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VALENCE-INCREASING STRATEGIES IN URIM SYNTAX

By

Joyce Kathleen Wood

Presented to the Faculty of
the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

Valence-increasing strategies in Urim syntax

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Master of Arts
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Applied Linguistics

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Urim, an SVO Torricelli language of Papua New Guinea, has very few underived ditransitive verbs. Urim uses an applicative construction and serial verb constructions to increase the valence of a clause. Aside from the verb *uk* 'give', most verbs require the applicative suffix *-n* to form ditransitive clauses. In serial verb constructions (SVC), a second verb is used to express instruments and goals, and the two verbs form one clause. Directional and posture verbs in Urim are semi-transitive; they take a locative object whose syntactic properties, e.g., fronting and relativization, differ from those of primary objects. In directional or posture SVCs, locative objects of semi-transitive verbs differ in the same way, and express the semantic goal of the SVC. External possession is another ditransitive construction, in which a possessor and its body part are both expressed as grammatical objects.

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Writing this thesis has been a “mountain” for me to climb. Many people supported me, cheered me on, and helped me in this process. I have learned that it is okay to need the help of others.

Seija Meinander faithfully asked the Urim-Kalpm speakers any elicitation questions that I sent, while she was in the Sepik region and I was in America. She believed in my desire to write this thesis, which encouraged me greatly. I also thank my friends in the Kalpm language area for praying for me. Pirkko Luoma and Ritva Hemmilä’s grammar sketch of the other dialect of Urim gave me an advantage in learning the structures of the language quickly.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	=	first person
2	=	second person
3	=	third person
ADJ	=	adjective
APPL	=	applicative
CAUS	=	causative
COMP	=	complementizer
CONT	=	continuous
CPL	=	completive
DEM	=	demonstrative
DIM	=	diminutive
DU	=	dual
DUR	=	durative
EMPH	=	emphasis
FUT	=	future
GAP	=	gap
GEN	=	genitive
INTJ	=	interjection
IRR	=	irrealis
LCAN	=	locative anaphora
LOC	=	locative object
O	=	object (in clitic pronouns)
OBJ	=	primary object
OBJ2	=	secondary object
OBL	=	oblique
PAUC	=	paucal
PL	=	plural
POSS	=	possessive
PREP	=	preposition
PRO	=	pronoun
REL	=	relativizer
SG	=	singular
SUBJ	=	subject
TR	=	transitivizer
]	=	phonological boundary

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Urim, the Urim people, and linguistic fieldwork

The Urim language [URI] is located in the Sepik region of Papua New Guinea, on the border of the East Sepik and Sandaun (West Sepik) Provinces, and south of the Sepik Highway. About 4,000 Urim speakers live on mountain ridges in the southern foothills of the Torricelli mountains. See the map in Figure 1.

