   anong   ahi?
2sg   go   village   where
'Where are you going to (to what place)?'

Kitn   a   kai   ahi?
2sg   INT   go   where
'Where are you going to go?'

Kupm   kai   ai   ikor   ka-ka!
1sg   go   remote   find.IR   grasshopper-RED
'I will go over there (somewhere) to get grasshoppers!' (to a child)

2.9.5.   Verb plus Demonstrative Adverb Constructions

Urim has also special type of construction consisting of a motion or locative verb and demonstrative adverb. These seem to be partly lexicalized serial structures functioning adverbially. All three demonstrative words, *pa, ti*, and *ai*, can occur in this construction, *kil* only seldom. Actually these three demonstratives are found in clear contrast only in this construction:

Kil   rpma   kai-pa
3sg   sit.R   go-there
'He sits there' (the referent is visible)

Kil   rpma   kai-ti / ti
3sg   sit.R   go-here / here
'He sits here' (near the speaker)

Kil   rpma   kai-ai
3sg   sit.R   go-remote
'He sits over there' (more distant compared to something else or not visible at all)

Often the serialized verb is added just to give more information about the location of referent like in the following example:

Kil   kul   karkok   wang-wang   rmpa-wai
3sg   come blaze.R   stem-stem   lie -remote
'He came and blazed the tree-stems lying there.'

Yo   kinar   ai   trum
tree   go.down   remote   kapok
'The tree down there is kapok'

In other cases the serialized construction is used because plain demonstrative adverb could potentially be misinterpreted as a topic or emphatic marker. This is particularly the case with *pa*:

> *Ti kai itni kai pa!*
> so go stand.IR go there
> 'Go then to stand over there!'

> *pa* alone could be interpreted as emphatic marker.

> *Tu awi wayu ela pa*
> 3pl take.R taro be there
> 'They took that taro'

Here *pa* alone would be interpreted as givenness marker.

There is also a more lexicalized construction **ha-pa** /**ha-ti** which is usually pronounced as one word. It is used only when introducing new non-topical referents into the text, usually inanimate instruments or objects. Its function is to show that the instrument or object was already at hand or near by when the action started.

> *Kil alok hipm ha-pa kul, alok hipm ha-ti kul.....*
> 3sg pull.R leaf be-there come pull.R leaf be-here come
> 'She took leaves from that pile and others from this pile ....'

> *Kil kinar rpma hunokg yampikg ha-ti.*
> 3sg go.down sit.R sea shore be-here
> 'He went down to sit on the sea shore that was near.'

> *... alok ampei ur aln-tu ha-pa*
> bind.R rope ID G-3pl be-there
> '...bound with a rope they had with them.'

> *Am awi ko akis ha-pa am ikakatnen kai tukgunakg tike.*
> now take.R axe axe be-there now suddenly go head here:EMP
> 'Now he took an axe he had with him and suddenly hit its head.'

2.9.6.   A list showing some of the many possible combinations of the deictics *pa*, *ti*, *kil*, *a*i and indefinite *ur* with various types of NPs:

NPs referring to humans

Singular		Plural	
warim	'child'	*(tu) warim*	'children'
warim pa	'the child (that child)'	*(tu) warim pa*	'the children (those children)'
warim ur	'an unknown child' 'any child'	*warim ur ai*	'unknown children'
		warim ti ur	'some children'

warim uris ur   'one unknown child'

warim ur pa   'a certain child' (topic)   *warim wekg ur pa*   'certain two children' (topic)

                                                      (tu)*warim warim*   'children' (indefinite number)

warim kil (pa) '(this) child here' /'the child, he.'?

warim ti   'this child'   *tu warim ti*   'the children here'

warim ai   'to the child'

NPs referring to inanimate countable things:

wan   'house'   'houses'

wan pa   'the house, (that house)'   'those houses'

wan ur   'a house, any house'   wan ti ur   'some houses'

wan ur pa   'a certain house (introducing topic)'   wan wekg ur pa   'certain two houses

                                                            wan wan   'houses' (indef. amount)
                                                                        'each house'

wan kil   'this house here'

wan ti   'this house'

wan ai   'in/to the house over there'

NPs referring to uncountable items:

okipma   'food'   *okipma kweikwei*   'meals, various foods'

okipma pa   'the food, (that food)'   *okipma kweikwei pa*   'the meals, foods'

okipma ur   'some food'

okipma ur pa   'some food (emphasized)'

okipma ti   'this food'

With other pronouns:

men pa   'we (emphasized or topical)'

men kil   'we here (emphatic?)'

men ti   'we here'

2.10. Conjunctions and Other Conjunctive Forms

In Urim, most conjunctions and conjunctive forms are clause initial. Some, however, are clause final, and some are discontinuous. Many conjunctions operate on more than one level. For example, the conjunctions *a* 'and', *aki* 'or' and *kol* 'if, like' can connect phrases, clauses, or sentences.   Some conjunctions, like *atnen* 'because of' and *eng* 'therefore, so that' govern embedded adverbial clauses, but never connect independent sentences. Some conjunctions connect only clauses (*pipa, titan*), while many connect both clauses and sentences (*pa, atom* etc.). In Urim there are following conjunctions.

Coordinating conjunctions:

a   (sometimes *wa* after words ending in a vowel)   'and'

wa.....wa   'and....again/also/further'

aki   'or'

ari   'but'

pake   'but'   (combination of *pa* 'that' + *ise* 'PERF' ---> *pa-ke*)

Coordinating or weakly subordinating, temporal or expressing continuity:

... plalng, ... plalng pa, ... plalng pipa 'after that, (when that had happened or finished)'

....titan, ...ninan   'after that (a longer happening or action finished)

 am   'now, then' (immediately) (basically time word 'now')

 atom   'then, and'

Subordinating conjunctions:

 - causative and conditional:

 pa   'when'

... pa,   'when, if'

pipa   'if' (combination of *pa* +*pa*   ---> *pipa*)

.... pipa,/pilpa, 'when', if

pati   'so then' (combination of *pa* +*ti*- 'this'   --> *pati*)

....pati   'what comes to that'

(kolpa) atom   'so, therefore (often past)'

(kolpa) ti   'this is why, therefore (often future)'

kolpa   'therefore, being like that, like that (before quotation)' (combination of *kol* 'like' + *pa*

                 'that')

 - hypothetical:

kol / kolen   'if'   (also comparative 'like')

kol ... pa / kol ... pipa/pilpa   'if'

 - expressing reason:

eng   'so that, therefore'   (also preposition: Benefactive, Goal, Purpose etc.)

eng ntei   'therefore'   (originally interrogative pronoun 'why?')

atnen   'therefore, because of' (also preposition and verb 'wait for, watch)

- semantically neutral:

la ti   'what about'   (starts a new topic, from the verb *la* 'speak')
la   'that'   (semantically neutral complementizer governing the clausal
                object of certain verbs)

As is the case in many other languages, in Urim a number of the conjunctions appear to be built out of demonstratives. The commonest conjunction in Urim, ***pa***, is a near demonstrative 'that'. This demonstrative occurs also as part of conjunctions ***pake***, ***pipa***, ***pilpa***, ***kolpa and pati***. Three conjunctions, ***kol, eng***, and ***atnen*** a transparently related to prepositions. As well as taking nominal complements, ***eng*** and ***atnen*** can also govern a clausal complement. ***Atnen*** is probably originally a verb (there is a verb *atnen* 'wait for, watch; hit). The conjunction ***ari*** 'but' is phonetically similar to the verb ***ari*** 'see', but it is not clear whether or not this is an accidental resemblance. The verbs ***la*** 'see' and ***plalng*** 'finish' function as conjunctive forms too. The function of ***plalng*** as conjunction resembles tail-head linkage which connects full sentences. Very much like conjunctions function the words ***titan*** and ***nanan*** and reduplicated verb marking continuity. These words and reduplication occur (often together) between clauses to show that the action described in the first clause continues until the action of second clause starts.   This structure and tail-head linkage are described in Chapters 5.5.7 and 5.7.   Other conjunctions are described more fully in the Chapter 5. 5.

Examples of conjunctions:

Kil   kaino yo   pa <u>atom</u>   <u>wa</u>   katila   ampei pa nar   <u>pipa,</u>   kupm or.
3sg   go.up tree   D   then   and   follow.R   vine   D   descend   when   1sg   hit
'It climbed up the tree and then when it came down along the vine I hit it.'

Ilm   -t -ilo   ling   ti   no   <u>eng</u>   ekg   ntokg   il
shoot.IR-TR-1pl.O cassowary this come.up OBL   1dual   make.IR eat.IR
'Shoot for us this cassowary and bring it here so that we can prepare it for food.'

<u>Kol</u>   kitn   la   ntam   nokgwi   pa   <u>pa-ti,</u>
like   2sg   say   cook.IR   pandanus   that   that-this
<u>mpa</u>   <u>am</u>   kitn   ngkom   nokgwi ...
FUT   now   2sg   pick.IR   pandanus ...'

'Regarding cooking pandanus / If you want to cook pandanus (it is like this), you pick a pandanus ...'

<u>Am</u>   pirng   kai   anong   ise.
now   run   go   village   PERF
 'And immediately run to the village'

Ti   men   akor   ya   hining
C   1pl.Exc   search.R   way   in.vain
'That is why we search the way in vain' (refers to the story just told)

Mentekg al   al   ninan,   mining   paipm
1dual   eat.R eat.R   CNT   difficult   bad
'We kept on eating until we could not eat any more (very difficult to eat all)'

La   ti   wuring   weten,   ake   kitn alin   wor-wor
say   this   garden   new   not   2sg   plant.R   good-good
'And what comes to the new garden, you did not plant it very well.'

2.10.1. The Place of Conjunctions

Usually Urim conjunctions occur clause initially.   Some conjunctions have two possible positions between clauses, either at the end of the first clause before the pause, or after the pause starting the second clause. This position seems to make the conjunction stronger, emphasize it, and sometimes is also provides slightly different meaning compared to the initial position.   In speech the conjunction occurring clause finally usually gets prominent (high pitch - long vowel) intonation.

Tu   rapon   itna   Melapmok atom, Akalpm alm   Olng.
3pl fight.R   stay   Melapmok then   Akalpm   shoot.R   Olng
'They were fighting at Melapmok and then, Akalpm shot Olng.' (focuses the shooting)

Nakle   hipm wekg alk -en   atom, wailen   pa la -la
take.R   leaf   two   give.R-3plO then big brother   D   say-say
'She took out of the basket two wrappings of food and gave [them] to them, but the big brother said' (frustrated succession))

Atom,   walkipman al-kil   pa   nar...
then   grandfather G-3sg   D   come.down
'And then, his grandfather came down..'

When the conjunction **pa** is placed before the pause, its meaning is often intensified (more emphatic or causative meaning added):

Kil elng kul   nar   pa,   kupm   perng   talpuk
3sg put   come descend C   1sg   shoot.R   spear
When it started to come down, and <u>then</u> - I threw the spear.'

Kil   wuli   pa, mpa kupm   ikle!
3sg   arrive   C   FUT 1sg   scold.IR
'If he comes, I will scold him!'

More rarely the conjunction in Urim may also occur inside the clause. In most cases the position of conjunction in the middle of clause can be explained thematically. Fronting of object can move it even to the front of conjunctions. This may be a feature of spoken language only.

..wampor	*wam,*	*wam*	*kai*	*ari*	*aro*	*pain...*
stretch.hand	hand	hand	go	but	break.R	stools

'She stretched her hand, but the hand went into a pile of stools'

Amti	*ake*	*kitn*	*wor*	*pipa*	*hikgkil,*	*kitn*	*kaino*	*iri*	*Nik*
not	not	2sg	well	if	tomorrow	2sg	go.up	see.IR	Nik

eng	*kil*	*ingklin-peitn*	*sut*	*marasin*	*kaino*	*eidpos.*
PUR	3sg	help.IR-2sgO	injection	medicine	go.up	clinic

'Now if you are not well by tomorrow, go to see Nik at the clinic so he canhelp you with an injection.'

2.11. Interjections

The most common interjections in Urim are listed below:

Calling the attention of a person who is far away:

    oi!

When lamenting due to pain or sorrow:

    Woi!

    Lawoi! or *Lawui!*

    Mamam!   'Mom (vocative)'

    Yayai!   'Dad (vocative)'

When surprised about something:

    yo!

    Yekei! or *Yekai!*

    Ai!   (or when impatiently waiting or angrily stopping a child from crying / chasing a pig away)

    Aklale!

When startled by something sudden:

    Lawi!

    Wui!

Others:

    o!   compassion or surprise

    Wei!   when something unwanted happens

    Tsa!   'I startled you !' (usually a child)

    E'e!   assent

O'o!	negation
la	(similar to verb *la* 'say') starts an impatient command
(P)apm	'Be quiet!'
Oe!	'It's a lie!' or expression of joy
kukuk!	hunter or warrior shouts when the arrow hits the target (pig, cassowary, person)
uwouwo	call to all to come (after killing a pig)

Idiomatic expressions used as interjections:

Am ntei!	'Why not!' 'It's OK, no matter'
(m)pa ntei!	'Why not!' 'It's OK, no matter'
Yo, ti ntei!	Surprise

Examples:

Wui!	*Mla*	*ari*	*kupm*	*ti?*
ITJ	who	see.R	1sg	here

'Oh! Who saw me? (since magic does not work anymore)'

Yekei,	*mla*	*wuten*	*wuli*	*akikgwampel*	*kweikwei*	*a-kupm-en*	*ti!*
yekei	who	recently	arrive	steal.R	things	G-1sg-ATR	here

'Damn, who has been here and stole all my things!'

Wei,	*mpa*	*mentepm*	*rpma*	*okipma*	*kalpisen*
wei	FUT	1dual	sit.R	food	nothing

'Oh dear, we have no food!'

La,	*itning*	*kai*	*ai!*
say	hear.IR	go	remote

'Oh, go away (impatiently)!'

2.12. Compounding

2.12.1. The Problem of Word Boundaries in Urim

In Urim there are some difficulties in determining whether a construction is a compound word or a phrase. Phonological criteria alone are not sufficient, because a grammatical phrase may phonologically be one word, especially idioms. On the other hand, the boundaries of a phonological word are not very clear in Urim. Many morphophonemic rules can be applied over a larger domain, some apply over a more restricted domain than phonological word. Here we will briefly consider various rules and other boundary marks that help to determine word boundaries in Urim.

a) Stress

Stress is the clearest mark of a phonological word in Urim. A phonological word can have only one main stress in Urim, as indicated in the following examples:

'kol   'ti   'like this'
like   this

'kol#ti   'only'
like-this

'wris   'ata   'only one'
one   only

ki'pman   'wris#ata   'only men' (not 'only one man'!)
man   one-only

'yankipm#ok   'talk'
talk-mouth

i'lkim   'ok   'mouth of a pit'
pit   mouth

'maur   'kanokg-en   'a spirit living inside the ground'
spirit   ground-ATR

'ka   'maur#ka'nokg-en   'grasshopper sp.'
grasshopper   spirit-ground-ATR

However, stress is not very reliable in determining whether or not the construct is grammatically one word, because two nouns or two verbs can be joined phonologically under one stress when no modifiers occur in between:

'wan#yun   'door'
house-door

'wan   'wail   'yun   'door of a big house'
house   big   door

compare to:

'wan#yun   'wail   'ur
house-door   big   ID   'a big door'

elng#'kirmpi!   'put (it) down!'
put-lie:IR

'elng   wur'kapm   rm'pi!   'put the book down!'
put   paper   lie.IR

These constructions could easily be interpreted as compounds, if it was not known that another word could be inserted. The expressions are phonologically words but grammatically phrases.

b) Morphophonemic rules.

Many morphophonemic rules apply over word boundaries both in compound words and in phrases. Those rules that apply only inside a word, actually are often restricted to the stem or to the stem with suffixes, and do not apply between words in compound construction.

- Rule 10 (the rule that converts any vowel that is not followed by a more close vowel to a schwa) operates almost exclusively inside the morpheme, not inside the phonological word. It can be applied also to words derived by reduplication, but usually only when these words are so lexicalized that the parts are not recognizable and do not occur alone anymore. In most words formed by reduplication this rule is not applied, even if the constructions are clearly words phonologically, lexically and grammatically:

Rule 10 applied:

milmal	[mƏl'mɑl]	'thunder'
kirkar	[kƏr'kɑr]	'shout'
pipa	[pƏ'pɑː]	'if'

Rule 10 not applied:

kwalkwal	[kwɑlkwɑl]	'wail'
karngkarng	[kɑrŋkɑrŋ]	'corn husk'
warwar	[wɑrwɑr]	'shake'

- Rule 7a (palatalization) usually operates only inside the phonological word. It is applied when a suffix is added to the word or between the parts of a compound or phrase, but not over word boundaries except sometimes in rapid speech.

Orthographic form	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
ampriin	/ɑmpri-n/	[ɑmbriːñ]	'hinder'
kaino	/kɑi#no/	[kɑñoː]	'go up'

but:

tu	*ari*	*nep*	*wekg*
3pl	see.R	coconut	two

'They saw two coconuts'

iye	*no*	*rpmi*	*no*	*ti-ke!*
carry.IR	come.up	sit.IR	come.up	here-EMP

'bring it up here'

- Rule 8 marks the boundaries of grammatical word quite clearly since it is not applied unless the two words under a single intonation contour form a compound:

/man#yan/ [mɑnzɑn] *mansan* 'parents'

but:

/wan##yun/ [wɑnyun] *wanyun* 'door'

compare:
wan	*wail*	*yun*	'the door of a big house'
house	big	door	

c) Phonemic and phonetic restrictions:

- /ᵖm/, /ᵏŋ/ /ᵗn/ never occur word or morpheme initially
- /ŋ/ never occurs word or morpheme initially

There are also restrictions in the consonant clusters that occur word/morpheme initially or finally, compared to the clusters allowed morpheme medially. Inside reduplicated and compound words, a much larger set of clusters is allowed than inside morphemes.

mel-num 'person'
body-skin

muikg-muin 'siblings'
sister-brother

The clusters *ln* and *kgm* never occur morpheme initially.

Conclusion:

It seems that in Urim morpheme or root boundaries are more clearly marked than actual word boundaries. Especially the restrictions of consonant clusters and the operation of the schwa-rule mark morpheme boundaries. There are boundary marks for word too, but some of them mark both words and phonological phrases (stress) some only words (rule 8) so that the whole concept of word is somewhat vague in the language. This makes it difficult to determine exactly which expressions are compounds, which should be called noun complexes. This reflects in orthography, too. Native speakers tend to write as one word also those expressions that are grammatically clearly two words (*wanyun* etc.). From the other hand, enclitics are usually written separately from the stem (*anong ai* 'to the village') even when they are pronounced as one phonological word.

2.12.2. Compound Nouns

Urim has a number of compound noun stems. Most of them are combinations of two nouns, but also noun-adjective, adjective-adjective, verb- verb, verb-noun, even noun-pronoun combinations occur. Most compound nouns are semantically transparent; both parts are easily recognizable and occur also independently. Compared to noun complexes (see 3.1.1), the amount of compound nouns is relatively small in Urim. Most animal and plant names for example, are noun complexes. The most common noun compounds are semantically plural kinship terms ('parents, siblings etc.')

Noun + Noun Compounds

man mother	*yan* father	------>	*mansan*	'parents'
yangkipm talk	*ok* mouth	------>	*yangkipmok*	'speech'
lim nose	*ok* mouth	------>	*limpok*	'muzzle (of pig, possum etc.)'
nikg stomach	*walpm* liver	------>	*nikgwalpm*	'heart, thinking'
kamel body	*num* skin	------>	*(ka)melnum*	'person
hu water	*nokg* salt	------>	*hunokg*	'sea'

Verb + Noun Compounds

anti measure/with	*hi* sore	------>	*antihi*	'diarrhea'

Verb + Verb Compounds

ikg look	*akg* cry	------>	*ikgakg*	'tears'

Noun + Adjective Compound

hu water	*wail* big	------>	*huwail*	'mushroom sp.'
nang name	*wor* good	------>	*nangkwor(en)*	'adult; older sibling of same sex'

Adjective + Adjective Compound

wusok	*wail*	------>	*wusokwail*	'brothers/sisters'

small   big

Noun + Pronoun Compounds

mpang	*kil*	------>	*mpangkil*	'timber'
forest	3sg/this			

2.12.3. Compound Verbs

Compounding is a major means of forming verb stems in Urim. The following types of compounds have been observed:

1. Verb-Verb
2. Verb-Noun
3. Verb-Adv
4. Noun-Verb
5. Verb-Noun-Verb?
6. Verb-Adj-Verb?
7. Verb-Noun-Noun

Compound verbs are either verb-verb or (most of them) noun-verb combinations.   The auxiliary verb *ak* 'do' can be added to these types, which makes the combinations verb-verb-verb or verb-noun-verb. Other types of compound verbs are rare. The maximum number of roots observed in a compound verb stem is three.

Verb + Verb Compounds

kai	*nar*	------>	*kinar*	'go down, go down river'
go	descend			
kai	*hor*	------>	*kawor*	'enter, go in'
go	enter			
ak	*alm-e*	------>	*akalmpe*	'answer, revenge'
do	shoot-TR			
ari	*angko-e*	------>	*aringkowe*	'covet'
see	fall-TR			

Noun + Verb Compounds

won	*rakol-e*		------>	*wontrakole*	'remember'
inside	break-CNT				
wam	*alen*		------>	*wampalen*	'push with hands'
hand	put to				
ak	*won*	*alok*	------>	*akwonalok*	'restrain'

do	inside	steer			

ak	*won*	*alm-en*	--->	*akwonalmpen*	'think'
do	insides	shoot-TR			

arm	*won-el*	------>	*armponel*	'flatter'
sow	inside-3sg			

ik	*atn-e-n*	------>	*ikatnen*	'stare'
spear	stand-CNT-TR			

ok	*la-la*		*oklala*	'talk'
mouth	say-say			

Verb + Noun Compounds

ak	*ikg*	*wam-el*	------>	*akikgwampel*	'steal'
do	look	hand-3sgO			

alm	*wrong*	------>	*almpwrong*	'shoot enemies'
shoot	crowd			

In Urim compound verbs are quite common, but it is not always easy to tell whether two verbs form a serial structure or a compound verb stem. Consider the following examples that show how a verb phrase which is phonologically one word, can be grammatically a phrase (as we saw with nouns in the section 1.5.1):

kil	*ak-kwap*	['ɑːkwɑːp]		'he works'
3sg	do-work.R			

kil	*ak- n -opm*	['ɑːktoᵖm]	*kwap*	'he works for me'
3sg	do.R-TR-1sgO		work	

Some idiomatic verb phrases containing ***ak*** are pronounced as two phonological words with more than one main stress, others as one phonological phrase with one main stress. In both cases the phrasal idiom is a single lexeme with a single, non-compositional meaning. No objects or other constituents can be placed in between the parts of these idioms:

ak -won-alm-pen	'to think'
do.R-inside-shoot-TR	

ak -ok-la	'to beg'
do.R-mouth-say	

tu	*ak*	*nokg-el-opm*	'they are laughing at me'

they   do.R salt-3sg-1sgO

Compounding with the verb **ak** '(use something to) do' is a common means of expressing causativity in Urim. Consider the following examples, which are phonologically one word but can be interpreted as either lexemes or grammatical structures:

Kil   alupm   wurkapm   ak -malkgu-wel   masin   pa
3sg   put.in.R   paper   use.R-soft -ADV   machine   D
'He put paper in to make it soft for the machine'

Yangkipm   a   Maur   Wailen   ak -titnongket-el   maur   a-mentepm-en
talk   G   spirit   great   use.R-strong -ADV   spirit   G-1pl.Exc-ATR
'God's talk strengthens our spirits'

Men   awi   wes   elng   rmpa   ak -kalkut -el   kar
1pl.Exc   take.R   stone   put   sit   use.R-heavy-ADV   car
'We got stones and put them in the car and made it heavy'

2.12.4. Other Types of Compounds

Urim also has compound adjectives and adverbs, although they are much less common than compound nouns. Almost all numerals are formally compounds or complex phrases. Many personal pronouns, especially dual and paucal forms are compounds. All this shows that compounding is a very productive means of forming words in Urim.

Compound Adjectives

| *werk* | *alm(-et)* | ------> | *werkalm(pet)* | 'gray or white headed' |
| feathers | shoot(-ATR) | | | |

| *ak* | *wekg-el* | ------> | *akwekgel* | 'ignorant, unconscious' |
| do | two-3sg | | | |

| *ari* | *wor* | ------> | *ariwor* | 'beautiful' |
| see | good | | | |

Compound Adverbs and Quantifiers

| *nar* | *no* | ------> | *narno* | 'lengthwise' |
| descend | ascend | | | |

| *yikak* | *atnen* | ------> | *yikakatnen* | 'strongly' |
| limb | watch | | | |

| *pikekg* | *kil* | ------> | *pikekgkil* | 'yesterday' |
| past | this | | | |

| *wris* | *ata* | ------> | *wrisata* | 'only, alone' |
| one | only | | | |

wor	*ampei*	------>	*worampei*	'all kinds of'
good	rope			

Compound Numerals

wam	*wam*	------>	*wampwam*	'ten'
hand	hand			
wekg	*wekg*	------>	*wikgwikg*	'four'
two	two			

Compound Pronouns

men	*wekg*	------>	*mentekg*	'we two'
1pl	two			
wang	*arka-e*	------>	*wangkarke*	'when?'
time	hang-CNT			

2.13. Reduplication and Repetition in Urim

In Urim reduplication is a very common morphological device; it has both derivational and several different grammatical uses. In reduplication the word or stem is usually repeated once, in some cases several times. Almost all word classes can be reduplicated: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, quantifiers, etc.

The term reduplication refers to the copying of part (or all) of a stem and by this definition can happen only inside a phonological word. The repetition of free forms (words) is not usually called reduplication, but here both are described together. In Urim it is sometimes hard to tell, whether or not a a repeated expression has been lexicalized. The whole process of lexicalization is a gradual phenomenon, a continuum, where there are often border cases between full lexemes and phrases (see Givon 1979 Ch.5). This is also reflected in the developing Urim writing system.

When new words are formed by reduplication, the two parts usually form one phonological word and are written together. When the reduplication or repetition has grammatical functions, parts are usually written separately, but may also be written together. The problem whether reduplicated construction is one or two words can be compared to the similar problem with compounds (see 2.12.1).

2.13.1. The Forms of Reduplication

Both full and partial types of reduplication occur in Urim. Usually words or stems are reduplicated but sometimes also whole phrases or clauses.

In full reduplication the word or stem is repeated fully and in most cases without any phonological changes. If the result of reduplication is a phonological word, morphophonemic rules are applied. For example, homorganic stops are inserted between the parts, or there occur changes in one or more vowels. Also further phonological changes occur in the more lexicalized forms.

wam-wam (hand-hand)   ---> *wampwam* 'ten'

pa-pa (that-that)   ---> *pipa*   'when, if'

hel-hel (swell-swell)   ---> *helel*   'desire'.

wekg-wekg (two-two)   ---> *wikgwikg* 'four'

prus-prus   (crunch-crunch) ---> *prisprus* 'crackle, crunch'

In partial reduplications usually the last syllable is repeated:

ari-ari (see+see)   ---> *ariri* 'watch'

kinar-kinar-kinar (go.down-go down-go down) ----> *kinar-nar-nar* 'keep going down'

wasek-wasek (small-small)   ---> *waseksek* 'very small'

Usually the parts of reduplicated word retain their meaning but in the more lexicalized reduplications the meaning of parts tend to be partly bleached. For example the word *kweikwei* comes from the word *kwei* 'yam type'. This is the most important tuber variety grown in the area and therefore the reduplicated form means generally 'food'. The words *kwei* and *kweikwei* also have a more general meaning: 'something, anything'. The reduplicated form *kweikwei* is also used as a general plural marker modifying noun phrases. Some lexemes have the form of partial reduplication but no corresponding unreduplicated form occurs: *tukuk* 'sorcery'; *walelel* 'cicada'. In Urim most onomatopoetic words are reduplicated in form. The parts of these words usually have no independent meaning; *warwar* 'shake'.

Also whole phrases can be repeated fully or partially. Some of these tend to be written as one word too:

Tu   aye   kwei   nimong   nimong-en
3pl   carry.R yam   basket   basket-ATR
'They carried basketfuls of yams'

Kil   no   wuli hup   wom   hup   wom
3sg   come.up arrive edge.of.steep other   edge.of.steep   other
'She went from the other side of the hill to the other side.'

akwonalmpen-almpen   watipmen
think.R   –think.R   plenty
'ponder it, doubt it' (lit: keep thinking a lot)

2.13.2. The Functions of Reduplication

Reduplication has many functions in Urim. It is a common means of forming new words. Repetition and reduplication both also encode plurality, intensity and several verbal aspects.

Reduplication as Means of Forming Words

There are partial and full reduplications of noun, verb, adjective, numeral and adverb stems. The fully reduplicated words present the same kind of problem as compounds: it is not always clear whether they are compounds or phrases.

Examples of nouns formed by reduplication:

nangnang	'singsing-feast, song'	*nang*	name'
mammam	'Mom (vocative)'	*man*	'mother'
kirngkarng	'corn hulks'	*kirng*	'border'
paipmpaipm	'sins, wrongs, troubles'	*paipm*	'bad'

Adjectives formed by reduplication are comparatively rare (possibly because reduplication is commonly used to intensify adjectives):

pulpulpilpalet	/pulpul#pilpal-et/	'spotted'		
krukgkrakget	/krakg#krakg-et/	'multicolored'	*krakg*	'string, mark'
kirngkirng		'thick'	*kirng*	'border'

Examples of adverbs:

yongkyong	'for ever'				
hirir	'similar; close'				
ariworwor	'very well'	*ari* 'see',	*wor* 'good'		

Examples of numerals and other quantifiers:

kamel kamel	'a lot, 400'	*kamel*	'person'
wampwam	'ten'	*wam*	'hand'
auraur	'all kinds of'	*aur*	'cover'

Verbs formed by reduplication are very common, especially onomatopoetic ones:

pirpir	'run, hurry'	*pirng*	'run to'
prisprus	'crunch'	*prus*	'crunch'
kwelngkwelng	'wail'	(onomatopoetic)	
lala	'talk, chat'	*la*	'say'

Reduplication and Repetition Encoding Intensity

With adjectives and adverbs, reduplication is often used to express increased degree.

waseksek	'very small'	*wasek*	'small'
aripaipmpaipm	'very badly'	*aripaipm*	'badly' (*ari* 'see' *paipm* 'bad')

Kitn   ngkom   mehen   mehen, mpa   kitn   angko!
2sg   walk.IR slowly   slowly   FUT   2sg   fall.R
'Walk very slowly lest you fall.'   (in quick speech *men-men*)

Tu   wrong-wail-en   wrong-wail-en
3pl   crowd -big-ATR   crowd-big-ATR
'a lot of people, crowds of people'

Kapm   am   pilpilet   pilpilet   rka   ti.
pond   now   muddy   muddy   hang.R   here
'But this pond is very muddy!'

The suffix *-en* with adjectives lessens the property of the adjective the more it is repeated (see section 4.5.3 'Comparison of Adjectives'):

kongket-en -en   -en   'just a little bit black'
black -ATR-ATR-ATR

In the same way, the partial repetition of a temporal adverb can be used to express increased length of time:

pikekg-tak-ai   'long ago'
past - ? -remote

pikekg-tak-tak-ai   'very long ago'
past -? -? -remote

Also the words *paipm* and *wor* that are used as increased degree with adjectives, can be reduplicated to strengthen the degree even more:

watet   paipm-paipm
red   bad-bad
'very dark red'

Repetition Encoding Plurality

One way of encoding plurality is to repeat the noun. This usually encodes indefinite amount of referents. (see 3.3.2) Often the modifiers of NP—adjectives, adverbs, or numerals—can be repeated instead of the Head noun. Sometimes even the verb can be repeated to encode the plurality of one of its arguments (subject or object). In this case it usually encodes distributive aspect at the same time (see also 2.13.2.4). Repetitions encoding plurality are only seldom written as one word.

Verbs:

Tu   wrong-wail   pa   <u>wuli</u>   <u>wuli</u>   eng   howen   nim.
3pl   crowd-big   D   arrive   arrive   OBL   beat   drum
'The people kept coming to the dance ceremony.'

Nouns:

Tu   warim   warim   ikga   iri   kul
3pl   child   child   F.Fut see.IR come
'The children will see it later'

Kupm   wrekg   antam   kweikwei   ak   kong   kong   pa   al
1sg   get.up   cook.R   food   do.R morning   morning   D   eat.R
'I get up and cook food every morning (for them) to eat' (a woman describing her daily work)

Adjectives:
In the following examples the repetition of an adjective marks the plurality of the whole NP.

Men   ampei wail   wail,   wanteng   wor   wor.
1pl.Exc   vine   big   big   rattan   good   good
'We have big vines and good [types of] rattan.'

Yo   hipm   watet   watet
tree   leaf   red   red
'red tree leaves'

kopi   talpuk   a   watinet   paipm   paipm   a   nowen   anel   pa.
coffee branch G   long   bad   bad   G   climb   pick.R D
'the coffee branches that are very long so that one has to climb up in order to pick [them].'

In the last example the word *paipm* 'bad' serves as intensifier of the adjective *watinet* 'long', and the reduplication of *paipm* encodes the plurality of the whole NP.

Adverbs and numerals:
Repetition of the verb is commonly used to express repetition, but sometimes also other words like adverbs or numerals are reduplicated to indicate repetitive action. Usually repetition of verb in these cases encodes plurality at the same time (see also the examples of complex nouns below):

Elng wris   wris itni   kopi   kuin   kuin   pa.
put   one   one   stand.IR coffee middle   middle   D
'leave one (tree) between each coffee tree.'

eng   mpa   huk   wrik   krakg   pa itni   watin   watin.
OBL FUT   give   place   sign   D   stand.IR far   far
'…so that it would give space to letters to stand far from each other.'

Kil ak   kwap   kol-pa   ak -angklei (wang) ak-angklei (wang.
3sg do.R work   like-that   do.R-swallow (time) do.R-swallow (time)
'She works like that every day.'   (shorter form: *ak-angklei-angklei*)

Noun complexes

In the case of noun complexes, only one of the constituents needs to be repeated or reduplicated to mark the plurality of the whole complex. Usually it is the second noun serving as modifier that is reduplicated (This second noun usually expresses a part of the head noun or further specifies the referent):

Kil   angken   wanukg   mpil   mpil   (-en)
3sg   pick.R   greens   bundle bundle(-ATR)
'She picks many bundles of greens.'

In this example the repetition/reduplication has a special function: it refers more to repeated action than to the plurality of the whole noun phrase itself. In the situation the actor takes something from a plural entity of things one by one. These examples do not indicate whether the actor handles (picks or cuts) <u>all</u> the greens; some might be left.

Reduplication Encoding Verbal Aspect

Some verbs are formed of repeated roots, which do not occur by themselves or occur in a changed form. Usually these verbs describe happenings or actions that are repetitive in nature or onomatopoetic:

pir-pir	'run'	*pir-ng*	'run to'
plul-plel	'turn back and forth'	*plelng*	'turn'
lelng-klelng	'wriggle'		

Grammatically the reduplication/repetition of verb is used to express imperfective aspect: habitual, repetitive, durative, iterative or continuative. Whether reduplication encodes durative or repetitive aspect often depends on the meaning of the verb. For example, with momentary verbs reduplication usually indicates repetitive aspect, and with locative verbs it expresses durative aspect. For habitual aspect the verb (or part of it) is repeated only a single time. For the other aspects, it can be repeated several times depending on the extent of the happening.

Habitual:

Kupm   ake   al   al   waring   pa.
1sg   not   eat.R eat.R   betel nut   D
'I do not chew betel nut'   (can also be written *al-al*)

Hapm   wompel   al-kil   a   ak   alo   -lo   nimpik.
cloth   piece   G-3sg   G   do.R wipe.R-RED snot
'His handkerchief'

Kil   ak   ak   ikg-wamp-el
3sg   do.R   do.R   look-hand-3sgO
'She used to steal'

Repetitive:

> *Kitn*   *atning*   *atning*   *pa!*
> 2sg   hear.R   hear.R   EMP
> 'You have heard it many times!'

> *hor*   *kawor*   *kawor*   *wan*
> come.in   go.in   go.in   house
> 'goes in and out all the time' (partial reduplication of a serial verb phrase)

Repetition of a verb can also encode distributive aspect when the subject or object of the verb is plural:

> *Kipm ungkwan* <u>*kopi*</u>   <u>*man*</u>   <u>*talpuk*</u> *a pikekg elng* <u>*itna*</u>   <u>*itna*</u>   *pa.*
> 2pl   remove.R coffee   mother   branch G past   put   stand.R stand.R   D
> 'Take away the main coffee branches that you had left there before.'

> *Tu*   *wrong-wail*   *pa*   <u>*wuli*</u>   <u>*wuli*</u>   *eng*   *howen*   *nim.*
> 3pl   crowd-big   D   arrive   arrive   OBL   beat   drum
> 'The people kept coming to the dance ceremony.'

In these examples, the noun phrase in subject position already contains overt plurality marking, so that repetition of the verb is not needed to indicate plurality of the referent. In the first example the action affects the objects one by one, in the second example the people arrived to the singsing-feast in small groups one after another.

Durative aspect is often expressed by repeating the verb more than once:

> *Mentekg rpma ha*   *ha*   *hining, ake tu*   *ur*   *wuli,*   *kalpis.*
> 1dual   sit.R stay   stay   in.vain not 3pl   ID   arrive   not
> 'We two waited and waited in vain, nobody came.'

> *Kupm*   *alm*   *alm*   *alm*   *hining.*
> 1sg   shoot.R shoot.R shoot.R in.vain
> 'I shot and shot and shot, in vain.'

> *Mentekg*   *hokg*   *rmpa*   *rmpa,*   *takgni*   *am*   *no*   *ise.*
> 1dual   sleep   lie.R   lie.R   sun   now   go.up   PERF
> 'We kept sleeping until the sun was up.'

Especially in narrative texts several times repeated verbs often occur between two clauses to express that the action or happening continues for a long time before something else happens.

> *Tu*   *or*   *or*   *or*   *or,*   *amo*   *wekg-en*
> 3pl   hit   hit   hit   hit   die.R   two-ATR
> 'They kept hitting and hitting until they both died'

> *Mentekg*   *nar*   *nar*   *nar,*   *angko Maprik*

1dual   go.down go.down go.down   go.down   fall.R   Maprik
'We went and went and went to down river direction and landed to Maprik'

In speech durative or intensifying repetition is sometimes replaced by lengthening of a vowel in the verb: *kai watiinai* 'go very far'; *arkooolng* 'pulled and pulled'.

3. Urim Phrase Structure

Phrases are traditionally defined as structures falling between clause and word. In Urim the borderline between words and phrases is not always clear. This has been discussed earlier in section 4.9.1.

In Urim phrases, modifiers usually occur after the head, except in verb phrases, where the modifiers usually occur before the head.

3.1. Overall Structure of the Urim Noun Phrase

Overall, the constituents in the noun phrase have the following linear order (from first to last):

1. Inalienable Genitive
2. Head (This may be either a single noun or a sequence of nouns occurring as a noun complex. See below for further discussion.)
3. Attributive Modifiers (Multiple occurrences of these are possible. When this happens, they occur in the order: Colour > Size > Quality.)
4. Quantifiers (Multiple occurrences possible)
5. Alienable Genitives
6. Relative Clauses
7. Demonstratives

Almost all modifiers can co-occur. Exceptions to this are: 1) alienable genitives do not co-occur with inalienable genitives, and 2) alienable or inalienable genitives do not co-occur with relative clauses. There are examples of two relative clauses modifying a Head noun.

A number of examples of Urim noun phrases will now be given which illustrate the above ordering of noun phrase constituents.

HEAD	ATTR	ATTR	QUANT	DEM
wel	*watet*	*wail-en*	*wekg*	*pa*
bird	red	big-ATR	two	D

'those two big red birds'

INAL.GEN	HEAD	ATTR	ATTR	ATTR	QUANT
yo	*hipm*	*watet*	*wail*	*wor*	*wraur*
tree	leaf	red	big	good	three

'three good, big, red tree leaves.'

HEAD (NOUN COMPLEX)		RC				DEM
tu	*melnum*	*a*	*kitn*	*anti*	*rpma*	*pa*
3pl	people	REL	2sg	with.R	sit.R	D

'Those people with whom you are staying.'

HEAD	(NOUN COMPLEX)	QUANT
men	*melnum*	*watipmen*
1pl.Exc	person	many

'we (excl) many people'

HEAD (NOUN COMPLEX)	ATTR	ATTR	AL.GEN	APPOS
warim *kiin*	*wusok*	*wor*	*a-kupm-en*	*Kapi*
child woman	small	good	G-1sg-ATR	Kapi

'my good little daughter Kapi'

HEAD (NOUN)			RC							RC	
Kopi	*a*	*watinet*	*paipm*	*paipm*	*a*	*now-en*	*anel*	*pipa*	*kipm ik*	*kol kil*	
koffee	REL	long	bad	bad	REL	go.up-TR	pick.R	if	2pl	do:IR like this	

'In the case the coffee is so very tall that you need to climb to pick [it], you should do like this.'

The emphatic adverbs/particles *ata* 'only' and *yat* 'also' usually occur after other modifiers in the noun phrase.

kiin	*a-kupm-en*	*wris*	*ata*
woman	G-1sg-ATR	one	only

'only my wife.'

wan	*wail*	*a*	*tu*	*Maprik*	*yat*
house	big	G	3pl	Maprik	also

'Also the big house of the people of Maprik'

wapiin	*wasek*	*yek*	*wekg*	*ata*
lizard	small	poor	two	only

'only two poor little lizards'

Interrogative pronouns may occur as postmodifiers of NP:

warim	*mla*	*yek?*
child	who	poor

'Which poor child?'

There are some exceptions to the order of constituents in the noun phrase given above. Often these exceptions are textually motivated. When the speaker wants to stress a qualifier, quantifier, or genitive pronoun, the emphasized element is extracted to the end of the phrase:

Kil la irpmen-tel spot pa wekg, tiset pa wekg.
3sg say buy.IR-3sgO shorts D two t-shirt D two
'He wants you to buy for him shorts two pairs, and t-shirts, two of them'

Warim al-kupm pa ile wan pa wail!
child G-1sg D build.IR house D big
'My child, build a <u>big</u> house!'