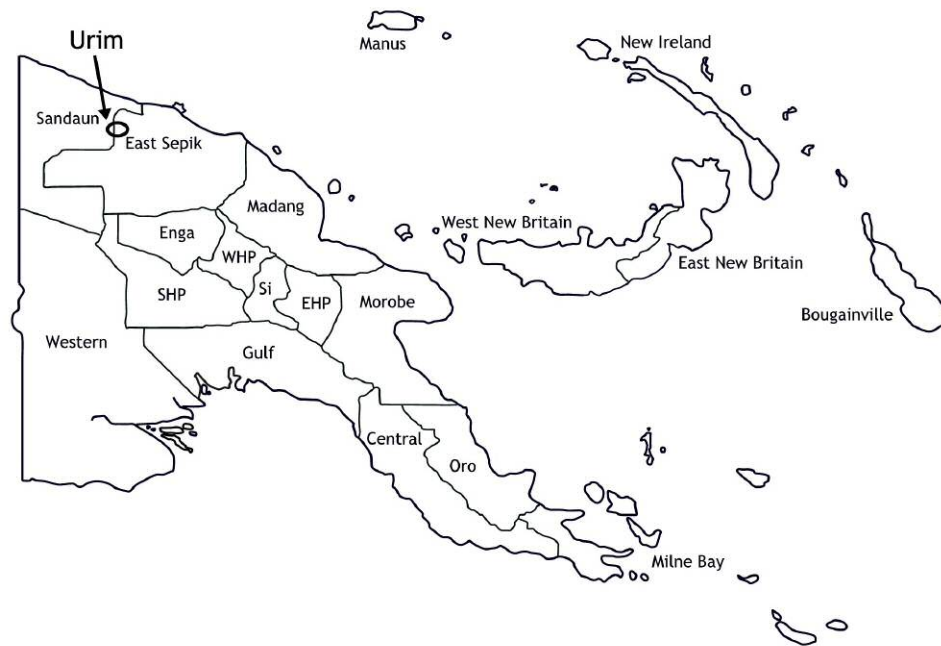


Figure 1. The Urim language area in Papua New Guinea

This thesis is based on the Kukwo or Kalpm dialect of Urim. The 700 - 1000 people of the Kukwo dialect live on the west side of the language group, across the Bongos River, which is the province border. The Kalpm people receive education, health and political

services from the Nuku district of the Sandaun Province, whereas the Yangkolen dialect people receive services from the Dreikikir district of the East Sepik Province. *Kukwo* is the name that the Yangkolen (main dialect) call this dialect group; however, speakers of this dialect call their own language *Kalpm*. People on both sides of the river say that *kalpm* 'no' in the Kalpm/Kukwo dialect contrasts with the Yangkolen dialect *kalpis* 'no'.¹

In 1979, SIL in Papua New Guinea began working in the Urim language. Pirkko Luoma lived in Laningwap village and did initial phonology and orthography work, based on Yangkolen, the main dialect of Urim. Seija Meinander began living with the Kukwo/Kalpm dialect group in 2005, and in 2008-2009 I joined her to do my field research. I had the opportunity to try learning their language, and to record a corpus of traditional legends and stories from daily life. With Seija, I made five trips of about 6 weeks each: a total of 32 weeks in the language area. The people took good care of us, and shared with us their garden food. In the village context, I related to Seija as her daughter, calling her my mother, and her village brothers became my fathers. I very much appreciated having a place in the kinship system, and addressing people by family titles such as father, sister, or mother.

I worked with older men and women as my language teachers and storytellers. Tok Pisin is strong all over the Sepik region, and I rarely met anyone who did not understand and speak Tok Pisin. Young parents assume that their children will pick up the Urim language by the time they grow up, the way they did, and use much Tok Pisin when they speak to their children. Children have a passive knowledge of Urim-Kalpm, and varying levels of ability to speak it. A few Urim-Kalpm people have been to the STEP (Strengthening Tokples² Education in PNG) literacy training offered by SIL, so in recent years two fledgling Kalpm language preschools (*tok ples* prep schools) have been started, to teach children to read in the Urim-Kalpm language (and Tok Pisin) before they transition to the English language instruction of the community schools run by the government.

¹ The word for 'no' is a common way to name languages in the Sepik region of PNG, based on Laycock's early surveys in the region (Laycock 1973).

² *Tok ples* is the Tok Pisin word for 'vernacular'.

The native speakers who worked with me the most were Bibiyana and Maria from Nangen village, plus Andrew Nirak, Maria’s husband, and Ana James and Margaret from Womgrer village, plus Ana Matthew. I used Tok Pisin to communicate in my language sessions, but I often experienced frustration, because the meaning of so many verbs were given as *brukim* 'to break'. Also using Tok Pisin, I discussed and received informed consent from two groups of language teachers (the women and then the men); see Appendix B.

The bulk of the texts collected are oral and were recorded in February 2009. Many are traditional legends (called “*tumbuna* stories”) and some are from everyday life. They were transcribed by me and my language teachers, named above, and later were interlinearized in Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX).

1.2 Phonology and morphophonemics

Urim [u'rim] (in the Kalpm/Kukwo dialect) has 15 consonant phonemes and 10 vowels. In addition to three voiceless stops and three voiced nasals as shown in Table 1, Urim has a set of “pre-stopped nasals” [Pᵐ, ᵐŋ, ᵐŋ]. They are voiceless in isolation, but are often voiced when followed by a vowel in the following syllable or word. These phonemes are underlyingly voiceless nasals, and the pre-ploded stop is a phonetic enhancement, in order to pronounce the voiceless nasal (Sharon Inkelas, p.c., c.f. Stevens & Keyser 1989). This is similar to the analysis of pre-stopped nasals in Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.:7), but it follows that the voiceless nasals can be placed in the phoneme chart, on par with the voiced nasals. Table 1 shows the phoneme inventory of Urim consonants.