Atom Tingkorin kil melnum pa wor a kil...
then Tingkorin 3sg person D good C 3sg
'And Tingkorin, he is a <u>good</u> person because he..'

Possibly this structure should be analysed as some kind of appositional structure, not a coherent noun phrase.

With relative clauses, the position of demonstrative pronouns varies; sometimes it occurs after the relative clause, sometimes before it:

Melnum <u>pa</u> a pikekg antokg...
person D REL past do.R
'That man (is) the one who did.'

Kiin wekg <u>ur</u> a tu Wenamon
woman two ID G 3pl Wenamon
'Two (unknown) women from Wenamon'

Por <u>ur</u> <u>pa</u> a Pilpatni kaki rampukg
story ID D G Pilpatni peel.R dry.R
'There is a story about Pilpatni peeling and drying (yams)'

Ak wang a men kul pa men numprampen wrikya ...
use.R time REL 1plExc come D 1plExc prepare.R things
'At the time when we came, we prepared the things ...'

In the following example, the demonstrative pronoun occurring after the relative clause clearly refers to a noun inside the relative clause, <u>not</u> to the head noun:

Tu wrong kiin-a-kipman wrong wail a rka rka bot <u>pa</u>
3pl group woman-and-man group big REL hang.R hang.R boat that
'The big group of people who were in <u>that</u> boat' (the boat has been mentioned earlier)

3.1.1 Noun Complexes

In Urim, it is possible to have the head of the noun phrase filled by either a single noun or sequences of up to three concatenated nouns. These tight sequences of nouns are here termed noun

complexes. Common types of noun complexes are: 1) the sequence of pronoun + noun, and 2) the sequence of a generic noun followed by a one or more specific noun(s).

1) Sequences of pronoun + noun are usually plural. The sequence of third plural pronoun plus following noun is a common means of overtly indicating plurality.

> *men*   *melnum*
> 1pl.Exc   person
> 'we people'

> *tu*   *melnum*
> 3pl   person
> 'the people'

> *tu*   *Ayum*
> 3pl   Ayum
> 'the people of Ayum'

Sequences of a singular pronoun + noun also occur. Appositions are normally separated from the main clause by a pause. Only the last example below has a clear pause between the pronoun and appositional NP:

> *kupm*   *Melming*   *la*   *nak -etn*   *por*   *ti*
> 1sg   Melming   say   tell.R-2sgO   story   this
> 'I Melming told you this story'

> *mentekg*   *Karis*   *hel*   *kainil*
> 1dual   Karis   roam   moon
> 'I and Karis hunted in moonlight'

> *Waralm,*   *kupm,*   *mentekg*   *kainar*   *kwokg*
> Waralm   1sg   1dual   go.down creek
> 'we two, Waralm and I descended to the creek'

> *mentekg,*   *melnum*   *Maprik-en*   *pa,*   *awi*   *wekg*
> 1dual   person   Maprik-ATR   D   get.R   two
> 'We two, men from Maprik received two (of them)'

Other means of expressing plurality are reduplication and the word *kweikwei* 'things'. These form structures that are formally noun complexes:

> *namung*   *kweikwei*   *a -tu-wen*
> banana   things   G-3pl-ATR
> 'Their bananas'

ikga	*tu*	*warim*	*warim*	*atning*
later	3pl	child	child	hear.R

'later the children and grandchildren will hear'

2) Sequences of generic noun + specific noun are usually phonologically two words with two separate main stress. The second noun functions as modifier, helping to further specify the identify the referent:

yo	*kimping*
tree	sp.

'tree species'

hu	*kop*
water	lake

'lake'

wel	*kuliin*
bird	bird.sp.

'*kuliin*-bird'

wakg	*kuntuk*
fire	pot

'cooking fire'

The specifying part of noun complex may be also a name, or a combination of two words:

mayen	*Warmpale*	*yek*	*ti*
old.woman	Warmpale	poor	this

'This poor old woman Warmpale'

warim	*kiin*	*-en*	*tukgunakg*	*a –kil*	*-en*
child	woman-ATR		head	G-3sg-ATR	

'his eldest daughter'

nung	*kampong*
wood	tree.sp.

'wood of kampong-tree'

Resemblance of some co-ordinated noun phrases to noun complexes

Since sequences of co-ordinated nouns can occur both with and without a coordinating conjunction, the coordinated sequences without a conjunction formally resemble a noun complex. However in co-ordinate noun phrases, unlike noun phrases, no noun is semantically modifying another noun; both nouns have equivalent syntactic status.

There is a slight phonological difference between a coordinate sequence of nouns and a noun complex. In the case of noun complex, main stress tends to fall on the second noun. Coordinated nouns are stressed equally.

kiyom	*a*	*kimining*	*umpu*

kiyom   and   kimining piece
'pieces of kiyom and kimining trees
<div align="right">(coordinated NP as premodifier)</div>

wan   a   kiin   a   warim   aln-tu-wen
house   G   woman   and   child   G- 3sg-ATR
'the house of their wives and children'

nimpa   karek   wor   wekg   a-kitn-en
dog   chicken   good   two   G-2sg-ATR
'Your two good animals, dog and chicken.'

tuwekg   inu   nongko   wekg   pa
2dual   female.cousin male.cousin   two   D
'They two, the two cousins.' (noun complex head of an appositional noun phrase)

wuring   timping
garden   old.garden
'gardens (new and old garden)'
<div align="right">(an almost lexicalized noun phrase)</div>

There are more examples of coordinated phrases below and in the section 3.5.

How Noun Complexes differ from Apposition, Coordinative Noun Phrases, Compound Nouns and Inalienable Genitive Constructions

Phonologically, the sequences of nouns in noun complex usually are separate words but the difference between these structures and compounds is not always clear. The noun complexes consisting of pronoun and noun are clearly two phonological words as well as the animal and plant names. Other specifying noun+noun combinations and kinship terms tend to be pronounced as one phonological word with one main stress, and can be termed compounds. The borderline between compounds and phrases is a continuum.

Semantically, the noun complex is relatively transparent, with each of the subsequent nouns functioning attributively to restrict the reference of the head noun. Here they differ clearly from coordinated phrases where none of the parts functions as a modifier of another. Coordinated nouns always exhibit separate intonational contours, while in noun complex one noun (almost always the second one) usually has the main stress. Sequences of coordinated nouns can function as a complex head of a noun phrase and as a unit be modified by other NP modifiers:

nimpa   karek   wor   wekg   a-kitn-en
dog   chicken   good   two   G-2sg-ATR
'Your two good animals, dog and chicken.'

tuwekg   inu   nongko   wekg   pa
2dual   female.cousin male.cousin   two   D
'They two, the two cousins.' (noun complex head of an appositional noun phrase)

Coordinated noun phrases tend to get lexicalized and be pronounced as one phonological word. Compare the following examples:

> *kiin*   *(a)*   *watnom*
> woman   (and)   children
> 'wife and children'

> *tu*   *kiin*   *watnom*   *al-kil*
> 3pl   woman   children   G-3sg
> 'his family (wife and children)'

> *tu*   *wrong*   *kiin*   *a*   *kipman*
> 3pl   crowd   woman   and   man
> 'all the people'

> *Men*   *awi*   *kiin-kipman*   *wekg*   *kinar*   *Punam*   *pa*
> 1pl.Exc   take.R   woman-man   two   go.down   Punam   D
> 'We took a couple from Punam (into the plane)'

> *man-san*   (mother-father)   'parents'

The most important difference between a noun complex and an appositional noun phrase is that the parts of noun complexes are not interruptible by other noun phrase modifiers. This is in contrast to true apposition, in which the appositional noun phrase occurs after the full noun phrase, and therefore there can be multiple modifiers intervening between the head noun of the noun phrase and the head noun of the appositional noun phrase. Consider the following examples:

> *warim*   *a-kupm*   *Karis*
> child   G-1sg   Karis
> 'My child, Karis' (apposition)

> *warim*   *Karis*   *a-kupm-en*
> child   Karis   G-1sg-ATR
> 'My Karis-boy' (noun complex?)

> *anong*   *Laningwap*   *wail*   *a-mentepm-en*
> village   Laningwap   big   G-1pl.Inc -ATR
> 'Our <u>big</u> Laningwap village '

Inalienable genitive constructions and noun complexes are similar formally and phonologically, but differ in that the initial noun phrase functions as a genitive modifier of the following noun rather than the following noun functioning as a modifier of the initial noun. Also, the genitive noun phrase itself can contain modifiers, whereas the head noun in a noun complex would not have any modifiers:

> *wan-yun*   (house-door)   'door'

wan wail yun
house big   door
'The door of a big house' (inalienable genitive NP with a modifier)

wam-wuhor (hand-nail)   'fingernail'

wam man   wuhor
hand mother nail
'thumbnail'

3.1.2. Adjectives and Quantifiers in the Noun Phrase

It is possible to have more than one adjective modifier in a noun phrase, although occurrences of more than two adjectives modifying one noun phrase are not common in texts (see section 5.1 for an example of three adjectives modifying a head.). The typical ordering of multiple adjectives is color > size > quality. The adjective *paipm* 'bad' tends to occur before other adjectives, because the same form is also used as degree adverb 'very' modifying adjectives (third example). The diminutive word *yek* 'poor' usually occurs after other adjectives.

wan wusok yek ur pa
house small poor ID D
'a poor small house'

hu   paipm wail   ur
water bad   big   ID
'A big bad pond'

compare to:
hu   wail   paipm ur
water big   bad   ID
'a very big pond'

nung   mis   wail paipm
firewood heap   big bad
'one big piece of firewood'

The exact order of quantifiers in the noun phrase has not been investigated enough yet. Usually numerals occur after non-numeric quantifiers. The indefinite **ur** 'a, one' can be classified either as quantifier or deictic; in the noun phrase it occurs between these two constituents.

kil awi   tikayo   watipmen ur
3sg take:R basket   plenty   ID
'She took several (indefinite) baskets'

Kiin wekg ur   pa itna   ya
woman two ID   D stand.R road
'There were two women on the road'

3.1.3.   Appositional Noun Phrases

Appositional noun phrases are fairly common in Urim, although it is sometimes hard to tell whether a given structure should be called left dislocation or apposition. Appositional noun phrases differ from coordinated phrases in that both parts refer to the same entity. In Urim appositional noun phrases mostly occur when new referents are introduced into the text and their function is to add some more information about it.   The only phonological feature is that there is usually a pause between apposition and the main NP.

Some examples of appositions:

> *melnum,   yan   a -kupm ...*
> person   father   G-1sg
> 'the man, my father ..'

> *tuwekg,   inu   nongko wekg*
> 3dual   female   male   two
> 'they two, the two cousins'

> *wrong   wailen   kiin   a   kipman*
> crowd   big   woman   and   man
> 'a big crowd of men and women' (an almost idiomatic expression)

In Urim names are always introduced appositionally, even when the word *nang* 'name' is present. They are never introduced using relative clauses or genitive phrases:

> *Anong   wor   a-kupm-en   Laningwap*
> village   good   G-1sg-ATR   Laningwap
> 'My good village Laningwap'

> *miring   yek   wekg   ti,   Pirkko   Rita   ekg*
> white.person DIM   two   this   Pirkko   Rita   two
> 'These two dear white women, Pirkko and Rita'

> *tu   warim   Kipra   Yakakir*
> 3pl   child   Kipra   Yakakir
> 'The children, Kipra and Yakakir.'

3.1.4.   Relative Clause

Structure of Relative Clause

Relative clauses occur following the head noun they modify and have the structure [*a* [S]], with *a* functioning as a complementizer. The argument within the relative clause that is co-referential with the head noun that the relative clause modifies is omitted unless it functions as a genitive. In Urim the same noun can be modified by more than one relative clause:

Marpm   wurkapm wekg a   pikekg kupm alk -etn   Ø   pa.
money   paper   two   REL past   1sg give.R-2sgO   D
'The two kina that I gave you.'

Grammatical Roles that can be born by the Relative Noun

Relative noun = Subject

Atom nimpa pa aru   wampung mark ur a   Ø rmpa kawor yo tawong
pa.
then dog   D bark.R possum sp.   ID REL sit.R   go.into tree hole
D
'And the dog barked at the *mark* possum that was in the hole of the tree.'

Ampei   a   Ø   kol   kil
rope   REL   like   this
'A rope like this'

Mentekg akwe tu   a   Ø rka   kai   ya   pa.
1dual   call.R 3pl REL   hang.R go   road   that
'We called the ones who were at the road.'

Mpa kil ilo   krakg   a   Ø paipm pa.
Fut   3sg wipe.IR carving REL   bad   D
'It will wipe out the letters that are bad.'

Relative noun = Object

Atom tu tiur   pa   langkiin kweikwei a   maur   paipm   aye
then 3pl some D   not.give.R things   REL   spirit   bad   carry.R
Ø   itna   pa,   la;
        standR   D   say
'Then some people did not want to give away things that bad spirits had hold of, saying:
...'

Marpm   wurkapm wekg a   pikekg kupm alk -etn   Ø   pa.
money   paper   two   REL past   1sg give.R-2sgO   D
'The two kina that I gave you.'

Kol tu ari   wuring a   tu antokg Ø pa la   palng   wor   pipa, ...
like 3pl see.R garden REL 3pl make   D   say become good if/when, ...
'When they saw that the garden they had made was becoming good, ...'

...mpa kitn rku   ungkuran pa   kai itni   krakg   tiur
FUT   2sg   push.IR   arrow   D   go stand.IR carving   some

a   kitn   antokg   Ø paipm   pa..
REL 2sg   make.R   bad   D
'...press (the key to move) the arrow to the letters that you wrote wrong.'

Instrumental relative clauses have the form [*a* [*ak* [Ø Verb…]]], where the instrument functions as the Subject of a clause embedded under the verb *ak* 'do, cause'. Instrumental relative clauses are often used when speaking about new things for which the language does not yet have a word.

> *Tu awi   nampro a   tu   ak   Ø   alm   melnum amo   pa, aye   wuli.*
> 3pl take.R ginger REL 3pl use.R   shoot.R person die.R D carry:R arrive
> 'They brought out ginger that is used to kill people.' (More literally: 'They brought out the ginger that they cause it to kill people.'

> *Kitn uwi – n - topm   ampei a   ak   Ø angkut hapm iye   - n - topm   no.*
> 2sg take:IR-TR-1sgO rope   REL use.R   sew.R cloth carry.IR-TR-1sgO come.up
> 'Bring me sewing thread.' (More literally: 'Bring me the rope/threat that they cause it to sew cloth')

> *Ari   melnum pa   awi   hapm   wompel al-kil a   ak*
> but   person D   take.R cloth   piece   G-3sg REL   use.R
> *alo-lo   nimpik   ti.*
> wipe.R-RED   snot   this
> 'But the man took his handkerchief.' (More literally: 'The man took his piece of cloth that he causes it to wipe snot.')

It is rare but possible for the relative noun to function as a genitive in the relative clause. Unlike the preceding examples, the relative noun does receive overt expression, being encoded as a genitive pronoun.

> *Am melnum a   pikekgkil tu akikgwampel karek a -kil-en   am   pake.*
> now person REL yesterday 3pl steal.R   hen   G-3sg-ATR   now   D.EMP
> 'He is the person whose hen was stolen yesterday.' (='He is the person that they stole his hen yesterday.')

> *Kupm   la melnum ur a   warim al-kil – en   pikekgkil amo   pa.*
> 1sg   say person   ID REL child   G-3sg-ATR   yesterday die.R   D
> 'I am talking about the person whose child died yesterday.' (More literally, 'I am talking about the person that his child died yesterday.)

> *Am melnum a   wet   mentepm alm   manto ak   yikal a –kil -en   am*
> now person REL N.Past 1pl.Incl shoot.R pig   use.R bow G-3sg-ATR now
> *pake.*
> D.EMP
> 'Now he is the person whose bow we just shot the pig with...' (More literally, 'Now he is the person that we caused his bow to shoot the pig.'

> *Kiin   a   pikekgkil mentepm ant -el   kinar Kainantu   pa.*
> woman   REL yesterday   1pl.Incl with.R-3sgO go.down Kainantu   D
> 'The woman with whom we went to Kainantu yesterday.'

tu	melnum	a	kitn	anti	rpma	pa
3pl	people	REL	2sg	with.R	sit.R	D

'Those people with whom you are staying.'

When the relative noun has the role of Locative within the relative clause, the verb in the relative clause sometimes gets the suffix *-e* added to it. The principal function of this suffix is to express continuity or habituality and can therefore only be used when the relative clause is semantically compatible with it. In relative clauses, the suffix helps to disambiguate the relative clause from a chained clause.

Tu	wrong	pa	kai	wrik	a	arkol	nim	pa.
3pl	crowd	D	go	place	REL	pull.R	slit gong	D

'People went to the place where the slit gong was pulled.'

...atom	kitn	lang	kawor	ampei	ur	a	tawong	pa	kul	hor	itna	pa.
then	2sg	slip	enter	rope	ID	REL	hole	D	come	come.out	stand:R	D

'…then plug it into the cord where there is a hole at the end of it.'

anong	a	kitn	kai-e	pa	kupm	mpa	kai
village	REL	2sg	go-TR	D	1sg	FUT	go

'where you go, I will go'

Am	nepm	wikgwikg	awi	-yo	am	aye	kaino	wan	anong
now	leg	four		take.R-1plO	now	carry.R	go.up	house	village

mpa	ark	-	e	ise.
FUT	hang.R-CNT			PERF

'So the car took us to the place where we would stay'

Locative relative clauses are often used to express new concepts for which a lexeme is lacking in the same way as instrumental relative clauses.

Wrik	a	arpm-e
place	REL	sit.R-CNT

'Chair (place that one sits)'

The relative noun can also function as a temporal adverbial within the relative clause.

Ri	-weitn	ik	wang	ur	a	kitn	no.
see.IR-2sgO		do.IR	time	ID	REL	2sg	come.up

'See you when you come.'

ak	wring	wikgwikg	a	kupm	rpma	kinar	skul	pa.
do.R	year	four	REL	1sg	sit.R	go.down	school	D

'during those four years when I was in the school.'

Wang a melnum pa la men oklala pa men kaino.
time REL person D say 1pl.Excl talk D 1pl.Excl go.up
'the time the man said that we would talk we went.'

ak a men warim wasek-sek
use.R REL 1plExcl child small-RED
'when we were little children'

In the next two examples the use of relative clauses with **a** in association with particular head nouns encode adverbial reason and manner adjuncts

Itna hep a kupm hatn pa.
stand.R first REL 1sg wander.R D
'The first thing/reason that I go around'

Kupm a la nik - epm ya a ikgalen kopi
1sg INT say tell.IR-2plO road REL take.care.R coffee
'I will tell you the way that one takes care of coffee plants.'

In the following example, *a* functions as a complementizer, introducing the sentential complement of *ari* 'see'.

Ampake kil ari a kiin kalkwon, kalpis.
must.not 3sg see.R REL/C woman knock.R no
'He must not see the women knocking (at the sago trunk)'

Kipman wris pa itna akikgla a kiin kalkwon pa.
man one D stand.R spy.R R/C woman knock.R D
'One man was standing there and spying how the woman was knocking (at the sago trunk).'

Sometimes the relative pronoun can be left out, especially when the relative clause has a time word that clearly shows that the relative clause does not refer to the present time of the story.

Ti melnum wekg la mpa kai Ukarumpa ti ahi?
so person two say FUT go Ukarumpa this where
'So where are the two men who want to go to Ukarumpa?'

Atom miring ur pikekg ak kwap hep rpma Yangkuru pa la.
then white.man ID PAST do.R work first sit.R Yangkuru D say
'Then a white skin who used to work in Yangkuru said,'

Men awi wrikya pa aye kawor itni wan mpa mentekg hokg
1pl.Exc take.R cargo D carry.R enter stand.IR house FUT 1dual sleep
pa.
D
'We took our cargo to the house where we would be sleeping.'

Kupm a la kwap pikekg kupm ak.
1sg INT say work PAST 1sg do.R
'I want to talk about the work I did.'

Marpm kitn angkli kai Dreikikir, pa ake marpm wail.
money 2sg throw.R go Dreikikir that NEG money big
'The money you spent to Dreikikir, that was not a big amount of money'

Yangkipm a Maur Wailen mpa mentepm itning
talk G spirit great FUT 1pl.Incl hear.IR

ik kong ti pa ela kai Matyu 10
use.IR morning this D stay.R go Matthew 10
'The talk of God that we are going to hear this morning, is from Matthew 10.'

Urim also has one special type of relative clause where the relative marker never occurs. This is the combination of existential verb (usually **ha**) and a demonstrative pronoun which functions as a pro-adverb specifying where the referent of head noun is located. The use of this rather lexicalised expression is approximately like the use of the so-called 'deictic relative clause' in English (Hawkins 1987:136)

*Tu kinar rpma hunokg yamping **ha ti.***
3pl go.down sit.R sea shore be:R here
'They went down to the sea shore that was near there'

*Alok hipm **ha-pa** kul, alok hipm **ha-ti** kul, ...*
pull.R leaf be-there come pull.R leaf be-here come
'Pulled together leaves from here and there'

Relative clause and deictic modifiers

As we have seen earlier, the relative clause follows all other modifiers. The only exception is the deictic modifier *pa* ' that', which can occur either before or after the relative clause. Possibly the demonstrative pronoun is placed after the relative clause when it denotes contrast or focus, and before it to express that the whole referent is mentioned earlier or otherwise known. Since a referent usually is specified with relative clause when it is first introduced to the story, there are not many instances where **pa** or **ti** after an RC is used to refer to the givenness of the whole referent - often it just refers to the givenness of an NP occurring inside the RC. Sometimes it's difficult to tell whether the deictic placed after the RC refers to the head NP or to a NP inside the RC.

*Melnum pa **a** pikekg antokg...*
person that REL past do.R
'That man is the one who did .'

...nampokgen	tu	wrong	tiur	yat	*a*	aye	wrikya	*a*	tuwekg
.. with:R	3pl	group	some	also	REL	carry.R	things	G	2dual

pa,	men	kinar	wrik	*a*	kirmpa	angko-we	*pa.*
D	1plExc	go.down	place	REL	plane	fall.R-TR	D

'also with some people who carried their cargo, we went down to the airstrip.'

In the following example *pa* occurring after relative clause clearly modifies a noun inside the RC, not the head noun.

Tu	*wrong*	*kiin*	*-a-kipman*	*wrong*	*wail*	*a*	*rka*	*rka*	*bot*	*pa*
3pl	group	woman-and-man		group	big	REL	hang.R	hang.R	boat	D

'The big group of people who were in that boat' (the boat is earlier mentioned)

In the following examples the demonstrative pronoun occurring after the RC must refer to the Head NP since no other possible NPs are present. Possibly the demonstrative occurring in this position also functions demarcatively, separating the long relative clause from the rest of the sentence.

Ak	*wang*	*a*	*men*	*kul*	*pa*	*men*	*numprampen*	*wrikya...*
Use.R	time	REL	1plExc	come	D	1plExc	prepare.R	things..

'At the time when we came, we prepared the things..'

Kil	*alm*	*tu*	*wrong*	*kiin*	*-a -kipman*	*a*	*pikekg*	*or - en*	*pa*
3sg	shoot.R	3pl	group	woman-and-man		REL	past	hit-3plO	D

'He shot all the people who had beaten them (the actor and his sister)'

Atopen	*a*	*kweikwei*	*wrongkwail*	*wet*	*a*	*kupm*	*angkleikg*	*hep*	*nak -epm*	*pa,*
joy	G	things	all.of.them	just	REL	1sg	list.R	first	tell.R-2pl	D

pa	*ake*	*atopen*	*aklale*	*wrisen*	*a*	*Maur*	*Wor*	*ikga*	*itni*	*yongyong*	*pa,*	*kalpis.*
that	NEGjoy		true	honest	G	spirit	good	FUT	stay.IR	for.ever	D	not

'The joy about all the things I just listed to you, that is not the true happiness of Holy Spirit that will last forever, not indeed.'

Genitives Expressed by Relative Clauses

In Urim genitives and relatives have the same form. Both are formed by using *a*. The difference between genitives and relatives has to do with the nature of the Complement of *a*. In relative clauses, *a* takes a sentential Complement, while in genitive constructions it takes a noun phrase Complement. The genitive really expresses the fact that one noun is subordinate, and modifier of, to another (Shopen 1987 III, p. 185). Therefore the marker *a* can be called a general subordinate marker which marks both modifying nouns and full clauses.   On the other hand, genitives in Urim could be viewed as a kind of minimal relative clause whose predicate consists only of a noun. Recall also that the genitive pronouns are formed using *a* (cf. *a-kupm* 'mine'/'that [is to] me).

Examples of genitive constructions:

kanokg   a   ninol
ground   REL   mushroom
'ground where mushrooms are growing'

warim   a   kiin
child   REL   woman
'woman's child' How would 'the child that is a woman' be different???

wang   a   hokg
time   REL   sleep
'time to sleep'

yiprokg   a   wakg
roots   REL   fire
'the origin of fire'

In Urim the use of this type of genitive construction has some restrictions. Inalienable genitive constructions usually formally resemble noun complexes, since they lack an overt genitive marker (see section 5. 1. 2. 1). The same applies to genitive constructions introducing the name of a person or place. If the head of an inalienable genitive construction is animate, occurrence of *a* is possible, but topic constructions are usually preferred instead (the first example below):

Muinuror   yek   wam kai   nakle...
brother   poor   hand go   pick.R
'The hand of poor brother picked...'

Kil   wampor wuhor   kai wulmpa   a   wusok.
3sg   hit.R   claw   go eye   G   small
'He hit with his claws straight to the eye of the younger brother.'

> (notice that the expression *wusok wulmpa* is impossible in Urim. Only generic expressions like *manto tukgunakg* 'pig head' are possible))

Not even the presence or absence of verb always makes clear difference between a genitive structure and a relative clause. In the following examples an embedded clause occurs modifying a noun; in this respect they look like relative clauses. Nevertheless, there is no noun in the embedded clause (not even an underlying one) that could be co-referential with the head noun.

nang   a   nar   hu
name   REL   descend   water
'a name given in baptism'

Kupm la ok   yankipm a   wet   (wet   a)   minto kinar Pakwi
1sg   say mouth talk   REL N.past (N.past REL) 1pauc go.down Pakwi
'I'll tell about our recent visit to Pakwi'

3.1.5. Co-ordinated Noun Phrases

Co-ordinated noun phrases can function as heads of noun phrases, although they are not nearly as common as noun complexes.   In a co-ordinate noun phrase both nouns have equivalent syntactic status. In Urim co-ordinated noun phrases are usually marked by conjunction (usually *a* 'and'), but nouns can also be conjoined without any overt conjunction.

> *kiyom*   *a*   *kimining*   *umpu*
> kiyom   and   kimining   piece
> 'pieces of kiyom and kimining trees
>   (coordinated NP as genitive premodifier)

> *wan*   *a*   *kiin*   *a*   *warim*   *aln-tu-wen*
> house   G   woman   and   child   G -3pl-ATR
> 'the house of their wives and children' (coordinated noun phrase as Complement of *a*)

> *wuring*   *timping*
> garden   old.garden
> 'gardens (new and old garden)'

There are more examples of coordinated phrases below and in section 5.1.2.

3.2. Other Nominal Phrases

3.2.1. Adjectival and Adverbial Phrases

Comparison and degree with adjectives and degree with some adverbs is usually expressed phrasally via the use of following intensifiers (see also section 2. 6. 3):

> *Kiin*   *pa*   [*wail*   [*manten*   [*paipm*   *ai*]]]
> woman   that   big   extremely   bad remote
> 'That woman is very big, without comparison'

> Kitn   wor   waiken-ketn,   aki?
> 2sg   good   little -RED   or
> 'Do you feel a little better?'

> *Kil*   *pa*   *kinipis*   *maur*
> 3sg   D   stingy   spirit/badly
> 'She is very stingy'

> *Kil*   *awi*   *yul*   *wailet*   *paipm*
> 3sg   get.R   fish   much   bad
> 'She got very much fish'

> *Kupm*   *watipmen*   *paipm*   *ai*
> 1sg   plenty   bad   remote
> 'I have a lot already'

kiin   wor   namput   paipm
woman   good   call   bad
'a very good woman'

Other examples of adjectival and adverbial phrases:

Kil   nimpa   nimpa paipm   wrisen
3sg   laugh   laugh   bad   indeed
'She laughed and laughed loudly'

wor   wrisen
good   indeed
'Excellent'

pikekg   ai
past   remote
'sometimes earlier'

mehen   mehen
easy   easy
'carefully'

3.2.2.   Numeral Phrases

Most numerals in Urim are formally coordinate phrases, which have the structure:

(Quantity Classifier (numeral))^n (numeral)

with the quantity classifiers—e.g. *wampomis* 'hand-other-whole'/'5', *wamwam* 'hand-hand'/'10', *yikakwom* 'leg-other' / 'numeral beyond 10', *yikakwomis* 'leg-other-whole' / 'five beyond 10', and *kamel* 'person' / '20'—being ordered from larger to smaller

wam-pomis wam-pom   wekg
hand-other   hand-other   two
'seven'

kamel   wris   tuwek   wris
body   one   plus   one
'twenty-one'

Other kinds of numeral phrases are rare. Demonstratives and a few adverbials occur as modifiers in these phrases:

wris   *yat*
one   also
'One also'

Mele   *wris*   *ata*   *antokg*
Mele   one   only   do.R
'Only Mele/Mele alone did it'

Wris   *pa*   *kul*
one   D   come
'One arrived'

3.2.3. Pronoun Phrases

In Urim texts, personal pronouns often co-occur with demonstratives and quantifiers.   When demonstratives co-occur with pronouns, they typically indicate that a change in topic (often speaker) has occurred or emphasis.

Kupm asen <u>*kil*</u>   <u>*pa*</u> *om:....*   *Ari* <u>*kil*</u>   <u>*pa*</u>   *la-la:...*
1sg   ask.R 3sg   D   now   but   3sg   D   say-say
'I asked him now:.... And he said:...' (*pa* marks topic and the change of speaker)

<u>*Kipm*</u>   <u>*pa*</u>   *wakg*   *ur*   *kol*   <u>*men*</u>   <u>*kil*</u>   *aki?*
2pl   D   fire   ID   like   1pl.Exc 3sg   or
'Do you have a fire like we here?' (contrast, emphasis)

<u>*Kupm*</u> <u>*al-kupm*</u>   <u>*wris*</u> *antokg*
1sg   G-1sg   one   do.R
'I did (it) by myself'

<u>*Tu*</u>   <u>*ti*</u>   <u>*ur*</u>
3pl   this   ID
'some (unknown) people'

<u>*Tu*</u>   <u>*ur*</u>   <u>*ai*</u>   *alm*   *ise*
3pl   ID   remote shoot.R   PERF
'Some strangers shot (them)'

Personal pronouns may also occur as part of coordinated noun phrases, either with another pronoun or with a noun:

Wang   *ur*   *pa*   <u>*mentekg*</u>   *Karis*   *hel*   *kainil*
time   ID   D   1dual   karis   roam   moon
'One day I and Karis, we two went to hunt in moonlight.'

Ikga   <u>*kupm*</u>   <u>*mentekg*</u> *kai...*
later   1sg   1dual   go
'Later we two will go..'

Kil	*kai*	*anong*	*a -kupm*	*a -kil*
3sg	go	village	G-1sg	G-3sg

'He went to our home village'

Personal pronouns can also sometimes be modified by genitives or relative clauses, especially the 3rd person plural pronoun **tu** 'they'.

tu	*a*	*nikg -walpm*	*wor*
3pl	G	stomach-liver	good

'The benevolent people'

tu	*a*	*ikgalen*	*kweikwei*
3pl	REL	look.after.R	things

'Those who take care of things'

Also interrogative pronouns can be modified by demonstratives and quantifiers. Some interrogative pronouns are formally phrases.

Mla	*ur*	*ai*	*kul...*
who	ID	remote	come

'Whoever came..'

Kitn	*hor*	*warim*	*pa*	*eng*	*ntei?*
2sg	hit.R	child	D	PUR	?

'Why did you hit the child?'

The near demonstrative *ti* 'this' can sometimes occur as head of pronoun phrase.

Ti	*kil*	*ake*	*wor*
this	3sg/here	NEG	good

'This here is not good'

Hapm	*ti*	*ur*	*hu -wet*
cloth	this	ID	water-ATR

'Some clothes are wet'

3.2.4.   Prepositional Phrases

In Urim prepositional phrases are very common and consist of a preposition plus its following noun phrase Complement [P [NP]]:

Tu	*ale*	*wan*	*[eng*	*kupm].*
3pl	build.R	house	PUR	1sg

'They built the house for me'

Uwi   pa   iye   kul   [eng   kupm]!
take.IR   D   carry.IR   come   OBL   1sg
'Bring it to me!' (Recipient /Goal)

Kil   la   naki   kupm   [eng   kwap].
3sg   say   tell.R   1sg   OBL   work
'He spoke to me about the work.' ('about'/'concerning')

Kupm   tukwok   [eng   okipma].
1sg   short   OBL   food
'I am short of food.' ('about'/'concerning')

Ngkom   mehen   [eng   mang]!
walk.IR   slow   OBL   mud
'Walk slowly because of the mud!' (Reason)

For more examples see section 5.2.

3.3. Linking of phrases

Additive Conjunction *a*

The most common device of coordinating phrases is the conjunction *a* 'and'. This conjunction homophonous with the genitive and relative marker *a*, but is not the same lexeme. Examples:

kiin   a   kipman
woman   and   man
'women and men'

wanukg   a   nimun
greens   and   pitpit
'greens and pitpit'

kiyom   a   kimining   umpu
tree sp.   and   tree sp.   piece
'Pieces of *kiyom* and *kimining* trees/wood???'

kipman   alin   kwei   a   namung, wayu
man   plant   yam sp.   and   banana   taro
'The men plant yam, bananas, and taro'

Kupm   a   Akalpm   a   Layun   a   Melawor...
1sg   and Akalp   and Layun   and Melawor
'I and Akalpm and Layun and Melawor...'

Coordinated phrases (and words) without any markers

Listing is usually done without any overt connecting conjunction. Also when there are multiple coordinated modifiers of the head noun/noun complex with the noun phrase, no connectives conjoin the modifiers:

kwei,   kimpa,   kimpa wasulu...
yam sp.   yam sp.   sweet potato
'Yams, mami-yams, [and] sweet potatoes'

Tu   anong   Laninguap Yakrimpok   Paklo
3pl   village   Laninguap Yakrimpok   Paklo
'the villagers of Laninguap, Yakrimpok and Paklo'

nimpa   karek   wor   wekg   a-kitn-en
dog   chicken   good   two   G-2sg-ATR
'Your two good animals, dog and chicken'

hapm   watet,   wanukgis, tangkoren, pungkis
cloth   red   green   white   yellow
'red, green, white, and yellow clothes'

Kil   wail   watin
3sg   big   tall
'He is big and tall'

Some coordinated phrases have been lexicalized:

wring   timping
new.garden   old.garden
'gardens' (almost lexicalized idiom)

man   -yan
mother-father
'parents'

wusok-wail
small -big
'brothers, sisters (of same sex)'

*kiin   -a   -kipman (*or: *kiin-kipman)*
woman-and-man
'people'

Dual pronouns connecting NPs

When speaking about several people using their names, no conjunction usually occurs. Instead a suitable personal pronoun occurs either before or after the names. The dual pronoun **tuwekg** 'they

two' is usually reduced into *(w)ekg* ' two'. This pronoun can occur before, between, or after the two NPs. When the connecting pronoun occurs before, the structure looks more like an appositional construction :

Kinming Kinikgen, ekg...
Kinming Kinikgen two
'They two, Kinming and Kinikgen'

Rita ekg Pirkko pa
Rita two Pirkko D
'Rita and Pirkko, they...'

Monto Kinelpmak Yanantokg
1trial Kinelpmak Yanantokg
'We three, me, Kinelpmak and Yanantokg'

warim a Wrongkatnur ekg Wrisarpme
child G Wrongkatnur two Urisarpme
'The child of Wrongkatnur and Wrisarpme'

Mentekg Karis
1dual Karis
'I and Karis'

Mentekg kiin a-kupm-en wuli pa...
1dual woman G-1sg-ATR arrive C
'I arrived with my wife...'

Accompaniment linking

The verbs ***nampokgen*** 'together with' and ***anti*** 'with' are used when coordinative relation between NPs has the additive meaning of accompaniment. These words could perhaps also be interpreted as prepositions, especially since ***nampokgen*** does not occur as predicate. Both still exhibit an irrealis form. ***Anti*** seems to occur only with human NPs, ***nampokgen*** can occur also with non-human NPs although it normally is used about humans. These conjunctions never occur between clauses.

Mentekg Dik nampokgen melnum Maprik-en ur...
1dual Dik with:R man Maprik-ATR ID
'I and Dik and a man from Maprik..'

Kupm inti kiin a-kupm-en..
1sg with.IR woman G-1sg-ATR
'I with my wife...'

Pirko ekg Debi pa nampokgen mentekg Dik pa nampokgen tu wrong
Pirkko two Debi D together.with.R 1dual Dik D together.with.R 3pl crowd

tiur	yat	a	aye	wrikya	a	Pirkko	ekg	Debi	pa,	men	kinar..
some	also	REL	carry.R	things	G	Pirkko	two	Debi	D	1pl.Exc	go.down

'Pirkko and Debi together with us two, me and Josech, and also accompanied by some people who carried Pirkko's and Debi's things, we went down...'

Men	ari	hu	kop	Ramu	a	nampokgen	hu	kop	wasok-wasok
1pl.Exc	see.R	water	river	Ramu	and	with.it.R	water	river	small-small

tiur	ai.
some	remote

'We saw the river Ramu and also some tiny rivers'

aye	wakg	nampokgen	wurkapm
carry.R	fire	with.R	book

'carried both a lamp and a book'

Some phrases are formed by adding the suffix –en to the modifier. The function of this suffix is to mark the construction as a phrase, and it also has the semantical meaning 'with' (see also section 4.5.2.2). These phrases often function as adverbials in the sentence :

Kiin	kipman-en
woman	man-with

'both men and women'

Man	al-kil	pa	nepm	paipm-en	rpma	anong
mother	G-3sg	D	leg	bad -with	sit.R	village

'His mother was lame and stayed in the village'

Mining	ran-en	kupm	akwap
dark	day-with	1sg	work.R

'Day and night I work'

Kil	pa	num	kakir-en	wail	paipm	ise
3sg	D	skin	hard-with	big	bad	PERF

'He is already far too old (lit. far too hard-skinned)'

Disjunctive nominal phrases

The disjunctive conjunction **aki** 'or' conjoins both phrases and clauses. It also functions as a tag in questions. Here we only present some examples of it conjoining noun phrases. Other uses of **aki** are described later in the section 5.5.3.

man	al-kil	aki	man	a-kupm	aki,	tu...
mother	G-3sg	or	mother	G-1sg	or	3pl

'Her mother or my mother or [somebody else], they..'

Ake	wrik	watipmen	itna	kar	ti.	Kitn	aki	kil	ai	kai.
NEG	place	plenty	stay.R	car	this	2sg	or	3sg	remote	go

'There is not much space in this car. Only you or he can go.'

Wor   aki paipm?
good   or   bad
'Is it good or bad?'

*Kil   amo **aki**   antokg kolai?   Malaria awi -yel   **aki?***
3sg   die.R or   do.R   how   malaria get.R-3sgO   or
'Is she sick or what is wrong? Did she get malaria or what?'

3.4. What is Verb Phrase in Urim?

The term verb phrase is used in two senses. 'Traditionally, it refers to a group of verbs which together have the same syntactic function as a single verb (*is coming, may be coming, get up to*). In such phrases, one verb is the main verb and the others are subordinate to it.   In generative grammar, the verb phrase has a much broader definition, being equivalent to the whole of the predicate of a sentence' (Crystal pp.325-326).

In this grammar the different types of predicates will be described later in the Chapter 4 'Urim Basic Clause Types'. If we follow the traditional definition of verb phrase, most serial phrases do fit the definition, but not all of them. Many serial verb phrases function syntactically as prepositions. Negation and some modality could possibly be described as part of verb phrase, but the scope of most modal particles is rather the whole clause or sentence than verb phrase. Therefore it might be better to leave the whole term 'verb phrase' out of Urim grammar.. Serial structures have already been described in the sections 3.2.7 and 3.3.6. The grammatical functions commonly expressed in languages within verb phrases, like negation, modality and time, have been partly described earlier (3.2.2.) but we will shortly discuss them here too.

3.4.1.   Negation

Negation is usually considered part of verb phrase. In Urim the verbal negator *ake* normally occurs immediately before the verb (or serial verb phrase), but is often also placed first in the clause, especially in answers:

Kil   ake   kul
3sg   NEG   come
'She did not come.'

Kalpis,   ake   kil   ari
no   NEG   3sg   see
'No, he did not see (it)'

Also non-verbal equative and descriptive clauses are negated with the word *ake*. Existence clauses and verbless possessive clauses instead are negated using the word *kalpis(en)*:

Ake	*wang*	*a*	*kai*
NEG	time	REL	go

'It is not time to go yet.'

Kupm	*ake*	*kipman*
1sg	NEG	man

'I am not a man'

Kipman	*a -kupm-en*	*ake*	*wail*
man	G-1sg -ATR	NEG	big

Kupm	*kipman*	*kalpisen*
1sg	man	not

'I have no husband'

Kupm	*ake*	*yul*	*rmpa*
1sg	NEG	fish	lie

'I do not have fish'

Obligations are negated by *ampake* 'should not', *akentiwe* 'cannot', and *am(p)ur* 'don't'. Also the combination *ake mpa* is often used in negative exhortations. All these occur first in the clause. *Akentive* can be interpreted as a idiomatized phrase (*ake antive* 'not enough/able'). All these expressions are more like clause adverbs than parts of verb phrase.

Ampake	*kil*	*iri*
may.not	3sg	see.IR

'He is not allowed to look.'

Ampur	*hakg!*
don't	cry

Don't cry!'

Akentive	*kil*	*kai*
not able	3sg	go

'He cannot go'

Kupm	*la -nak -epm la,*	*ake*	*mpa*	*kipm*	*ntokg*	*paipm*	*tu*	*pa*
1sg	say-tell.R-2plO say	NEG	FUT	2pl	do.IR	bad	3pl	D

'I tell to you that you should not treat them badly.'

3.4.2. Time words

Since Urim verbs have no tense morphology indicating time of occurrence, time is expressed with time adverbs. These have been described earlier in the Section 2.7.1. In Urim, these words occur in the clause independently of the verb, except perhaps the non-deictic sequencing adverbials *hep* 'first, ahead' and *katnukg* 'later, behind': and the time adverb *wet* 'now, recently, a short time ago'. These are usually placed immediately before the main verb (or serials).

Pikekgkil   kitn   hokg   rmpa kai   ahi?
yesterday   2sg   sleep lie   go   where
'Where did you sleep yesterday?'

Kipman   hep   aye   warim
man   first   carry   child
'The husband comes first carrying the child'
                    (*hep* could also be interpreted as verb in a serial structure)

Kupm   wet   al   ise
1sg   just   eat   PERF
'I just ate'

Kitn   wet   ang -kai   ai   wuli?
2sg   just   from-go   where   arrive
'Where are you coming from now?'

Also the temporal adverbs *am* 'now', *mpa* 'in future', and *ikga* 'later in future' are more closely attached to the verb. Some of them can function also as conjunctions: see Section 5.5.5.

Kil   kinar   mpa   il   hu
3sg   go down   FUT   eat   water
'If he goes down (into the water), he will drown.'

Sop   am   plalng   ise
soap   now   finish   PERF
'Soap is now finished.'

Antiwe   ikga   kupm   uwi   aki   kalpis?
enough   later   1sg   take.IR   or   not
'Can I get it later of not?'

3.4.3.   Modal particles

Imperatives and the clitic –o(m)

Imperative modus is in Urim optionally expressed by using the clause-final imperative clitic –o. In imperative clause the verb or verbs are always in irrealis mode. Sometimes this clitic occurs in the form –om, which adds the meaning 'now' (possibly shortened from *am* 'now').   Imperative clitic is always attached to the last word of the clause or sentence:

Wrekg   o!
rise   IMP
'Get up!'

Kitn   ti   wrekg   eng   ekg   kai   om!
2sg   here   get.up   OBL   1dual go   IMP.now
'Get up and lets go!'

Ikor   *nung*   *o!*
search.IR   wood   IMP
'Get firewood!'

Mentepm   *kaino*   *anong*   *o*   *-m!*
1pl.Inc   go up   village   IMP-now

Hu   *ti*   *watet*   *o!*
water   this   red   IMP
'Let this water be red!' (incantation)

Mehen   *o!*
carefully   IMP
'Be carefull!'   (notice that *mehen* is an adverb!)

As the examples above show, in imperative clauses the subject may or may not appear on the surface. Reason is pragmatical, since Urim verbs do not encode person or plurality.

Following examples show that the clitic –o appears only once in the sentence:

Kipmekg   *pa*   *il*   *mpa*   *kaino*   *o!*
2dual   D   eat.IR   FUT   go   IMP
'You two eat and go then!'

Kirpo   *pa*   *il*   *yangkipm*   *hute*   *elngen*   *o!*
grab.IR   D   eat.IR   talk   straight   stop   IMP
'Take heed of this straight talk and stop it!'

Am   *kai*   *uwi*   *nep*   *mangkon*   *ur*   *iye*   *kul*   *elk* *-opm*   *il*
now   go   get.IR   coconut   green   ID   carry.IR   come   give-1sgO   drink.IR
o!
IMP
'Now go get some green coconuts and bring me to drink!'

Permissive imperative is encoded repeating the verb (possibly only the verb *kai* 'go', since no other examples have been found this far) at the beginning of the clause. In this type of imperative the personal pronoun is obligatory::

Kai   *kitn*   *kai*   *om*
go   2sg   go   IMP.now
'You may go now!'

Kai   *kitn*   *iye*   *eng*   *al-kitn*   *o!*
go   2sg   carry.IR   PBL   G-2sg   IMP
'You can keep it!'

Imperatives can be expressed also without the particle –o. Possibly this is a weaker or 'more polite' way to express orders and wishes.

Kitn   kul   ingkliin-topm!
2sg   come   help.IR-1sgO
'Come to help me!'

Irmpen   rais   ur   iye   kul!
buy.IR   rice   id   carry:IR   come
'Buy some rice and bring it here!'

Kipmekg   ilm   -topm   hu   ur   eng   kupm   il!
2dual   shoot.IR-1sfO   water   ID   OBL   1sg   drink.IR'
You two, fetch some water for me to drink!'

Other modal particles

Urim also has two modal adverbs that are used to encode probability; *pilpa* 'perhaps, must be' and *kol* 'possibly'. Both occur sentence initially, and hardly can be considered part of a verb phrase. The word *kol* also has several other usages; therefore it will be described in more detail in Section 5.6. *Pilpa* has been described earlier in Section 3.2.2.

3.4.4.   Serial structures

Serial structures are formally of four types: coordinated, subordinated with main verb last, subordinated with main verb first, and preposition-like serials. The functions of serial structures are very various.

It is common to juxtapose several verbs together in Urim with no intervening conjunctions. In some cases, the meaning of the combination is quite transparent, whereas in others it is more opaque/idiomatic.

awi   aye   kul
take.R   carry.R   come
'bring'

arukge   aye   kai
move.R   carry.R   go
'push'

ak   ikg   la
do.R   look   say
'spy'

Kil   awi   aris   wampung
3sg   take.R   smell.R   marsupial
'He took the possum and smelled it'

Aye   nar   minto   lap   al
carry.R   come.down   we.few   roast.R   eat.R

'(They) brought (it) down and we roasted and ate'

Verbs expressing the manner of action usually occur before the semantically main verb in the verb phrase. Normally no other constituents occur between the manner verb and the predicate following it.

Kil   ngkat-en   numpet ak   kwap
3sg   carry-with   sick   do.R work
'He is working while sick'

Kiin   kwalkwal   kai
woman   wail   go
'The woman left wailing'

Kil   hokg   kaing-kul
3sg   sleep   go -come
'He sleeps crossways'

Compare to:

Wan   am   pik atnen   tu   tike   wailet paipm
house   now   full because.of 3pl   here.EMP   much   bad
'The house was very crowded because of them'

Most verbs indicating aspects also occur preceding the predicate they semantically modify, forming a verb phrase with it.

Kil   elng   angko   kainar   hu
3sg   put   fall.R   go.down   water
'He dived down into the water'   (voluntary *elng*)

men   kai-no   ari   tu   anel   hakg
1pl.Exc   go-go.up   see.R   3pl   pick.R cry
'we went but they all cried'   (*anel* 'all in group')

Tu   la   ilm   wel
3pl   say/INT   shoot.IR   bird
'They are going to shoot birds'   (intentional *la*)

In Urim peripheral semantic roles like Instrument, Location, and Time are usually expressed by serial verb constructions. Some of these constructions are more lexicalized and preposition-like than others, but the verbal modal distinction of realis-irrealis is always present.

Kupm   inti   mla   rpmi anong?
1sg   with.IR   who   sit.IR village
'Who will stay with me in the village?'

Kupm   angko   hu   ak   warim

1sg	fall.R	water	use.R	child

'I was baptized when child'

Kil	*lap*	*wapiin*	*kai*	*wakg*
3sg	roast	lizard	go	fire

'He roasted the lizard on fire'

4. Urim Basic Clause Types

4.1. Introduction and Chart of Clause Types

The clause is the basic syntactic unit occurring between the phrase and the sentence.[1]   When describing the clauses of a language, it is important to clearly distinguish between the notions of **text clause** and **basic or kernel clause.**   Text clauses consist of both nuclear and peripheral elements, and quite often some of the nuclear elements are not present in the clause if they are known from the textual context or environmental context or are part of the semantic content of the verb.   A basic clause consists of nuclear elements only and is a 'perfect' or 'full' clause in the sense that it does not have any elided constituents and it can be understood without a text context.   Generative grammar defines kernel clauses or sentences as being minimal in the sense that they cannot be derived from other clauses.   This excludes passive, imperative, interrogative etc. types from basic clause types. (Lyons 1979, Givon 1984)

Nuclear elements of the clause are the predicate, which is usually a verb, and its obligatory or core arguments.   In nonverbal clauses the NP or adjective phrase functions as the predicate.   In Urim a clause can minimally consist of only a single predicative noun phrase.   Basic clauses consisting only of a verb are not allowed[2], although this kind of text clause is very common as the result of ellipsis and clause chaining.   All clauses can also have various types of optional adjuncts: accompaniment, instrument, time, location, reason, etc.   In Urim the number of optional elements in a clause is usually restricted to at most two.   The occurrence of these is semantically determined, and does not affect the description of the basic clause types.

Chart of Urim Basic Clause Types

Name	Constituents	Functions

---

[1] This chapter is an unpublished paper written 1991.
Many grammars talk about predication types instead of clause types, but we have chosen this traditional way of structuralist grammars to describe these basic syntactic structures of Urim.   Also the ideas of dependence grammar have been used when describing Urim clause types.

[2]   Some languages allow basic clause types without any 'proper' semantic or grammatical subject. For example, in Finnish the clause *Sataa* 'It rains' consists only of a verb without any semantic subject or subject NP on the surface, although the verb has third person singular Subject indexing inflection.. The corresponding clause in English has a semantically 'empty' subject *it*.   In Urim these kinds of structures are not possible, unless the structure called here **the time clause** is interpreted as having a verb instead of a noun as the only constituent (see section 4.7).

A.	Intransitive clauses		$NP + V_{itr}$	S V
B.	Semitransitive clauses			
	1.	Directional clauses	$NP + V_m + NP$	S V L
	2.	Locative clauses	$NP + V_e + NP$	S V L
	3.	Resultative clauses	$NP + V_m + NP/AP$	S V L
C.	Transitive clauses			
	1.	Monotransitive clauses	$NP + V_{tr} + NP$	S V O
	2.	Ditransitive clauses	$NP + V_{tr} + NP + NP$	S V O IO
D.	Nominal clauses			
	1.	Equative clauses	$NP + NP$	S P
	2.	Descriptive clauses	$NP + NP/AP$	S P
E.	Topic clauses			
	1.	Possessive clauses	$NP + NP (+ V_e)$	T S (V)
	2.	Experience clauses	$NP + NP + V (+Pron)$	T S V (O)

About defining clause types

The following criteria have been used here to determine the basic clause types in Urim:

- 1) How many obligatory arguments does the verb have? This is the main criterion. The presence or absence of a verb is often also used as the main criterion for dividing clauses into types. While Urim has both verbal and nonverbal clause types, there are also some minor types where the verb is optional or is deleted when negated. Therefore the presence of the verb is only used as a secondary criterion in determining Urim basic clause types.
- 2) What are the syntactic functions (subject, object etc) and the semantic roles (agent, patient etc) of the arguments of the verb?
- 3) Clause types may also have special syntactic features such as word order, negative form, case morphology etc.   These, along with the meaning of the clause, have been used here only as secondary criteria in separating clause types.

The important notion of transitivity distinguishes the two most common basic clause types in any language: intransitive and transitive clauses. There are degrees of transitivity in clauses,   since the notion of transitivity is a graded continuum (Givon 1984: 98, 152-157). In the prototypical, highly transitive clause the subject referent is a volitional, controlling agent or a non-volitional cause/effector

and the object is a concrete, result-registering effect or patient. Many objects are less than prototypical

In Urim certain clause types have an intermediate degree of transitivity, and are therefore called here semitransitive. Clearly transitive verb stems are not as common in Urim as in many other languages. Many verbs can have both transitive (or semitransitive) and intransitive (or reflexive) uses (1a), (1b), with no morphologically marking to indicate a change in transitivity.   In Urim transitive verbs are often derived from intransitive ones via addition of the transitive suffixes *-en* or *-e*.[3] These suffixes can increase the transitivity of an intransitive verb or clause, making it transitive or semitransitive (1a), (1c). They can also change semitransitive verbs into fully transitive verbs. Consider the following examples:

(1a)　　*Kil*　　<u>*hokg*</u>　*rmpa*　　*nung.*
　　　　　3sg　　sleep　lie.R　　log
　　　　　'He slept on a log.'　　　　　　　　　　　　(intransitive)

(1b)　　*Kil*　　<u>*hokg-en*</u>　*wakg.*
　　　　　3sg　　sleep-TR　fire
　　　　　'He slept by the fire.'　　　　　　　　(semitransitive - result of a productive rule)

(1c)　　*Kil*　　　*hokg*　　　*kiin.*
　　　　　3sg　　　sleep　　　woman
　　　　　'He had sex with a woman.'　　　　(transitive)

(2a)　　*Kupm*　　<u>*angko*</u>　　*ya.*
　　　　　1sg　　　fall.R　　　road
　　　　　'I fell off the path. (into a ditch)'　　(semitransitive)

(2b)　　*Kwei*　　*ur*　　　<u>*angko-wen*</u>　*manto.*
　　　　　thing　　ID　　　fall.R -TR　pig
　　　　　'Something attacked the pig.'　　(transitive - derivational)

(3a)　　*Warim*　　<u>*hakg.*</u>
　　　　　child　　cry
　　　　　'The child cries'.　　　　　　　　　　　　(intransitive)

(3b)　　*Warim*　　<u>*hakg*</u>　<u>*eng*</u>　　*wayu.*
　　　　　child　　cry　　PUR　　taro
　　　　　'The child cries for taro.'　　　　(intermediate degree of transitivity)

---

[3] The suffix *-en* is much more common and occurs with all kinds of intransitive verbs, while the suffix *-e* increases the transitivity of motion verbs only and occurs more frequently as a continuative aspect marker.

(3b)   *Warim*   <u>*hakg-en*</u>   *yan.*
           child   cry-TR   father
           'Child cries after father.'   (transitive - inflectional)

4.2. Intransitive Clauses

The basic difference between transitive and intransitive clauses is that an intransitive verb has only one obligatory argument, whereas a transitive verb has two or more obligatory arguments. In Urim the difference between obligatory and optional nominal constituents of the clause is quite consistently reflected in the surface structure. The obligatory constituents are almost always morphologically unmarked noun phases (no prepositions, no markings on the verb), whereas optional constituents are usually expressed as prepositional phrases. There are only a few exceptions to this rule. With certain verbs the second obligatory NP in the clause (the second argument of the verb) is morphologically unmarked when it is a pronoun, but requires a preposition when it is a full noun phrase. These verbs are probably on the borderline between transitive and intransitive verbs Thus far only a few verbs of this type have been found.

(4a)   *Tu*   *wakrongen-<u>tetn.</u>*
        3pl   like   -   2sg.O
        'They like you.'

(4b)   *Tu*   *wakrongen*   <u>*eng*</u>   *mansan*
        3pl   like   PUR   parents
        'They love their parents'

The subject of an intransitive clause always occurs before the verb and can exhibit almost any semantic role. In this respect intransitive clauses differ from all other clause types in Urim.

(5a)   *Hu*   *awe*   *wail*   *paipm.*
        water   rain.R   big   bad
        'It's raining hard.'

(5b)   *Nampa*   *haru.*
        dog   bark
        'The dog barks.'

(5c)   *Hapm*   *plalng.*
        cloth   finished
        'There are no more clothes left.'

(5d)   *Tu*   *warim*   *akatnong.*
        3pl   child   play.R
        'The children are playing.'

In Urim the subject noun phrase is obligatory in all basic clause types. Even expressions describing natural phenomena which in many languages have no semantic or surface subjects, or have a 'dummy' subject (like the *it* in English *it rains*) require overt subjects in Urim (5a). In text clauses, however, subjects are often absent as the result of ellipsis, when the identity of the subject referent is clear from the previous context.

4.2.1.   Time Clauses

There are two structurally peculiar types of clause that could be described as subtypes of the intransitive clause. One of them, which is here called **the time clause,** consists of one element only; a noun phrase denoting time of day. The reasons why these words are not considered lexical verbs are: 1) these time words do not have any case frame with arguments, in other words, the time clause never has any other obligatory elements except the time word itself, which functions both as the subject and the predicate of the clause. 2) In Urim nouns and verbs do not usually have the same morphological form in the lexicon (like English 'love' or 'fish' for example), although verbs and verb phrases can easily be nominalized without any formal marking. 3) Another reason fro classifying time words as nouns is that adjectives can be formed from them by the suffix –et. This is rare with verbs. 4) Aspectual, temporal, and modal particles can occur in this time clause the same way as in verbal clauses. This is possible, because they do not belong to the verbal morphology but are clausal particles.

Time words also resemble verbs semantically more closely than most other nouns, since the points of time are not actually fixed units but processes. Normally nouns represent the most permanent states, verbs the most rapidly changing states, and adjectives are somewhere in between (Givon 1979a: 265-266).[4]

The time clause is fairly common in texts but is sometimes difficult to differentiate from dislocations.

(6a) *Kong,*　*atom*　*men*　*kai.*
morning　then　1pl.Exc　go
'When the morning came, we left'

(6b) *Mining*　*ise.*
dark/night　PERF
'The night has fallen/ It has become dark.'

---

[4] In Urim time is not associated with location like in many other languages (Lyons 1977:669). No locative prepositions appear in time adverbials; instead the verb ak 'do' is used. This word is used also as the instrumental and manner phrase marker.

4.2.2.   Clauses Predicating Existence

Another subtype of intransitive clause, **the existence clause,** is also common in the texts. It usually takes the same sort of posture verbs as the locative clause as predicates, but does not have any locative object.   Another difference from locative clauses (described in the section 6.4.2) is that the negative form of existence clause is always verbless, and it is possible to omit the verb in some positive existence clauses as well.   Verbal clauses are negated using the verbal negative particle *ake* (see example 7d), but in a negated existence clause the nominal negative word *kalpis* is used instead, and the verb is missing.

(7a)   *Men*   *kai-nar*   *ari*   *nangnang* *pa*   *kalpis.*
       1pl.Exc   go-descend   but   singsing   D   not
       'We went down but there was no singsing-feast'

(7b)   *Kitn*   *yul*   *rmpa?*   *Yul*   *rmpa*   *pa!*
       2sg   fish   lie.R   fish   lie.R   D.EMP
       'Do you have any fish?   'Yes, I do have some fish.'

(7c)   *Kitn*   *yul*   *rmpa?*   *Yul*   *kalpis!*
       2sg   fish   lie.R   fish   not
       'Do you have any fish?   'There is no fish!'

(7d)   *Kupm*   *ake*   *yul*   *rmpa!*
       1sg   NEG   fish   lie.R
       'I do not have fish!'

Another special feature of this clause type is that the subject can easily occur after the verb. In other intransitive clauses this is very rare and probably impossible in other clause types.

(8)   *Kapm*   *kalpis,*   *rmpa*   *werpm*   *kolti.*
      pool   not   lie.R   bottom   only
      'There was no pool, just the dry bottom.'
   (Here the first clause is negative and verbless. Second clause has *werpm* as subject and *rmpa* as predicate.)

The existence clause often has the same thematic functions as certain left dislocations in Urim and the existential clause in English; it is used to introduce new items to the text.   This explains also why the subject in this clause type can move so easily after the verb.   The position after the verb is universally the place of new information in the clause, and in existential clauses the subject usually is

new information, while in other clause types it is usually given information.   The following examples illustrate how existence clauses and left dislocation are used the same way to introduce main participants at the beginning of a text. They also show how difficult it is sometimes to tell the difference between left dislocation and existence clause.

(9a)　*Man*　　*warim*　*wekg*　*pa*　atom, man　　pa ukwa　warim　pa　la ...
　　　　mother　child　two　D　then　mother　D　send　child　D　say
　　　　'There was a mother and a child. The mother sent the child on an errand
　　　　 saying ...'

The expression *man warim wekg pa* here is a verbless existence clause.   It cannot be interpreted as a left dislocation because of the conjunction *atom* 'then' between it and the next clause.

(9b)　*Walmamikg*　*yek-wekg*　　*pa*　　*ekg*　　*rpma,*
　　　　grandson　　　grandfather　D　　two　　sit.R

　　　　atom　　*maur*　　*pa*　*kai-no* ...
　　　　then　　　spirit　　D　go-ascend
　　　　'There was a grandfather and grandson, then a ghost went upriver....'

The underlined part of the sentence here is interpreted as an existence clause with verb.

(9c)　*Wusok*　*wail*　　*wekg*　*pa,*　ekg　kai　*miring* ...
　　　　small　　big　　　two　　D　　two　go　mission
　　　　'There were two brothers who went to the mission station ...'

This is a typical case of a left dislocation introducing the main participants in the story.   The dislocation is typically set off intonationally, so that a pause occurs between it and the main clause.

4.3. Semitransitive Clauses

In many languages clauses having motion or locative verbs and locative adverbials are classified as intransitive. Here these clauses are called **semitransitive** since they are semantically and syntactically somewhere between transitive and intransitive clauses. The word order and functional structure of semitransitive clauses is very much like that of transitive clauses in Urim. Both have two obligatory nominal constituents situated before and after the verb.

Dependency grammar classifies these verbs as two-place predicates since the location or goal can be considered semantically obligatory with verbs like 'arrive' or 'be situated'.   For this reason the goal or location in these clauses is often called locative object.(Givon 1984: 110, Lyons 1977:496)   In Urim there are no morphological differences between direct objects of transitive clauses and locative objects; both are morphologically unmarked and always occur immediately following the verb. Optional locative arguments of the verb are marked by prepositions. The only syntactical difference

between direct objects and locative objects is that direct objects can be fronted while no fronting of locative objects has been found in our data.

The 'less transitive' status of these clauses is reflected also in the use of transitive suffixes. The same suffix *-en* which can change intransitive verbs or clauses into transitive or semitransitive ones can also change semitransitive verbs into transitive ones. Actually deriving transitive verbs from semi-transitive ones is much more common in Urim than deriving transitive verbs from intransitive ones. Compare the following examples (10a,b) with examples (1a,b).

(10a)   *Kil*   <u>*rpma*</u>   *kanokg.*
       he   sit.R   ground
       'He sits on the ground.'

(10b)   *Kil*   <u>*arpm -en*</u>   *kar.*
       he   sit.R - TR   car
       'He is waiting for the car.'

Semitransitive clauses are here divided into three subtypes: locative clauses, directional clauses, and resultative clauses. The basic structure of these clause types is the same, but they differ in meaning, in respect to what semantic role the locative object has, and what verbs can function as predicates.

4.3.1.   Directioned Motion Clause

The locative object usually encodes the goal of the motion but also sometimes encodes the source or starting point. Usually a motion verb (there are about 10 verbs in this special verb class) functions as predicate. These verbs do not exhibit a realis-irrealis mood distinction. In serial verb phrases some of them can function to encode locative arguments and as aspect markers (see section 3.3.6). Directed motion clauses are very common in Urim texts and often form clause-chains. Following are some examples of directional clauses.

(11a)   *Melnum*   *pa*   <u>*kawor*</u>   *wan.*
       man   D   enter   house
       'The man went into the house.'

(11b)   *Hu*   <u>*angko-we*</u>   *wan*   *kimpo.*
       water   fall.R-CNT   house   roof
       'Water comes in through the roof.'

(11c)   *Am*   *ok*   <u>*kai*</u>   *lukg*   *ise.*
       now   mouth   go   money   PERF
       'Now they started to talk about money.'

(11d) *Kil   <u>angko</u> kai-nar   hu*
       3sg   fall.R   go-descend   water
       'He fell into the water'

4.3.2. Locative Clause

The locative clause is structurally similar to the directed motion clause but differs semantically and in respect to which verbs can function as predicates. This clause type can have as predicates one of only six posture verbs: *rpma* 'sit', *rmpa* 'lie', *itna* 'stand', *rka* 'hang', *ela* 'be situated', and *ha* 'be around'. Any specific referent can occur as the subject, and the second argument denotes the location of the subject. A locative object is morphologically unmarked but sometimes a serial verb construction with one of the motion verbs is used to more precisely specify the location.

(12a) *Hu   wail   paipm   ur   <u>rmpa</u>   ya.*
       water   big   bad   ID   lie.R   road
       'There was an awfully big pool of water on the road.'

(12b) *Yangul <u>rmpa</u>   (kaino)   wrik.*
       pencil   lie.R   go.up   table
       'The pencil is (up there) on the table.'

The locative clause is often used to introduce new information. This does not have any effect on the word order, which seems to be very rigid just like in the directional clause. The subject always occurs before the verb and the locative object after it.

(13a) <u>*Panis   pukpuk   ur   pa   itna   kainar   pake.*</u>
       farm   crocodile   ID   D   stand.R   go.down   EMP
       'There is a crocodile-farm down there.'

(13b) *Kolpa   kai-kai,   <u>wapwar   wekg   ur   ha -pa.</u>   Atom   ekg   la* ...
       thus   go-go   cousins   two   ID   be.R-there   then   two   say
       'This went on for a long time. There were two children, cousins. They said...'

In both (13a) and (13b) the locative clause marks the beginning of a new paragraph or section in the text, because it introduces a new important participant or other topic to the text. If the new items are not topical, i.e. important in the text, they are often introduced by using an embedded locative clause, as in the following examples.

(14a) *Men   kawor <u>wan ur pa ela   wureren   wrik   a kirmpa</u>*
       1pl.Exc enter house ID D   stay.R near   place   G   aeroplane
       'We went into a house near the airport.'

(14c)	*Wa*	*bot*	*al-tu*	*ha-pa*	*am*	*wa*	*aye*	*kul ...*
	and	boat	G-3pl	be-there	now	HES	carry.R	come

'And their boat they had brought...'

4.3.3.   Resultative Clause

Resultative clauses differ from other semitransitive clauses in that they can have either nominal or adjectival phrases as their second obligatory argument. Otherwise they are structurally similar to the directional clauses. Usually they have one of the same motion verbs as the predicate. There are only one or two verbs that occur in resultative clauses (see example 15d). Semantically the resultative clause always denotes some kind of change in the subject referent. The second argument expresses the direction or result of the change. This can be considered an extension of the semantic role GOAL attached to the motion verbs in their basic use. Syntactically and semantically the resultative clause is closely related to certain nominal clause types; the only differences being: 1) the dynamic meaning, and 2) the occurrence or non-occurrence of a verb (see section 4.5)[7]

(15a)	*Tu*	*kai*	*uror*	*perngten.*
	3pl	go	old	quickly

'They grow old quickly.'

(15b)	*Warim*	*angko*	*wail.*
	child	fall.R	big

'The child grew big.'

(15c)	*Kupm*	*palng*	*wor*	*kai*	*wam*	*a-kil-en.*
	1sg	arrive	good	go	hand	G-3sg-ATR

'I became well in his care.'

(15c)	*Kil*	*pa*	*wake*	*kanil*
	3sg	D	change. into	moon

'She changed into the moon.'

---

7   Compare the following examples:

(a)	Warim	pa	wail	
	child	D	big	
	'The child is big'		(descriptive clause)	

(b)	Warim	angko	wail	ise
	child	fall.R	big	CMP
	'The child has grown big'		(resultative clause)	

(c)	Warim	pa	wail	ise
	child	D	big	CMP
	'The child is already big'		(descriptive clause)	

4.4. Transitive Clauses

4.4.1. Monotransitive Clauses

The characteristic of this clause type is that it has an obligatory direct object with the usual semantic role of affected patient or patient-of-result. Unlike locative objects, this object can be easily fronted for thematic purposes.. The verb in this clause can either be a non-derived transitive verb or a transitive verb derived by a transitivizer suffix.

The semantic role of the transitive subject is almost exclusively that of agent. This means that usually only animate referents occur as subjects of transitive clauses. Agents are prototypically animate, volitional and active causes of an action. In Urim forces of nature and moving machines can also frequently occur as transitive subjects. When other, less prototypical kinds of inanimate entities occur as transitive subjects there are usually some morphological changes in the clause: the ultimate agent occurs as clause topic at the beginning (16b), or an instrumental serialization with the verb *ak* 'do' is used(16a).[8]

(16a)   *Hu*   *kop*   <u>*ak*</u>   *almpen*   *yo.*
        water   river   use.R   turn.around.R   tree
        'The flooded river carried trees away.'

(16b)   *Mowal*   *ko*   *angket-el.*
        Mowal   axe   cut.R -2sg.O
        'Mowal (accidentally) cut himself with an axe.'

In example (16b) the actor hurts himself accidentally.   In this case the instrument usually appears as the subject and the actor as the object of the clause

A number of examples are now given of normal transitive clauses with clause initial subjects bearing the semantic role of agent. Transitive clauses can also have an optional indirect object, which is usually marked by the preposition *eng* or the affix *-n* on the verb (underlined).

(17a)   *Karis*   *alm*   *manto.*
        Karis   shoot.R   pig
        'Karis shot a pig.'

---

[8] There are also ways to express that an action normally considered involuntary is performed voluntarily:

     (a)   *Kil*   *angko*   *hu*   (b)   *Kil*   *elng angko*   *hu*
           3sg   fall.R   water   3sg   put   fall.R   water
           'He fell into water'   'He jumped into water'

(17b)   *Uripm*   *takale*   *wan.*
      wind   break.R   house

      'Wind damaged the house.'

(17c)   *Kar*   *awi -yo*   *aye*   *kai-nar*   *Maprik*
      car   take.R-1sg.O carry.R go-down Maprik
      'The car took us to Maprik'

(17d)   *Tu*   *ale*   *wan*   <u>*eng*</u>   *Mowal*
      3pl   build.R   house   OBL   Mowal

      'They built a house for Mowal'

(17e)   *Kil*   *nalu -<u>n</u>- topm*   *wayu*
      3sg   pull.R-IO-1sg.O   taro

      'They took us taro (from the garden).'

(17f)   *Kupm*   *la*   *armpen-topm*   *hapm*   *ur*
      1sg   say/INT   buy.R- 1sg. O   cloth ID
      'I am going to buy myself some clothes.'

4.4.2.   Ditransitive Clauses

Transitive clauses can be divided into two subgroups in Urim: monotransitive and ditransitive clauses. There are relatively few verbs that require three obligatory arguments. The semantic role of the third argument can be benefactive or recipient and sometimes also locative or instrumental. The ditransitive subtype is here defined purely on a structural basis. Optional benefactives etc. are almost always marked by the preposition *eng*, which is reduced into a suffix *-n* occurring between the verb and direct object, if the direct object is a personal pronoun (17d), (17e).   Obligatory benefactives etc. are morphologically unmarked.

In some cases the border between obligatory and optional third argument is not clear morphologically.   If the verb already has a suffix *-en*, there will be no other suffix *-n* as the result of dative shift (17 f). Certain verbs behave sometimes like ditransitive verbs, sometimes like mono-transitives; compare examples (18c) and (18d).   The example (18d) is monotransitive since the locative phrase *kai ampei* cannot occur without the preposition.   This shows the same kind of phenomena of gradual transitivity that was discussed earlier in the section 2.

(18a)   *Kil*   *plan -to*   *wan.*
      3sg   show-1sg.O   house
      'He showed us around the house.'

(18b) *Nangil   huk   numpet   kamel.*
mosquito   give   sickness   body

'Mosquitos give one sickness.'

(18c) *Men   hore   wark   wan   tangkelepm.*
1pl   insert   cane   house   wall

'We strengthen the walls with cane.'

(18d) *Tu   arki -wopm   yangkipm   kalpmelel.*
3pl   prick.R-1sg.O   talk   empty

'They   blamed me without cause.'

(18e) *Tu   ik   -en   hu   kuntuk.*
3pl   do.IR-TR   water   pot

'They pour water into the pot.'

4.5. Nominal Clauses

The nominal clause consists of two nominal phrases or a nominal phrase and an adjective phrase. No overt copula occurs linking the subject/topic noun phrase and the nominal or adjectival predicate. There are two types of nominal clauses: equative and descriptive.

A negative nominal clause is formed by the verbal negation word *ake* (22e) even if there is no verbal predicate. This distinguishes the nominal clause from the possessive clause, which sometimes looks similar (23d).

4.5.1.   Equative Clause

The equative clause has two noun phrases as obligatory constituents; both denote the same referent. If the order of these noun phrases is changed, the first NP automatically becomes the subject of the clause and the meaning of the clause often changes too - this means that the word order of this clause type is very rigid. Consider the following examples:

(19a) <u>*Wail*</u>   <u>*pa*</u>   *kipman*   *a-kupm-en.*
big   that   man   G-1sg-ATR

'That big one is my husband.'

(19b) *Kipman   a-kupm-en   pa   <u>wail.</u>*
man   G-1sg-ATR   D   big

'My husband is a big man.'

The subject of an equative clause is nearly always given information and is therefore marked as definite by the demonstrative *pa*. *Pa* 'that' and *ti* 'this' also frequently function as demonstrative pronouns and encode the subjects of equative and descriptive clauses. In other clause types this

pronominal function is very rare - at least there are no examples of it in the text material used here as data. A possible reason for this might be the potential for confusion with the numerous instances of *pa* and *ti* functioning as conjunctions and discourse markers in more complex sentences. In the structural simple nominal clauses, there is less possibility of confusion between the various functions of these demonstrative forms. The equative clause can, contrary to the descriptive clause, also have proper noun phrases or pronouns as predicates (20a), (20b). Quite often equative clause consists of one nominal phrase only (20d). In this case the subject pronoun has been deleted.

(20a)   *Waring   ti,   yikal   pa.*
        betel   this/her   bow   that/there
        'The betel palm is this here, the black palm is that over there'.'

(20b)   *Nang   a -kupm-en   Pol.*
        name   G-2sg -ATR   Pol
        'My name is Pol.'

(20c)   *Ti   kiin   yek   a-kupm   am-pake!*
        this   woman   DIM   G-1sg   now-EMP
        'This is my poor little wife!'

(20d)   *Tu   la: "Manto   tilpmung".*
        3pl   say   pig   wild
        'They said: "This is a wild pig".'

4.5.2.   Descriptive Clause

The predicate of a descriptive clause differs from the predicate of an equative clause in that it is non-referential. It only qualifies and describes the subject-referent. The predicate can either be a nominal phrase as in an equative clause, or an adjectival phrase. The word order is inflexible - the result would be either unintelligible or an equative clause with different meaning. The subject is almost always definite and therefore marked by the demonstrative *pa,* or a pronoun (22c). Without this demonstrative the clause would look like an attributive noun phrase. Compare the following two examples:

(21a)   *Melnum   pa   wor.*
        man   D   good
        'The man   is good/well.'

(21b)   *Melnum   wor*
        man   good
        'A good man'

Other examples of descriptive clauses:

(22a) *Namung   pa   okopma   wor.*
      banana   D   food   good

      'Banana is good food.'

(22b) *Pa   melnum   manet   ur.*
      that   man   other   ID

      'That is a special kind of man indeed.'

(22c) *Tingkorin   kil   melnum,   Ariyek   kil   wampung.*
      Tingkorin   3sg   man   Ariyek   3sg   tree kangaroo

      'Tingkorin was a man, Ariyek was a tree kangaroo.'

(22d) *Ale   wan   akwap   pa   a   kipman.*
      build,R   house   work   D   G   man

      'House-building is men's work.'

(22e) *Ti   ake   kar   a   awi   melnum   pa,   ti   kar   a   akwap*
      this   not   car   G   take.R   man   D   this   car   G   work

      'This is not a bus, this is a truck!'

4.6. Topic Clauses

The notion of 'topic' is basically a textual notion, not a syntactic function in the clause. In Urim textual topics and left dislocations are a very common discourse device. Some of these sentential topics seem to have been lexicalized into fixed, obligatory parts of certain types of clauses. The status of these as basic clause types is somewhat marginal the same kind of topicalization structures also occur as productive discourse devices. Nevertheless, it seems that certain verbs in Urim require an obligatory argument, which can be called topic.   Li-Thompson calls these kinds of structures 'double-subject constructions' (Li 1975: 481). The name conveys the idea that in these constructions the prototypical features of subject have been split into two constituents: topic and grammatical subject. Subject is prototypically what the clause is about and also the actor in control in transitive clauses-especially so in Urim (see section 6.4.4).   If there is a lack of control in the situation expressed by a transitive clause, there are usually also some changes in the morphosyntax of the clause. One of these changes is to move the agent to the clause initial topic position and promote some other referent into the grammatical subject. In Urim culture certain types of actions are always considered to be outside of the control of the person involved. Emotions and sensations, as well as most sicknesses are expressed by verb frames requiring topic arguments. Possession is considered not fully controlled by

the individual possessor, and for this reason also possessive clauses are topic clauses.[9] In topic clauses both nominal constituents, topic and subject, precede the verb when it is present, but the verb itself may be omitted too.

4.6.1. Possessive Clause

In the possessive clause the semantic possessor occurs in topic position and the possessed item occurs as grammatical subject. This is thematically consistent with the normal ordering of information in the clause, since the referent of the possessor is usually given information, and the thing possessed is new information.   Since there is no agreement morphology on the verb to show which NP is the grammatical subject, only word order and semantic content reveal it. The word order seems to be fixed; the topic and the subject cannot change places in the clause.   One example was found where the subject appeared to occur between the two parts of an appositional topic noun phrase (23e). The possessor is usually animate, and most often human. Possessive clause may have a verb denoting the position of the possessed object.   There are both verbal and verbless possessive clauses, but positive possessive clauses are more frequently verbal.   The verb seems to be obligatory if there is another nominal constituent in the clause.   Possessive clauses structurally resemble three other clause types: equative clauses (23b), existence clauses (23e) and locative clauses (23a).

(23a) *Melnum*   *pa*   *hi*   *itna*   *wam.*
      man   D   sore   stand.R   hand
      'The man has a sore in the hand.'

(23b) *Kil*   *kiin*   *wekg.*
      3sg   woman   two
      'He has two wifes.'

(23c) *melnum*   *ur*   *pa*   *wan*   *okipma*   *watipmen.*
      person   ID   D   house   food   plenty
      'A certain man has plenty food in his house.'
       or: 'There is a man with plenty food in his house'

(23d) *Kupm*   *wan*   *kalpis-en.*
      1sg   house   not-ATR
      'I have no house.'

(23e) *Kitn*   *nerkgiin*   *Klimanglen*   *kalpis.*
      2sg   gardenland   Klimanglen   not
      'You Klimanglen have no garden land (here).'

---

[9] Foster (in Plank 1979) discusses the notion of possession in different cultures and how it affects the structure of possessive clauses.

The possessive clause is negated differently from most other clause types. Instead of the usual negative particle *ake* the nominal negative word *kalpis* is used and there is no verb.[10] Elsewhere, only existence clauses are negated in this way (see Section 6.3.2). There are two other features shared between existence clauses and possessive clauses: 1) use of the same verbs, and 2) the existence of verbless variants. It might be possible to derive some types of possessive clause from an existence clause or a locative clause by adding a topic, but the structure is fully grammaticalized and the topic is obligatory.

4.6.2. Experience Clause

The topic of an experience clause is also always animate and semantically an experiencer. The grammatical subject is usually either a body part, where the feeling etc. is located, or an inanimate referent which is the cause of the feeling or the object of wanting etc. The only common features such clauses exhibit are: 1) the semantic meaning of involuntary experience, and 2) the presence of an obligatory topic constituent before the grammatical subject. Most experience clauses have a bound object pronoun which is coreferential with the topic (24a), (24d), but this pronoun can be absent, especially if the grammatical subject is a body part of the experiencer (24b), (24c).

The experience clauses with body parts differ structurally from genitive constructions, which are always of the form Npossessed + a + Ngenitive (*wam a melnum* 'man's hand') when the possessor is specific (see section 3.1.4).

(24a) *Kupm*　*hu*　*wak-opm.*
　　　 1sg　　water　?-1sg.O
　　　 'I am thirsty.'

(24b) *Kupm*　*ake*　*num*　*wakget,*　*kalpis.*
　　　 1sg　　not　　skin　hot　　　not
　　　 'I do not have fever.'

(24c) *Kupm*　*ok*　　*kark(-opm).*
　　　 1sg　　mouth　afraid(-1sg.O)
　　　 'I feel nauseated'

(24d) *Kitn*　*yaprekg*　*paipm-en-tetn*?
　　　 2sg　　breath　　bad-ATR-2sg.O
　　　 'Are you out of breath?'

---

[10] Although no instances of possessive clauses having the negative word *ake* have been found thus far, it remains a possibility that such a construction could exist. If this were to be the case, clauses negated with *ake* might have a slightly different meaning (perhaps having to do with scope of negation) than those negated with *kalpis*.

In contrast to the possessive clause, the experience clause is normally negated using the verbal negator *ake*.

4.7. Typological Considerations

In summary, some clear tendencies can be seen. First, SVO word order occurs in all clause types. Urim is a very consistent and rigid SVO-language. In particular, the position of subject is very fixed. In most clause types it cannot be moved after the verb or anywhere else. In certain intransitive clauses this is possible, but not very common. Also the position of locative object and topic is quite rigid. In transitive clauses the second argument, object, is easily fronted for thematic reasons. There is not so much danger of mixing the grammatical functions of subject and object in transitive clause, because the transitive subject always is the more animate and agent-like referent in the clause. As we have seen, the transitive subject is almost exclusively agent, and if not, this is shown by the structure of the clause.

Typologically it is a common phenomenon that rigid word order and lack of morphological case markings occur together in a language. This is especially common in SVO-languages like Urim. Urim does not have any case marking morphology on either the subject or object, nor is there any agreement marked on the verb either. Since there is no morphological way to mark which noun phrase in the clause is subject and which is object, the syntactic position of the noun phrase before or after the verb is what shows its syntactic function. Not only the subject and transitive object are unmarked, but also all other obligatory arguments of a verb are morphologically unmarked. This increases the importance of word order for delineating the functions of NPs in the clause. The following examples illustrate how a change of word order changes the meaning of clauses and even the clause type:

(25a) *Kupm   wan   itna.*
       1sg   house   stand.R
       'I have a house.'   (possessive clause)

(25b) *Kupm   itna   wan.*
       1sg   stand.R   house
       'I stand in the house.'   (locative clause)

(26a) *Melnum   nikg   alm -pel.*
       man   stomach   hit.R-3sg.O
       'The man is hungry.'   (experience clause)

(26b) *Melnum   alm -pel   nikg*

man   hit.R-3sg.O   stomach
'The man hit him in the stomach.'   (transitive clause)

Urim has been classified as a Papuan language, stock level isolate in the Torricelli Phylum..   The question of isolation can be re-considered when some of the neighbouring languages have been studied in more detail.   All Torricelli languages display some similarities with Austronesian languages: fixed SVO word order, lack of medial verbs, use of transitivity-changing suffixes and realis-irrealis mood, etc.   It seems that Urim has these non-Papuan features to a greater extent than many other Torricelli languages.   It lacks subject-agreement on the verb, and is also in other respects morphologically simpler than the other Torricelli phylum languages.