Table 1. Phoneme inventory of Urim consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p	t		k	
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Voiceless Nasal	m̥	n̥		ŋ̥	
Trill		r			
Fricative		s			h
Approximant	w		j	(w)	
Lateral		l			

There are five vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ and five palatalized vowels /aⁱ, eⁱ, iⁱ, oⁱ, uⁱ/ (Luoma 1996). Luoma (1996) explains that there is a process of palatalization on the alveolar nasals /n, ŋ/, due to the palatalized vowels. When the voiced or voiceless alveolar nasal is preceded by a palatalized vowel, the nasal is palatalized to [ɲ, ɲ̥] by a process of progressive assimilation. Also related to this palatalization is that the phoneme /s/ has an allophone [ç], a voiceless palatal stop, that is represented in the Kalpm dialect orthography as <j>.

Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.:12) list ten morphophonemic rules for Urim. One process in particular warrants mention here. At morpheme boundaries and word boundaries, a voiced nasal is followed by an epenthetic homorganic voiceless stop, when the following syllable begins with a vowel or a sonorant consonant.

Obstruent Epenthesis

$$\emptyset \rightarrow C_{[-\text{voice}, -\text{cont}, \alpha \text{ place}]} / N_{[+\text{voice}, \alpha \text{ place}]} \text{ ___ }]_{\text{morpheme}} [+ \text{sonorant}]$$

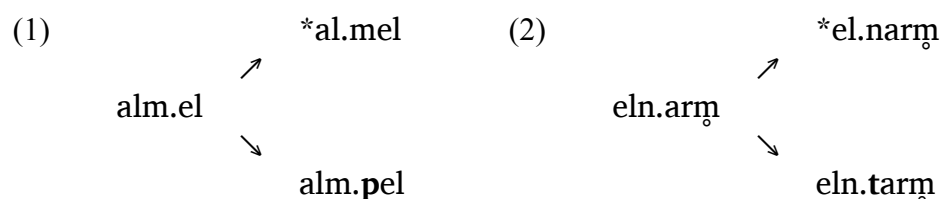
That is, a voiceless stop [p, t, k, ç] is inserted (respectively) between a voiced syllable-final nasal [m, n, ŋ, ɲ] and a syllable-initial {V, w, j, r, h}. It then becomes the onset of the following syllable, or forms a consonant cluster onset with the sonorant consonant.

This epenthesis is an example of the Syllable Contact Law, which says that given syllables A.B next to each other, it is preferred for the coda of syllable A to be more sonorant

than the onset of syllable B (Seo 2011:1246). Sonority has been defined as the likelihood of a sound to be the peak of its syllable (Goldsmith & Larsen 1990) or a unique, relative phonological element that categorizes all speech sounds into a hierarchical scale (Parker 2011:1160). According to the Sonority Hierarchy below, vowels are the most sonorous sounds, then glides such as [w, j], then liquids [r, l], next nasals [n, m, ŋ, m̥, n̥, ŋ̥]; fricatives and stops (obstruents) are the least sonorant segments (Seo 2011:1246).

Sonority Hierarchy vowels > glides > liquids > nasals > obstruents

Syllable Contact Epenthesis is illustrated in example (1) with /alm = el/, 'shoot=him', and in example (2) with /eln arm̥/ 'put sit'. In the underlying form, when the forms are put together, there is a voiced nasal before the syllable boundary and a vowel after it. The consonant clusters [lN] and [rN] are valid syllable codas in Urim, so the morpheme (word) of syllable A is not broken up across the syllable boundary, as in the hypothetical resyllabification *al.mel (and *el.narm̥) which does not occur. In order to repair the poor syllable contact, a stop is inserted to be the onset of the second syllable: [p] in example (1) and [t] in example (2). The coda of syllable A retains both of its consonants, and the voiceless stop (an obstruent) which is the onset of syllable B has lower sonority than the nasal it follows, thus satisfying the Syllable Contact Law.