Torricelli phylum languages have been thought to be basically Papuan languages which have been subjected to heavy Austronesian influence.   There are some Austronesian languages along the north coast. Word order is one of the Austronesian features in the Torricelli language group, since Papuan languages usually are SOV- languages.   It is a common theory that SVO- languages often have developed from earlier SOV-languages either through the influence of some neighbouring SOV-languages or from language internal reasons.   One of these reasons could be the disappearance of morphological case-marking, which in a way forces the language to rely on the word order in marking these functions. (Givón 1979a 145-146).   If a language were to change its word order from SOV to SVO, it would be expected that there would be some residues from the former SOV-type structure. The more recent this change has been, the more residues would be expected.   Word order change most commonly starts from the main-clause level, and later spreads into more complex structures. According to Givón (1984:220-228). "the longer a language has maintained a rigid OV or VO word order, the more it is likely to bear out Greenberg's predictions (1966)."   If this is true, then Urim has been SVO-language at least during the last two thousand years, since it is an unusually pure SVO-language following all the predictions that Greenberg mentions.   All modifiers of the noun phrase and almost the entire verb phrase occur after the head.   There are suffixes, but this is quite a common feature in SVO-languages in general, and not a strong indicator of a recent change of word order. Most commonly the residue of the presumed word order would occur in dependent and embedded clauses and other structures like nominalizations and idioms.   But in Urim these have SVO-word order, except when the subject referent is generic:

(27)   *Kil   ariwe   hapm   angkut.*
       3sg   know.R   cloth   sew.R
       'She knows how to sew.'

This is the only observed possible residue of a former SOV-word order.   Assuming this theory is right Urim is an almost ideal SVO-language typologically.   One could perhaps question if it were easier to derive a language like Urim from an Austronesian group having some heavy Papuan

influences than the other way around?   But this and the whole question of the classification of Urim needs much more work before any definite answers or even suggestions can be given.

5. Complex sentences

Usually three types of subordinate clauses are distinguished in languages: those which function as arguments of the predicate (i.e. complements), those which function as modifiers of nouns (relative clauses), and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions (adverbial clauses). (Thompson and Longacre, 171). We can find these clause types also in Urim, although with adverbial clauses it is difficult to distinguish between subordinated adverbial clauses and more coordinate combinations of clauses. Therefore we conflate the description of adverbial clauses and coordinate combinations of sentences.

5.1. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are very common in Urim. They are used especially often when introducing new participants to the text. Thus far it seems that Urim relative clauses are mostly restrictive. Non-restrictive information about a referent is usually introduced in the form of apposition or a main, non-subordinated clause.

5.1.1. The form of relative clauses in Urim

In Urim, the relative clause is always post nominal. The noun phrase within the relative clause that is co-referential with the head noun being modified is normally omitted and a complementizer *a* usually separates the relative clause from the Head noun or noun noun complex. This same form functions as a genitive preposition . Usually there are no formal changes to the relative clause, but certain types of relative clause do have features that help to separate them from the rest of the sentence (see section 3. 1. 4).

Head Noun/Noun Complex (Dem) ± Complementizer   RC (Dem)

Kweikwei   ilmpowen a   Rita   atnuhurng
things   orphan   REL Rita   leave.R
'Things that Rita left behind'

Maur   a   rpma kinar   hu   kapm pa la:...
spirit   REL sit.R go.down water   pond D   say
'The spirit who lived in the pond said:..'

The complementizer *a* can be left out, especially when the relative clause starts with a time word. This makes it sometimes difficult to separate relative clauses from clause chains.

Men   kainar   kawor wan   ur   (a)   ela   wureren   Maprik
1Pl.Exc go-down go-enter house ID   (REL) be.R   near   Maprik
'We went down entered a house near Maprik'

Tu	kipman	(a)	wet	karkuk	pa	no
3pl	man	(REL)	N.Past	bath.R	D	come.up

'The men who went to have bath are coming' or
'The men just went to have a bath and are coming now'

It also seems that when one of the temporal adverbs like *wet* 'recently, just before', *mpa* 'future', *ikga* 'later, far future' etc. is used, the relative pronoun tends to be left out. This is possible because the time adverb already separates the relative clause from the present time of the story. Notice that the relative pronoun can sometimes occur after the time adverb, like in the two first examples:

Tu	wrong	kiinkipman	wet	(a)	kaing-kai	wuring	pa,	wuli	wuli	pake
3pl	group	people	NP	(REL)	go-go	garden	D	come	come	EMP

'The people who just had went to the garden were arriving now''

Atopen	a	kweikwei	wrongkwail	wet	a	kupm	angkleikg	hep	nak	-epm
	pa,									
joy	G	things	all.of.them	just	REL	1sg	list.R	first	tell.R	-2pl
	D									

pa	ake	atopen	aklale	wrisen	a	Maur	Wor	ikga	itni	yongyong	pa,
that	NEG	joy	true	indeed	G	spirit	good	FUT	stay.IR	for.ever	D
kalpis.											
not											

'The joy about all the things I just listed to you, that is not the true happiness of Holy Spirit that will last forever, not indeed.' (from a written text)

Tu	wrong	wet	itna	pa	ari-ari,	tu	ari...
3pl	group	N.Past	stand.R	C(there?)	see.R-see.R	3pl	see.R

'The people who had been standing and (or: there) looking, they saw...'
(this example is from written text)

5.1.2.   Syntactic role of the relative noun within the relative clause

In Urim relative clauses are very common in texts. The co-referring relative noun within the relative clause can exhibit almost any syntactic role. Thus far, relative nouns with the roles of Subject, Object, Indirect Object, Locative Object, Locative, Accompaniment, Time, and Instrument have been observed.

Subject:

Tu	melnum	a	kinar	hu	kanokg-ai
3pl	man	REL	go.down	water	bottom-LOC

'The men who dived to the bottom of the water'

Melnum	a	wamparpm-e	helikota	pa	la
man	REL	hold.R -CNT	helicopter	D	say

'The helicopter pilot said…'

Kupm   la   la -nik -eitn   tu   melnum   a   amo
1sg   INT   say-tell:IR-2sgO   3pl   man   REL   die.R
'I will tell you about the men who have died'

Tu   kukwa   wan   wusok yek   ur   a   ela   kuin.
3pl   open   house small DIM   ID   REL be.R middle
'They opened a tiny house that was in the middle (of the village)' (first mention)

Subject of descriptive and other verbless clauses:

Kopi a   watinet paipm paipm a   no-wen   anel   pipa kipm ik   kol kil.
coffee REL   long   bad   bad   REL   go.up-TR   pick.R C   2sg do.IR   likethis
'Those coffee trees which are far too tall so that you need to climb in order to pick, you handle like this.'   (two RCs modifying one NP)

Object:

Kil   wel   a   wuten nimpa   a-kupm-en   akor   ise
3sg   bird   REL   recently dog   G-1sg-ATR   search.R   PERF
'It is the bird my dog found'   (a verbless equative clause)

Tu   tiplam   nol   eng   manto   tu   alm   ise
3pl   blow   horn   OBL   pig   3pl   shoot.R PERF
'They blew the horn to announce that they shot a pig' (lit: for pig they shot)

Hakg   eng   men   a   tu   kaluk-o   pa.
cry   for   1plExc REL   3pl   wash.R-1plO   D
'Cried for us whom they washed'

Locative object (notice the suffix *–e* marking the predicate in RC):

elng-rka   pilmpal a   wuten tuwekg elng kweikwei atn   -e   -we   pa.
put-hang.R   shelter REL just   2dual put things   stay.R-CNT-TR   D
'hanged it in the shelter where they two had left their things'

Kil   kai katila   ya   a   wuten   mentekg kul -e   pa.
3sg   go   follow.R road   REL   near past 1dual   come-TR D
'She went back along the road that we had just come along'

Wan   pung   a   tu   wrong   wail-en   ark -e
house   meeting REL   3pl   group   big-ATR   hang.R-CNT
'A meeting house where the big group hung out.'

Locative:

Tu   palng kaino wrik   a   wuten   tu   la   mpa ikor   manto pa
3pl   arrive go.up place REL near.past 3pl say FUT search.IR pig   D
eng   ilm.
OBL   shoot.IR

'They arrived upriver to the place where they had said they would search for the pig in order to shoot it'

compare to:

Tu akor manto pa kainar wrik ti
3pl search.R pig D go.down place this
'They searched for the pig in this place'

Indirect Object (Benefactive)

Notice that the indirect object is marked on the verb using the bound personal pronoun *-el*.

Kil melnum a (pikekg) kupm alk-el wurkapm ise
3sg man R (before) 1sg give-3sgO book CMP
'He is the man I gave the book to'

Instrument leaves to the RC its marker *ak*.

Kil yangul a kupm ak nara
3sg pencil REL 1sg use.R write.R
'It is the pencil that I use to write'

hapm a ak angkat-en kuntuk
cloth REL use.R carry.R-TR pot
'a pot holder' (literally 'cloth that is used to carry pots')

marpm a ak armpen yul
money REL use.R buy.R fish
'money that is used to buy fish'

Time:

Irmpen atom wang a kitn kul pa iye-tolo kul
Buy.IR then time REL 2sg come C carry.IR-1pl.IO come
'Buy it and at the time when you come back, bring it to us with you'

Wang a tu rpma pipa, kupm ak -antokg
time REL 3pl sit.R if 1sg use.R-do.R
'If they are at home, I use it'

5.1.3. Functions of relative clauses in Urim

In Urim relative clauses are very common and occur both in both formal and informal texts. It seems to be more common in written texts.   Almost all clauses embedded into a NP are relative clauses.   New concepts are freely and frequently described and named by using relative clauses.

hapm ur a no -we
cloth ID REL come.up-TR
'a shirt/blouse/dress'

wang	*a*	*hokg*	*pake!*
time	REL	sleep	EMP

'It is time to sleep now!'

wal	*a*	*tapor*
tree	REL	break.R

'A broken tree'

melnum	*a*	*antokg*	*hi*	*numpet*
man	REL	treat.R	sore	sickness

'doctor'

wrik	*a*	*kirmpa*	*angko*	*arpm-e*	*arpm-e*
place	REL	plane	fall.R	sit.R-CNT	sit.R-CNT

'place where the airplanes land to stay' (An airstrip)

wes	*a*	*ak*	*angket*	*ko*
stone	REL	use:IN	cut.R	axe

'a file'

Relative clauses are used especially often when introducing new items or participants in the story.

Ake	*kupm*	*ariwe*	*la*	*hul*	*paipm*	*a*	*nam*	*kamel*	*pa*	*rmpa.*
NEG	1sg	know.R	say	snake	bad	REL	bite	body	D	lie.R

'I did not know that a bad (=poisonous) snake that bites people was lying. '

Wang	*a*	*pikekg*	*kupm*	*la*	*ing-kai*	*anong*	*pa*	*kul.*
time	REL	past	1sg	say	stay.IR-go	village	D	come

'The time that I came here from the village'

Kil	*kawor*	*wan*	*opis*	*ur*	*a*	*ela*	*wreren*	*ples*	*balus*
3sg	enter	house	office	ID	REL	be.R	near	place	airplane

'She went into an office building that was near the airstrip'

Kupm	*la*	*por*	*a*	*mayen*	*Pilpatni*	*pikekg*	*rpma*	*kaino*	*Wesakrokg*
1sg	say	story	G	old.woman	Pilpatni	past	live.R	go.down	Weskrokg

'I [will] tell a story about the old woman Pilpatni that lived at Wesakrokg.'

In the last example the relative clause is embedded into the genitive phrase (about the old woman) modifying the head noun *por* 'story'

When some essentially extraneous information is added about the Head Noun (information that does not specify its referent) an independent clause or an apposition is often used instead of RC. In the following example, the new person is introduced using both a relative clause and a 'normal' descriptive clause:

Melnum	*ur*	*a*	*tu*	*namput*	*la-la*	*Bill*	*kinar*	*Manam,*
person	ID	REL	3pl	call.R	say-say	Bill	go.down	Manam

kil	*pa*	*kil*	*melnum*	*wor,*	*nikgwalpm*	*wor.*	*Kil*	*wuli...*
3sg	D	3sg	person	good	heart	good	3sg	arrive

''A man they called Bill, [that] came from Manam (first mention, non-restrictive?), he was a good, a good-hearted man.   He arrived...'

Relative clauses frequently are quite complex and may occur for example embedded into a genitive phrase or coordinated as modifiers of the same NP. Relative clauses provide a way to background less-important information so that the main story line remains in focus:

Kol	*atopen*	*tiur*	*a*	*mentepm*	*a*	*itna*	*kanokg*	*ti..*
C	pleasure	some	G	1pl.Inc	REL	stand.R	ground	this

'Like some of the pleasures of us [people] that stand/live on this ground.'

Tu	*tiur*	*a*	*rpma*	*wan*	*wor,*	*antiwe*	*kweikwei*	*marpm*	*a*	*wrikya*
3pl	some	REL	sit.R	house	good	enough.R	things	money	and	belongings

pa	*tu*	*atopen*
D	3pl	rejoice.R

'Some who live in good houses and have enough money and things, they are happy'

Kupm	*la*	*la*	*-nik*	*-epm*	*wang*	*a*	*men*	*kul*	*nampokgen*
1sg	say	say-tell:IR		-2plO	time	REL	1plExc	come	with.R

kweikwei	*a*	*men*	*ari*	*a*	*antokg*	*ak*	*wang*	*pa*
things	REL	1pl.Exc	see.R	and	do.R	use.R	time	D

'I want to tell you about the day we came and what we saw and did on that day'

5.2. Complement clauses

Complement clauses are embedded subordinate clauses, which function as core arguments of certain verbs.

Clauses functioning as subjects or objects are quite common in Urim with all verbs. Most verbs of communication take clausal objects.

5.2.1.   About lexical and clausal nominalization in Urim

The term 'nominalization' means in essence 'turning something into a noun'. It can mean one of two things, either "the process of forming a noun from some other word class or the derivation of a NP from an underlying clause" (Crystal 1985). Here we will focus on the second sense of nominalization, as the formal process by which clauses are changed so that they can also function as Heads of a noun phrase.

Urim seems to have no formal morphological devices to form lexical nouns from verbs or adjectives. Both simple verbs and whole clauses can function as NPs without any overt change in their morphological structure. Many lexemes freely function as both nouns and verbs, so that it is difficult to tell which category is more basic. Others seem to be basically verbs but can function also as heads of NPs.

Examples of verbs functioning as arguments:

Pa	*ikg*	*ake*	*Maur*	*Wailen*	*ilk-epm*	*ariwe*	*ur.*
C	FUT	NEG	Spirit	Big	give.IR-2plO	knowledge	ID

'God will not give you any knowledge.' (noun)

Kil	*ak*	*rkwa*	*pa*	*ak*	*ariwe*	*weten*
3sg	use.R	basket	D	use.R	know	new

'She makes the basket in a new way' (noun)

(from the verb *ariwe* 'to know')

Ake	*kupm*	*ariwe*	*hapm*	*angkut*
NEG	1sg	know.R	clothes	sew.R

'I do not know how to sew' (verb)

ti	*ti*	*ake*	*angkliin*	*wail,*	*angkliin*	*waiketn*
this	this	NEG	help	big	help	little

'This here is not a big gift, it is a small gift'

Kupm	*palng*	*kolen*	*angkliin*	*ur.*
1sg	become	like	help	ID

'I became like an assistant'

(angkliin 'to help')

kupm	*a*	*isen -tepm*	*ak -asen*	*ur*	*kil*
1sg	INT	ask.IR- 2pl	use.R-ask	ID	this

'I will ask you this one question'

In the same way, clauses can function as NPs and heads of NPs without any marking, especially in subject position:

Antokg	*waprekg,*	*al*	*yampis,*	*wekg*	*ata*	*(pati)*	*angklon*
make.R	smoke	eat.R	bean	two	only	(therefore)	forbidden

'Smoking and eating beans, only these two are then forbidden'

Ipma	*arein*	*a*	*kil*	*pa*	*wail*
stomach	feel sorry	G	3sg	D	big

'His compassion/mercy is great'

Instrumental subject:

melnum	*wail*	*ur*	*aln-tu*	*pa*	*amo*	*ak*	*angket-en*	*nangnang.*
person	big	ID	G-3pl	D	die.R	use.R	cut-TR	singsing

'The death of one of their leaders cancelled the singsing' (alternative explanation; *ak angketen* is an embedded manner clause)

In Urim these kind of embedded clauses easily come to be idioms.

Al	*-wor*	*huk*
Eat.R-good		give

'to give an offering (good food)'

hokg	*angket*	*a-kupm-en*	*kai*	*itna*	*kol-pa-ke:...*
sleep	cut	G-1sg-ATR	go	stand.R	like-this-EMP

'My dream was like this:...

Pa	*hu*	*awei*	*kunukg*	*wuli*
C	water	rain	later.IR	come

'Rain will come'

Because of the lack of morphological marking, it is often difficult to tell whether a construction is part of a clause chain or a nominalization. One common feature to all nominalized verbs is that they do not get irrealis mode.

Certain types of embedded clauses have also other formal features that separate them from normal clauses:

a) reversed word order

Nominalized clauses can exhibit a reversed word order OV (instead of VO) when an object is present but there is no surface subject in the embedded clause. Reversed word order also occurs in many idioms and lexicalized expressions (e.f. *won-huwen* 'inside-bury = forget'). It is especially non-referential, generic objects, both nominal and clausal, that tend to occur before predicates in embedded clauses. In following example an embedded clause functions both as the Subject and the Object.

<u>*Nep*</u>	<u>*mangkon al*</u>	*ak*	*arkol*	**hu**	**wak**
coconut	green	drink use.R	quench.R	water	desire

'Drinking green coconut helps to quench thirst'

(comp. *kupm hu wak-opm* 'I am thirsty')

Kupm	*ake*	*ariwe*	**waprekg**	**antokg**
1sg	NEG	know.R	smoke	do

'I do not smoke'

kil	*ariwe*	***hapm***	***angkut***		
3sg	know.R	cloth	sew		

'She knows how to sew clothes'

compare to:

Kil	*ariwe*	*angkut*	*hapm*	*ak-angklei*	*wang*
3sg	know	sew	cloth	use-swallow	time

'She uses to sew all the time.'

The parts of this construction are never pronounced or written as one word. Another feature is that the verb in this construction never gets irrealis mode. When the clause functions as object of a 'normal' verb (that is, not one of those verbs taking clausal objects, that are described later in 7.2.2.) it always ha reversed word order OV. Reason to this might be pragamtical; reversed word order disambiquates embedded clauses from serials (see the last example above). When the clause functions as subject, reversed word order is optional. Consider the following example:

Antokg	***waprekg***	***al***	***yampis***	*wekg*	*ata,*	*pa*	*ti*	*angklon.*
make	smoke	eat	bean	two	only	that	this	forbidden

'Smoking and eating beans, so these two only are forbidden.'

b) habitual-continuative marker *-e*

In Urim the habitual-continuative marker **-e** often occurs in nominalized clauses, although this is not the primary function of this device. Primarily it serves to mark continuity and habituality. This device is more commonly used in relative clauses and sometimes also in adverbial clauses (see the sections 3.1.3.2 and 5.2). It seems to be used in all types of embedded clauses that are of locative type:

kar	***arpm -e***	*ari*	*paipm*
car	sit.R-CNT	see.R	bad

'It feels bad to travel in a car'

These two devices, word order OV and suffix **-e**, may occur in any kind of embedded clauses, but are not obligatory.

5.2.2.   Clausal objects

The number of verbs taking clausal objects is restricted in Urim. Most of the verbs co-occurring with clausal objects fall into the following semantic groups: causative, emotional verbs, verbs of sensation, cognitive, and quotative verbs. Some verbs may take either a noun phrase object or a clausal object, but not both together. Others (especially quotative verbs) can take both a noun phrase object and a clausal object at the same time. In such cases, the clausal object is usually the second object. The object NP has the role of Benefactive or Dative. A few verbs take only clausal objects..

Clausal objects are usually unmarked morphologically and in speech no pause separates the main clause from the complement.

Clausal objects are sometimes governed by the conjunctions *la* 'speak/that' or *eng* 'OBL'. With some verbs, the use of a conjunction is obligatory (and these complement clauses are not considered real clause objects)

With other verbs, semantically obligatory clausal objects are sometimes marked by conjunctions, and sometimes not. Typically the nominal objects of these verbs are likewise sometimes marked, and sometimes not. The presence of a governing conjunction in the complement clause seems sometimes to depend on transitivity, in that a conjunction is used when the action is considered weakly transitive. For example the action of 'liking' / 'wanting' in the following examples does not much affect its object:

Kupm   *wakrongen-teitn* /   **man -yan**
1sg   like - 2sg /   mother-father
'I like you / my parents'

Kupm   *wakrongen* **la**   **irmpen**   **namung**
1sg   like   say   buy.IR   banana
'I want to buy bananas'

Tu   *la*   *wasrongen*   **eng irmpen**
3pl   say   like   C   buy.IR
'They say they want to buy'   (double embedding).

The verb *la* 'say' is commonly used to mark quotations, but can also be left out:

kupm   *ariwe*   *(la)*   **ak**   **wang**   **ti**   **kaikuten**   **palng-tepm pa**
1sg   know.R   (say)   use.R   time   this   heaviness   appear-2plO D
'I know that you are having difficulties in these days'

Wurkapm   *pa* <u>*la*</u>   *kol-pa*   *(la),*   **tu**   **melnum**   **a**   **antokg**   **kweikwei**
book   D   say   like-that   (say)   3pl   person   G   do.R   things

katnun   **wakrongen**   **a**   **Maur**   **Wailen**   **pa**   **tu**   **itopen**   **o.**
follow.R   will   G   spirit   big   D   3pl   rejoice.IR   IMP

'The Bible says that those people who follow God's will, they can rejoice

Examples of different types of verbs taking clausal objects:

Causative verbs: - take only one object, either NP or clause.

kil   <u>*ak*</u>   **klalen**   **hor**   **wan**
3sg   use.R   light   enter   house
'He makes the house lighter (making windows)'

Kil	*antokg*	***kupm***	***ti***	***palng***	*wor*	*kai*	*wam*	*al-kil-en*
3sg	do.R	1sg	D	become	well	go	hand	G-3sg-ATR

'I became well in his care'

Kitn	*elng-en*	***antokg***	***kol-pa***
2sg	put-tr	do.R	like-that

'Stop doing that!'

Di-transitive verbs - take two objects (NP+NP or NP + clause)

kaling   'to show, teach'   (two objects, the clause object usually generic)
plan   'to show' (always two objects, the clause object generic)

Kiin	*kaling*	***wanukg***	***angken***
woman	show.R	greens	cut.R

'The woman shows how to pick greens'

Pirkko	*ik*	*plan-to*	***hapm***	***angkut***
Pirkko	use.IR	show-us	clothes	sew.R

'Pirkko will teach us to sew clothes (with the sewing machine)' (NP + Clausal Object order)

ak kopor   'to win' (always two objects, the clause object generic)

kupm	*ak-kopor-eitn*	***angkut***	***hapm***
1sg	do.R-win-2sg	sew.R	clothes

'I win you in sewing clothes' (NP+Clausal Object order)

Tu	*kiin*	*ak-kopor-en-tita*	***kipman***	***wor***
2pl	woman	do.R-win-TR-RES	husband	good

'The women are competing for a good man'

Perception verbs - verbs of seeing and hearing.

Semantically these verbs denote events experienced by animate subjects via their eyes, noses or ears. They can take either a morphologically unmarked clausal object or a nominal one. In this respect, they are distinct fromthe cognitive verbs. They take only one object (either NP or clause), but the subject of embedded clause can possibly be raised into object position in the clause (see the last two examples).

kil	*ari*	***kiin***	***wekg***	***ur***	***pa***	***itna***	***ya***
3sg	see.R	woman	two	ID	D	stand.R	road

'He saw two women standing on the road'

kupm	*ari*	***wripm***	***antokg***	***yo***	***tapor***
1sg	see.R	wind	make.R	tree	break.R

'I saw the wind breaking the tree (lit. making the tree to break)'
(notice that here another clausal object is embedded into this clause object)

kupm   *atning*   **nimpa**   **hakg**
1sg   hear.R   dog   cry
'I hear the dog howling'

Ti   *kwei*   *ur*   *kipm*   *ari*   **rmpa**   **kinar**   *hu*   *kanokg*   *ai*   *aki?*
C   thing   ID   2pl   see.R   lie.R   go.down   water   ground   LOC   or
'So did you see anything laying on the bottom?'

Tu   *kai*   *ari*   <u>*Kinikgen*</u>   <u>*ekg*</u>   <u>*Kinming*</u>   *pa*   *wa*   **ekg**   **aro**   *lanin*   *pa*   *rpma.*
3p   go   see.R   Kinikgen   two   Kinming   D   and   two   break.R   nut   D   sit.R
'They went down and saw Kinikgen and Kinming, those two were breaking nuts'

Emotional verbs - can take only one object, either a NP or a clause.

kil   *karken*   *dokta*
3sg   dislike   doctor
'She dislikes (is afraid of) the doctor'

kupm   *karken*   *(a)*   **kai**   **mpang**
1sg   dislike   (INT)   go   forest
'I do not want to go to the forest'

Kupm   *wakrongen*   **kitn**   **la**   **nik**   **-opm**
1sg   like   2sg   say   tell.IR-1sgO
'I want you to tell me'

Cognitive verbs - one object, either NP or clause.

Mansan   **akwonalmpen**   **kupm**
parents   think.R   1sg
'My parents are thinking about me'

kupm   **akwonalmpen**   **la**   **kupm**   **a**   **kai**   **Maprik**
1sg   think.R   say   1sg   INT   go   Maprik
'I think I will to go to Maprik'

Ake   *kil*   *ariwe*   *(la)*   **hul**   **a**   **angklei**   **-el**   **pa.**
NEG   3sg   know.R   (say)   snake   INT   swallow.R-3sgO   EMP
'He did not know that the snake swallowed him'

Intentional verbs - only clause objects

Kitn   *la*   **hokg**   **watipmen**
2sg   say   sleep   plenty
'You want to sleep a lot'

Kupm   *la-la*   **rmpen**   **sop**   **ur**   *ari*   *kupm*   *woniketen*

1sg	say-say	buy.IR	soap	ID	but	1sg	forget

'I was planning to buy soap but I forgot it'

kupm	*ampen*	**la**	**nak-el**
1sg	try.R	talk	tell.R-3sgO

'I tried to talk to him'

Quotative (or communicative) verbs

Usually verbs expressing human speech are considered as separate class. The most common quotative verbs are *la* 'say' and its reduplicated form *lala* 'talk'. One of the most frequently occurring quotative verb phrases is *la naki* 'tell somebody'. Many quotative verbs can get two objects.

Kil	*la*	**tu**	**warim**	**akatnong**
3sg	say	3pl	child	play.R

'He said/says that the children are playing'

Kupm	<u>*la*</u>	<u>*nak -etn*</u>	**ka**
1sg	say	tell.R-2sgO	grasshopper

'I tell you about grasshoppers'

Kupm	<u>*la*</u>	<u>*naki*</u>	**kitn**	**eng**	**ka**
1sg	say	tell.R	2sg	about	grasshopper

'I tell you about grasshoppers'

Wailen	*pa*	<u>*nak-el*</u>	<u>*la-la*</u>	**'Kai**	**kitn**	**kaino**	**o-m!'**
big brother	D	tell.R-3sO	say-say	go	2sg	go up	now-IMP

'The big brother told him, 'You can go now!''

Kil	<u>*naki*</u>	<u>*Ariyek*</u>	**'Kitn**	**ikor**	**nung**	**ur**	**pa!'**
3sg	tell.R	Ariyek	2sg	find.IR	wood	ID	D

'He told to Ariyek, 'Get some firewood!''

Kupm	*asen*	**nang**	**akilen**
1sg	ask.R	name	his

'I'm asking his name'

Atom	*kil*	*asen,*	**'Mamam**	**kitn**	**rpma?'**
then	3sg	ask.R	mama	2sg	sit.R

'Then she asked, 'Mama, are you there?''

Kupm	*asen*	*kil*	*pa*	**'Ukarumpa**	**ti**	**wreren**	**om?'**
1sg	ask.R	3sg	D	Ukarumpa	this	near	now

'I asked her , 'Is it long way to Ukarumpa now?''

Mentekg	<u>*asen -tetn*</u>	<u>*la*</u>	**kitn**	**pa**	**kul**	**inti**	**mentekg**	**aki?**
1dual	ask.R-2sgO	say	2sg	D	come	with.IR	1dual	or

'We are asking if you are coming with us or not?'

Kil	*kansil* <u>*-opm*</u>	**al**	**okipma**	**paipm**

| 3sg | trick.R-1sgO | eat.R food | bad |

'He tricked me to eat bad food'

| *Kil* | *kansil-opm* | **eng** | **okipma** |
| 3sg | lie.R-1sgO | about | food |

'He lied to me about food'

| *kil* | *kansil-opm* | *la* | *(mpa* | *kil)* | **ilm** | **wel** |
| 3sg | lie.R-1sgPoss | say | (FUT | 3sg) | shoot.IR | bird |

'He lied to me that he would shoot birds'

Quotations: direct and indirect.

Urim has both direct and indirect quotations. The quotes occurring in narratives are usually direct quotations. Almost all indirect quotes in our data are from discussions, but they probably also occur in other expository discourses like sermons and exhortations. Indirect quotations mainly differ from direct quotations in their person deixis..

Direct:

| *Ari* | *man* | *pa* | *la* | *itna,* | **'Kupm** | **angket** | **hipm'** |
| but | mother | D | say | stand | 1sg | cut.R | leaf |

'But the mother kept saying, 'I am cutting leaves'

| *Kil* | *pa* | *nak -opm,* | **'Wreren** | **waiken-ketn'** |
| 3sg | D | tell.R-1sgO | near | little-little |

'She told me, 'we are not far now'

| *Ari* | *Pestus* | *kil* | *la* | *kolpa,* | *'melnum tukgunakg* | *Agripa, kitn pikekg.....* |
| but | Festus | 3sg | say | like-that | person head | Agripa 2sg past |

But Festus spoke thus,'You king Agripa, did...'

Indirect:

| *Kil* | *la* | *ake* | *mpa* | *mentekg* | *or-tita* |
| 3sg | say | NEG | FUT | 1dual | fight-RES |

'He says that we should not fight' (*mentekg* 'we two' does not refer the *kil* 'he' but to the the speaker of the story)

| *Akwekgel* | *la* | **kil** | **a** | **kai** | **eng** | **kipm.** |
| Akwekgel | say | 3sg | intend | go | for | 2pl |

'Akwekgel says she wants to go to live with you'

| *Kupm* | *atning* | *Pirkko* | *asen -topm* | *la-la* | **kupm** | **no** | **ise?** |
| 1sg | hear.R | Pirkko | ask.R-1sgO | say-say | 1sg | come.up | PERF |

'I heard Pirkko asked whether I had arrived or not'

| *Atom* | *kil* | *akwe* | *kupm* | *pa* | *la* | **kupm** | **nar,** *..* |
| then | 3sg | call.R | 1sg | D | say | 1sg | descend |

'Then she called me to come down...'

| *Mentekg* | *atning* | *tu* | *la* | *nak -o* | *la-la* | **kitn** | **ti** | **am** | **amo** | **ise!** |

> 1dual   hear.R 2pl say tell.R-1pO say-say 2sg this now die.R PERF
> 'We heard them tell us that you had died!'   (*kitn* 'you' refers to the hearer)

There are no other major formal differences between direct and indirect quotations except perhaps the word *kolpa* 'this way, thus' which seem to occur only before direct quotes.

Urim also has a very curious type of quotation, which is basically direct but also exhibits features of an indirect quotation. Thus far examples of this have only been observed in oral texts:

> *Kil   akwe -wopm <u>la</u>,   **Kupm, kitn   nar-o!'**
> 3sg   call.R-1sgO say   1sg   2sg   come down-IMP
> 'He called me saying, you, come down!'

In speech both pronouns, *kupm* 'I' and *kitn, 'you (sg)' have* the same kind of raised imperative intonation. The first pronoun in the quotation refers to the subject of calling and at the same time to the speaker. The second pronoun refers to the one being called. (It is not clear whether this structure is also possible for other person combinations. Also, it would be interesting to know, whether this kind of double-pronoun imperative clauses are pragmatically special. If so, then the first pronoun could be a kind of 'signature' or identification of the caller meaning something like 'it is me here who is calling'.)

5.3. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are embedded clauses, which modify some other clause, in a way similar to the way adverbs function as modifiers within a clause. Just as with adverbs, which are single words or phrases, adverbial clauses can be labelled and categorized semantically according to the type of modification they provide (Sandra A. Thompson in Shopen II p.171). In Urim we have found at least following semantic types of adverbial clauses: time, manner, locative, and purpose-reason. Other subordinated clauses, like conditionals, are described in sections 7.5.7 and 7.6.

5.3.1.   Time clauses

Almost all temporal adverbial clauses in Urim, as well as many manner adverbial clauses, are really instances of relative clauses modifying a generic head noun, as in the examples below (for more examples see section 7.1.). Temporal adverbial clauses are usually introduced with the time/instrumental preposition *ak,* but it can also be left out.

> *Ak   wang a men   kul   pa, men   numprampen wrikya ...*
> use.R time ReL 1plExc come   D   1plExc   prepared.R   things
> 'At the time when we came, we prepared the things ...'

> *Men   kinar   Brugam pa ak   wang awi kol wam-pomis wam-pom-wekg.*
> 1pl.Exc go down Brugam D use.R time   get.R like   hand-other hand-other-two
> 'We arrived in Brugam at 7 a clock'

***Wang a kil hokg rmpa wan upung pa** am kol-pa -ke.*
time REL 3sg sleep lie.R house menstruation D now like-that-CMP
'At the time she slept in the menstruation hut (it was) now like that'

5.3.2. Manner adverbial clauses

In Urim manner is usually expressed by serial constructions, which almost always occur before the main verb (like manner adverbs usually do) and can therefore possibly be considered subordinated:

*Kil pa **tuwal mlak** ela*
3sg D beak hanging be
'It was lying beak hanging down'

Manner serials marked by <u>ak</u>:

Manner serials can be marked by the Instrumental marker *ak* (originally verb *ak* 'do') same way as manner adverbs.

*Tu anel **ak atatu** wuli*
3pl pick.R do.R hurry.R arrive
'They got up and came quickly'

***Ak nimong apaharng** rpma, rpma wan.*
Use.R basket cover.R sit.R sit.R house
'It was hidden under the basket in the house' (notice the reversed word order!)

Compare to the following use of *ak* to mark manner phrase:

tu ak wail wuli
3pl use.R big arrive
'They came in crowds'

Often *ak* functions almost like the purpose marker *eng* and can be translated in English the same way 'for'. The difference is that *ak* can also indicate the role of instrument, while *eng* never does.

Tu aye okipma wuli ak arpmen hapm
3pl carry.R food come use.R buy.R cloth
'They brought food to buy clothes with it'

*Men lap yul **ak al namung***
1pl roast fish use.R eat.R banana
'We roast fish to eat it with bananas'

*Ilk -opm wakg **ik** iri nangkil*
give.IR-1sgO fire use.IR see.IR mosquitoes
'Give me a torch to see mosquitoes'

nung	*talpuk*	***ik***	*ilile*	*wakg*
firewood	stick	use.IR	light.IR	fire

'firewood sticks for lighting the fire'

Uwi	*spun*	***ik***	*ukuhal*
take:IR	spoon	use.IR	scrape

'Take a spoon for scraping'

compare to:

Uwi	spun	pa	ik	ukuhal
take.IR	spoon	D	use.IR	scrape

'Take a spoon and scrape with it'

Manner clauses marked by -en

In Urim there is also a special type of adverbial manner clause, which always occurs in the middle of the clause and has a verb morphologically marked by the suffix **-en**. This attributive suffix has been described earlier in the section 2.6.2.2. Sometimes this embedded (or nominalized) manner adverbial clause also has a reversed word order (O V). Curiously though, only a few verbs in Urim seem to take this suffix in a manner clause, while simple manner adverbs can freely be formed from all kinds of verbs by the same suffix. It seems that this embedded construction also has the additional meaning of two actions having temporal overlap. This could explain why so few verbs can occur in this construction; there are not so very many actions that one actor can perform two at the same time. Often the manner suffix **-en** could be glossed 'with' in English. Consider the examples:

Kupm	***ngkat -en***	***monmon***	*wuli*
'1sg	carry.R-ATR	baby	arrive

'I arrived carrying the child'

Wel	***ngkat -en***	***hungkuran***	*elng*	*nar*	*kanokg*
bird	carry.R-ATR	spear	put	come.down	ground

'The bird with the arrow in it fell down to the ground'

Tu	***nangnang-en***	*wuli..*
3pl	singsing-ATR	arrive

'They came singing and dancing..'

Akentiwe	*kitn*	*al*	*wampung*	***ngkat-en***	***walkg***
not-able.R	2sg	eat.R	possum	carry-ATR	skin

'You can not eat possum with the fur'

Waring	*anip*	*am*	***ak***	***aye-wen***	***kainil pa***	*kaino*	*ise.*
betel nut	lengthen.R	now	use.R	carry.R-TR	moon D	go.up	PERF

'The betel nut palm grew longer taking the moon with it higher and higher'

nar		*nim,*	***hapm***	***wail***	***pa***	***ngkat-en***	*kai-nar*	*rpma*	*nim*	*tiwel*	*pa*
come.down		drum	cloth	big	D	carry.R-TR	go-down	sit.R	drum	other	D

'..went into the garamut-drum, carrying/with a big net bag went down to sit on the other end of the garamut-drum' (notice the reversed word order)

Compare to the function of **–en** in the following example where it functions in much the same way as above:

Man	*al-kil*	*pa*	*nepm*	*paipm-en*	*rpma*	*anong*
mother	G-3sg	D	leg	bad-ATR	sit.R	village

'His mother who was lame (lit: with bad leg or having a bad leg), stayed in the village.'

5.3.3.   Locative adverbial clauses:

Locative adverbial clauses in Urim are comaratively rare. Sometimes adverbial clauses expressing location are governed by prepositions, as in the following example.

Kirngka	*pa*	*am*	*rpma*	***wreren***	***kupm***	***atne-we***	*tike*.
snake.sp.	D	now	lie.R	near	1sg	stand.R-TR	EMP

'The kirngka-snake was lying near where I was standing'

5.3.4.   Purpose-reason clauses marked by <u>eng</u>

The basic function of the word *eng* is to mark oblique arguments. As a preposition, it governs especially indirect objects (mostly Benefactive and Recipient roles) and also some direct objects of less transitive verbs. To show the range of *eng,* I will first present here some examples of its use governing noun phrases and then examples of its use as a complementizer within subordinate clauses.

Eng with noun phrases and clauses

Prepositional phrases with *eng* are used to encode various types of Oblique arguments. It is commonly used to encode Benefactive-Recipient and Subject Matter 'about/concerning':

Uwi	*pa*	*iye*	*kul*	***eng***	***kupm!***
take.IR	D	carry.IR	come	OBL	1sg

'Bring it to me!'

Kil	*la*	*naki*	*kupm*	***eng***	***kwap***
3sg	say	tell.R	1sg	OBL	work

'He spoke to me about the work'

Kil	*kansil-opm*	***eng***	***okipma***
3sg	lie.R-1sgO	OBL	food

'He lied to me about the food'

Eng is also used to mark some optional non-Subject arguments of some verbs. The semantic role is usually Associative 'concerning, with respect to', Goal or Reason/Cause:

Kupm antokg wonet paipm **eng** **kwap al-kupm-en**
1sg do.R hard bad OBL work G-1sg-ATTR
I work hard at my job'

Kil hakg **eng** **man-yan**
3sg cry OBL mother-father
'He cries after his parents' (alternative form: *hakg-en* 'cry-TR')

Wan ros **eng** **warim**
house tight OBL child
'The house is full of children' (can be explained OBL here: because of children)

Kupm tukwok **eng** **namung**
1sg short OBL banana
'I am in need of bananas'

Kil ngkark **eng** **nimpa**
3sg be.afraid.R OBL dog
'He is afraid of the dog'

Subordinate clauses headed by *eng* express purpose, reason, or explanation. There is no difference whether the purpose is expressed by using a full clause or just a noun phrase - *eng* is used in both cases to mark it.

Atom kiin a-kupm-en pa kul **eng** *la or hul pa*
then wife g-1sg-ATR D come OBL say hit snake D
'Then my wife came back intending to kill the snake..'

Kupm a kai stua **eng** *rmpen yul tin wris ur*
1sg INT go store OBL buy.IR fish tin one ID
'I want to go to the store to buy a tin of fish'

In the following examples the clause marked by *eng* is actually functioning as a modifier of an NP, much like the relative clause (see the Chapter 5.1):

Kupm ak-kwap al-kupm plalng **eng** *nira wurkapm ak masin*
1sg do.R-work G-1sg finish OBL write paper use.R machine
kai mining
go dark
'He finished his work of typing at night'

wanukg **eng** *ik ntam kwei*
greens OBL use.IR cook.IR yam
'greens to be cooked with yams'

Kipm ti rka rka **eng** *mpa mla uwi -yepm?*
2pl here hang.R hang.R OBL FUT who take.IR-2plO
'Whom do you wait here for expecting him to pick you up?'

In Urim the use of preposition *eng* has probably increased by the influence of Pidgin language. This is reflected by the many cases where either *eng* or some other function word can be used without any great change of meaning. There are also cases when *eng* occurs in speech but is rejected in good written language (the fourth example):

Tu	*toplam*	*nol*	***eng/la***	*manto*	*tu*	*alm*	*ise*
3pl	blow.R	horn	OBL/say	pig	3pl	shoot.R	PERF

'They blew the horn to announce that they shot a pig'

Wrik	***eng/a***	*arpm-e*
place	OBL/R	sit.R-TR

'seat'

Kupm	*la*	*yangkipm*	***eng* / a***	*skul*
1sg	say	talk	OBL* /REL	school

'I am talking about school'

Semantic functions of subordinate clauses governed by *eng*

Purpose

In the following examples *eng* can be glossed 'for, to, so that, in order to'. Notice the position of imperative in the first example; it shows that this *eng*-clause in fact is embedded. Note that the purposive interpretation of *eng* is favored when it governs a clause having irrealis modality

Kukwa	*wanyun*	*pa*	***eng***	*tu*	*kawor*	*wunen*	*pa-wo'*
open	door	D	OBL	3sg	enter	inside	D-IMP

'Open the door for them to go inside!'

Ukulam	*wrik*	*kilpmat*		*(pa*	***eng)***	*ikga*	*mentepm*	*irpm-e*
straighten.R	place	sago palm leaf stalk		D	OBL	later	1pl.Inc	sit.IR-TR

'Make a seat for us to sit later'

Melnum	*a*	*itna*	*hep*	***eng***	*ikgalen*	*nangnang*
man	REL	stand.R	first	OBL	take.care.of.R	song

'The man who leads songs' (embedded into a relative clause)

Pa	*wa*	*angkliin*	***eng***	*ilkg*	*pa*	*nowen*	*itna*	*yiprokg*	*pa.*
D	and	help	OBL	sprout	D	grow	stand.R	base	D

'And that helps the sprouts to grow from the base'

Tuwekg	*la*	*ikor*	*manto*	*pa*	***eng***	***ilm***
2dual	say	search.IR	pig	D	OBL	shoot.IR

'they two wanted to find the pig and shoot it'

Kupm	*hor*	***eng***	*ekg*	*irpmi*
1sg	enter	OBL	two	sit.IR

'I came to visit you'

Reason

When *eng* governs a realis clause referring to something that has already happened or is happening at the moment, it expresses **reason** or **explanation rather** than **purpose**. In the following examples *eng* can usually be glossed 'because'.

atom	*ukwa -wel*		*kul*	***eng***	*hapm*	*yek*	*ur*	*pikekg*	*kitn*
then	send.R-3sgO		come	OBL	cloth	DIM	ID	past	2

alk-el	*pa*	*am*	*rakol*	*ise*
give.R-3sgO	D	now	break	PERF

'and send to him because the clothes you gave to him are now in rags'

Men	*al*	*aktatu*	***eng***	*nikg –alm*	*-po*
1pl.Exc	eat.R	quickly.R	OBL	belly-shoot.R-1plO	

'We ate quickly because we were hungry'

Men	*rka*	*wan*	***eng***	*hu*	*awei*	*wail*
1pl.Exc	hang.R	house	OBL	water	rain.R	big

'We are staying in the house because of the heavy rain'

Kiin	*ake*	*wakrongen*	*kipman*	*pa*	***eng***	*kil*	*tukgunakg*	*kiangen*
woman	NEG	like	man	D	OBL	3sg	head	bald

'Women do not like that man because he is bald'

Kil	*anti*	*numpet*	***eng***	*kil*	*al*	*kweikwei*	*paipm*
3sg	with.R	sickness	OBL	3sg	eat.R	thing	bad

'She is sick because she ate something bad'

Ake	*kupm*	*antokg*	*taipreita*		*pa*	*perper,*	***eng***	*taipreita*	*pa*
NEG	1sg	use.R	typewriter		D	often	C	typewriter	D

tu	*elng*	*rmpa*	*kinar*	*wan*	*a*	*Lipen*
3pl	put	lie.R	go.down	house	G	Lipen

'I am not using the typewriter often, because they have put the typewriter into the house of Lipen' (from a letter)

Reason/Grounds

Eng is also used to govern subordinate clauses expressing reason or grounds, i.e. why the preceding clause is uttered, or why the proposition it expresses is valid.

Kupm	*asen*	*Jon*	***eng***	*kupm*	*akwonalmpen*	*kil*	*antiwe*	*mpa*	*ingkliin*	*topm*
1sg	ask.R	Jon	OBL	1sg	think.R		3sg	enough.R	FUT	help.IR	1sgO

'I'm asking Jon because I think he will be able to help me'

Kil	*la*	*aklale*	***eng***	*kil*	*la*	*kol-pa*
3sg	say	true	OBL	3sg	say	like-that

'He must talk the truth because he is saying that (his saying that is proving that he talks the truth)'

*A-ti   wreren eng-a hu   wei   **eng** waipmunu kalkut   paipm*
perhaps near   for-? water rain.IR OBL cloud   heavy   bad
'Perhaps rain will come soon (I think this) because there are heavy clouds'

*Ating   kil   rpma   ur   ha   pa   **eng** wakg   rka   wan   ha-pa*
perhaps 3sg   sit.R ID   be.R there OBL   fire.R hang   house   be.R-there
'Perhaps he has some (kerosene) (I assume) because there is light in the house'

Kitn a   kai wan aki   kalpis,
2sg INT   go house or   not
***eng** kupm a   la   yangkipm-ok   nimpokgen   teitn*
OBL 1sg   INT talk   talk -mouth   with.IR   2sgO
'Are you going home or not (- I'm asking), because I want to talk with you'

It is possible to have several subordinate clauses governed by *eng* in the same sentence. Both examples are from a written text:

*Kol-pa ti kipm la-niki   Mowal pa   **eng** mpa kil ilk   -opm ki ur pa*
like-that C 2pl   say-tell.IR Mowal D   OBL FUT 3sg give.IR-1sgO key ID D

***eng** mpa kupm iye   **eng** mpa kupm ik   kukwa   wanyun a kipmekg*
OBL FUT 1sg   carry.IR OBL FUT 1sg   IN.IR open.IR door   G 2dual

***eng** uwi   taipreta   **eng** ikintokg wurkapm ikingklei Trinde   wris-wris.*
OBL take.IR   typewriter   OBL handle.IR paper   every.IR Thursday   one-one

'So you must then tell Mowal that he should give me the key so that I can take it and open your door with it and take the typewriter and type every single Thursday' (written letter)

*Talpuk wris pa pati kipm elng-itni   **eng** ikg-a kil irkolng hu   pa*
branch   one D   C   2pl leave-stand.IR OBL later   3sg pull.IR water D

*iye   kaino **eng** ik   ingklin   talpuk   pa   **eng** kil   ingko*
carry.IR go.up OBL   use.IR help.IR   branch   D   OBL   3sg   fall.IR

'This one branch you should leave so that it will pull water up so that it helps the branches to bear fruit'

5.3.5. Strong reason: eng ntei

The basic meaning of *eng ntei* is interrogative 'why?'; its use to mark strong reasons is secondary. Strong reason means here, that the speaker feels an extra need of explanation (answers to a question etc.), or wants to emphasize the reason. The expression *eng ntei* in this use is not very common in texts - all examples below are elicited. Its function is much the same as an ordinary rhetoric question, which the speaker himself answers. Its use probably reflects the influence of Tok Pisin *bilong wanem*.

*Melnum pa   tu   wakrongen-tel **eng-intei**, kil   antiwe nikgwalpm wor*
man   D   3pl like-3sgO   why   3sg   have   heart   good

'Why is that man is liked so well? Its because he is a good man'

*Stua al-kil pa palng wor **engintei**, kil ikgalen marpm al-kil ari-wor-wor*
store G-3sg D become good why? 3sg look.after money G-3sg see-well-well
'His store is prospering, why - because he takes good care of his money.

*Kil awi marpm klangkil **eng-intei**, kil ak kwap ak Sarere yat*
3sg get money extra because 3sg do work IN Saturday also
'The reason why he got extra money is that he worked also on Saturday' (explanation – could be an answer to a question 'why?')

Compare to:

*Kupm alk -eitn marpm **eng** pikekg kitn akwap*
1sg give.R-2sgO money OBL before 2sg work.R
'I give you money for your work you did' (just states the reason)

5.3.6. 'Negative' reason: *atnen (a)* 'because of, fault of'

The word *atnen* appears to be morphologically composed of the verb *itna (atna)* 'stand' and transitive suffix **-en.** Like *eng*, it is basically a preposition. When a clause follows this preposition, a relative clause marker (?) *a* is usually added after it (*atnen a).* This shows that all occurrences of *atnen* should probably be analyzed as a preposition having either a NP or a nominalized clause as the head. Semantically, *atnen* (*a*) usually refers to the reason for something bad happening.

***Atnen** -teitn pa-ke*
because of.R-2sgO D-EMP
'That was your fault'

*Kil or melnum pa **ok** **atnen** kiin alkil*
3sg beat man D mouth because.R woman 3sgO
'He fought the man because of his wife'

*Hu pa awei perper **atnen** tu alm nok kai wrik miring-ket*
water D rain.R often because.R 3pl shoot.R sago go place ancestral spirit-ATR
'It rains often because they are making sago in a place where an ancestral spirit is dwelling.'

*Pa-ti **atnen** **a** kipm atnurng, ake kipm ikgalen*
that-this because.R REL 2pl leave.R not 2pl take.care.of.R
'This happened because you left it alone and did not take care of it'

*Kil amo **atnen** **a** oktelp a palng*
3sg ail.R because of REL tooth INT appear
'He is ailing because his?? teeth are coming'

There are still other types of subordinated clauses (for example conditionals), which could be described in this chapter. But, because the various functions of Urim conditional conjunctions are quite complex, and because they often serve to connect more loosely related clauses as well as subordinated clauses, we will describe them with the other Urim conjunctions , in the following sections.

5.4. Serial Verb Constructions

A serial verb construction consists of two or more verbs which: 1) are immediately juxtaposed with no intervening conjunctions, 2) share at least some core arguments (normally subject and/or object/goal), and 3) in some sense function together semantically as a single predication (James 1983).

Other properties of serial constructions:
1)   Serial verb constructions are typically pronounced together under a single intonational countour with no intervening pauses
2)   The whole combination can be neagated with a single negator
3)   All serialized clauses must have the same modality

Examples:

> *kitn* *aye*   *kuina kul?*
> 2sg carry.R what come
> 'What are you bringing?'

> *Kil* *akor* *ari* *ise*
> 3sg search.R see.R CMP
> 'He found(it)'

> *Kil numpet paipm* *ti akentiwe ikga ntokg* *kweikwei* *huk mla ur*
> 3sg sick bad D not-able later make.IR things/food give who ID
> 'She was badly sick and therefore could not make food to give anyone.'

> *Uwi* *nep* *mangkon ur* *iye* *kul* *ilk* *-opm* *il*
> get.IR coconut green ID carry.IR come give.IR-1sgO drink.IR
> 'Get a green coconut and bring it give to me to drink.'

Serial verb constructions are very common in Urim. However, since Urim verbs have very few inflectional morphemes, it is often difficult to tell whether a certain construction is a clause chain (i.e. a series of coordinateclauses with deleted topics) or a serial structure. In Urim conjunctions (usually **pa** 'and, then') often distinguish the two types of structure.

Consider the following examples:

Tu   la   intokg   <u>okipma</u>   <u>il</u>.
3pl   say   make.IR   food   eat.IR
They want to make food for a feast'

Compare to:
Kitn   ariwe   antokg   okipma   wor-wor   <u>pa</u>   al.
1sg   know.R   make.R   food   good-good   C/D?   eat.R
'You know how to make and eat good food'

tu   al   rpma
3pl   eat.R   sit.R
'They are eating (at this moment)'   (serial verb encoding imperfective aspect)

tu   al   <u>pa</u>   rpma
3pl   eat.R   C   sit.R
'They sit/sat eating' or 'are/were eating' (not necessarily at the moment of speaking)
                              (clause chain encoding temporal overlap)

compare to:
tu   rpma   (pa)   al.
3pl   sit.R   (and)   eat.R
'They sat down and ate'

On the other hand, it is also often difficult to tell whether a chain of verbs is an idiom or a serial structure. When a particular combination of verbs is used frequently enough, it gradually comes to be more lexicalized and idiomatic. Some expressions are somewhere between a serial structure and a lexeme, others are fully developed into an idiomatic lexeme. The endpoint of the process is when the combined verbs are phonologically one word and the meaning of the combination is opaque. The following examples, proceed from verb combinations which are more phrasal and semantically transparent to those which are more reduced phonologically and/or semantically opaque.

uwi   iye   kul!
take.IR   carry.IR   come
'Bring it here!

kil   hokg   angket   ari   yul
3sg   sleep   cut.R   see.R   fish
'He slept and dreamed about fish'

elng   wurkapm   ti   rmpi   kaino   wrik
put   paper   this   lie.IR   go.up   table
'put this paper on the table'

(The verb *elngtirmpi* 'put somewhere' is pronounced as a phonological word when there
 is nothing in between the two parts)

kil   *hokg*   *kaingkul*
/kil   hokg   kai-kul/
3sg   sleep   go-come
'He sleeps crossways'

kawor   *wan*
/kai-hor   wan/
go-enter   house
'enter the house'

ikg-ale-n
look-put-TR
'take care of.R'

5.4.1. The four functions of serial verb constructions in Urim

Serial verb constructions have four functions in Urim. The first function is to encode a single complex action or set of commonly co-occurring actions. Serial verbs can also serve as an abbreviated way to express purpose and causation. The third function of serial verbs is more grammatical, for example adding modal or aspectual meaning to a predication or marking peripheral semantic roles. These kind of aspectual or modal verbs have historically developed into full clause particles or prepositions and finally lost their verbal meanings altogether in other languages. The fourth function of serial verb constructions in Urim is as a means of introducing new lexical items into the language. All these types of serialization are very common in Urim.

Serialized structures expressing a series of closely related events

Examples of serial verbs encoding a single complex action or series of actions that commonly occur together are given below:

tu   **akor**   **kai**   **ari**   *wekg*   *ham*   *rpma*
3pl   seek.R   go   see.R   two   hide   sit.R
'They searched and found them hiding'

kil   **awi**   **aris**   *wampung*
3sg   take.R   smell   marsupial
'He took the possum and smelled it'

Mentekg   **antokg**   **al**   *ak*   *kainil*
1dual   make.R   eat.R   use.R   moon
'We cooked and ate in the light of the moon'

kil   **no**   **la**   **nak -opm**   **la-la:....**
3pl   come.up   say   tell.R-1sgO   say-say
'He came and told to me...'

Serial verbs describing uninterrupted movement from one place to another are very common in texts, especially in stories:

kil **kai kai kai kinar** *wuli* *kwokg*
3sg go go go go.down arrive creek
'She kept going, went downwards and arrived to the creek'

kil *pa* **kai kawor** *wan*
3sg D go enter house
'She went and entered the house'

Mayen *ak* *atatu* **kul** **hor** **la;....**
old.woman use.R hurry.R come enter said
'The old woman quickly came, entered the house and said'

Aye **nar** *minto* **lap** **al**
carry.R come.down 1pauc roast.R eat.R
'(They) brought (it) down and we roasted and ate'

Serialized structures expressing purpose

With certain verbs, serialized structures can serve as an abbreviated way of expressing purpose , without requiring the oblique preposition **eng**.

Akwekgel **huk** *ma* *al -kil-en* **al.**
Akwekgel give breast G– 3sg-ATR eat
'Akwekgel breastfed (the bady)'

Antokg **alk-en** **al**
make.R give.R-3plO eat.R
'Cooked and gave them to eat'

Kil **kai** **ari** *Nita*
3sg go see.R Nita
'He went to see Nita'

Compare to:

Kil **kai** *pa* **ari** *Nita*
3sg go D see Nita
'He went and saw Nita'

kupm **kinar** **anong** *hu*
1sg go.down fetch.R water
'I go to get water'

Awi *ko* *ak* **are** *yo*
take axe IN cut tree
'Get an axe to cut down the tree with (it)'

tu **takwem** *marpm* **alk-o**
3pl gather money give-1plO
'They gathered money for us'

Causation expressed by a serial verb construction with *ak* '(use something to) do' and *antokg* 'do, handle'.

> *kil*   ***ak***   *klalen*   ***hor***   *wan*
> 3sg   do.R   light   enter   house
> 'He made the house light (caused the light enter the house)'

> *kil*   ***antokg***   *kupm*   ***palng***   *wor*
> 3sg   make.R   1sg   become   good
> 'He healed me'

Serialized structures expressing manner

Serialized structures are also used to denote manners of action. Verbs occurring in this structure are usually onomatopoetic.

> ***Itatu***   *kul-o!*
> hurry.R   come-IMP
> 'Hurry up!'

> *kil*   ***kwal-kwal***   ***kai***
> 3sg   wail-wail   go
> 'He went wailing'

> *kil*   ***pilng***   ***kai***   *itatu*   *mes*   *pa*
> 3sg   splash   go   hurry.R   lake   D
> 'She quickly splashed into the lake'

> *kil*   ***angkli***   *kweikwei*   ***tulng***   ***kai***   *kanokg*   *ti*
> 3sg   throw.R   things   tumble   go   ground   this
> 'He threw the things tumbling to the ground'

Serialized verbs expressing modal or aspectual meanings

Most instances of of verb serialization expressing modal meanings involve the serial verb expressing the grammatical category occurring before the clause/sentence it semantically modifies, while those expressing aspect tend to occur following the clause they semantically modify.

Intensity expressed using ak 'do'

The verb *ak* 'do' is used to express intensity.

> ***ak***   ***angket***
> do.R   cut.R
> 'cut quickly'

Doing something in a group or Inceptive modality expressed by *anel* 'pick'

The verb *anel* 'pick' when serialized expresses action done in a group or inceptive aspect.

> ***Anel antokg***   *kolpa*   ***rka***   ***rka***
> pick.R make.R   like-that   stay.R stay.R

'they all kept doing like this'

men	*kai-no*	*ari*	*tu*	***anel***	***hakg***
1pl.Ecx	go-go.up	see.R	3pl	pick.R	cry

'we went but they all cried'

Tu	*am*	***anel***	*ak*	*atatu*	***wuli***
3sg	now	pick.R	use.R	hurry.R	arrive

'They now started quickly to come.'

Intentional, cognitive, and quotative modality expressed by *la* 'to say'

The verb *la* 'say' is used as amain verb to express intention.

Kil	***la***	***ilm***	*wel*
3sg	say	shoot.IR	bird

'He is going to shoot birds'

Kupm	***la***	***kai***	*wring*	*ari*	*warim*	*numpet*
1sg	say	go	garden	but	child	sick

'I intended to go to the garden but the child was sick'

The combination [**la** + sentential complement] also frequently functions as the object compelement of various cognitive, emotional, perceptual and speech verbs.

Kil	*ngkark*	*la*	*mpa*	*tu*	*alk-el*	*kaikuten*	*a*	*uleket*
3sg	be.afraid.R	say	FUT	3pl	give.R-3sgO	heavyness	and	pain

'He is afraid that they will persecute him.'

Pa	*plan*	*la*	*kupm*	*melnum*	*wor.*
D	show	say	1sg	person	good

'That proves that I am a good man'

Kupm	*rpma*	*titnowen*	*num*	*kipm*	*pa*	*wa*	*palng*	*kol-pa*	*eng-ntei?*
1sg	sit.R	ignorant	body	2pl	D	and	become	like-that	why?

'I am perplexed why you have become like that?'

Kol-pa	*ti*	*wang*	*ti*	*pa, wang*	*wor*	*a-mentepm-en*	*la*	*mentepm*	*plan*
like-that	this	time	this	D time	good	G-1pl.Excl-ATR	say	1pl.Excl	show
nikg-walpm	*wor*	*a*	*wa*	*ngkliin*	*tu*	*wrongkwail*			
stomach-liver	good	and	also	help.IR	3pl	people			

'Therefore this time is a good time for us to show love and help people.'

Ake	*kitn*	*ari*	*la*	*kupm*	*al-kupm*	*wris*	*numprampen*	*okipma?*
NEG	2sg	see.R	say	1sg	G-1sg	one	prepare.R	food

'Don't you see that I am preparing the meal alone?'

Kipm	*kol*	*a*	*riwe*	*la*	*kupm*	*am*	*rpma*	*wan*
2pl	HYP	R?	know.IR	say	1sg	now.R	sit	house

'You should have known that I would be at home.'

Voluntarity-directional

The verb *elng* 'put' occurs in a serialized construction expressing voluntary actions directed to a location.

kirmpa	***elng***	***kinar***	***elng***	***kaino..***
plane	put	go.down	put	go.up

'the plane kept going downwards and upwards (intentionally)..

mpa	*kitn*	***inung***	***elng***	***kinar***	*wrkapm*	*ti*
FUT	2sg	vomit.IR	put	go.down	paper	this

'Vomit into this paper bag!'

Permissive modality expressed by the verb *kai* 'go' in serialized constructions

Kai	*kitn*	*kaino*	*o!*
go	2sg	go.down	IMP

'You may go!'

Kai	*tu*	*melnum*	*a*	*amo*	*pa*	*huwen*	*tita*	*o!*
go	3pl	person	REL	die.R	D	bury	RES	IMP

'Let the dead men bury themselves!'

Completive aspect expressed by a serial verb construction with *plalng* 'finish'

Unlike the preceding verbs, the verb ***plalng*** 'to finish' occurs *following* the clause it semantically modifies when expressing completive aspect:

al	***plalng***
eat.R	finish

'ate (it) all'

Contrast this with the following example, where the sentence final perfect aspect adverb *ise* occurs.

Hu	*pa*	*wakget*	***ise***
water	D	hot	PERF

'The water is hot (has boiled)'

In the following cases as well, the serial verb marking modality or aspect occurs after the clause it semantically modifies. This order helps to differentiate the aspectual meaning of the verb from other meanings.

Conative modality expressed with *ari* 'see'

Conative modality—attempting to do something—is expressed using the verb ***ari*** (irrealis form ***iri***)'to see'.

Ti	*kipm*	***ik-won-ilmpen***	***iri!***
C	2pl	do.IR-inside-stir.IR	see.IR

'So you think about it!'

Ekg **kukwa** *wanyun* *ti* **iri!**
two open door this see.IR
'lets try to open this door!'

Continuative aspect expressed with locative verbs (*itna* 'stand', *rpma* 'sit', *rmpa* 'lie', *rka* 'hang', *ela* 'be situated', *ha* 'be, stay')

Kil **atn-en** **itna**
3sg stand-TR? Stand.R
'He was waiting in ambush'

Kuina *tu* **lam-to** **rmpa** **kawor** *wan* *wusok?*
what 3pl hide.R-1plO lie.R go.into house small
'What are they hiding from us in the small house?'

'Kitn pa ake aser *kul?'* *Ari* *kalpis,* *am* **rpma** *ketn pa* **ha** *pake.*
2sg D not weed.R come but not now sit.R still D be.R there:EMP
'You are not coming on with the weeding?' But no, she was just sitting still in one spot there'

Durative aspect expressed via repetition of verbs

Especially in spoken texts, verbs can be repeated several times at the end of clauses expressing durative aspect; i.e. the action continues for an extended period of time. This repetition of verb seems to never occur at the end of a sentence, only between clauses. Sometimes the adverbs **ninan** or **titan** are used in addition or instead of the repetition of verb. Rising intonation always occurs with these devices. Written texts do not exhibit this repetition of verbs to express durative aspect, whereas *ninan* and *titan* do occur in written texts.

Examples of reduplication of verb:

Kil *nar* **kai** **kai** **kai,** *katila* *kwokg*
3sg descend go go go follow.R brook
'She went downhill a long time, following the brook'

Tu *or* *or* *or* *or,* *amo* *wekg-en*
3pl beat beat beat beat die.R two-with
'They kept beating them until they both died'

Mentekg **nar** **nar** **nar** **nar,** *angko* *Maprik*
1dual descend descend descend descend fall.R Maprik
'We traveled and traveled (down river direction) until we landed in Maprik

compare to 'normal' uses of reduplication:

Kil **kai** **kai** **kai** **kinar** *wuli* *kop*
3sg go go go go down arrive river
'He kept going, came down and arrived to a river'

Tunteng   **kai**   **kai**   **kinar**   *Arpunya*   *ai*
3trial   go   go   go down   Arpunya   DIR
'They three went a long way to Arpunya'

Examples of **ninan***, **titan**:

Kil   *lap*   *wayu*   *ur*   **ninan,**   *apis*
3sg   roast   taro   ID   CNT   scrape.R
'He roasted some taro and scraped'

Mentekg   **al**   **al**   **ninan,**   *mining*   *paipm*
1 dual   eat.R   eat.R   CNT   difficult   bad
'We kept of eating until we could eat no more (difficult to eat all)'

karkuk   **karkuk**   **pa**   **ninan,**   *nowe*   *hapm*
bathe   bathe.R   C   CNT   dress   cloth
'bathed and bathed and when finished, dressed'

Wrongkatnur   *pa* **katin**   **ninan**   **plalng**   *pa*   *elng*   *rmpa*   *pa.*
Wrongkatnur   D   encircle.R CNT   finish   C   put   lie.R   D
'Wrongkatnur completed its encircling and left it there

Kil ak   *ak*   *ikgwampel*   *kolng-kol-pa*   *pa* **ninan**, *tu*   *arki*   *arki*   *man.*
3sg do.R   do.R   stealing   like-like-that   C   CNT   3pl   blame.R   blame.R   mother
'She kept stealing like that a long time, they kept blaming her mother.'

Mentekg   **lap**   **titan,**   **plalng**   *pipa*,   *apis*
1dual   roast   CNT   finish   when   scrape.R
'We kept roasting and when they were done, scraped the ashes'

'Prepositional' uses of serial verbs to encode various peripheral semantic roles like location, manner, accompaniment, etc.

The only true preposition in Urim is ***eng***. Most peripheral semantic roles in a clause are encoded via serial verb constructions.

kil   **topra**   **angen**   *yo*
3sg   jump.R   win.R   tree
'he jumps over the tree'

ak   **nanikg**   **alei**   *hapm*
do.R   urine   put.on.R   cloth
'piss on the cloth'

kil   **hokg**   **rmpa**   *nung*
3sg   sleep   lie.R   firewood
'He slept lying on a fallen tree'

kil   **ari**   **kai**   *Kineling*
3sg   see.R   go   Kineling
'He dreamed about Kineling'

kil   *melnum*   **kai**   *Sepik*
3sg   person   go   Sepik
'He is from Sepik'

manto   **an**   *num*   **ela**   *wes*
pig   rub.R   skin   be.R   stone
'The pig rubs its skin to the stone'

uwi   *kuntuk*   **kai**   *wakg!*
take.IR   pot   go   fire
'Take the pot from fire!'   (the verb *kai* 'go' never gets source as locative object)

Examples of the verb **ak** 'do' encoding manner and temporal adjuncts.

lap   **ak**   *wakg*
roast   do.R   fire
'roast in/with fire'

ik   *Sande*
do.IR   Sunday
'next Sunday'

tu   **ak**   *wail*   *wuli*
3pl   do.R   big   arrive
'They came in crowds'

The lexeme **anti** 'with; fit, suit' is used to encode accompaniment, while **atnen** 'because of; wait for, watch' is used to encode causal adjuncts.

kupm   **inti**   *mla*   *rpmi*   *anong?*
1sg   with.IR   who   sit.IR   village
' Who will stay with me in the village?'

hatn   **ak**   **kwap**   **anti**   **mansan**
wander.R   do.R   work   with.R   parents
'live and work with parents'

Akwen   *Wailen*   **atnen** *-tetn*
call.R   Big-one   because.of-2sgO
'Pray God to take care of you'

kitn   **numpet**   **atnen**   *kweikwei*   *pikekg*   *kitn*   *al*   *pa*
2sg   sick   because.of   food   before   2sg   eat.R   EMP
'You are sick because of something you ate'

The source phrase and the origin of prefix ang-

Another productive serial structure involves the use of existential or motion verbs plus a locative noun to express source / 'from'. . This construction is used when an actor is coming from a place where he has been for a while.   In fast speeh, the existential verb (especially the most common ones, **ha** 'be' and **tna** 'stand') frequently phonologically reduce into a prefix-like form **ang-**.

kil	*tna*	*kainar*	*anong*	*pa*	*no*
3sg	stand.R	go.down	village	C	come.up

'He comes from the village'

kupm	*rpma*	*kai*	*Finland*	*kul*
1sg	live.R	go	Finland	come

'I came from Finland'

kil	*ang-kai-no*	*ya*	*pa*	*nar*
3sg	be.R-go-ascend	road	D	descend

'He is coming down from the road'

(The source phrase expresses the direction of movement from the point of subject, while the last verb *no* expresses the direction of movement from the point of speaker)

Wang	*a*	*pikekg*	*kupm*	*la*	*ing*	*-kai*	*anong*	*pa*	*kul*
time	REL	yesterday	1sg	say	stay.IR-go		village	D	come

'The time when I was coming here from the village' (spoken text)

kitn	*wet*	*ang-kai*	*ahi*	*wuli?*
2sg	recently	be.R-go	where	arrive

'Where did you come from?'

Kupm	*Josech,*	*kupm*	*la*	*nik*	*-epm*	*la-la*	*kupm*	*am*	*no*	*ise,*
1sg	Josech	1sg	say	tell.IR-2plO		say-say	1sg	now	come.up	PERF

ang	***-kinar***	***Tau***	*no*	*ise.*
stay.R-go.down		Tau	come.up	PERF

'I Joseech, I will tell you that I already came here, came from Tao' (written text)

The last example, which is from a written text, shows that the reduced form **ang-** is not just a feature of rapid speech. Source phrase is partly idiomatized.

Coming from a direction (without the meaning of staying there first) is expressed without existential verb:

kil	*kinar*	*ya*	*no*
3sg	go-down	road	ascend

'He is coming from the direction of road'

This phrase can also occur as a part of locative phrase.

Wan   *a-kupm*   *ela*   *wreren*   **ang -kinar**   **mission**
'house   G-1sg   be.R   near   stay.R-go.down   mission
'My house is near the mission station, just before it'

The prefix *ang* appears to have become obligatorily bound to several verbs in the language, all of which have an inherent centrifugal orientation. Notice, that the verbs listed below have the component 'from somewhere' in their meaning. Two of these have corresponding forms without ang, while the others do not.

ang-kark	'flee from, be afraid'	(from *kark* 'dislike, afraid')
ang-kli	'to throw away	(from *kli* 'husk')
angken	'pick (from)	?
angket	'cut'(from)	?
angklo	'pluck (from)'	?
angkror	'tear from'	?

5.4.2.   Serial structures and lexicalization

A number of compound verbs in Urim seem to be derived from serial verb constructions.

ari la (see-say)	'judge, decide
arkol aye kul (move-carry-come)	'pull'
arkol aye kai (move-carry-go)	'push'
ak-ikg-la (do-look-say)	'spy'
kai-no (go-ascend)	'go up(river), upwards)

Examples of serial structures lexicalized into adverbials:

kupm   *hokg*   **nar-no**
1sg   sleep   come.down-come.up
'I sleep lengthwise'

tu   *ak*   *nare*   *pa*   *wuli*
3pl   do.R   come.down   D   arrive
'The people living in the down river part of the village arrived'

kil   *ikg*   *kai*   *pa*   *kai*   *pa*
3sg   look   go   D   go   D
'He looked wildly around'

men   *anel*   *kul,* *akor*   *kul*   *akor*   *nar*
1plExc   pick.R   come   search.R   come   search.R   come.down
'We all came, searched from this and that direction'

5.4.3.   Examples of complex serial structures:

In Urim it is possible to have multiple serial verb constructions with different functions juxtaposed. Consider the following examples:

kil	**kintir-kuntur**	**no**	**ang**	**-kai**	ya	**ha**	ti
3sg	rush-rush	ascend	stand.R-go		road	be.R	this

'He is just coming rushing down the road'

(*kintirkuntur no*   - a serial verb construction consisting of onomatopoeiic verb plus a motion verb
angkai ya ha ti -   source phrase)

kuina	tu	**lam-to**	**rmpa**	**kawor**	wan	wusok?
what	3pl	hide.R-1plO	lie.R	go.into	house	small

'What are they hiding from us in the small house?'

(*rmpa* functions as an aspect marker while the motion verb *kawor* expresses a locative semantic role)

manto	**harng**	**kai**	**la**	**nam**	kamel
pig	rush.R	go	say	bite	person

'The pig went rushing intending to bite the man'

mentepm	**no**	**karkuk**	**rpma**	**kainar**	minip	wenting
1pl.Incl	come.up	bath.R	sit.R	go.down	river	junction

'We came upriver and stopped to bath down in the place where the rivers separated'

(*kainar* refers to the location of the bathing place - they had to go down to it)

tu	**anele**	**pisurpusur**	**elng**	**kinar**	hu
3pl	in.group	splash	put	go.down	water

'They all dropped themselves splashing into the water' (intentionally)

(This clause has two verbal aspect markers, *anele* 'one by one' and *elng* 'voluntary', and one onomatopoetic verb functioning as manner adverbial)

5.5. Urim conjunctions

It is difficult to motivate a coordinating versus subordinating distinction for many of the conjunctions. Therefore conjunctions are described here simply on a semantic basis according to the type(s) of relationship they express. As is the case in many languages, some of the most common Urim conjunctions seem to be morphologically composed of deictic forms. These are *pa, ti, pake, pipa* and their combinations   The deictic form *pa* has an especially wide range of conjunctive functions. Some prepositions and time words (like *a, eng, ak, am*) play a role in connecting sentences, as do a few verbs as well (e.g. *la*).

5.5.1. Additive conjunction *(w)a*

The additive conjunction *(w)a* 'and' links clauses and sentences expressing propositions that are only loosely related, where neither a temporal or causal relationship is particularly evident.[i]

Often the clause marked by *wa* adds further information that is similar in nature to that of the first clause ('and also').

Kil	*awi-n-opm*	*hapm*	*ur*	*ak*	*akul*	*num*	*wa*
3sg	get.R-IO-1sO	cloth	ID	use.R	wipe.R	skin	and

kil	*awi-n-opm*	*hapm*	*ur*	*a*	*no-we.*
3sg	get.R-OI-1sO	cloth	ID	G	ascend-TR

'She bought me a towel and she bought me one pair of trousers.'

Kil	*ake*	*wakrongen*	*kopi*	*wa*	*kupm*	*ake*	*wakrongen*	*yat.*
3sg	NEG	like	coffee	and	1sg	NEG	like	also

'She does not like coffee and neither do I'

Kil	*ake*	*ariwe*	*wam-arpme*	*kar,*	*wa*	*kupm*	*ake*	*ariwe*	*yat.*
3sg	NEG	know.R	hand-hold.R	car	and	1sg	NEG	know.R	also

'He does not know how to drive a car and I do not know either'

Compare the preceding two examples to the following one, where a paraphrastic relationship is expressed via simple juxtaposition without *wa*:

Kupm	*atning*	*waiketn,*	*ake*	*kupm*	*atning*	*watipmen*
1sg	hear.R	little	NEG	1sg	hear.R	plenty

'I understand only a little, I do not understand much (language)'

Wa also binds together two clauses expressing successive, loosely connected actions without any causative or other dependent relationship. The following two examples are from a written text where the short form of the conjunction *a* is used:

Atom	*sipsip*	*pa*	*pir-ng*	*kaino*	*a*	*nar*	*am*	*itna*	*pake.*
then	sheep	D	run-TR	go.up	and	descend	now	stay.R	EMP

'Then the sheep ran up and were coming down'

Jim	*pa*	*nar*	*elng*	*kar*	*pa*	*rpma*	*a*	*kil*	*kul*	*hor*	*en*	*pa.*
Jim	D	descend	put	car	D	sit.R	and	3sg	come	enter	outside	D

'Jim came down, parked the car, and he came out.'

Wa can occur sentence initially. In this position it is not always easy to separate it from the unstressed form of *pa* that is often weakened into [wa].

A   men   ari   hunokg ak   wang   a   men   kai hokg kai Madang
and   1pl.Exc see.R   sea   use.R   time REL   1pl.Exc go sleep   go Madang

a   wa   men   ari   nimpen   pa   yat.
and   then   1pl.exc see.R   flying.fox   D   also

'And we saw the sea when we went to sleep at Madang, and we also saw those bats.'

Wa also often occurs together with other conjunctions. Especially common are the combinations *atom wa* 'and then' and *ari wa* 'but then'. In this combination *wa* often has the meaning 'again, also'.

wa   men   kinar   angko   Lae.
and   1pl.Exc descend   fall.R   Lae

Men   kinar   pa   atom   wa   men   yaper   no.
1pl.Exc   descend   there then   and   1pl.Exc   back   come.up

'And we landed to Lae, we landed there and then we started off again'

Manto pa wail atom   wa   kalkut   yat
pig   D   big   then   and   heavy   also
'The pig was big and therefore also heavy'

Kil   la,...   Ari   wa   kupm   la-la;...
3sg   say   but   and   1sg   say-say
'He said,....   But I said, ...'

5.5.2.   Non-serialized clauses conjoined without any overt conjunction

It is quite common in Urim to simply juxtapose coordinated, non-serialized clauses without any overt conjunction. Juxtaposed, non-serialized clauses are distinguished from verb serialization constructions by intonation. Pauses usually occur between coordinated clauses, never in serializations. Often there is rising intonation on the last word of each non-final coordinated clause, especially in lists. In lists, juxtaposition of the conjuncts is the norm:

Tu   kai   nangnang, howen nim, antokg kweikwei   kol-pa,   tu   atopen.
3pl   go   singsing   beat drum do.R   things   like-that 3pl   rejoice.R
'They go to singsings, beat drums, do things like that, they get joy (from those things)'

When a second clause/sentence is a paraphrase of the first, it is typically just juxtaposed.

Tu   okipma kalpis,   tu   wayu   paipm   wris   ur   kolti   rmpa
3pl   food   not   3pl taro   bad   one   D   only   lie.R
'They have no food; [they only have] just a few poor taros'

Juxtaposition is also sometimes used in adversative meaning:

Wet   tu   urai   na-kopm,   <u>ake</u>   kupm atning nang   a-kil-en
N.Past   3pl   some   tell.R-1sgO   NEG   1sg   hear.R   name   G-3sg-ATR
'Somebody just told me (but) I did not hear his name'

5.5.3. Disjunctive / Alternative conjunction *aki* 'or'

The alternative conjunction **aki** 'or' is used to connect both noun phrases and clauses:

Ake   wrik   watipmen itna   kar   ti.   Kitn   aki   kil   ai   kai
NEG   space   plenty   stand.R   car   this   2sg   or   3sg   LOC   go
'There's not much space in this car. Only you or he there can go.'

*Kil amo   **aki**   antokg kolai?   Malaria   awi-yel   **aki?***
3sg die.R   or   do.R   how   malaria   get.R-3sgO   or
'Is she sick, or what is wrong? Did she get malaria, or what?'

*Ampake   men   or-etn   **aki**   akle -wetn, kalpis*
cannot   1plExc.   beat-2sgO   or   scold.R-2sgO no
'We will not beat you, or scold you, no'

In questions the pronoun **aki** gives the hearer two or more alternatives. The speaker either asks which one is the right one or gives a choice of action.

*Wangarke kil   numpet, pikekg-tak-ur-ai   **aki** pikekg-kil   **aki**   weti?*
when   3sg   sick   past-long time-ID-L   or   past-this   or   now
'When did he become sick, a long time ago, or yesterday, or just now?'

*Kitn pa   wa   kul   anong   **aki**   hokg   kai   mpang?*
2sg   D   again   come   village   or   sleep   go   forest
'Will you return to the village, or sleep in the bush?'

*Kupm   asen-teitn   la   kupm   la   wor   **aki**   la   paipm?*
1sg   ask-2sgO   say   1sg   say   good   or   say   bad
'I am asking you, do I speak well or badly?'

*Ampur kitn itna   wanyun pa, kitn   hor **aki** kitn   kawor   hen   ai!*
do.not   2sg   stand.R   door   D   2sg   enter   or   2sg   go.enter   outside   LOC
'Do not stand at the door, come in, or go outside!'

*Kitn uwi   kil   **aki**   kitn   uwi   pa?*
2sg   take.IR   this   or   2sg   take.IR   that
'Do you take this or that one?'

Sometimes an additional occurrence of **aki** at the end of the sentence expresses doubt or hesitation (the speaker is not sure about the right alternative):

Tu	*urai,*	*Yakimping aki,*	*Repulp*	*aki...*
3pl	some	Yakimping or	Repulp	or

'The strangers, from Yakimping, or perhaps from Repulp,...'

Quite often *aki* occurs in questions in the final position either alone or together with *kalpis* 'no'. The combination *aki kalpis* also often expresses accusation or other negative attitude;

Kil	*kai*	*ise*	*aki?*
3sg	go	PERF	or

'Didn't he go?' (hesitating)

Kil	*kai*	*aki*	*kalpis?*
3sg	go	or	not

'Did he go or not?'

Kitn	*atning*	*aki*	*kalpis?*
2sg	listen.R	or	not

'Didn't you listen?' (blaming a child etc.)

Kitn	*kul*	*aki*	*kalpis?*
2sg	come	or	not

'Are you coming or not?' (impatiently)

Questions having irrealis mode and the tag *aki* express polite requests:

Kitn	*ilm*	*wampung*	*aki?*
2sg	shoot.IR	marsupial	or

'Would you shoot the possum?' (gives an option)

Kupm	*la*	*yangkipm*	*aki?*
1sg	say	talk	or

'Is it my turn to speak? - Should I speak?' (hesitant question)

Intiwe	*(mpa)*	*kupm*	*inti-weitn*	*aki?*
may.IR	(FUT)	1sg	with.IR-2sg	or

'May I come with you?' (polite request)

5.5.4. Adversative / Contrastive conjunctions: *ari* and *pake*

Urim has two adversative or contrasting conjunctions: *ari* and *pake*. Their uses seem to overlap at least partly, although there are cases when the native speakers accept only the other one.

ari	expresses a change, sometimes unexpected. contraexpectation
ari kalpis	emphatic contraexpectation

> *pake*   contrastive
>   limitation

Ari - contrast and surprise

Ari is the most common contrastive conjunction. Its function is to mark contrast or contraexpectation. Typically there is an unexpected event or sudden (especially negative) surprise, sometimes just some new turn of story.   Sometimes *ari* just marks the change of actor or speaker in discussion, especially if the speaker answers negatively or otherwise against expectations.