In example (3), the pronoun clitic /= om̥/ 'me' is added to the stem /aklin/ 'help'. The first step in the ordered rule is that the alveolar nasal is palatalized by the vowel preceding it (see Luoma 1996). Next, to repair the syllable contact between the palatal nasal

and the following vowel, a voiceless palatal stop [ç] is inserted. After the voiceless nasal is pre-ploded, the resulting phonetic output for 'help=me' is [aklɪj.co^pɱ].

(3)	Underlying representation:	/aklin = oɱ/
	Palatalization:	aklɪj.oɱ
	Obstruent Epenthesis:	aklɪj.coɱ
	Pre-plosion:	[aklɪj.co ^p ɱ]

Obstruent Epenthesis occurs within compounds as well. The input of example (4) is a compound noun *man-yan* 'mother-father' > 'parents'. The coda of syllable A is a voiced nasal [n], while the beginning of syllable B is [j], a palatal approximant. This juxtaposition of a nasal at the end of syllable A and a glide at the beginning of syllable B violates the Syllable Contact Law. When the voiceless stop [t] is inserted, the change in sonority from [n] to [t] is a decrease, and syllable B has a new onset consonant cluster of [tj].

(4)	Underlying representation:	/man.jan/
	Obstruent Epenthesis:	man.tjan
	Phonetic output:	[man.tjan]

Stress in Urim is typically on the final syllable. In verbs it is always on the final syllable. In some two-syllable nouns, if the first syllable vowel is more open than the vowel in the second syllable, stress is on the first syllable; otherwise, stress on the noun is also on the final syllable (Hemmilä & Luoma n.d.:10). The vowel in unstressed syllables is often reduced to [ə] or [ɨ].

The voiceless nasals /ɱ, ŋ, ŋ̥/ are written in the Urim orthography as <pm, tn, kg>. This thesis uses a modified orthographic representation for these nasals: <pm, tn, kng>. Since most examples are in orthographic representation, note that syllables such as *hapm* /ham̥/ 'cloth, clothes' and *nokng* /noŋ̥/ 'salt' are not violations of the Sonority

Sequencing Principle (Selkirk 1984:116). Square brackets will be used to represent the epenthetic consonants, for example: *aklin*=[j]opm 'help me'.

1.3 Torricelli family literature

There is a large unpublished grammar of the Yangkolen dialect, the main dialect of Urim (Hemmilä & Luoma n.d.). Chapters 1-3 were written by Pirkko Luoma, and chapters 4-6 were written by Ritva Hemmilä. Chapter 1 introduces the phonology and orthography, and morphophonemic changes. Chapter 2 deals with word classes, and chapter 3 describes the noun phrase, conjunctions and linking, and the predication part of the sentence. Chapter 4, an unpublished paper written by Hemmilä in 1991, begins with a chart of basic clause types. She organizes Urim clauses into a syntactic typology of: Intransitive clauses; Semi-transitive clauses (Directional, Locative, Resultative); Transitive clauses (Monotransitive, Ditransitive); Nominal clauses (Equative, Descriptive); and Topic clauses (Possessive, Experience). Chapters 5-6 examine relative clauses, complement clauses, clausal conjunctions, tail-head linkage, and discourse-level phenomena such as participant reference.³ The Yangkolen and Kukwo dialects are close to each other, with regular sound changes and some lexical and grammatical differences. I have greatly benefited from Luoma and Hemmilä's work.

An Urim dialect survey (Luoma 1992) finds the Kukwo dialect and the Yangkolen dialect to be 95% cognate (based only on lexicostatistics).⁴ The dialects are mutually intelligible, but are separated by sociological, political (province border), and orthography differences.

The neighboring languages Urat and Kombio are more closely related to Urim than others of the Torricelli family, as Ross (1999) tentatively suggested in his unpublished com-

³ An earlier version of this unpublished paper is available on the PNG Language Resources website (Hemmilä & Luoma 1987).

⁴ Within the Yangkolen dialect, there are Urim 1 and Urim 2 dialects.

parative study of pronouns in Papuan languages.⁵ According to the lexicostatistics done in Luoma (1992), Urat on the east of Urim is 11.8% cognate, and Kombio to the north is 7.7% cognate with Urim. Aside from Urim, Kombio is the only other Torricelli language known to lack subject agreement. Torricelli family languages typically distinguish realis-irrealis modality, and aspect, rather than tense. Kombio, Urim, and Urat, as well as the Arapesh languages, share the extra distinction of vowel-raising ablaut to mark irrealis forms: the /a/ vowel of the realis form is raised to /i/ (or /u/) in the irrealis form. Most Kombio verbs seem to have high vowel irrealis forms. In Urat, vowel-raising irrealis forms are found in only a small percentage of the verbs. More often, a bound irrealis particle *-a* is joined with a subject prefix, to form a preverbal irrealis particle (Barnes 1989:39).