> *Tuwekg   antokg kol-pa   itna   **ari Jim   pa   awi   kar pa   nar***
> 3dual   make.R like-that stay.R but Jim   D   take.R car D   come.down
> 'They two kept doing that (running around) but Jim took car and came down' (contrast)

> *Kil   hokg   akwekgel   rmpa   **ari** hul   rkim   lelng-klelng   kawor.*
> 3sg   sleep   ignorant   lie   but   snake rkim   crawl-crawl   go.in
> 'He was sleeping soundly not knowing that an *rkim* -snake crawled in.' (unexpected)

> *Monto kaino palng kaino ya   anong   ai.   **Ari** Balus   pa   ari*
> 1pauc go.up arrive go.up road   village   remote   but   Balus   D   see.R
> *manto...*
> pig
> 'We three went upwards until we arrived at the road that goes to the village over there. But then Balus saw a pig...' (turn of story)

> *Warim   pa la-la;   'Kupm karken   pa   mla   aser   mi'*
> child   D   say-say   1sg   dislike   C   who   weed.R   grass
> ***ari***   *wa   kupm   la-la: Iser   -o!'*
> but   and 1sg   say-say   weed.IR-IMP
> 'The child said 'I do not want to weed', but I said 'You weed!' (change of speaker)

> ***Ari***   *Jim   la;   'Kalpis, kukwa   wanyun   pa-wo!'*
> but   Jim   say   no   open   door   D-IMP
> 'But Jim said, 'No, open the door!' (change of speaker)

Often the surprise element is strong enough to hinder the intended action:

> *Tu   la   kai   wring,   **ari**   warim   numpet*
> 3pl   say go   garden   but   child   sick
> 'They wanted to go to the garden, but the child is sick'

> *Kupm   la-la   nira   por   ur, **ari** yangul   tangkalak   ise*
> 1sg   say-say write   story   ID   but   pen   dry   PERF
> 'I was planning to write a story, but the pen is dry'

> *Mentekg akor   hul   pa   la   or **ari** hul   pa   am   ngkark kai **ise**.*
> 1dual   seek   snake D   say   hit but   snake D   now afraid.R go   CMP
> 'We searched that snake intending to kill it, but the snake had escaped.'

Sometimes the conjunction *ari* is hard to tell apart from the verb ***ari*** 'see' (possibly developed from this verb?).

Kil	*kai*	*ari*	*wring*	*al-kil*	***ari***	*manto*	*al.*
3sg	go	see.R	garden	G-3sg	but	pig	eat.R

'He went to see his garden but (or: saw that) a pig had eaten (it)'

Kil	*tita*	*hiplepm*	***ari***	***wail***
3sg	stretch	wing	see.R	big

'She stretched the wings (to look) big'

Kupm	*angkat*	***ari***	***kalkut***
1sg	carry	but/see?.R	heavy

'I carried it but it was heavy' or: 'carried and it felt heavy'

Ari seems to more often mark negative rather than positive changes or surprises in the story. This tendency is highlighted in the way it combines with the negator ***kalpis*** to emphasize even more the negative nature of the surprising event. The combination ***ari kalpis*** is commonly used in narrative texts to indicate a turning point of a story.

Tu	*armpen*	*ketn*	*ur,*	*aye*	*no.*	***Ari***	*manto*	*yaprekget*	*ise*
3pl	buy.R	little	ID	carry.R	come.up	but	pig	smelly	PERF

'They bought a little, carried it up home. But the pork was already smelling.'

Ari	***kalpis,***	*Aburata*	*ake*	*kukwa*	*wanyun*	*pa*	*kalpis.*
but	not	Aburata	NEG	open	door	D	not

'But Aburata did not open the door' (although he had been told to do it).

Kil	*almpil*	*almpil*	*warim pa.*	***Ari***	***kalpis!***	*Amo*	*ise.*
3sg	turn.R	turn.R	child D	but	not	die.R	PERF

'She kept turning the child around. But it was to no avail. It was dead.'

'Kitn	*pa*	*ake*	*aser*	*kul?'*	***Ari***	***kalpis,***	*am*	*rpma*	*ketn*	*pa*	*ha*	*pake.*
2sg	D	not	weed.R	come	but	not	now	sit.R	still	D	be.R	there:EMP

'You are not coming on with the weeding?' But no, she was just sitting still in one spot there'

Pake - contraexpectation and comparison

A second, less common contrastive conjunction is ***pake.***

Kil	*alm....*	***Pake***	*manto*	*pa*	*ake*	*amo*	*kalpis,*
3sg	shoot.R	but	pig	D	NEG	die.R	not

atom	*wa*	*Akalpm*	*alm*	*ak*	*yikal-ik*	*pa*	***atom***	*kil*	*kai*	*amo.*
then	and	Akalpm	shoot.R	use.R	bow-arrow	D	then	3sg	go	die.R'

'He shot it....But the pig did not die, and then Akalpm shot with a bow and arrow and then it went and died.'

*Kil   al   tukuk   **pake ake   kil   amo***.
3sg   ate.R poison   but   NEG   3sg   die.R
'He ate poison but did not die'

*Kupm   la   ingket   kop   **pake   kop   hu   paipm***.
1sg   say cut.IR   river   but   river   water   bad
'I wanted to cross the river but the river was badly flooded'

*Kil   la   ik   kwap   **pake   wakg   kalpis***
3sg   say   do.IR   work   but   fire   not
'He wanted to work but there was no light'

*Kil lala   mpa kil   ingkliin-topm **pake ake   kil   angkliin-topm, kalpis***
3sg   say-say   FUT 3sg help.IR-1sgO but   NEG   3sg   help.R -1sgO   not
'He promised to help me, but did not.'

The conjunctions *ari* and *pake* often seem to overlap in their meanings.

*Wreren   eng   kil   a   imo   **pake/ari   dokta   awi   -yel   sut***
near   OBL   3sg   INT   die.IR   but   doctor   give.R-3sgO   injection
'He almost died but the doctor gave him an injection'

*Kupm   la   kurkuk   **ari   am   mining   ti-ke***
1sg   say   bathe.IR   but   now   dark   this-CMP
'I wanted to bathe but it's already dark outside'

*Tu   la   irmpen   kar   **pake** marpm   wail*
3pl   say buy.IR   car   but   money   big
'They wanted to buy a car but it is too expensive.'

Ari seems to be used more often when the clause expresses some new incident that hinders the plan, while *pake* is used more often when the hindering element already exists or is known (like the price of a car). This is just a tendency, not a rule. The uses of these conjunctions seem to overlap at least partly.

This far it seems that only *pake* occurs in following cases:

1) When the two clauses express contrastive comparison, either in quantity or in quality or on positive-negative.

*Kupm ari   anong   wrongkwail **pake   ake   kupm   ari   Lae   pa.***
1sg   see.R village   many   but   not   1sg   see.R Lae   D

'I have seen lots of places, but I have not seen Lae'

Kupm	*wakrongen*	*okipma*	*wrongkwail,*	*pake*	*kupm*	*ake*	*wakrongen*
1sg	like	food	many	but	1sg	not	like

laning	*pa.*
peanut	D

'I like many kinds of food but peanuts I do not like'

Tu	*wrongkwail*	*am*	*amo*	*ise,*	*pake*	*wris*	*ata*	*rpma*
3pl	many	no	die.R	PERF	but	one	only	sit/live.R

'All have died, one only is left'

Yawor	*ti*	*marpm*	*ak*	*wail,*	*pake*	*yul*	*pa*	*marpm*	*ak*	*wusok.*
meat	this	money	do.R	big	but	fish	D	money	do.R	small

'This meat is very expensive, but the fish is cheap'

Jon	*kil*	*wail,*	*pake*	*Bil*	*kil*	*angen*	*tel*
Jon	3sg	big	but	Bil	3sg	win	3sgO

'John is big but Bill is bigger than he'

Kil	*ake*	*ak*	*kwap*	*al-kil*	*atatu,*	*pake*	*kil*	*ak*	*ari-wor*	*wor.*
3sg	NEG	do.R	work	G-3sg	quickly	but	3sg	do.R	see-good	good

'She does not work quickly, but she does good work'

2) **Pake** is sometimes also used in clauses expressing alternatives or conditions:

Pisket	*kalpis*	*pake*	*uwi*	*pret*	*ur*	*pa*
biscuit	not	but	take.IR	bread	ID	D

'There are no biscuits but take a piece of bread'

Kar	*pa*	*mpa*	*iye*	*-weitn*	*kai*	*anong,*
car	D	FUT	take.IR-2sgO		go	village

pake	*kitn*	*la*	*niki*	*draiva*	*pa*	*pen.*
but	2sg	say	tell.IR	driver	D	first

'This car will take you to the village, but you must tell the driver first'

3)   The word *pake* also functions an emphatic particle having scope over either the whole sentence or particular noun phrases. In the available corpus of texts, the emphatic particle function of **pake** is much more common than its conjunctive function. Emphatic **pake** is especially common in narrative texts and conversations, while the conjunction p*ake* is comparatively rare in narrative text. When **pake** has scope over the whole sentence, it usually occurs last in the sentence, and therefore is not easily confused with the conjunction **pake**.

Minelam	*pake*	*mentepm*	*la-la*	*trakta*
Minelam	but/EMP?	1pl.Incl.	say-say	director

'But Minelam we called director' (or: <u>Minelam</u> we called a director/It was Minelam we called director)

*Hikg   pa   kupm   itnuhurng-ten   **pake**.*
tomorrow   D   1sg   leave.IR -3plO   EMP
'It is tomorrow that I will leave them'

*Kwap   a   kiin   **pake**.*
work   G   woman   EMP
'It's women's work, that!'

5.5.5.   Temporal connectives

In Urim temporally related clauses can be simply juxtaposed without any intervening conjunctions. The conjunctions *wa* 'and' and the causative *pa*, can mark also time relationships in addition to their other functions. These are described elsewhere (see. 7.5.1 and 7.5.6). The conjunction *atom* 'then' is more specialized to show temporal relationships between clauses. It seems that *atom* is used whenever there is temporal sequence with a relatively greater amount of discontinuity, due to a change in speaker, or the end of a sequence of closely related, normally co-occurring events, whereas juxtapposition and *wa* would indicate the juxtapposition of events which more commonly co-occur.   Also certain temporal adverbs, especially *am* 'now', function as temporal connectives between clauses.

The temporal conjunction *atom* 'then'

The conjunction *atom* indicates temporal sequence, basically expressing that the second action occurs relatively soon after the first action. It is especially common in narrative type of texts. In those types of texts it can also mark the change of speakers in conversations (here its use overlaps with the use of *ari*, see 5.5.3.): In spite of its frequency, *atom* is not the most frequently used connective between clauses denoting subsequent happenings and actions in texts.   More common are clause-chains without any markers, and conjunctions *wa* 'and' and *pa* ' then'. In spoken texts also the time word *am* 'now' and tail-head linkage are quite commonly used in this function (see 5.7).

In narrative texts *atom* seems to occur most often when there is a change of actor or speaker or some other kind of change of topic. There are some stories where *atom* occurs in almost every second clause but these kinds of stories are apparently not of the best style in Urim. The best storytellers use *atom* more sparsely.

It looks like *atom* is used whenever there is temporal sequece with a relatively greater amount of discontinuity. The continuity can be due to a change in speaker, or the end of a sequence of closely related, normally co-occurring events, whereas juxtaposition and *wa* 'and' would indicate the juxtaposition of events which more commonly co-occur.

*Jim   pa nar.....   **Atom** kil   asen -ten:... **Atom** Bayuna   pa   la*
Jim   D   come.down then   3sg   ask.R-3plO   then   Bayuna   D   say
'Jim came down.... Then he asked them;.....Then Bayuna said:...'

Men	*kinar*	*Kainantu*	*pa,*	***atom***	*ale*	*-wo*	*kai*	*maket*
1plExc	go.down	Kainantu	D	then	put.R-1plO		go	market

'We went down to Kainantu and then he let us off at the market'

Atom	*tunteng*	*rpma,*	*kil*	*la*	*naki*	*tuwekg*	*pa*	*lala:...*
then	3pauc	stay.R	3sg	say	tell.R	2dual	D	say

'Then they stayed and she said to them... '

Tu	*la*	*nak*	*-el*	*la-la*	*'Man*	*al-kitn*	*am*	*amo ise*	***Atom***	*kil hakg...*
3pl	say	tell.R-3sgO		say-say	mother	G-2sg	now	die.R PERF	then	3sgcry

'They told to her 'Your mother has died'. Then she cried..'

Wrongkatnur	*a*	*Balus*	*ekg*	*pa kaino,*	***atom***	*Balus*	*kaino*	*ya*	*no...*
Wrongkatnur	and	Balus	two	D go.up	then	Balus	go.up	road	ascend

'Wrongkatnur and Balus went together, then Balus took the road going upwards'

Atom often marks beginning of a new paragraph. Occasionally it is used in the beginning of a story after introduction:

Man	*warim*	*wekg*	*pa*	***atom***,	*man*	*pa*	*ukwa*	*warim*	*pa*	*la...*
mother	child	two	D	then	mother	D	send.R	child	D	say

'There was a mother and child. The mother send the child to an errand saying,...
(beginning of a story)

(The occurrence of ***atom*** before pause makes it more emphatic. In this position it is also pronounced with strong and rising intonation)

The conjunction ***atom*** quite often occurs together with the conjunction *pa* when there is conditional and causative meaning connected with the time sequence:

Men	*kinar*	***pa***	***atom***	***wa***	*yaper*	*no.*
1pl.ex	go.down	D	then	and	back	come.up

'we went down and then came back up'

Kipm	*ntin*	*nepm*	*kilko*	*alkipm*	***pa***	***atom***	***kipm***	*ire.*
2pl	measure:IR	leg	knee	2plPoss	D	then	2pl	cut:IR

'Measure the height of your knee and cut the trees from that point'

In its function of marking a change of actor or some other kind of discontinuity in the story, ***atom*** often occurs together with the neutral coordinative conjunction *wa* 'and':

Atom	***wa***	*Dik*	*la...*
then	and	Dik	say

'But Dik said' - And then Dik said...(a joke follows)

Kil	*amo*	***atom***	***wa***	*tu*	*huwen*	*melnum*	*pa.*
3sg	die.R	then	and	3pl	bury	man	D

'he died. And then they buried that man. (end of story)'

In certain types of conjoined events ***atom*** is usually <u>not</u> used:

- If the actions form an habitual sequence of actions. Compare the following examples

> *Kwei   men   ntam   **pa**   al*
> yam sp   1pl.Exc cook   C   eat.R
> 'The yams, we cooked and ate' (normal action)

> *Kil   alkil   antokg,   **atom**   kil   alkil   al.*
> 3sg   herself make.R   then   she   herself   eat.R
> 'She herself made [the food] and then she herself ate it alone' (unusual action)

- When the clauses just tell about moving from one place to another or some other sequence of actions in which there are no pronounced breaks:

> *Mentekg   kai   ak   nove   tipmining **pa**, angket   tipmining **pa**,*
> 1 dual   go   do.R climb mountain D   cut.R   mountain D
>
> *kol-pa   kai   kinar   nampek ai,   kul   no   mentekg   angko   rpma.*
> like-that go   go.down grass   DIR come ascend 1 dual   fall.R   stay.R
>
> 'We flew up a mountain, crossed it and went down towards an open field of grass, came and landed'

We have seen above that ***atom*** has a double function: 1) it conjoins clauses relating successive events, and 2) it indicates some sort of discontinuity in the story—change of actor, change of direction of movement, change of topic etc.

> *Men   antokg kol-pa   rpma ha,   nungkurikg. **Atom**   Orwompel   naki...*
> 1plExc do   like-that sit   stay   afternoon   then   Orwompel   tell
> 'We did this until it was afternoon. Then Orwompel told us...'

> *Kipm   ntin   nepm kilko alkipm **pa atom   kipm   ire**.*
> 2pl   measure:IR   leg   knee 2plPoss D   then   2pl   cut:IR
> 'Measure the height of your knee and cut the trees from that point'

In addition *atom* can sometimes also denote causative relationships between subsequent actions. In this function it can be glossed 'so, therefore':

> *Manto pa wail   **atom wa   kalkut   yat**.*
> pit   D   big   then   and   heavy   too
> 'The pig was big and so it was heavy too'

> *Mikgen   irkgin   wakg, wropuk,   mayen   **atom**   wropuk-et*
> Mikgen   crouch   fire   cold   old.woman   then   cold   -ATR
> 'Mikgen sits at the fire, she is cold, she is old, therefore cold.'

Kupm maminikg eng elng kaino elng kinar, **atom** *kupm asen la, ...*
1sg   afraid   OBL put go.up put go.down so/then 1sg   ask.R say
'I was afraid when the plane went up and down, and therefore I asked her, ...'

Kupm palng wor kai wam akilen. **Atom** *kupm alk-el manto uraur*
1sg   become well go hand 3sgPoss so/then 1sg   give.R-3sO pig   three
'I became well in his care. Therefore I gave to him three pigs..'

Waipmunu pa ak-ampri ya a kirmpa hore pa, **atom** *men*
clouds   D do.R-block.R road REL plane enter D   so/then 1pl.Excl
plelng yaper kinar angko Madang.
turn   back   go.down fall.R   Madang
'The clouds blocked the way of plane so we had to return to Madang and land there.'

Kil awi malaria **atom** *kil hokg rmpa wrik*
3sg get.R malaria so/then   3sg   sleep lay.R bed
'She got malaria and is therefore sleeping in bed'

Wet kipman pa ari, **atom** *am kalpis ise*
N.past man   D see.R then now not   PERF
'The man had seen it, therefore the magic did not work anymore'

Atom *ak pa am-ti pa mentepm al manto.*
then do.R D now-this D   1pl.Inc. eat.R pig
'And therefore we are nowadays eating pigs' (explanation, refers to the whole previous story)

Wuten mla kukwa wanyun pa **atom** *sipsip pa hor en pa?'*
recently who open door D then sheep D enter outside D
'Who opened the door so that the sheep came out?' (written story)

The use of *atom* overlapping with other conjunctions.

The use of the conjunction ***atom*** partly overlaps that of ***pa***. Both can have temporal or causative interpretations. The conjunction ***pa*** is more often used to express causal relations, however, while ***atom*** is more favored for temporal ones. Another difference is that ***atom*** usually expresses some sort of discontinuity.

Atom also overlaps with ***ari*** (change of speakers in conversations). The difference is that ***ari*** emphasizes the element of surprise or contrast.

Temporal adverbs as connectives

Urim language has several temporal adverbs (***am, wet, weti, wuten, ikga, katnukg, mpa***) which are used to mark the time when situations occur. These typically occur without an associated conjunction and indicate temporal discontinuity; i.e. a switch to a different temporal setting.

*Ake   kitn   al   pa   **mpa   kupm   or-eitn***
NEG   2sg   eat.R   D   FUT   1sg   beat-2sgO
'If you do not eat this I will beat you'

*Ingkut   mehen-mehen,   **mpa   masin   aln-tu   tapor***
sew.IR   easy -easy   FUT   machine   G -2pl   break.R
'Sew carefully, lest their machine will break'

*Itni   kolti   **ikga**   kitn   uwi   ariwe*
stand.IR   only   later   2sg   get.IR   knowledge
'Just wait, you will learn it later'

The temporal adverb ***am*** 'now' functions more like a conjunction. This word is one of the commonest words in Urim spoken texts (750 occurrences in a corpus of 37 texts). Its basic meaning is 'now', but if present time is really in focus, then usually other expressions are used instead (like ***ak wang ti, am ti***). ***Am*** seems to be especially common in discussions and other spoken texts and less common in written texts. In spoken discussions it seems to replace the conjunction ***pa*** emphasizing the actions suddenness or immediateness, or referring to present time.

In following examples ***am*** between clauses indicates that the second action follows immediately after the first meaning something like 'and right away'.

*Kil   am   kai-hor   kul-hor   kai   **am**   kwalkwal   kai   ak   ilka,*
3sg   now   go-enter   come-enter   go   now   wail   go   do.R   rush down

ak   ilka,   kai-nar...   hu   Mayenkilko   tike,   ari   ake   antiwe.
do.R   rush down   go-descend   water   Mayenkilko   this.EMP   but   not   enough.R

'She went in and came out and wailing rushed and rushed down the slope, went down ... to the pond of Mayenkilko, but it was not (deep) enough''

*Walkipman   al-kil   pa   atning   kol-pa,   **am**   kaino...*
grandson   G-3sg   D   hear.R   like-that   now   go.up...
'The grandson heard this and went (to do it)'

Am   *pirng   kai   anong   ise.*
now   run   go   village   PERF
 'And quickly run to the village'

Ak   kong   miningket   paipm   ai   tuwekg   akwe   nimpa   aln-tuwekg   pa
use.R   morning   dark   bad   DIR   3dual   call   dog   G -3dual   D

am   *tuwekg   kai.   **Atom**   tuwekg   kainar....*
now   3dual   go   then   3dual   go down

'Very early in the morning, when it still was dark, the two of them called their dogs and left straight away. Then they descended...'

When *am* occurs in a clause having the perfect aspect adverb *ise*, it can refer to something that happened earlier but is still valid at the time of utterance. For example the state or action is still continuing at the time of utterance (see also the first example above). *Am* often occurs in clauses giving added background information to a story (second example below):

Mentekg	*akor*	*akor*	*hining,*	***am***	*kai*	*ise*
1dual	search.R	search.R	in.vain	now	go	PERF

'We searched and searched in vain, it had (already) left.'

Man-yan	*a-tu-wen*	***am***	*amo*	*ise*
mother-father	G-3pl-ATR	now	die.R	PERF

'Their parents had died' (were dead at the time of the happenings told in the story)

The combination ***am ... pake*** is used also in modal meaning to add emphatic certainty to the proposition:

Kol	*pikekg*	*kil*	*wuli*	*pipa, kil*	*kol*	***am***	*kupm*	*ikle-wel*	***pake***
HYP	past	3sg	arrive	C	3sg HYP	now	1sg	scold.IR-3sgO	EMP

'If it had happened that he would have arrived yesterday, I <u>certainly</u> would have scolded him'

In the same way as ***pa***, ***am*** is also used to add vividness at important points in oral narratives. In such instances, it is often repeated two or more times in the same clause or sentence.

Mentekg	*kawor*	*ariri*	*kalpis,*	***am***	*wet*	*warim*	*awi*	***am***	*ale*
1dual	go.in	look.R	no	now	recently	child	take.R	now	put.R
ti	***am***	*kai*	*no*	*kitnong*	*ise*				
C	now	go	come.up	sky	PERF				

'We went to search but it was not there, the children had taken it (the moon) and let it go so that it went up to the sky'

A'a,	***am***	*yikak*	***am***	*no*	*tike!*
aha	now	foot	now	come.up	here.EMP

'Aha, the footprints are coming to this direction!

Man	*pa*	***am***	*almpil*	***am***	*hakg*	*ari*	*kalpmen*
mother	D	now	turn.R	now	cry	but	not-ATR

the mother turned her around and cried but in vain

In spite of its connective functions, ***am*** is primarily a temporal adverb.   As a connective it adds a sense of immediateness and urgency to the action. As a replacement for ***pa***, it mainly occurs in

spoken texts.   In written texts connective instances of **am** are much less common. since it can be often left out without big changes in meaning.   Still, it can occur in written texts.

5.5.6.   Causative conjunctions *pa*, *ti,* and combinations

Introduction

In Urim both the near demonstrative pronoun **ti** 'this, here' and the far demonstrative pronoun **pa** 'that, there' can serve as conjunctions.   In addition to functioning as a demonstrative modifier in the noun phrase, a locative adverb, and a topic marker, it also serves as a conjunction. The conjunction **pa** is by far the most frequent of all Urim conjunctions, and occurs in a wide range of constructions from coordinative to conditional.   These demonstratives also occur as components in the following compound conjunctions: conditional ***pipa*** 'if' (***pa+pa*** - reduplicated form of ***pa)***, adversative ***pake*** (***pa***+ completed aspect marker ***ise***), which was illustrated earlier in Section 5.5.4.2 and in combinations ***pa ti*** and ***ti pa***.

It is a very common phenomenon in languages that deictic pronouns or words derived from deictic pronouns also function as conjunctions.   It is especially common to have causative conjunctions formed out of demonstratives, since they point to textual material as the explanation, reason, or basis for what is said.

The conjunction *pa*

The different functions of *pa*

The word **pa** is the commonest word in Urim. In a corpus of 35 texts containing over 28,000 words **pa** occurs about 355 times. This corpus contains mostly spoken texts but also some written ones. **Pa** is somewhat less common in written texts. In some clauses the word **pa** occurs 4 times. This is possible because of the many functions of this morpheme. The basic meaning of **pa** is far deictic—'there'. When it functions as a modifier within a noun phrase, **pa** usually marks givenness / psychological accessibility of a referent to the hearer, but it can also function as a topic marker following various sorts of topicalized or left-dislocated constituents indicating a new temporal setting, a new or changed topic, or focus. As a phrasal head, **pa** can have following functions: deictic pronoun 'that', locative adverb 'there', emphatic particle, and conjunction.

In speech **pa** has certain phonetic features that help distinguish its various functions. As a conjunction, **pa** is either preceded or followed by a pause. Native speakers are often unsure about where to write the comma in written language. But in spoken language the differences of function associated with pre- or post-pausal occurrence of **pa** are clearer. It is generally the case in the language that whenever a conjunction occurs before a pause, it is pronounced with a distinctive rising intonation and often its final vowel is also lengthened. This is true for **pa** as well.

- When **pa** occurs after a pause, it usually functions as a coordinating conjunction linking clauses encoding two successive event. Sometimes **pa** is also used when there is some sort of weak causation involved; for example the previous event must occur before the following one can happen (time sequence, local connection etc.). The conjunction **pa** that occurs after a pause is usually unstressed, but can be stressed in order to emphasize the temporal or causal relationship between the conjoined clauses. When **pa** is unstressed, it is difficult to distinguish it from the coordinative conjunction **a**, since both can be pronounced and written as **wa**. Still, the fact that these both can occur next to each other in the same clause shows that they are separate words (as in the following example).

A	*men*	*ari*	*hunokg*	*ak*	*wang*	*a*	*men*	*kai*	*hokg*	*kai*	*Madang,*
and	1pl.Exc	see.R	sea		use.R	time	G	1pl.Exc	go	sleep	go	Madang

a	*wa*	*men*	*ari*	*nimpen*	*pa*	*yat*
and	then	1pl.Exc	see.R	bat	D	also

'And we saw sea at the time when we went to sleep at Madang, and then we saw also those bats'

- **Pa** occurs before a pause following causal adverbial clauses or the protases of conditions, but it can also express temporality, when the speaker wants to emphasize what follows, like in the example below where something unexpected happens:

Kil	*amo*	*plalng*	***pa,***	*kil*	*wa*	*yaper*	*kul*	***wa***	*rpma*
3sg	die.R	finish	C	3sg	D	return	come	again	sit.R

'She died, then she returned back to life'

- Phonetically a conjunction occurring before a pause is quite distinct: it is pronounced with rising intonation and the final syllable (usually the final vowel but also for example the final nasal in the word **atom**) is lengthened. This intonation helps to separate it from an anaphoric **pa** attached to an NP, which often occurs in the same position in the clause.
- When the phonetic features of the various occurrences of **pa** in one oral text were instrumentally analysed[27], the vowel in the conjunctive occurrences of **pa** (both stressed and unstressed) was on the average approximately twice as long as the vowel in the anaphoric occurrences of **pa**.. This difference in length helps to distinguish the different uses of this morpheme. In written Urim the above-mentioned phonetic distinctions are not marked, except for the pause. Many writers tend to write all three—the deictic **pa**, the coordinative conjunction **wa,** and the causative conjunction **pa**—the same way when they are unstressed: **wa** . Other writers, however, distinguish them.

---

[27] This was done at the Phonetic Department of Turku University 1984.

About the coordinative-temporal uses of *pa*.

In stories the conjunction *pa* is used in much the same way as the conjunction *atom* to mark time sequence and weak causality (see Section 7.5.5.1). Some writers seem to prefer the conjunction *pa*, while others prefer the conjunction *atom* in exactly the same contexts. *Atom* seems to generally be more common in narrative texts, and spoken texts tend to have more occurrences of the conjunctive *pa* than written texts.

When *pa* exhibits this function, it is usually, but not necessarily, preceded by pause in oral texts.

In the following examples *pa* marks only time-sequence or possibly weak causation (for example, one had to land to Madang first in order to sleep, but sleep does not necessarily follow). In the following examples, commas are used to indicate where the pauses occur.

Kil	*amo*	*plalng*	*pa,*	*kil*	*wa*	*yaper*	*kul*	*wa*	*rpma*
3sg	diev	finish	C	3sg	D	return	come	again	sit

'She died and then, she returned back to life'

Atom	*men*	*plelng*	*yaper-kinar*	*angko*	*Madang*	*pa,*	*hokg*	*mining*	*wris*
then	1pl.Exc	turn	back-go.down	fall.R	Madang	C	sleep	night	one

'So we turned back, landed to Madang and slept there one night'

Wrongkatnur	*kai*	*no*	*ya,*	*pa*	*kaino*	*erpun*	*yo*	*klung*	*pa,*
Wrongkatnur	go	ascend	road	D	go.up	creep.R	tree	stump	D
pa	*ari*	*kalpis,*	*manto*	*kai*	*ise.*				
C	but	not	pig	go	PERF				

'Wrongkatnur went up the road, crept up to the tree stump, but the pig had gone'

The use of coordinative *pa* between clauses is often optional; it can be left out without any change in meaning:

Kil	*kaki*	*kwei*	*(pa)*	*rampukg*
3sg	peel.R	yams	C	dry.R

'She peeled and dried the yams' (there is very little difference in intonation between these two possibilities, except possibly a very short pause before *pa*)

In the following example *pa* is more emphatically temporal and can be glossed 'when- then' in English. (The example is from written text with no comma before or after *pa*) In this example *pa* clearly functions as a subordinating conjunction:

Tu	*mansan*	*pa*	*imo*	*pa*	*ikga*	*kitn*	*uwi*	*iriwe*	*kai ahi?*
3pl	parents	D	die.IR	C	later	2sg	get:IR	knowledge.IR	go where

'When the parents die, then where will you get the knowledge from?'
.

In some cases *pa* occurring after pause could be interpreted as either temporal or causative (marking result or conclusion).

Tu tiur a rpma wan wor, antiwe kweikwei marpm a wrikya
3pl some G sit.R house good enough.R things money and belongings

pa tu atopen
C 3pl rejoice.R

'Some live in good houses and have enough money and things, therefore they are happy' (written example)

*Il okipma watipmen, **pa** nikg-wor, **pa** rpmi wrisen*
eat.IR food plenty D stomach-good D sit.IR indeed
'Eat lots of food, then you will stay satisfied a long time'

Pa can also have emphatic uses. When the speaker wants to highlight some parts of story, ***pa*** is repeated several times in the same sentence seemingly 'unnecessarily'. In the first example below repeated use of *pa* seems to emphasize the certainty of promise. Second example is an important turning point of the story. Last example is from a sermon. Repeated *pa* is also often used to emphasize the 'teaching' point of a traditional story.

*Antiwe kupm itni waikenketn aki? **Pa** nungkurikg **pa** kupm kai*
may.R 1sg stand.IR a little or D afternoon D 1sg go.
'May I sit a while? I will surely go by night.'

*Kil atning **pa**, kil awi wuri alkil **pa**,*
3sg hear.R D 3sg take.R spear 3sgG D
*awi krim al-kil**pa**, puntu nol*
take.R shell money G-3sg D hand drum shell trumpet.

'When he heard this, he took his spear, his shell money, drum, and shell trumpet.'

*Mentepm **pa** ikwonilmpen **pa** kweikwei **pa**...*
1pl.Inc D think.IR D things D
'We must carefully consider this...'

About the uses of *pa* occurring before pause

Most Urim conjunctions can occur in two phonological positions, either before a pause intervening between two clauses or after it. When a conjunction occurs before the pause, it is always pronounced with a distinctive rising intonation, and often its final vowel, or syllable (also the final nasal can be lengthened!) is lengthened as well. The placing of a conjunction before pause does not basically change its meaning, but makes it more emphatic, for example expressing surprise. Quite often prepausal *pa* is subordinating, with the potential for being interpreted as 'when', 'because', or 'if'. In Urim *pa* conjunction occurring before a pause can have a causative, conditional, or temporal

interpretation. Possibly there is no clear-cut difference between causatives and conditionals in Urim, as far as the use of *pa* goes. When the speaker wants to express that the reason etc. is uncertain or hypothetical, he adds irrealis mood and/or the particle *kol* to the clause.

Conditional clauses are clauses whose semantic role is the expression of hypotheses or conditions (Crystal 1980). There are some similarities between topics and conditionals. In many languages both may be marked by similar morphemes. This is also true in Urim - one of the main functions of *pa* is to mark topicalized constituents.

The conjunction *pipa* is more common in conditional constructions than *pa*, especially in written texts (see section 5. 5. 6. 4).

Examples:

Also a presuppositional *pa* occurring before the pause can be used purely in the meaning 'when' or 'then' - without any kind of clear causativity, like in the following examples:

*Wang a tu alm pa kai wreren **pa**, tu numprampen kweikwei pa.*
time G 3pl shoot.R D go near C 3pl prepare.R food D
'When the time to kill it came near, they prepared the food' (temporal 'when')

*Kil elng kul nar **pa**, kupm perng talpuk*
3sg put come come down C 1sg shoot spear
When it started to come down, then I threw the spear.' (at that moment)

Kil amo plalng pa, kil wa yaper kul wa rpma
3sg die finish C 3sg D return come again sit
'She died and then, she returned back to life' (surprice)

The following examples are from a written procedural text about how to operate a computer. Note the use of irrealis mode, which is typical in such texts:

*Atom uwi wulom a kongket atom tawong-ket **pa**, atom kitn*
then take.IR tail G black then hole-ATR D then 2sg

*lang kawor waya ur a tawong pa kulor itna **pa**, **pa***
put through go in wire ID be hole D come out stand.R C C

*ampake, am kitn lang elng or **pa** kawor itni pake.*
enough now 2sg put through put enter C go in stand.IR D.EMP

*Plalng pipa, rku kweiur kongket ur a kulor nang-en itna **pa**,*
finish C push.IR thing black ID G come out ridge-ATR stand.R C

*mpa-m kitn rku **pake**, **pa** kil "on".*
FUT-now 2sg push.IR EMP C 3sg 'on'

'Then take the end of that black (cord), then the one with hole, then you push it into the hole where a wire is sticking out from, that's it, it is that where you plug it in now. After that, push the black thing that is uphill (elevated) push that now, so then it will be 'on'.'

When *pa* occurs before a pause following a clause with irrealis mode, the combination typically functions as a conditional protasis:

Hu	wei	**pa,**	mentepm	rki	wan
water	rain.IR	C	1pl.Inc	stay.IR	house

'If it rains, we will stay at home.'

Kil	wuli	**pa**,	mpa	kupm	ikle!
3sg	arrive	C	FUT	1sg	scold.IR

'If he comes, I will scold him!'

Ake	kitn	al	**pa,**	mpa	kupm	or-eitn
NEG	2sg	eat.R	C	FUT	1sg	beat-2sgO

'If you do not eat, I will beat you'

Compare the preceding examples with the following ones:

Kitn	ik	kwap	**pa,**	**mpa**	kitn	uwi	marpm
2sg	do.IR	work	if	FUT	2sg	get.IR	money

'If you work, you'll get money' (irrealis in the conditional clause plus *pa* marking condition)

Ake	kitn	ak	kwap,	**pa**	ake	antiwe	mpa	kupm	ilk-etn	marpm
NEG	2sg	do.R	work	C	NEG	enough.R	FUT	1sg	give.IR-2sgO	money

'You did not work, therefore I cannot give you money' (realis modus in the reason clause,
(*pa* referring to the reason, glossed 'therefore')

Kitn	pikekg	ak	kwap,	**atom**	kupm	alk-etn	marpm
2sg	before	do.R	work	then	1sg	give.R-2sgO	money

'You worked yesterday, so then I gave you money' (*atom* used causatively)

Kupm	alk-etn	marpm	**eng**	pikekg	kitn	ak	kwap
1sg	give-2sgO	money	OBL	before	2sg	do	work

'I gave you money because you worked yesterday (reason)'

A conditional *pa* occurring before pause can be followed with another *pa* occurring at the beginning of the next clause; the double use is possibly emphatic:

Tu	la	intokg	okipma	il	**pa, pa**	ilm	manto
3pl	say	make.IR	food	eat.IR	C C	shoot.IR	pig

'When they intend to make a feast, they will shoot a pig'

Kol	*kirmpa*	*pa*	*kai*	*il*	*itni*	*tipmining*	*pa,*	*pa*	*antiwe*
HYP	airplane	D	go	eat.IR	stand.IR	mountain	C	C	enough.R

'It could have easily happened, that that airplane had touched the mountain (so close we were flying)'

Tu	*katin*	*manto*	*pa,*	*pa*	*kiin*	*ampake*	*kai*	*wreren*
3sg	encircle.R	pig	C	C	woman	may not	go	near

'When they are encircling a pig, women are not allowed to go near.'

Near demonstrative *ti* as conjunction indicating a response to something which is happening/being said or has just happened/been said

Ti is basically a demonstrative indicating proximity: 'this', 'here'. As a conjunction, it is used to link clauses exhibiting a causal relationship. Often *ti* preserves it's meaning of proximity when used as conjunction, indicating that something which has just happened is the reason for something else happening.

The conjunction *ti* tends to occur instead of *pa* in spoken conversations and direct quotations when clauses exhibit a reason-result relationship..It does not have the other functions that the conjunction *pa* has. So it is not used to mark temporal relationships, neutral/logical coordination, or conditions.

Hu	*awei*	*wail,*	*ti*	*men*	*irka*	*wan*
water	rain.R	big	C	1pl.Exc	stay.R	house

'Because there is a big rain [right now???], we are staying at home' (reason - result. Could be a response to a question)

Compare :

Kol	*hu*	*wei*	*pa,*	*mentepm*	*irki*	*wan*
if	water	rain.IR	C	1pl.Inc	stay.IR	house

'If there is rain, we will stay at home' (conditional reason - irrealis result)

Men	*irka*	*wan*	*eng*	*hu*	*awei*	*wail*
1pl.Exc	stay.R	house	OBL	water	rain.R	big

'We are staying at home because of the big rain' (fact-reason)

Usually the result clauses marked by *ti* refer to something that has actually happened or is considered to be a fact. Consequently the verb in the result clause is usually has realis mode. All the following examples are from conversations, expressing reactions to present situations or explanations/answers in response to questions. The conjunction *ti* refers to something that has just been said or has just happened, or to a present condition:

Kitn	*al*	*kweikwei*	*paipm,*	*ti*	*ipmanikg*	*kitn*	*uleket*
2sg	eat.R	things	bad	C	stomach	2sg	painful

'You have eaten something bad, that is why your stomach is hurting'

*Tu   la-wopm   kai anong a-kupm-en,   **ti**   kupm   antikg   mahing*
3pl   talk-1sgO go village G-1sg -ATR this 1sg   sneeze   big
'They are talking about me in my village, therefore I sneezed'

*Kupm   akwekgel **ti**   kupm   la   kol-pake*
1sg   ignorant C   1sg   say   like-that
'I did not know, that's why I said that' (the speaker refers to something he just said)

*Kupm   a   hokg **ti**   nikgwalpm   woniketen   kweikwei*
1sg   INT   sleep C   stomach   forget   things
'I am sleepy and keep forgetting things' (speaker explains why he just forgot something)

*Kupm   ake   ak   kwap ur,   **ti**   tu   akle -wopm*
1sg   NEG   do.R work ID   C   3pl   scold.R-1sgO
'I did not work and so they rebuked me' (an elicited example)

*Kalpis   kai   ahi?   **Ti**   kipm   rka   al   al   kuina?*
NEG   go   where   C   2pl   stay.R   eat.R   eat.R   what
'How is it,is it finished? If so, what are you eating then?'

*Pa   tep   pa   awi,   **ti**   kupm   la   pen*
C   tape recorder D   take.R   C   1sg   say   again
'While the tape recorder is on, I will continue talking first.' (to children who are disturbing)

The conjunction **ti** only rarely marks a result that has not happened or is uncertain:

*Weti   hu   awei   wail, **ti** **hikgkil**   **ikga**   **ake**   **hu**   **wei***
now   water   rain.R   big   C   tomorrow   lager   NEG   water   rain.IR
'It is raining a lot today, so perhaps there will be no rain tomorrow.'`

Kupm   akor   yul ari kalpis, ti mpa kupm ik   wanukg ile.
1sg   search.R fish but not   C   FUT 1sg   use.IR   greens garnish.R
'I could not find any fish, so I will eat (the sago) with greens.'

Ti often refers to the content of a longer stretch of speech or to a whole story, which has just been told, as the explanation for a current state of affairs.

***Ti**   men   akor   ya   hining*
C   1pl.Exc   search.R   way   in vain
This is why we search the way in vain (refers to the story just told)

*Atom,   **ti** am   kupm   la   kweikwei stori   pa*
then   C now 1sg   say   plural   story   D
'So, that's why I am telling these stories.'

***Ti**   kipm   ikwonilmpen   iri!*

C   2pl   think.IR   see.IR
'So you think about it!' (refers to reasons which have just been given.)

All the examples presented in this section clearly show that the near demonstrative *ti* is used as causal conjunction instead of *pa* to mark the grounds or reasons for responses in cases where the speaker wants to point to a context or comment that is temporarily or spatially near.

Combinations *pa ti* and *ti pa*.

pa ti

The combination *pati* also refers back to something told or happened as explanation or reason, but it differs from *pa* or *ti* in that it often refers further back than to just the previous clause or a present situation. It is also more emphatic (meaning something like 'for this reason and no other reason' or 'in that case') than plain *pa* or *ti*. In conversations **pati** is very common:

Asen **pa** **pati** **pa** *kupm* *hatn-hatn*   *hining. Ampake kupm ansil kwei ur.*
ask.R   D   C   D   1sg   roam.R-roam.R   in vain   unable   1sg   meet.R   thing   ID

'(You) asked and for this reason I wandered in vain. I could not find any game.'
(refers to a situation where the hearer broke the taboo of not speaking to a hunter - this happened some days earlier, not recently)

Am   *tu*   *manyan*   *a*   *Aknes*   *pa*   *rpmi*   **pati**   *am*   *kol*   *kipm*   *anel*   *kai*   *hokg*
now   3pl   parents   G   Aknes   D   stay.IR   C   now   like   2pl   pick.R   go   sleep

'Now if the parents of Aknes had been there, then you all had gone to sleep (there)'
(conversation about a trip made some days before)

Pa ti may also refer to things that have recently happened or been said:

Pati   **atnen**   *kipm*   *atnurng,*   *ake*   *kipm*   *ikgalen.*
D   because   2pl   leave.R   NEG   2pl   look.after.R
'This is (happens) because you don't look after it' (**pati** refers to things just told).

Kipm   *yul*   *kalpis*   *pa*   **pati**   *am*   *kai*   *uwi*   *nep*   *mangkon*   *ur*
2pl   fish   not   D   D   now   go   get:.IR   coconut   green   ID

iye   *kul*   *ilk-opm*   *il*
carry.IR   come   give.IR-1sgO   drink.IR

'OK, since you have no fish (as you just said), then bring me some green coconuts to drink'

Atom   *kapm*   *pa*   **pati**   *am*   *kipaka*   *kweikwei*   *pa*   *arke*   *arke*
then   pond   D   C   now   bat   plural   D   hang.R-CNT   hang.R-CNT
pake.
EMP

'And this is why there are bats living on that pond (in a cave)' (refers as explanation to the part of story just told)

*Iye   tukulelng yan   pa kai-kai mpang **pati** ilm   kweikwei pake,*
carry.IR   clear.from father D go-go   forest   C   shoot.IR game   EMP

wampung   wel   pa.
possum   bird   D

'If she takes the child away from the father going to forest, in that case he will shoot game, possums and birds.' (hypothetical result)

Pati is often used to mark a new theme/topic, which the speaker is about to begin ('as for' / 'regarding').

*Am   wet   kol a Kinyapmoro la   **pa pati** am   aklale pake.*
now   recently like G Kinyapmoro say   D C   now   true.R EMP
'And as for the things Kinyapmoro has just said, they are true.'

*Talpuk   wris   pa   **pati** kipm   elng-itni   eng ...*
branch   one   D   C   2pl   leave-stand.IR   OBL
'As for that one branch, you must leave this one branch because....'

Kol   atopen   tiur   a mentepm a itna   kanokg   ti..
C   pleasure   some   G 1pl.Inc G stand.R   ground   this

pa-ti   kupm   ari   kol-en   tu   melnum a   antiwe...*
that-this   1sg   see.R   like-ATR   3pl   man   G   have.R...

'As for some of the pleasures of us people living on this ground I have noticed are like this, the men who have...'

*Atopen   wor ikga itni   yongyong **pati** wurkapm la   kol   kil-ke:*
happiness   good FUT stand.IR   forever   C   book   say   like   this-EMP

melnum   a   arku   kil alkil   hor-ng-watneikgen   mla ur
person   G   depress.R 3sg G-3sg   enter-TR-underneath   who ID

pati   kil itopen   o!*
C   3sg rejoice.IR IMP

'So, as for the true happiness that will last forever, the Bible tells like this:' (refers to the text before) A man who humbles himself to anyone he can rejoice.'

*Tuwekg   am   muikgmuin   yek-wekg pa **pati** manyan   pa   amo   ise*
3dual   now   siblings   DIM-two   D   C   parents   D   die.R PERF

'Concerning those two poor children, their parents were dead'

ti pa

The combination ***ti pa*** occurs mainly in conversations and seems to largely synonymous with ***pa****ti*:. Often it also has explanatory meaning ('so, you see').

Kong	*akwe*	***ti pa***	*tu*	*aye-wen*	*manto*	*kul*	*katin*
morning	call.R	C C	3pl	carry.R-TR	pig	come	encircle.R

'So, early in the morning they tracked the pig and surrounded it'

5.5.7. The conditional conjunction *pipa*

The conjunction ***pipa*** seems to be a reduplicated form of ***pa*** (***pa+pa***). It always occurs before interclausal pauses and has same functions as unreduplicated ***pa*** in this position. It is much more common as the terminus of conditional protases than ***pa***.

Pipa occurring in a clause together with realis modus expresses that the proposition either really has happened or is sure to happen. In these clauses ***pipa*** could be glossed 'whenever'. These cases are comparatively rare..

Wang	*a*	*tu*	*rpma*	***pipa****,*	*kupm*	*ak-antokg,*	*tu*	*kai*	*hatn*	*kol*
time	G	3pl	sit.R	if	1sg	use.R-make.R	3pl	go	wander.R	like

ur	*ai*	***pa****,*	*ake*	*kupm*	*ak*	*taipreta*	*pa*	*antokg*	*wurkapm*	*pa*
ID	LOC	D	NEG	2sg	use.R	typewriter	D	make.R	paper	D.

'Whenever they are at home, I work with it, when they have gone away, I do not write with typewriter'

More commonly ***pipa*** occurs with clauses having irrealis mode functioning as the protases of conditional sentences.

Ti	*kupm*	*la*	*paipm*	***pipa****,*	*kitn*	*la*	*nik*	*-opm*
C	1sg	say	bad	if	2sg	say	tell.IR-1sgO	

'If I talk badly, you must tell me' (In case I speak badly...)

Kitn	*la-la*	*inung*	***pipa****,*	*mpa*	*kitn*	*inung*	*elng-kinar*	*wurkapm*	*pake*
2sg	say-say	vomit.IR	if	FUT	2sg	vomit.IR	put-go.down	paper	EMP

'If you feel like vomiting, you must vomit into this paper bag'

Kitn	*iye*	*namung*	*kul*	***pipa****,*	*kupm*	*rmpen*
2sg	carry.IR	banana	come	if	1sg	buy.IR

'If you bring bananas, I will buy them'

Tu	*tilpulng*	*ok*	*yangkipm*	*a-kupm*	***pipa****,*	*kupm*	*la-niki*	*Dik,*
3pl	push:IR	mouth	talk	G-1sg	if	1sg	say-tell.IR	Dik

kil	*kaino*	*wa*	*la*
3sg	go.up	and	say.

'If they will not listen to my talk, I'll tell Dik, he will go and talk to them'

Kipm	*ri*	*yo*	*tiur*	*a*	*ak*	*ikg*	*mining*	*itna*	*wreren*	*kopi*
2pl	see.IR	tree	some	REl	use.R	look	dark		stand.R	near	coffee

pipa,	*kipm*	*ware*	*wo!*
if	2pl	fell.R	IMP

'If you see some trees standing near coffee so that they shade it, you cut them down!'

When conditional protasis is much less certain in its potential factuality, or even counterfactual, then the adverb *kol* is attached at the beginning of the protasis clause (see Section 7:6):

Kol	**huk**	**ur**	**pa**,	*kupm*	*a*	*kai*	*ngkli*	*huk*	*eng*	*yul*
HYP	hook	ID	C	1sg	INT	go	throw.IR	hook	OBL	fish

'If I had hooks, I would go to angle for fish'

Kol	*kitn*	*pa*	*ikgelen*	*Akwekgel*,	*kil*	*rpmi*	*ti*
HYP	2sg	D	take.care.IR	Akwekgel	3sg	sit.IR	here

'If you had taken care of Akwekgel, she would have stayed here (with you)'

Some conditional sentences do not have any overt conjunction intervening between the protasis and the apodosis, for example when the future temporal adverb *mpa* starts the clause:

Kil	*kinar*	**mpa**	*il*	*hu*
3sg	go down	FUT	eat.IR	water

'If she goes down (into the water), she will (possibly) drown'

Kipmekg	*utnuhurng*	**mpa**	*nimpa*	*kawor*	*al*
2dual	leave.IR	FUT	dog	enter	eat.R

'If you leave it, the dog will (certainly) come in and eat it'

The conjunction **pipa** is also used in the combination **plalng (pi)pa** (see Section 7.6.7):

Atom	*tu*	*lap*	*manto*	**plalng**	**pipa**,	*tu*	*anel.*
then	3pl	burn	pig	finish	C	3pl	cut.up

'Then they seared the pig first and then they cut it up.'

5.6. Comparative and hypothetical uses of *kol, kolen*

One characteristic of the Urim language is that the same phonological form can have several different functions without any morphological change, for example as a verb, noun and preposition.. One of these multi-categorial words is *kol(en)*. It functions as a preposition/complementizer expressing similarity 'like' and also as a modal adverb expressing hypothetical modality.

5.6.1.   *Kol(en)* functioning as a preposition or complementizer expressing similarity

When it expresses similarity, *kol* can be glossed as 'like, similar to, as'. With this meaning it governs both phrases or clauses, and often co-occurs with demonstratives (*kolpa* 'like that', *kol ti* 'like this', *kolai* 'how' and *kolti* 'only', etc.). The longer form *kolen* is less common, but seems to have approximately the same range of uses as *kol*.

Uses of *kol* with noun phrases:

1. Both *kol* and *kolen* function as prepositions taking a noun phrase as their complement. There does not seem to be any clear difference in meaning between *kol* and *kolen*. Possibly *kolen* is a bit more emphatic: 'just like'. (In Urim prepositions can be formed by the suffix *-en*; for example *nampokgen* 'together with' and *atnen* 'because of'.)

Kil	*ari*	*kol*	*yan*	*alkilen*
3sg	look.R	like	father	3sgPos

'He looks like/resembles his father'

Ikgokg	*a-tu-wen*	*ari*	***kol***	*tita*
face	G-3pl-ATR	look.R	like	RES

'They resemble each other, look alike'

Mentekg	*hokg*	***kol***	*melnum*	*yipmiri*	*kolti*	*tuwa.*
1dual	sleep	like	person	dead body	only	EMP

'We slept just like dead men'

Impim	***kol***	*a*	*al*	*mpangkil*	*tatu*	*ti*
borer	like	REL	eat.R	timber	all.over	here

'Wood borers like the ones that are eating timber around here'

Kil	*pa*	*kukula*	***kol***	***Kinwanteing***	***pa***
3sg	D	light	like	Kinwanteing	D

'She is light (not pregnant) like for example Kinwanteing'

Hapm	*wekg*	*ti*	***kolen***	*tita*
cloth	two	this	like	RES

'These two garments are alike (of same material)'

Ikgokg	*ari*	***kolen***	*yan*	*al-kil-en*
face	look.R	like	father	G-3sg-ATR

'He looks just like his father'

2. *Kol* and *kolen* also occur as modifiers of numerals expressing approximate quantity; 'about, something like':

Ak	*kong*	*miningket*	*paipm*	*ai*	***wang***	***awi***	***kol***	***wampomis***	***pa***	***pipa,***
use.R	morning	dark		bad	LOC	time	get.R	like	five		D	C

kupm	*antam*	*kwei*	*a*	*pekekg*	*kupm*	*kaki*	*ak*	*mining*	*elng*	*rmpa.*
1sg	cook.R	yam	REL	before	1sg	peel.R	use.R	dark	put	lie.R

'Very early in the morning, **about** 5 o'clock, I cooked some yam I had peeled the previous night and put ready.'

Mentekg	*rpma*	***kol***	*Sante*	*wekg*	*kweikwei*	*ur*	*kolpake.*
1dual	sit.R	like	Sunday	two	something	ID	like.that

'We stayed there about two weeks'

Kipm	*elng*	***kolen***	***wikgwikg***	*hi*	*pa*	*yaper*	*nar*	*pake.*
2pl	put	like	four	be.IR	there	return	come.down	EMP

'You (should) leave only about four sprouts or less'

3. In the following example *kol* can be glossed 'for example' and marks several entities picked from a group of suitable ones:

Kipm	*paipmpaipm*	*a-kupm-en*	*ti,*	*wang*	*wor*	*a-kipm-en*	*a*	*nar*
2pl	bad-bad	G-1sg -ATR	here	time	good	G-2pl-ATR	G	come.down

rpma	***kol***	*Sarere,*	*Sante*	*aki*	*nar*	*rpma*	***kol***	*Krismas*	*pa.*
sit.R	like	Saturday	Sunday	or	come.down	sit.R	like	Christmas	D

'You my younger brothers, a good time for you to come (to visit) is for example on Saturday, Sunday or come to visit for example at Christmas time '

4. *Kolen* sometimes governs the complements of the verb *palng* 'become'. It also occurs in the predicates of equative clauses indicating a lack of precision.

Kupm	*palng*	***kolen***	*angkliin*	*ur*	*a*	*tu*	*melnum*	*a*	*kaling*	*plan-to*
1sg	become	like	help	ID	G	3sg	man	G	teach.R	show-1plO

kweikwei	*pake.*
things	EMP

'I became (something like) the one who helped our teachers'

Kipm	*la*	*palng*	***kolen***	*warim*	*a*	*Maur*	*Wailen*	*aki*	*kalpis?*
2pl	say	become	like	child	G	Spirit	Great	or	not

'Do you want to become (like) God's children or not?'

Men	*pa*	***kolen***	*ok*	*a*	*tu*	*warim.*
1pl.Exc	D	like	mouth	G	3pl child

'we were (something like) the spokesmen of the students'

Kol is also used to compare whole clauses. The verb of comparative clause is quite often deleted:

> *Kipm pa wakg ur **kol men kil** aki?*
> 2pl D fire ID like 1plEx 3sg or
> 'Do you there have a lamp like we here (have) ?'

> *Kil ak yalipm **kol** **manto** (ak yalipm)*
> 3sg do.R nest like pig (make nest)
> 'She made a nest like a pig (makes a nest)'

> *eng ak traim pilip al-mentepm-en pa, **kol** pikekg ak wang*
> OBL use.R try faith G-1pl.Inc-ATR D like before use.R time

> *a tu rka bot pa anti Sisas.*
> REL 3sg stay.R boat D with.R Jisas

> 'to try our faith, same way as the faith of disciples was tried when they were with Jesus in the boat (lit. ' like before at the time when they were in the boat with Jesus).'

> *Aur kanokg pa kai ak aur, **kol** pikekg kipmekg ari Kinikgen*
> cover soil D go use.R cover like before 2dual see.R Kinikgen

> *antokg aur kaino Wansompya*
> do cover.R go.up Wansompya
> 'Covered with soil, same way as you saw Kinikgen doing at Wansompya'

5.6.2. Hypothetical *kol* and *kolen* in conditional sentences:

The form ***kol*** occurs in the protases of conditional sentences as a modal adverb expressing less certain hypothetical modality, along with the demonstratives ***pa, pa pa*** or ***pipa***.

> *Ik wang a kil kul **pa** mpa kupm ikle-wel*
> use.IR time G 3sg come C FUT 1sg scold.IR-3sgO
> 'When he comes, I will scold him'

> *Kil wuli **pa**, kil mpa kupm ikle.*
> 3sg arrive C 3sg FUT 1sg scold.IR
> 'If/when he comes, I will scold him'

> ***Kol kil wuli pa** mpa kupm ikle-wel*
> HYP 3sg arrive C FUT 1sg scold.IR-3sgO
> 'If/in case he comes, I will scold him'

> ***Kol** kil kul **pipa**, mpa kupm ikle-wel*
> HYP 3sg come C FUT 1sg scold.IR-3sgO
> 'If he should come, I will scold him'

Kil	*kul*	*aki*	*kalpis*	***pa***,	***kol***	*ake*	*kupm*	*ikle-wel*
3sg	come	or	not	C	HYP	NEG	1sg	scold.IR-3sgO

'If he had come or not, I would not have scolded him'

From the examples above we can see that *kol* is used in those conditional clauses where the situation is less likely to occur or is even known to have not occurred (i.e. counterfactual modality). It is not used when the condition is considered a fact or at least quite probable.

Kol is always used in counterfactual conditionals:

Kol	*kirmpa*	*pa*	*kai*	*ile*	*itni*	*tipmning*	***pa, pa***	*antiwe.*
HYP	airplane	D	go	lay.IR	stand.IR	mountain	C C	enough.R

'If the airplane had touched the mountain (and it was near!), it would certainly have been the end!'

Kol	*pikekg*	*kil*	*wuli*	***pipa***,	*kil*	***kol***	*am*	*kupm*	*ikle-wel*	*pake*
HYP	past	3sg	arrive	C	3sg	HYP	now	1sg	scold.IR-3sgO	EMP

'If it had happened that he arrived yesterday, I certainly would have scolded him'

Kol	*kitn*	*pa*	*ikgelen*	*Akwekgel*	*kil*	*rpmi*	*ti*	*pa*	*ikgelen*
HYP	2sg	D	take.care.IR	Akwekgel	3sg	sit.IR	here	C	take care.IR

watnom	*tu*	*rpmi*	*kai-nar*	*pa.*
children	3pl	sit.IR	go-descend	D

'If you had taken care of Akwekgel she would have stayed here and would have taken care of her children and they would have lived in the lower part of village in that case''

Shopen (1987:250) states: "The typical conditional sentence consists of a condition and a consequent. Both condition and consequent can in principle be evaluated for their degree of (epistemic) actuality." In Urim, *kol* indicates states of affairs that are assumed to be less likely to occur or are assumed to have not occurred. The form ***kolen*** also occurs in conditional sentences, possibily indicating events that are even less likely to have occurred, but it is difficult to be sure of this on the basis of present data. Often it can be glossed 'as if, in case of' and is more like a clause adverbial than a conjunction. Consider the following examples:

Kolen	*kil*	*wuli*	*ur*	*aki*	*kalpis*	***pa***,	*mentepm*	*ampake*	*kai*
HYP	3sg	arrive	ID	or	not	if	1dual	not.able	go

'Whether he maybe comes or not, we will not go'

Kil	*wet*	*la*	***kolen***	*la*	*mpa*	*kil*	*mpa*	*kul*	*pa*
3sg	recently	say	HYP	say	FUT	3sg	FUT	come	D

'He talked as if he would certainly come'

Kolen *kil* *wuli* *ur,* **pa** *mpa* *kupm* *ikle*
HYP 3sg arrive ID C FUT 1sg scold.IR

'In case he perhaps comes, I will scold him'

Kol *kipm* *itnuhurng* *okipma* *a* *Maur* *Wor* *pa* *kipm* *mpa* *nikg* *ilm-pepm*
HYP 2pl forsake.IR food G spirit good D 2sg FUT belly shoot.IR-2plO

pa **kolen** *ikg* *ake* *kipm* *itni* *titnogket* *eng* *kutnun* *Maur* *Wailen'*
C HYP later NEG 2pl stand.IR strong OBL follow.IR Spirit Big

'If you do not eat the food of the Holy Spirit, then you'll become hungry, <u>this means</u> that you won't stay firm to follow God'

Kol is commonly used in procedural and other texts when the speaker uses examples to clarify his message. Here it can be glossed as 'for example, for instance, supposing, in case' etc. (Compare this to the similar use of **kol** governing noun phrases). Notice in the second example that **kol** is accompanied by the conjunction **atom** (if -then) instead of the usual **pa** or **pipa**:

Kol *Mowal* **pa** *mpa* *ngklon,* *eng* *kupm* *kalkut.*
like Mowal D FUT forbid.IR OBL 1sg heavy

'For example, for Mowal it would be taboo (to go hunting), because I'm pregnant'

Kol *warim* *ur* *pa* *hakg-en* **kol** *kupm* *ti.* *Pa* **kol** *kil* *ti* *la-la,* *amur* *hakg*
like child ID D cry-IO like 1sg D C like 3sg D say-say don't cry

'For example, if a child cries after me for example, then she would say; don't cry!'

Kol *kipman* *ak* *al-kil* *kai* **atom**, **kol** **kupm** **ti**, *kupm* *al* *yampis*
like man use.IR G-3sg go then like 1sg here 1sg eat.R bean

'Supposing the men alone go, then - like me here, I would eat beans then'

Wa **kol** *kitn* *la* *nira* *krakg* *wail* **pipa**, **mpam** *kitn* *rku* *'shift'* *pa,*
and like 2sg say write letter big if FUT 2sg push.IR 'shift' D

pa **mpa** *kil* *nira* *krakg* *wail.* *Wa* *'lock'* *pa* *am* *wa* **kol** *shift'* *pake.*
D FUT 3sg write letter big and 'lock' D now and like 'shift' D.Emp

Kol *kitn* *rku* *'lock'* *pa* **pa,** **mpa** *kil* *nira* *krakg* *wail.*
like 2sg push.IR 'lock' D if Fut 3sg wrote letter big

'And when you want to write big letters, you should press the 'shift' and it will write big letters. The button 'lock' is just like the 'shift'. If you press 'lock' it will write in capitals.'

Kol *ake* *tu* <u>*atning*</u> *yangkipm* *a* *kupm* *la* **pa**, *tu* <u>*ik*</u> <u>*katnong*</u>
HYP NEG 3pl listen.R talk G 1sg say C 3pl do.IR play

aki	itn	op	ik	mining	pa	kupm	awi-yen		nang	ti	kolti
or	roam.IR	wander	use.IR	dark	C	1sg	take,R-3plO		name	C	just

atom	rmpa	eng	uk	melnum	a	kaling	plan-to	kweikwei	pa.
then	sit.IR	OBL	give	person	G	teach	show-1plO	things	D

'If they did not listen to what I said, but played and wandered around in dark (after the lights were off), then I would just take their names down to give to the teachers'

5.7. Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage is a very common cohesive device in spoken texts, especially in narratives. Its function is to bind together sentences of the same paragraph, and it expresses that the events follow each other without any other important events intervening. The sequence of actions does not need to be immediate.

Formally, tail-head linkage consists of a repetition of one or more predications from the end of one sentence at the beginning of the next sentence. . In oral texts tail-head linkages are pronounced with the pitch of the last syllable rising and often the vowel of last syllable (or the whole syllable) increases in length.

Kong	weti	atom	lap.	**Lap**	alm	anel	tu	trop.
morning	now	then	burn	burn	shoot.R	pick.R	they	cut into pieces

'At morning they burned (the pig's hair). Burned and scraped it, they cut it into pieces (for selling).'

Warim	kiin	pa	kinar		angket	wark	pa.	**Kinar**	**angket**
child	woman	D	go down		cut.R	cane	D	go down	cut.R

wark	**pa**	ari	untu	lape	yo.	**Untu**	**lape**	**yo**	kinar
cane	D	see	mushroom	cover	tree	mushroom	cover	tree	go down

yirokg	kaino	yipuk-ai.	Warim	kiin	pa	anel	anel	alule.
roots	go up	top-DIR	child	woman	D	pick.R	pick.R	wrap.R

Alule	**kolti**	am	aye	kaino	wan	ise.	**Aye**	**kaino**	elng	rmpa
wrap.R	like this	now	carry.R	go-up	house	PERF	carry.R	go up	put.R	lie

'The girl went down to cut canes. When she went down to cut canes she saw mushrooms covering a tree. Mushrooms covered the tree from the roots to the top. The girl picked and picked and wrapped. Wrapped and carried up to the house. Carried up and put (into the house).'

Some parts of the preceding sentence like the perfect aspect marker *ise*, are never repeated in a tail-head linkage construction.

.

Am	pir-ng	kai	anong	ise.	**Pir-ng**	**kai**	**anong**	naki	tu...
now	run-TR	go	village	PERF	run-TR	go	village	tell.R	3pl

'Immediately (she) run to the village. Run to the village and told them...'

In Urim tail-head linkage functions paragraph-internally. Usually (but not necessarily) sentences linked in this way have the same subject.

In the following two examples the tree wallaby and its movements are the overall topic, despite the brief switch to the speaker as subject.

Am	*wa*	*katila*	*tilpmung*	*talpuk*	*pa*	*kul,*	*karpo*	*wurpmini.*
now	and	follow.R	tilpmung	branch	D	come	grab.R	wurpmini

Karpo	***wurpmini***	***pa****,*	*kupm*	*no*	*alm.*	*Katila*	*wurpmini*	*pa,*
grab.R	wurpmini	C	1sg	come up	shoot.R	follow.R	wurpmini	C

kul	*karpo*	*wunei.*	***Karpo***	***wunei***	***pa****,*	*kupm*	*no*	*alm.*
come	grab.R	wunei	grab.R	wunei	C	1sg	come up	shoot.R

'Now (the tree wallaby) came along the branch of *tilmpung*-tree, moved to a *wurpmini*-tree. When it moved to the *wurpmini*-tree, I came up and shot. It continued along the *wurpmini*-tree, came took to a *wunei*-tree. When it moved to the *wunei*-tree, I came up and shot.'

When topic changes inside the paragraph, tail-head linkage is left out like in the following extract of a story:.

Wang	*ur*	*pa*	*kil*	*awi*	*yikal.*	***Kil***	***awi***	***yikal***	*kai*	*rpma*	*wring*	*pa.*
time	ID	D	3sg	take.R	bow	3sg	take.R	bow	go	sit.R	garden	D

Am	*Kinkainil*	*pa*	*kul*	*no*	*wring*	*pa.*	***Kul***	***no***	***no****,*
now	Kinkainil	D	come	come up	garden	D	come	come up	come up

wam	*kai*	*nalu*	*wayu*	*pa..*
hand	go	pick.R	taro	C

'One time he took a bow. He took a bow and went to wait in the garden. Now Kinkainil came up to the garden. She came up, hand went to pick a taro...'

Tail-head linkage seems to indicate that events follow each other in sequence and that the various events take place in approximately the same location. It also marks that the topic keeps the same inside the paragraph. Possibly it's basic meaning is simply continuity (of action, location, actors).

Tail-head linkage in written text:

Tail-head linkage mainly occurs in oral texts. In written texts it is relatively rare. When tail-head linkage occurs in a written text, it is often more truncated than in spoken texts. Compare the following extracts from the spoken and written versions of the same text by the same speaker. The tail-head linkage of the spoken version is shortened in the written version into plain conjunction ***pa*** 'and then':

kul-hor	*kinar*	*ankglei*	*wes*	*kinar*	*kwokg.*
come-enter	go down	swallow.R	stone	go down	creek

Angklei	***wes***	***kinar***	***kwokg pa ninan,***	*kul*	*no*	*awi*	*tuk...*
swallow.R	stone	go down	creek D CNT	come	come up	take.R	stick

'came out went down swallowed stones in the creek. After swallowing enough stones down in the creek she came up, took a walking stick..' (spoken text)

Kul-hor	*kinar*	*angklei*	*wes*	*kinar*	*kwokg*	***pa***
come-enter	go down	swallow	stone	go down	creek	C

kul	*no*	*awi*	*tuk*
come	come up	take.R	stick

'came out went down swallowed stones in the creek and then came up, took a walking stick...'(written text)

Consider also the following extracts of another story spoken and written by one person. Here all tail-head linkages of spoken text are missing from the written version:

Wang	*ur*	*pa*	*mentekg*	*Karis*	*hel*	*kainil.*	***Mentekg***	***hel***	***kainil***
time	ID	D	1dual	Karis	roam	moon	1dual	roam	moon

kinar	*Walpang.*	***Mentekg***	***hel***	***kainil***	***kinar-nar-nar***
go down	Walpang	1dual	roam	moon	go-down-down-down

wreren	*minip*	*ise.*	***Mentekg***	***kinar***	***wreren***	***minip***	***pa***,	*atom*
near	river	PERF	1dual	go down	near	river	D	then

kil	*pa*	*ikgyokg*	*al-el*	*paipm.*	*Atom*	*hokg*	*rmpa*	*nung*	*rmpa pa.*
3sg	D	sleepyness	eat.R-3sgO	bad	then	sleep	lie.R	wood	lie,R C

Hokg	***rmpa***	***nung pa***	*kupm*	*arpmen-tel*	*rpma.*
sleep	lie.R	wood D	1sg	watch.R-3sgO	sit.R

'Once we two, I and Karis hunted in moonlight. We hunted in moonlight down at Walpang. We hunted in moonlight descending down and down near the river. When we had descended near the river, he felt very sleepy. And he slept lying on a trunk of a fallen tree. He slept on the tree, I sat watching him.'

Por	*wang*	*ur*	*pa*	*mentekg*	*Karis*	*hel*	*kainil*	*kinar*	*Walpang.*
story	time	ID	D	1dual	Karis	roam	moon	go down	Walpang

Atom	*mentekg*	*kinar*	*kinar*	*wreren*	*minip*	*pa,*	*atom*	*kil*	*pa*
then	1 dual	go down	go down	near	river	D	then	3sg	D

ikgyokg	*al-el,*	*atom*	*hokg*	*rmpa*	*nung*	*pa.*	*Kupm*	*arpmen-tel*
sleepyness	eat.R-3sgO	then	sleep	lie.R	wood	D	1sg	watch.R-3sgO

rpma.
sit.R

'Story about me and Karis hunting in moonlight down at Walpang. Then we two went down and down near the river, and he felt sleepy, and he slept on a fallen trunk of tree.   I sat watching him.'

Written texts can be more concise than spoken texts, without the danger of the hearer missing some of the information. Therefore devices like tail-head linkage, which slow down the rate of information flow, are not so necessary in written texts as in spoken text. Still, some of the best authors of Urim do use tail-head linkage in their written texts to bind the paragraphs together, and especially to highlight the important points in the story:

Ak	*wang*	*ur*	*pa*	*Aburata*	*a*	*Bayuna*	*elng*	*sipsip*	*pa*	*hor*	*hen.*
use.R	time	ID	D	Aburata	and	Bayuna	put	sheep	D	enter	outside

Tuwekg	***elngen***	***hor***	*eng*	*la*	*tu*	*il*	*mi*	*itni*	*hen*	*pa...*
3dual	release	enter	OBL	say	3pl	eat.IR	grass	stand.IR	outside	D

Tuwekg	***antokg***	***kol-pa***	***itna***	*ari*	*Jim*	*pa*	*awi*	*kar*	*pa*	*nar.*
3dual	make.R	like-that	stay.R	but	Jim	D	take.R	car	D	come.down

Jim	***pa***	***nar***	*elng*	*kar*	*pa*	*irpma...*'
Jim	D	come down.R	put	car	D	sit.R

'Once Aburata and Bayuna let the sheep outside. They let the sheep come outside so that the sheep could eat grass outside ....While the two men where doing this, Jim took car and came down. Jim came down and parked the car.....'

In this text tail-head lingkages occur only at this point, which describes the most important event in the story.

6. About Urim Discourse

6.1. Word Order Variations and Dislocations

Word order in Urim is basically very rigid. Since there are hardly any *morphological* means to distinguish core arguments like Subject, Object, Locative Object and Second Object, they are solely marked by their position. For this reason the core constituents cannot move very freely in the clause for thematic reasons. Subjects almost always occur before the verb in Urim clause. Objects can be fronted, but this is still comparatively rare in Urim.

Dislocations and topic constructions instead are very common in Urim. In these constructions the topicalized or emphasized constituent occurs separately in front of the actual sentence, which relates to it in some way. In most cases the external topic corresponds to some NP constituent in the clause in which the external topic has some function. In left dislocation there is a grammatical element in the

clause (usually a pronoun), which refers to the same entity. In topic constructions this does not occur (Shopen p. 355).

6.1.1. Moving of subject after verb

Placing the subject after the verb is rather rare in Urim but can occur at least in certain clause types and when there is no danger of misinterpretation. No examples of this have been found in transitive clauses, but it seems to happen with subjects of transitive verbs in topic constructions (second example).

> *Kil   al-al   plalng   ise,   rmpa nepm   wris*
> 3sg   eat.R-eat.R   finish   PERF   lie.R leg   one
> 'He ate up everything, only one leg was left.' (existential clause)

> *Kupm   alm-popm   **kwaipu   ampei***
> 1sg   shoot.R-1sgO   basket   strap
> 'I was poisoned with the help of basket strap' (topic clause where the subject is *kwaipu ampei*)

> *Pikekg   angkon   huk   plalng,   rka   wekg.*
> Past   pick.up.R give   finish   be.R   two
> 'They have given them away (the piglets), there is two left.' (existential clause)

The thematic motivation of moving the subject after the verb seems to be strong emphasis or focusing of new information. In spoken utterances the subject NP is usually phonologically emphasized, being pronounced with high pitch and stress on the last word.

6.1.2. Object fronting

The Object can occur in front of the subject, or sometimes between the subject and verb, without any danger of misinterpretation, since in Urim transitive clauses the subject referent is usually more animate and than the object referent. If both subject and object are animate, a fronted subject is usually overtly marked as topic via use of the demonstrative *pa* or a pronoun:

> <u>*Nol*</u>   *tu   ak   eng   manto*
> trumpet shell   3sg   use.R OBL   pig
> 'Trumpet shell they blow after shooting a pig'

> *Wui,   kil   kil   am   <u>kwei</u>   <u>ur</u>   al   ise*
> Alas,   3sg   3sg   now   something ID   eat.R   PERF
> 'Alas, some animal has eaten him!'

> *Kupm   pa   <u>Yiwonel</u>   <u>al-kupm</u>   langkin!*
> 1sg   D   Yiwonel   G-1sg   forbid.R
> 'Me, I forbid my child Yiwonel to go!'

Most frequently object fronting occurs in texts, where the topic is an inanimate entity, which cannot freely occur as subject. In following examples the fronted object represents new information:

<u>Nokg</u>   <u>tiur</u>   mpa   la   kunukg pa.
salt   some   FUT   say   later.IR D
'Other kinds of salt will be told about later.'

<u>Manto</u> <u>wasek</u>   <u>ur</u>   mentekg katin   plalng   rpma   pake...
pig   small   ID   1dual   surround.R finish   sit.R   EMP
'A small pig we have surrounded...'

Fronting of the object can also express contrast or emphasis:

<u>*Irkwa*</u>   *wet*   *mla*   *al -ketn?*
basket   nearPast   who   give.R-2sg

'That basket, who gave it to you?' (emphasizes the object)

Pikekg   ekg   ntam kweikwei pa   wa   <u>yampon</u> <u>pa</u>   kil al-kil
Past   two   cook food   D   and   done   D   3sg G-3sg

al,   <u>maing</u>   <u>pa</u>   rampukg eng   tu   wrong   al.
eat.R raw   D   dry   OBL   3pl   crowd   eat.R

'The two of them cooked food and the cooked food she herself ate, raw food she dried for the people to eat.'

It has been possible to elicit an example of a fronted locative objects, but none have been found in natural texts, and some speakers do not consider it to be very good language:

Kupm   <u>*wan*</u>   *okipma*   *rmpa*
1sg   house   food   lie.R
'I do have food in the house'

Compare to:
Kupm   *okipma* *rmpa* *kai*   *wan*
1sg   food   lie.R go   house
'I have food, in the house'

In certain cases object may occur before verb also in subordinated clauses. This seems to be possible only when the object is generic. The construction does not seem to have any thematic function.

Kompi   *ik*   *plan-topm* *hapm*   *angkut*
Kompi   do.IR   show-1sgO   cloth   sew.R
'Kombi teaches me to sew (with the machine)'

6.1.3. Left Dislocation

Left dislocations and topic constructions are common thematical devices in Urim. Their main function is to mark topics, especially when new topics are introduced or when a topic changes. When a constituent occurs at the beginning of a sentence, outside the clause proper and there is also some kind of co-referring constituent within the remainder of the sentence, this is termed here "left-dislocation". Those constructions where no such coreferring element exists are termed "topic constructions". In Urim this formal distinction is not very important pragmatically, since both types of construction have the same discourse functions.

In a typical left dislocation construction, the dislocated NP occurs separated from the sentence proper, while a co-referring pronoun within the following sentence indicates its syntactic role. In Urim the dislocated NP can also be represented in the sentence by other means, depending on the syntactic role of the dislocated constituent.   Almost any argument of a clause can be left-dislocated, while usually only Objects are fronted. Sometimes only a pause separates the dislocated NP from the sentence, but often the dislocated NP is marked by a following demonstrative or personal pronoun.

Left dislocated Subjects

Subjects are commonly dislocated in Urim and are usually represented by a coreferring pronoun within the sentence.   Subject dislocations are a common way of introducing new topics. If the topic is new information, the left dislocated Subject is often marked by a combination of the indefinite quantifier *ur* and the demonstrative *pa*:

> Melnum ur   pa,   kil   kai   ari   wuring   al-kil   pa
> person ID   D   3sg   go   see.R   garden   G-3sg   D
> 'There was a man who went to see his garden.' (beginning of a story)

> Wusok   wail   wekg pa,   ekg   kai miring.
> small   big   two   D   two   go white.man
> 'There were two brothers, they two went to the mission station.'

> Wakg   pa   am   kol-pa;   wakg   pa   am   wapiin   angkon ...
> Fire   D   now   like-that fire   D   now   lizard   showeled.R
> 'What happened to the fire was this; lizard took the fire ...'

Left-dislocation of syntactically 'heavy' constituents

Syntactically 'heavy' (i.e. complex) constitutents are often left dislocated.

> Melnum uraur   a   arpm-e   motokanu   pa,   tunteng   kul...
> person three   G   sit.R-TR   motorboat   D   3pauc   come
> 'Those three men who were in the motorboat, they came ..'

> Kitn   kai   awi   okipma a   melnum   manet, pa ake wor
> 2sg   go   take.R   food   G   person   other D not good
> 'It is not good for you (SG) to go and take another person's food.'

Antokg   waprekg   al   yampis   wekg   ata,   pa   ti   angklon.
make.R   smoke.R   eat.R   bean   two   only   D   D   forbidden.R
'Smoking and eating beans, only those two are forbidden.'

Left-dislocated Objects and other arguments

Left-dislocation of an Object is used especially when the topic changes or an Object referent is be emphasized. Dislocated Objects always have a co-referential pronoun in the sentence proper, or are fully repeated:

Kinulaipmung   pa,   men   alil   nang-kel   Kinulaipmung   eng ...
Kinulaipmung   D   1pl.Exc   plant.R   name-3sgO   Kinulaipmung   OBL
'About Kinulaipmung, we gave her the name Kinulaipmung because ...'

Melnum   pa,   tu   wakrongen-tel   engintei,   kil   antiwe   nikg-walpm   wor
person   D   3pl   like   -3sgO   because.of   3sg   have.R   stomach-liver   good
'This man is liked because he has a kind heart.'

Kalpis,   nerkgiin   kitn   Kilmangkleng   nerkgiin   kalpis-en
no   garden land   2sg   Kilmangkleng   garden land   not-ATR
'No, as far as the garden land is concerned, you Kilmangkleng have no
garden land (here)'

A left-dislocated instrumental NP leaves its instrument marker *ak* behind to the sentence:

Ampei   yek-yek   a   kol-pa,   mpa   kipm   ik   ntokg
rope   DIM-DIM   REL   like-that FUT   2pl   use.IR do.IR

kuina,   mpa   kitnangku!
what,   FUT   break

'Poor rope like that, what do you do with it, it will break!'

Time adverbials frequently occur sentence initial, marked as topics and providing the temporal setting of a story or indicating a new section of the discourse:

Wang   ur   pa,   mentekg   Karis   hel   kainil
time   ID   D   1dual   Karis   roam   moon
'One day, I and Karis, we hunted in moonlight.'

Ak   Fonde   kong   pa, poliskar   awi-yo   aye-wo   kawor Borom
use.R Thursday morning D   police car take.R-1plO carry.R-1plO enter Borom
pa.
D.
'Thursday morning, the police car took us to Borom.'

In the following examples, the external topic has actually developed into a clause-like 'heading' which are especially common in spoken traditional stories. In the second example the heading corresponds with the object of the subsequent sentence, and this object is also fronted to further emphasize the new, surprising participant in the story.

Muikgmuin	*yek-wekg,*	*warim*	*wasek*	*yek-wekg.*	*Tuwekg*	*pa*	*arkol*
siblings	DIM-two	child	small	DIM-two	3dual	D	pull.R

'[There were] a sister and brother, two small children. The two of them pulled ...'
(beginning of the story)

Ekg	*naren*	*ampen*	*tukgwain*	*pa*	*kai-kai,*	*hul*	*wangklung.*
two	gather	breadfruit	nut	D	go-go	snake	wangklung

Hul	*wangklung*	*pa*	*ekg*	*awi*	*nampokgen*	*ampen*	*tukgwain.*
snake	wangklung	D	two	get.R	with.R	breadfruit	nut

'They kept gathering breadfruit nuts, there was *wangklung*-snake. *Wangklung*-snake they got with breadfruit nuts.'

6.2. Tracking of participants and topics—The functions of anaphora

6.2.1. Introducing new participants and referents to discourse

In Urim new participants and referents are introduced by various means: full NP, full NP plus relative clause, full NP plus indefinite *ur*, full NP plus the demonstrative *pa*, full NP plus a combination of *ur* and *pa*. In addition, there are also special clause and phrase types, which are used for introducing new participants.

New items that are not topical, are usually introduced by a full noun phrase, with or without the indefinite quantifier *ur*. *Ur* is not used if it is clear from the context that there can be only one referent:

Kil	*no*	*minip,*	*kaino*	*karpo*	*kwokg*
3sg	come up	river	go up	grab.R	creek

'He went upriver, took to a creek'

Ei,	*rep*	*wail*	*ur*	*rmpa*	*kinar*	*hu*	*kanokg*	*pa.*
Yes,	pandanus	big	ID	lie.R	go.down	water	ground	D

'Yes, there is a big pandanus down on the bottom'

Mentekg	*Dik*	*nampokgen*	*melnum*	*Maprik-en*	*ur*	*kai*	*Pakwi*
1dual	Dik	with.R	person	Maprik-ATR	ID	go	Pakwi

Along with Dick and a man from Maprik we went to Pakwi (beginning of story)

There are different ways to introduce topical new referents. Left dislocations and special presentative constructions are used. This is especially the case at the beginning of texts, but also happens sometimes at the beginning of a new paragraph.. When new main participants are introduced in a narrative text, very often the combination of ***ur pa*** is used (with or without left dislocation). Here the indefinite ***ur*** expresses that the participant is new information, while the demonstrative ***pa*** marks the referent of the NP as topical.   If the identity of the new participant is further specified by a relative clause, ***pa*** is not used:

Kiin   wekg   ur   pa   ekg   naren   ampen   tukgwain.
woman two   ID   D   two   gather.R   breadfruit   kernel
'There were two women gathering breadfruit kernels' (story beginning)

Kar   wekg   ur   pa ekg   am   arkgni   itna   tita...
car   two   ID   D   two   now   bump.R   stay.R   REC
There were two cars had been in accident... (introducing new topic in the middle of story)

Melnum   ur   a   tu   Weinamon   pikekg   rka   kaino   Aimpoya.
person   ID   G   3pl   Weinamon   past   stay.R   go.up   Aimpoya
'A certain man from Weinamon lived before up at Aimpoya' (story starts)

Men   ari   kiin   wekg   ur   pa   itna   ya.
1pl.Exc   see.R   woman   two   ID   D   stand.R   road
'We saw two women standing by the road.' (new participants, middle of story)

Generic and some inherently definite items are introduced without any indefinite quantifiers or demonstratives , regardless of whether or not they are topical. When the introduced participants are inherently definite NPs like pronouns or proper nouns, the beginning of a story is often marked by adding ***pa*** or ***ur pa*** to a sentence-initial time adverbial.