There are about 50 Torricelli languages. Aside from Urim, some other Torricelli family languages are Olo, One (Onnele), Au, Valman (Walman), and the Arapesh languages: Bukiyip, Mufian, Filifita, Bumbita, Arapesh, Abu' (Robert Conrad, p.c.). All of these languages have SVO word order and subject agreement prefixes on the verbs. They also share irrealis distinctions, object suffixes, and sometimes object infixes (Staley 2007, Scorza 1978, Conrad & Wogiga 1991). The Arapesh languages are known for their extensive noun class systems (Conrad & Wogiga 1991, Dobrin 1999). Kamasau is a Torricelli language with SOV word order (Sanders & Sanders 1994).

The Sepik river basin is the most complex linguistic area within the island of New Guinea. Along with Torricelli, its 200 languages comprise the following language families: Lower Sepik-Ramu, Ndu (e.g., Iatmul, Manambu), Sepik Hill (e.g., Alambak), Ram, Tama, and Skou (Aikhenvald & Stebbins 2007:246). The languages in these other language families tend to have SOV word order.

⁵ “If we assume that pronouns are among the forms retained during contact-induced change (and the evidence indicates strongly that this is usually so),” then pronouns are useful in the comparative method of historical linguistics (Ross 1999:1).

1.4 Transitivity literature

Syntactic transitivity involves two main types of clauses: transitive and intransitive. Following Andrews (2007:138), transitive and intransitive clauses are defined using the following concepts. Primary transitive verbs (PTV) are the class of two-argument verbs which take an agent and a patient argument. An NP argument has the grammatical function A if it receives the same morphological and syntactic treatment as the agent of a primary transitive verb; likewise, the grammatical function P is attributed to an NP argument which receives the same grammatical treatment as the patient of a PTV.

The A and P arguments often have morphological and syntactic properties which set them apart from other NP arguments. They tend to express a wider range of semantic roles than just agent and patient. They are usually associated with grammatical relations such as subject and object, and they tend to be targeted for special treatment by syntactic rules. The A and P arguments, as well as any other arguments that have special morphological and syntactic properties similar to those of A and P, are called *core* arguments. In contrast to core arguments, all other arguments selected by a verb are called *oblique* arguments. In some languages, core arguments are bare NPs whereas oblique arguments are marked with a preposition; in other languages, marked and unmarked NPs do not correlate with the core/oblique distinction (Andrews 2007:153).

A *transitive* clause is one which has both A and P functions. An *intransitive* clause is a clause which has one and only one core argument. A *ditransitive* clause has three core arguments. Both intransitive and transitive clauses (and ditransitive clauses) can include oblique arguments.

An NP in an intransitive clause has the grammatical function S if it receives the morphological and syntactic treatment usually given to the single argument of a one-argument predicate. The grammatical relation of subject is “the normal expression of the A and S grammatical functions, but not others such as P or obliques” (Andrews 2007:166).

Table 2 shows the core vs. oblique grammatical relations of Urim. The core grammatical relations are subject, object, and secondary object. Most oblique arguments are marked by a preposition; oblique NPs with the grammatical relation LOC are introduced in §1.4.2.

Table 2. Core vs. Oblique grammatical relations

← core →			oblique	
NP _{SUBJ}	NP _{OBJ}	NP _{OBJ2}	NP _{LOC}	PP _{OBL}

1.4.1 Primary and secondary object

Ditransitive clauses contain a subject and two objects. When there are two grammatical objects, how do we distinguish one from the other? Dryer (2007:256) contrasts primary and secondary objects with direct and indirect objects. He defines primary object and secondary object in terms of the functions P, T, and R, grammatical abstractions based on the semantic roles patient, theme, and recipient-like argument, respectively. In “direct object languages,” the patient (P) of a monotransitive verb and the theme (T) of a ditransitive verb have the same syntactic properties and are called the direct object. The recipient (R) of a ditransitive verb is treated differently by the grammar, and is considered the indirect object. For example, in some languages the direct object is a bare NP, while the indirect object is marked with a preposition or dative case. By contrast, in “primary object languages,” the patient (P) of a monotransitive verb and the recipient (R) of a ditransitive verb are treated the same way by the syntax and are called the primary object. If the theme (T) of a ditransitive verb is treated differently, it is called the secondary object.