Wang   ur pa mentekg   Karis hel   kainil
Time   ID D 1dual   Karis roam   moon
'One day I and Karis went to hunt in moonlight'

If the new participant or other topic is introduced using special presentative clauses like the following, no deictic particles are used:

Tuwekg walmamiin.   Tuwekg   kai ...
2dual   grandfather and grandson   2dual   go
'There were a grandfather and grandson. They went...'

Kupm   a   la   manto. Manto   a   Kinming   kinar   angko   minip
1sg   INT   say   pig   pig   G   Kinming   go.down   fall.R   river
'I will tell about a pig. Kinming's pig went down and crossed the river..'

Kupm	*a*	*la*	*am*	*wel*	*wunin.*	*Melnum*	*ur*	*pa*
1sg	INT	say	now	bird	wunin	person	ID	D

kinar	*ari*	*wel*	*wunin*	*hokg*	*itna*	*wap*	*talpuk* ...
go.down	see.R	bird	wunin	sleep	stand.R	tree sp.	Branch

'I will tell now about [a] wunin-bird. A man went down and saw a wunin-bird sleeping on a
branch of wap-tree...'

In the last example the theme or name of this traditional story is mentioned in the presentative clause, and the main actor is marked as topical via use of ***ur pa***.

New important participants can also be introduced by using just ***pa***. This commonly happens in traditional narratives, where the participants are already familiar to the hearers:

Wusok	*wail*	*wekg*	*pa*	*ekg*	*kai miring*
Small	big	two	D	two	go white.man

'There were two brothers who went to the mission station'

Pikekg-tak ai	*maur*	*komong*	*pa*	*al*	*-al*	*melnum.*
Past-long.ago	spirit	bird sp.	D	eat.R-eat.R		person

'Long ago the komong- sprit used to eat people'

In case the new referents are not topical, i.e. they will not be recurringly referred to in the text, they are often modified by an embedded locative clause when first introduced, as in the following two examples.

Men	*kawor*	<u>*wan*</u>	<u>*ur*</u> <u>*pa*</u>	<u>*ela*</u>	<u>*wureren*</u>	<u>*wrik*</u>	<u>*a*</u>	<u>*kirmpa*</u>
1pl.Exc	enter	house	ID D	stay.R	near	place	G	aeroplane

'We went into a house near the airport.'

Plalng	*pipa,*	*alok*	<u>*ampei*</u> <u>*ur*</u>	<u>*aln-tu*</u>	<u>*ha-pa*</u>	*aye*	*kaino* ...
finish	C	stear.R	rope ID	G-3pl	be.R-there	carry.R	go up

'After that they secured it with a rope they had with...'

There is universal tendency in languages to avoid having new information introduced into the text in Subject position (Givon 1979a :72-74). In Urim, however, it is possible to have Subjects introducing new information, but often left-dislocations, existence clauses or topic structures are used to avoid this. Only topical, important items are introduced to the text in subject position. Less important items are usually introduced in the typical position of new information after the verb. In Urim this NP introducing new information quite often has an embedded locative clause as a constituent.   Some of these are lexicalized into deictic adverbials, like the expression *ha-pa* in the examples above.

6.2.2. Tracking participants and maintaining topics; anaphora

Urim speakers can refer back to known referents by using pronouns, zero-anaphora, or full noun phrases. With noun phrases, the demonstrative pronoun *pa* usually occurs as a modifier in order to mark of givenness of the referent:

Kil	*kai*	*ari*	*wan,*	*kukwa*	*wanyun*	*pa*
3sg	go	see.R	house	open	door	D

'He went, saw a house and opened <u>the</u> door.'

Kil	*elng*	*tulng*	*nar*	*kapm*	*ise.*	*Kapm*	*pa*	*kunturng*
3sg	put	tumble	come.down	lake	PERF	lake	D	boom

'He dropped himself tumbling into a lake. <u>The</u> lake boomed ...'

Kil	*alm*	*manto, nalu*	*wayu ...*	*tu*	*al*	*okipma*	*pa.*
3sg	shoot.R	pig	pull.R taro	3pl	eat.R	food	D

'He shot a pig, pulled taro, they are <u>the</u> food.'(the food being the things mentioned earlier)

Kiin	*pa*	*kinar*	*alupm*	*hu,...*	*elng*	*hu*	*pa*	*ela.*
woman	D	go.down	put.into.R	water	put	water	D	stay.R

The woman went down to get water, put <u>the</u> water (there).'

Man	*warim*	*aser*	*mi,*	*man*	*pa*	*aser*	*hep,*
Mother	child	weed.R	grass	mother	D	weed.R	go.first

warim	*kiin*	*pa*	*aser*	*kanukg .*
child	woman	D	weed.R	behind.R

'A mother and child were weeding, and <u>the</u> mother went weeding first, <u>the</u> girl weeded after her.'

Mentepm	*antokg*	*nok.*	*Are*	*nok*	*pa..*	*ngkat*	*timpalokg*	*pa ...*
1pl.Inc	Make.R	sago	cut.R	sago	D	carry.R	sago-channel	D

'We make sago. Cut <u>the</u> sago palm ... carried the sago-channel ...'

If the referent is not particularly important and there can be only one such item at the certain point of the story, no marker of definiteness or indefiniteness is necessarily used. Consider the following examples:

Kil	*no*	*minip,*	*kaino*	*karpo*	*kwokg*
3sg	come.up	river	go.up	grab.R	creek

'He came upriver, went up along a creek.'

Ir	*wanyun!*
close.IR	door

'Close the door!'

In the first example it is assumed that the river is the nearest one, and it is not really important which creek he followed. In the second example the referent is known from the situation.

From the examples above one can see, that **pa** is more a marker of *textual* givenness rather than just a general marker of giveness. Items known from the speech situation are referred to by **NP + pa** usually only when there is a real meaning of distance.

6.2.3.   The use of pa with pronouns to mark changing topic

When the deictic particle *pa* occurs with pronouns or other inherently definite noun phrasess, it has special functions. It can be used to emphasize or clarify the referent, but usually its occurrence with a pronoun marks a changing topic.

In Urim the same pronoun can occur in successive clauses referring to two different participants without any occurrences of full noun phrases in between. This is possible, because the demonstrative *pa* can also be used with pronouns to indicate a changing referent.

Kil	antokg	kolpa,	num	a-kil	pa	kukula	wor.
3sg	make.R	like-that	body	G-3sg	D	light	good

'When he made this way, he felt releaved.'

(the use of **pa** marks that the pronouns refer to different persons)

In following examples, *pa* is used with pronouns or generic nouns to mark changing actor-topic:

Kupm	pa	ake	pikekg	la	mpa ...	Am	men	kai ...	kil	pa	la-la, ...
1sg	D	NEG	past	say	FUT	now	1pl Exc	go ...	3sg	D	say-say

'I did not intend to ..... Now we went ..... she said...'

Pa	kiin	aser	mi,	anel	kopi,	kipman	pa	antokg	ak	masin
C	woman	weed.R	grass	pick.R	coffee	man	D	handle.R	use.R	machine ...

'And the women weed, pick the coffee, the men peel with machine...'

Mentekg	kul	angko	Wewak	ti,	kil	arum	karek	ilmpa	wris
1dual	come	fall.R	Wewak	this	3sg	break.R	hen	egg	one

pa,	mentekg	al	...	ari	kupm	pa	la;	...	Mentekg	kul-kul
C	1dual	eat.R		but	1sg	D	say		1dual	come-come

kupm	asen	kil	pa	om,	....	Ari	kil	pa	la-la...
1sg	ask.R	3sg	D	now		but	3sg	D	say-say

'We came landed here at Wewak, she broke an egg and we ate ...   But I said, ... We kept travelling and I asked her now, ...   And she said, ...'

The use of *pa* is not automatic with a change of Subject. Its use seems to require that the referent of the pronoun will persist as the Subject in more than just one sentence; i.e.topicality governs this use

of *pa*. In the last example, the pronouns *kil* 'he' and *kupm* 'I' are without *pa* in spite of the fact that they represent changing actor. The reason why *pa* never occurs with plural pronouns in this example might be, that since 'we' includes both actors, the topic is not really viewed as changing. Notice also that Object pronouns can be marked by *pa* when its referent occurs as actor-topic in the next sentence. In the following example, the pronominalized Object is marked as topical by using *pa,* before the referent occurs as subject:

Atom	*kupm*	*la*	*naki*	*kil*	*pa*	*la-la, ...*	*Atom*	*kil*	*la, ...*
Then	1sg	say	tell.R	3sg	D	say-say, ...	then	3sg	say, ...

'Then I told to him, ... And he said, ...'

The following example shows clearly how *pa* is used to show that topic keeps the same, while subject changes:

Kil	*antokg*	*nangnang*	*pa,*	*kiin*	*alkil*	*ampake*	*huk*	*waprekg*	*kil*	*pa,*
3sg	make.R	sing-sing	D	woman	3sgPOS	not.can	give	smoke	3sg	D

kil	*pa*	*ampake*	*huk*	*kweikwei*	*kiin*	*pa,*	*pa*	*angklon*
3sg	D	not.can	give	food	woman	D	C	forbidden.R

'When he is doing singing and dancing, his wife cannot give tobacco to him, nor can he give anything to his wife, that is forbidden.'

This text describes men's initiation. The man is topic here, not the woman.

The topic-changing function of *pa* is especially clear in these instances where it occurs with pronouns, since the referents of the pronouns are clearly known. This use of *pa* makes it possible to to track two different referents in long stretches of text using just pronouns.

6.2.4.   Uses of zero-anaphora in Urim

As is the case in many languages (Givón, 1979:300), zero-anaphora is the commonest form of anaphora in Urim. Zero-anaphora is used to refer to highly topical referents that are being maintained over multiple clauses. The topic may be represented by a zero anaphora pronoun in quite many subsequent clauses. Zero-anaphora is not restricted to referents bearing a particular semantic role like actors. In the following short quote the topic is instrument:

Ampei	*yek-yek*	*a*	*kol-pa*	*mpa*	*kipm*	*ik*	*O*	*ntokg*
rope	poor-poor	G	like-that	FUT	2pl	use.R	(it)	do.IR

kuina,	*mpa*	*O*	*kitnangku*
what	FUT	(it)	break

'Very poor rope like that, what can you do with [it] , it will break.'

In the following example zero-anaphora refers first to the car, then without any explanation, to the driver of the car. Both represent the topic of the story.

Men	*ari*	*kar*	*ur*	*pa,*	*pa-ti*	*0*	*kai*	*kinar*	*ansil*	*-o,*
1pl.Exc	see.R	car	ID	D	that-this	(it)	go	go.down	meet.R-1plO	

Atom	*0*	*klas*	*kalpis-en.*	*Atom*	*0*	*rapo-wo*	*la* ...
then	(it)	glass	not -ATR	then	(he)	ask-1plO	say

Men	*la*	... *Atom*	*0*	*aye*	*nar*	*kar*	*al-kil*	*pa* ...
1pl.Exc	say	... Then	(he)	take.R	go.down	car	G-3sg	D

'We saw a car (marked as new topic), coming towards us and it has no window glass. The driver asked us .... We answered ... Then he drove his car down ...'

In the example above, zero-anaphora seems to indicate that the same topic is being maintained, even though the Subject changes.

Sometimes it is possible to refer to two different participants by zero-anaphora without any pronoun or full NP to show the change in referents, if this is clear from the semantic content of verb. This has been found in spoken text only:

Ran	*pa*	*kil*	*wrekg*	*am*	*0*	*katnun*	*0* ....
Dawn	D	3sg	get.up	now	(it)	follow.R	(her)

0	*antokg*	*kolpa*	*kolpa*	*am*	*0*	*num*	*patningke-wel*	*tike.*
(it)	do.R	like.that	like.that	now	(she)	skin	tired -3sgO	EMP

'At dawn she rose ... and it followed her ...It did that a long time and finally she was sick and tired of it.'

In the text, from which the above example is taken, the main participant is a girl and the second participant is a snake. The snake is only referred to with zero-anaphora or a full noun phrase, never with a pronoun. The girl, on the other hand, is referred to using pronouns or zero-anaphora. In the example above, all cases of zero-anaphora refer to the snake except the last one, which refers to the girl. The identity of the referent of the last zero-anaphora is pragmatically inferred. Usually, however, if the actor changes, a full pronoun with topic marker *pa* would be used

In those texts, where the topic is an Object, it is frequently represented by zero-anaphora when it is maintained across multiple clauses:

Kupm	*a*	*la*	*nokg,*	*am*	*nokg*	*a*	*mamikg-mamiin*
1sg	intend	say	salt	now	salt	REL	ancestors

pikekg	*tu*	*antokg.*	*Tu*	*apur*	*takreing*	*nokg-nok,*	*pa*	*tu*	*lap*
past	3pl	make	3pl	break.R	gather,R	salt-sago	C	3pl	burn

0	*angket*	*akrik,*	*tu*	*lap*	*0*	*nampikgen*	*tita,*	*plalng*	*pipa,*
(they)	cut.R	*akrik*-plant	3sg	burn	(them)	with.R	RES	finish	C

tu	*nampis*	*0*	*kai*	*nar*	*kuntuk*	*wail.*	*Tu*	*angkat*	*0*	*kai*
3sg	gather.R	(ashes)	go	come down	pot	big	3sg	carry.R	(pot)	go

itna	*wakg,*	*ntam* ...	*Kai*	*akwe*	*nokg*	*pa*	*palng.*
stand.R	fire	cook	go	dawn.R	salt	D	appear

'I will tell now about salt, the salt ancestors used to make. They broke and gathered sago-stems and burned, cut *akrip*-plants, they burned them together, when that was done, they gathered the ashes into a big cooking pot. They carried the pot to fire, cooked ... At dawn the salt was ready.'

Notice in this example, that the actor *tu* 'they' (actually an impersonal plural in Urim) is mostly mentioned as a full pronoun and only once represented by a zero pronoun. This shows very clearly that zero-anaphora in Urim is not governed by actor role, nor the grammatical role of subject. In narrative texts where the topic is usually one of the participants, zero-anaphora usually refers to the actor- subject.

Even in topic-chain, if it is long enough, there is a need eventually to insert a pronoun. Pronouns are always used, when there is a switch from background to foreground or vice versa. In Urim pronoun or full NP is often used also after a topic clause (see the section 4.8 about topic clause) even when the topic keeps the same. Zero-anaphora never refers to the subject of a topic clause, which is natural since the subject is hardly ever topical even in grammaticalized or lexicalized topic clauses.

Kil	*ikgyokg*	*al -el*	*paipm,*	*atom*	*O*	*hokg*	*rmpa*	*nung*
3sg	face	eat.R-3sgO	bad	then	(he)	sleep	lie.R	wood

'He felt very sleepy, and slept lying on a fallen tree.'

Nikg	*alm-popm*	*paipm,*	*ti*	*kupm*	*a*	*il*	*tike*
Stomach	shoot.R-1sgO	bad	C	1sg	INT	eat.IR	EMP

'I am very hungry, so I will certainly eat this'

Atom	*la*	*num*	*klangket-el*	*pa,*	*eng*	*kil*	*amo*	*waiketn* ..
Then	say	skin	? - 3plO	D	OBL	3sg	be.sick.R	little

'Then she said that she felt weak because she was a little sick..'

Tuwekg	*num*	*paipm,*	*atom*	*tuwekg*	*wrekg*	*kai* ...
2dual	skin	bad	C	2dual	get.up	go

7.   'They were ashamed, and therefore went ...'

Texts

7.1. Wampung

Tree wallaby (spoken story)

Wang	ur	pa	mentekg	Karis	hel	kainil.
time	ID	D	1dual	Karis	roam	moon

'Once we, I and Karis, hunted in moonlight.'

Mentekg	hel	kainil	kinar	Walpang.
1dual	roam	moon	go down	Walpang

'We two hunted in moonlight down at Walpang.'

Mentekg	hel	kainil	kinar	-nar	-nar	wreren	minip	ise
1dual	roam	moon	go down-down-down			near	river	PERF

'We two went hunting in moonlight down and down, near the river.'

Mentekg	kinar	wreren	minip	pa,	atom	kil	pa	ikgyokg	al	-el	paipm.
1dual	go down	near	river	C	then	3sg	D	sleepyness	eat.R-3sgO		bad

Atom	hokg	rmpa	nung	rmpa	pa
then	sleep	lie.R	wood	lie.R	D

'When we had gone down near the river, he felt very sleepy, and he slept lying on a fallen tree trunk.'

Hokg	rmpa	nung	rmpa,	kupm	arpmen-tel	rpma,
sleep	lie.R	wood	lie.R	1sg	watch.R-3sgO	sit.R

kupm	kaino	itna	nungkwang,	nungkulkg	lan	hor	kaino	pa
1sg	go.up	stand.R	wait	ear	pierce	enter	go.up	D

nungkulkg	lan	itna	hining.
ear	pierce	stand.R	in vain

'He slept on a tree trunk, I sat watching him, I went up to stand waiting, listened towards uphill, stood listening in vain.'

Kupm	nar	aro	-wel	ikgyokg	la-la;	kitn	ti	wrekg	eng
1sg	come.down	break.R-3sgO		sleep	say-say	2sg	this	rise	OBL

ekg	kai	om!
two	go	nowIMP

'I went down, woke him up and said; 'you there, get up and lets go!'

Atom	kil	pa	wrekg	am	ekg	no	ise.
then	3sg	D	get up	now	two	come up	PERF

'Then he got up and we two came up.'

Ekg kul no,   no   ari   wampung   yawormangkalpm   wail   pa
two comecome.up come.up see.R   tree wallaby   (species name)   big   D

al   mirpming ok   pa   rpma.
eat.R tree sp.   fruit D   sit.R

'We two came up, came up and saw a big *yawormangkalpm* tree wallaby eating the fruit of *mirmping*-tree.'

Atom kupm la   nak -el   la -la; kitn   tipon   wakg pa
then 1sg   say   tell.R-3sgo say-say 2sg   wring.IR   fire   D

elng   kaino   am   mirpming   talpuk.
put   go.up   now   mirpming   branch

'Then I told to him; 'make a torch and put it up to a branch of the *mirpming*-tree!''

Kil   tapon   wakg   pa   elng   kaino   ari   rpma
3sg   wring.R fire   D   put   go up   see.R   sit.R

'He made a torch and took it up to give light.'

Am wa katila   tilpmung talpuk pa   kul,   karpo   wunei karpo wurpmini.
now and follow.R tree sp.   branch D   come   grab.R tree sp.grab.R tree sp.

'And then – it came along the branch of *tilpmung*-tree, took to a *wunei*-tree – to a *wurpmini*-tree.'

Kul   karpo wurpmini pa,   kupm   no   alm.
come   grab.R tree sp.   C   1sg   come up   shoot.R

'When it took to the wurpmini-tree, I got up and shot.'

Katila   wurpmini pa,   kul   wa   karpo   wunei
follow.R tree sp.   C   come and grab.R   tree sp.

'Followed wurpmini-tree, came and took to a wunei-tree.'

Karpo   wunei   pa,   kupm   no   alm.
grab.R   tree sp.   C   1sg   come up   shoot.R

'When it took to the wunei-tree, I got up and shot.'

Kupm   alm -alm -alm,   hining.
1sg   shot.R-shot.R-shot.R   in vain

'I shot and shot and shot, in vain.'

Yikal   wanteing am   kitnangku ise.
bow   string   now   break   PERF

'The bow string broke.'

Wa   yaper wa   kai, wa   kaino   tilpmung

and   back   and   go   and   go up   tree sp.

'And it went again back and took to a *tilpmung*-tree.'

Kupm   wale   lak   kai   amawa   mirmping
1sg   bind.R   loop   go   HES   tree sp.

'I made a climbing loop to go to the *mirpming*-tree.'

Kupm   no   mirmping kai-kai, kaino ela mirmping pa alm   hungkuran   wris.
1sg   come up tree sp.   go-go   go.up be.R tree sp.   D shoot.R arrow   one

'I climbed the *mirmping*-tree up and up and from the *mirpming*-tree shot one arrow.'

Ari har
but miss

'But it missed.'

Yaper   kul   pa   nar
return   come   C   come down

'It turned back and came down.'

Kul   wa   nar   – nar   - nar,   kil   pa nak -opm la;   kitn   pa
come   and   come.down-come.down-come.down   3sg   D tell.R-1sgO   say   2sg   D

itatu -wo,   itatu   -wo,   eng a   kai   kilke,   itatu-wo!
hurry.IR-IMP   hurry.IR-IMP   OBL G   go   EMP   hurry.IR-IMP

'And it came and came downwards, he said to me; 'you there, hurry up, hurry up, it escapes, hurry up!'

Kupm   ras – ras – ras   kul   itna   kanokg   ti
1sg   rush-rush-rush   come   stand.R   ground   this

'I rushed down from the tree to the ground.'

Kupm   pirng   kai   kaino   itna   wunei   yiprokg   pa
1sg   run to   go   go up   stand.R   tree sp.   base   D

'I run up to the base of the *wunei*-tree.'

Kil elung kul   nar   pa,   kupm   perng   talpuk
3sg   wind   come   come down   C   1sg   shoot.R   spear

'When it came winding down, I threw a spear,'

Hor   kai   meng   ise
enter   go   neck   PERF

'It pierced its neck.'

Angkat-en   elng   tulng   nar   kanokg
carry-ATR   put   tumble   come down   ground

'The spear threw it tumbling down to the ground.'

Am	*wa*	*mentekg*	*or - or - or*	*kil*	*pa*	*wam-arpme*	*wurom*	*pa*
and	then	1dual	hit-hit-hit	3sg	D	hand-put.R	tail	D

'And then we two kept hitting it and he grasped it by the tail.'

Pa	*wampung*	*pa*	*tarkgim*	*la -la*	*nam-pel.*
C	wallaby	D	turn.R	say-say	bite-3sgO

'But the wallaby turned trying to bite him.'

Kupm	*almpil*	*am*	*ak*	*yikal*	*ti*	*or*	*tike*
1sg	turn.around	now	use.R	bow	this	bit	EMP

'I turned and hit it with the bow.'

Kupm	*ak*	*yikal*	*or-or-or-or-or,*	*pa*	*amo*
1sg	use.R	bow	hit-hit-hit-hit-hit	C	die.R

'I kept hitting it with the bow, until it died.'

Mentekg	*angkat-en*	*no*	*palng*	*anong*	*ti*	*ise,*	*tu*	*antokg*	*al*
1dual	carry.R-ATR	come up	arrive	village	this	PERF	3pl	make.R	eat.R

'We came up carrying it and arrived to this village, they cooked and ate it.'

Stori	*ketn*	*a*	*wampung*	*pa*	*am*	*kai*	*itna*	*kol-pa-ke*
story	little	G	wallaby	D	now	go	stand.R	like-that-EMP

'This is the end of the little story about wallaby'

7.2. Wampung

Tree wallaby (written story)

Por	*wang*	*ur*	*pa*	*mentekg*	*Karis*	*hel*	*kainil*	*kinar*	*Walpang.*
story	time	ID	D	1dual	Karis	roam	moon	go–down	Walpang

'Story about how I and Karis once hunted in moonlight.'

Atom	*mentekg*	*kinar*	*kinar*	*wreren*	*minip*	*pa,*	*atom*	*kil*	*pa*
then	1dual	go.down	go.down	near	river	D	then	3sg	D

ikgyokg	*a l -el,*	*atom*	*hokg*	*rmpa*	*nung*	*pa.*
sleepyness	eat..R-3sgO	then	sleep	lie.R	wood	D

'And when we had descended a long way down near the river, he felt sleepy and slept on a fallen tree.'

Kupm	*arpmen -tel*	*rpma,*	*kil*	*hokg*	*rmpa*	*rmpa,*	*kupm*	*kaino*	*itna*	*tatu*
1sg	watch.R -3sgO	sit.R	3sg	sleep	lie.R	lie.R	1sg	go up	stand	around

kaino -wai,	*nungkulkg*	*lan*	*lan*	*hining.*
go down-remote	ear	pierce	pierce	in vain

'I kept watching him, he slept a long time, I went up stood around there and listened in vain.'

Kupm nar akw -el la-la; wrekg eng ekg kai-om!
1sg come down call.R-3sgO say-say rise OBL two go -IMPnow

'I came down and called him saying, get up and lets go now!'

Atom am ekg no ise, ekg ari wampung yawormangkalpm pa
then now two come.up PERF two see.R tree wallaby (species name) D

al mirmping ok pa rpma.
eat.R tree sp. fruit D sit.R

'Then we came up, and saw a *yawormangkalpm* tree wallaby eating the fruits of *mirmping*-tree.'

Atom kupm la naki kil pa la-la; kitn tipon wakg tos pa iri!
then 1sg say tel.Rl 3sg D say-say 2sg wring.IR fire torch D

see.IR

'Then I told him, make a torch to see!'

Atom kil tapon wakg pa elng kaino ari rpma.
then 3sg wring.R fire D put go up see.R sit.R

'And he made a torch and put it up to give light.'

Atom kupm la nak -el la -la; kitn itni kupm kaino ilm.
then 1sg say tell.R-3sgO say-say 2sg stand.IR 1sg go.up shoot.IR

'And I told him; stay here, I go up to shoot.'

Atom mentekg itna ari tatu tilpmung talpuk pa kai am karpo
then 1dual stand.R look.R around tree sp. branch D go now grab.R

wurpmini kai am wa karpo wunei ise.
tree sp. go now and grab.R tree sp. PERF

'And we two stood looking towards the *mirmping* branch, it went to a *wurmpini*-tree and then took to a *wunei*-tree.'

Ari kupm kaino alm kaino wunei pa, alm alm alm, hining.
but 1sg go.up shoot.R go.up tree sp. D shoot.R shoot.R shoot.R in vain

'But I went up to *wunei*-tree to shoot, shot and shot and shot, in vain.'

Ungkuran taluk am plalng ise, yikal wanteing am kitnangku ise.
arrow spear now finish PERF bow string now break.in.two PERF

'Arrows and spears were finished, the bow string broke.'

Kil pa la-la; wa itni kai kupm ilm iri.
3sg D say-say and stand.IR go 1sg shoot.IR see.IR

'He said; ' you wait there, I try to shoot.'

Atom wa kil pa alm ari har, atom am wa yaper kaino mirmping ise.
then and 3sg D shoot.R but miss then now and back go up tree sp. PERF

'And he shot but missed, and the wallaby climbed back to the *mirmping*-tree.'

Kupm arkol ampei pa wale lak pa kai kaino mirmping.
1sg pull.R rope D make.R climbing-loop C go go.up tree sp.

'I pulled a liana and made a climbing loop and went up to the *mirmping*-tree.'

Pa kupm alm hungkuran wris ari har.
D 1sg shoot.R arrow one but miss

'And I shot one arrow but it missed.'

Wa yaper nar atom wa kil pa akwe-wopm lala;
and back come.down then and 3sg D call.R-1sgO say-say

itatu -wo eng a kai kil-ke
hurry.IR-IMP OBL G go here-EMP?

'And it turned back down and he called to me; hurry up, it escapes!'

Kupm ras-ras kul nar kanokg ti, pirng kaino itna wunei yiprokg pa
1sg rush-rush come descend ground this run.to go up stand.R tree sp. root D
'I rushed down to the ground, run up to the base of the *wunei*-tree.'

Kil la-la nar eng elng kai wap pa, ari kupm
3sg say-say descend OBL put go breadfruit-tree D but 1sg

perng taluk am kai meng ise
throw spear now go neck PERF

 'It tried to come down and go to a breadfruit tree, but I threw spear and hit it to the neck.'

Angkat-en elng nar kanokg ti pipa mentekg or-or amo,
carry.R-ATR put come down ground here C 1dual beat-beat die.R

yikal a-kil pa tapor.
bow G-3sg D break.R

'When the spear threw it to ground we two beat it to death, and his bow broke.'

Am ekg aye kul no anong ise.
now two carry.R come come up village PERF

'And we two carried it up to the village.'

Stori am kai kol-pa-ke.
story now go like-D -PERF

'This is the end of the story.'

7.3. David kai Ukarumpa

David goes to Ukarumpa

Kupm	*la*	*la*	*nakepm*	*wang*	*a*	*men*	*kul*
	nampokgen	*kweikwei*	*a*	*men*			
Kupm	la	la	naki-epm	wang	a	men	kul	nampokgen	kweikwei	a	men
1sg	say	say	tell.R-2plO	time	REL	1pl.Exc	come	with.R	things	REL	1pl.Exc

ari	*a*	*antokg*	*ak*	*wang*	*pa*
ari	a	antokg	ak	wang	pa
see.R	and	do.R	use.R	time	D

' I want to tell you about the day we came and what we saw and did on that day.'

Ak	*wang*	*a*	*men*	*kul*	*pa*	*men*
	numprampen	*wrikya*	*pa*	*kinar*	*rpma*	
Ak	wang	a	men	kul	pa	men	numprampen	urikya	pa	kai-nar	arpma
use.R	time	REL	1pl.Exc	come	D	1pl.Exc	prepare.R	things	D	go.down	sit.R

kinar	*wrik*	*a*	*kirmpa*	*angkowe*	*pa.*
kai-nar	urik	a	kirmpa	angko -e	pa
go.down	place	REL	airplane	fall.R –TR	EMP

' The day we came we put together the luggage and went down to the airstrip.'

Pirkko	ekg	Debi	pa	nampokgen	mentekg	Josech	pa
	nampokgen	tu		wrong			
Pirkko	wekg	Debi	pa	nampokgen	mentekg	Josech	pa	nampokgen	tu	urong
Pirkko	two	Debi	D	with.R	1dual	Josech	D	with.R	3pl	people

tiur	*yat*	*a*	*aye*	*wrikya*	*a*	*Pirkko*	*ekg*	*Debi*	*pa,*	*men*	*kinar*	*wrik*
tiur	yat	a	aye	urikya	a	Pirkko	wekg	Debi	pa	men	kai-nar	urik
some	also	REL	carry.R	things	G	Pirkko	two	Debi	D	1pl.Exc	go.down	place

a	*kirmpa*	*angkowe*	*pa.*
a	kirmpa	angko -e	pa
REL	airplane	fall.R-TR	D

'Pirkko and Debi together with us two me and Josech and some people also who carried Pirkko's and Debi's things, we went down to the airstrip.'

Kirmpa	*pa*	*kul*	*angko*	*awiyo*	*aye*	*kul.*
kirmpa	pa	kul	angko	awi -o	aye	kul
airplane	D	come	fall.R	take.R-1plO	carry.R	come

'Airplane landed and took us with'

Men	kul	ari	hu	kop	Sepik	pa	men	kul	angko	wreren	ari	waipmunu
men	kul	ari	hu	kop	Sepik	pa	men	kul	angko	ureren	ari	waipmunu
1pl.Exc	come	see.R	water	river	Sepik	D	1pl.Exc	come	fall.R	near	see.R	cloud

pa	akampri	ya	a	kirmpa	hore	pa,	atom	men	plelng	yaper	kinar
pa	ak-ampri	ya	a	kirmpa	hor -e	pa	atom	men	plelng	yaper	kai-nar
D	do.R-block.R	road	REL	airplane	enter-TR	D	then	1pl.Exc	turn	back	go.down

angko	Madang	pa	hokg	mining	uris.
angko	Madang	pa	hokg	mining	uris
fall.R	Madang	and	sleep	night	one

'We travelled and saw the Sepik river and we came nearer but clouds were blocking the way of the airplane, and we turned back and landed to Madang and slept one night there.'

Plalng	ak	kong	miningket	takgni	a	alm	num	pa	men	no.
plalng	ak	kong	mining-et	takgni	a	alm	num	pa	men	no
finish	use.R	morning	night –ATR	sun	INT	shoot.R	skin	C	1pl.Exc	come.up

'Then early at morning when the sun started to shine we came up.'

Wreren	eng	takgni	no	kwa	pa	men	palng	Ukarumpa.
ureren	enga	takgni	no	kwa	pa	men	palng	Ukarumpa
near	almost	sun	come.up	up	C	1pl.Exc	arrive	Ukarumpa

'When the sun was getting high (at noon) we arrived at Ukarumpa.'

Ak	wang	a	men	tatu	ya	pa	kul
	pa		men		ari	hu	kop	wailwail
ak	wang	a	men	tatu	ya	pa	kul	pa	men	ari	hu	kop	wail-wail
use.R	time	REL	1pl.Exc	about	road	D	come	C	1pl.Exc	see.R	water	river	big -big

tipmining	wailwail	anong	watipmen.
tipmining	wail-wail	anong	watipmen
mountain	big –big	village	plenty

'When we were coming, on the way, we saw big rivers, big mountains and many villages.'

Men	ari	hu	kop	Ramu	a	nampokgen	hu	kop	wasokwasok	tiur	ai.
men	ari	hu	kop	Ramu	a	nampokgen	hu	kop	wasok-wasok	tiur	ai
1pl.Exc	see.R	water	river	Ramu	and	with.R	water	river	small-small	some	Remote

'We saw the Ramu river and also some tiny rivers.'

A men ari hunokg ak wang a men
    kai hokg kai Madang,
a men ari hu-nokg ak wang a men kai hokg kai Madang
and 1pl.Exc see.R water-salt use.R time REL 1pl.Exc go sleep go Madang

a wa men ari nimpen pa yat.
a wa men ari nimpen pa yat
and again 1pl.Exc see.R flying foxes D also

'And we saw the sea when we slept at Madang, and we saw those flying foxes also.'

Wan a men hokge pa men hokg kai
    wan wail ur a tu Lutren
wan a men hokg–e pa men hokg kai wan wail ur a tu Lutren
house REL 1pl.Exc sleep-TR D 1pl.Exc sleep go house big ID G 3pl Lutherans

nampokgen melnum a wamparpme kirmpa pa.
nampokgen melnum a wam-arpma-e kirmpa pa
with.R man REL hand-sit -TR airplane D

'About the house we slept in, we slept in a big house of Lutheran Mission with the pilot.'

Ak wang a men kul palng ti pa
    kupm pa wang hep
ak wang a men kul palng ti pa kupm pa wang hep
use.R time REL 1pl.Exc come arrive this that 1sg D time first
akupmen
a-kupm-en
G-1sg -ATR

a kul ti.
a kul ti
REL come here

'The time we arrived was the first time I came here.'

Atom wropukopm paipm wrisen.
atom uropuk -opm paipm uris-en
then feeling.cold-1s.O bad one –ATR

'Therefore I felt very cold.'

Bas pa kai awiyo kai wrik a kirmpa
    angkowe pa ayewo kai
Bas pa kai awi –o kai urik a kirmpa angko-e pa aye -o kai

bus D go   take.R-1pl.O go   place REL   airplane fall.R -TR   C carry.R-1pl.O go

kaino	*wan*	*a*	*Pirkko*	*ekg*	*Debi*	*pa.*
kai-no	wan	a	Pirkko	wekg	Debi	pa
go.up	house	G	Pirkko	two	Debi	D

Bus picked us from the airstrip and took us up to the house of Pirkko and Debi.

Monto	*rpma*	*waiketn*	*plalng*	*pipa*	*mentekg*	*Josech*	*nar*	*Translator*	*Lodge.*
minto	arpma	waiketn	plalng	pa-pa	mentekg	Josech	nar	Translator	Lodge
1pauc.	Sit.R	little	finish	D -D	1dual	Josech	come.down	Translator	Lodge

'We sat a little while there and then I and Josech went down to the Translators Lodge.'

Melnum	*a*	*ikgalen*	*Translator*	*Lodge*	*pa*	*alko*	*ki*
	a	*wan*	*ok*	*ur*	*pa*		
melnum	a	ikgalen	Translator	Lodge	pa	alk–o	ki	a	wan	ok	ur	pa
person	Rel	look.after.R	Translator	Lodge	D	give.R-1plO	key	G	house	fruit	one	D

nampokgen	*wrik*	*kweikwei*	*a*	*hokge*	*pa*	*atom*	*mentekg*	*kokwa*	*wanyun*
nampokgen	urik	kweikwei	a	hokg–e	pa	atom	mentekg	kokwa	wanyun
with.R	bed	plural	G	sleep-TR	and	then	1dual	open	door

pa	*elng*	*wrikya*	*almentekgen*	*pa*	*elngkirmpa.*
pa	elng	urikya	al-mentekg-en	pa	elng-armpa
D	put	things	G -1dual -ATR	D	put –lie.R

'The man who looked after the Translator Lodge gave us key to one room and sleeping things and then we opened the door and put our things inside.'

Mentekg	*ar*	*wanyun*	*pa*	*mentekg*	*kinar*	*armpen*
wurkapm	*wompel*					
mentekg	ar	wanyun	pa	mentekg	kai-nar	armpen	wurkapm	wompel
1dual	close.R	door	D	1dual	go-down	buy.R	paper	piece

kinar	*Printshop*	*ai.*
kai-nar	Printshop	ai
go-down	Printshop	LOC

'We locked the door and went down to the print-shop to buy pieces of paper.'

Atom	*mentekg*	*aye*	*wurkapm*	*wompel*	*pa*	*kai*	*plan*	*melnum*	*a*	*arpmen*	*wan.*
atom	mentekg	aye	wurkapm	wompel	pa	kai	plan	melnum	a	arpma-en	wan
then	1dual	carry.R	paper	piece	C	go	show	man	REL	sit -TR	house

'Then we took the pieces of paper and showed to the man who looked after the house.'

Mentekg	armpen	okipma	pa	mentekg	aye	kaino	wan
	pa	mentekg					
mentekg	armpen	okipma	pa	mentekg	aye	kai-no	wan	pa	mentekg
1dual	buy.R	food	C	1dual	carry.R	go.up	house	C	1dual

ntam	al	mentekg	rpma.
antam	al	menekg	arpma
cook.R	eat.R	1dual	sit.R

'We bought food and carried it to the house and cooked and ate and stayed there.'

Mentekg	rpma	wang	wampomis	plalng	pipa	mentekg	kinar
mentekg	arpma	wang	wam-wom -is	plalng	pa-pa	mentekg	kai-nar
1dual	sit.R	time	hand-other-ATR	finish	C-C	1dual	go.down

Trening Senta	pa	ak	wang	a	itna	hep	eng	wang	a	ak	kwapel	pa.
Trening Senta	pa	ak	wang	a	atna	hep	eng	wang	a	ak	kwap-el	pa
Training Centre	D	use.R	time	REL	stand.R	first	OBL	time	G	do.R	work-3sgO	D

'We stayed there five days and then we went down to the Training Centre at the first day of the course.'

Wang	a	mentekg	kinar	Trening Senta	pa	Debi	kil	akayewo	kinar.
wang	a	mentekg	kai-nar	Trening Senta	pa	Debi	kil	ak-aye–o	kai-nar
time	REL	1dual	go-down	Training Center	D	Debi	3sg	do.R-carry.R-1plO	go-down

'When we went down to the Training Centre, Debi took us there by car.'

Mentekg	awi	wan	pa	rpma	plalng	pipa	kil
	kaino	wan					
mentekg	awi	wan	pa	arpma	plalng	pa-pa	kil	kai-no	wan
1dual	get.R	house	C	sit.R	finish	C-C	3sg	go.up	house

alntuwekgen	Pirkko	pa.
al-tu -wekg-en	Pirkko	pa
G-3pl-two-ATR	Pirkko	D

'When we had received a house (to stay) she went up to the house of her and Pirkko.'

Ampake	yangkipm	waiketn	plalng.
Am-pa-ise	yangkipm	waiketn	plalng
Now-that-PERF	talk	little	finish

'The little talk is finished now.'

8. Bibliography

Bybee, Joan L. 1985. Morphology. A study of the relation between meaning and form. Typological studies in language 9.   Benjamins Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.

Chafe, W.L. 1976. 'Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics and points of view.' in Li, C.N (Ed.) Subject and Topic, Academic Press: NY, NY.

Crystal, David. 1985. A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Lyons, John. 1977. Semantics. Vol 1. Cambridge: C.U.P.

Comrie, Bernard 1981. Language Universals and Linguistic Typology. Basil Blackbell, Oxford.

Comrie. Bernard 1982. Aspect. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fillmore, Charles 1968. The case for case. In Bach & Harms (1977, ed.)

Foley, William A. & Robert D. van Valin JR. 1984. Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 38,   Cambridge.

Foster, J. 1979. Agents, accessories and owners. In Plank (1979, ed.).

Givón, Talmy 1975. Topic, pronoun and grammatical agreement. In Li (1975. ed.).

--------   1979a. On Understanding Grammar. London.

--------   1979b. ed. Syntax and Semantics 12. Academic Press, New York.

--------   1984. Syntax. A Functional.Typological Intorduction. Vol 1. Benjamins. Amsterdam / Philadlephia.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1966. Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In Universals of Language. Ed. Greenberg J. The MIT Press, Cambridge.

Hakulinen, Auli & Fred Karlsson & Maria Vilkuna 1980. Suomen tekstilauseiden piirteitä: kvantitatiivinen tutkimus. Publications of the Department of General Linguistics, University of Helsinki.

Li, Charles & Sandra A. Thompson 1975a. Subject and topic: a new typology of language. In Li (1975 Ed.).

-------   1975b, toim. Word Order and Word order Change. University of Texas Press, Austin.

--------   1979. Third-person pronoun and zero anaphora in Chinese discourse. In Givón (1979 Ed.).

Shopen, Timothy, 1987. Ed. Language typology and syntactic description I – III. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.