Table 3 illustrates these two patterns. In the first, P & T are the direct object, and R is the indirect object. In the second pattern, P & R are the primary object, and T is the secondary object (Dryer 2007:256). Beneficiaries are often treated as recipient-like arguments (R).

Table 3. Direct object vs. Primary object

	Direct Object: P & T	Primary Object: P & R
transitive	P (patient)	P (patient)
ditransitive	T (theme) R (recipient)	T (theme) R (recipient)

The kinds of syntactic properties that distinguish direct objects from indirect objects and primary objects from secondary objects cross-linguistically include differences in agreement, passivization, word order position, and special marking (case or prepositions). If the verb agrees with only one object, the primary or direct object is likely to be the one with which it agrees. The primary or direct object is also more likely to be available for passivization and to occur closer to the verb. If one object is marked and the other is not, the object without overt marking is usually the direct or primary object (Kroeger 2005:62).

It is rare in Urim for a verb to take two NP objects, but there is a clitic object position attached to the verb, and an NP object position following the verb+clitic. Urim is a primary object language, and the clitic object is the primary object, while the NP object is a secondary object.

1.4.2 Serial verb constructions and semi-transitive verbs

Valence refers to the number of core arguments that a verb has. An intransitive verb is monovalent, a transitive verb is bivalent, and a ditransitive verb is trivalent.

Languages vary in their syntactic profiles, and this can motivate the types of valency-changing derivations that they employ. For instance, in some languages a high proportion of underived verbs are transitive; coupled with this there are generally valency-decreasing derivations. In other languages a relatively large number of underived verbs are intransitive; in association with this there are normally some valency-increasing derivations (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000:19).

Derivational morphology such as passive and antipassive decreases the valence of a verb.

Causative and applicative morphology increase the valence of a verb.

Another strategy by which languages can increase the valence of a predicate is to use serial verb constructions. As Baker & Harvey (2010:18) put it, serial verb constructions (SVCs) are often used to introduce non-subcategorized arguments into monoclausal structures. In non-serializing languages, “peripheral” semantic roles such as instrument, beneficiary, or location are often expressed as adjuncts, because they are not included in the subcategorization frame of the underived verb. By contrast, serializing languages often use SVCs to express the instrument, beneficiary, location, etc. of an action. The SVC creates a monoclausal construction out of two (or more) verbs. Serial verb constructions are common in West African languages, East Asian languages, Oceanic Austronesian and Papuan languages, as well as in creoles and pidgins (Baker & Harvey 2010:18).

Urim uses serial verb constructions to express locative, goal, and instrument semantic roles, but encodes the beneficiary via an applicative morpheme. In particular, SVCs which express locations and goals use directional verbs and posture verbs, verb classes in Urim which function both as independent verbs and in serial verb constructions, and which do not fit traditional definitions of transitivity.

Directional motion verbs and posture locative verbs in Urim subcategorize for a location argument in addition to a theme, and are here called semi-transitive verbs, following Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.:171). The term “semi-transitive” is often used to refer to two-argument verbs whose arguments are not agent and patient and whose grammatical properties are different from those of primary transitive verbs (Andrews 2007:138; Dryer

2007:270). In Urim *semi-transitive* clauses, a non-PTV (primary transitive verb) has two arguments, S and L. S is mapped to subject, while L is mapped to a grammatical relation called locative object (LOC). While the locative object NP_{LOC} has unique morphosyntactic properties (it is not marked by a preposition), it is an oblique argument, in contrast to the core arguments NP_{SUBJ} and NP_{OBJ}. (See §4.2 for further discussion of locative objects.)

1.5 Clause types

The basic clause order in Urim is SVO, subject-verb-object. In addition, topic-comment structures are common, in which a topic precedes the clause, and the SVO clause is the comment.

Non-verbal predicate clauses, whether equative or attributive, do not use a copula. Two non-verbal predicate types can occur in topic-comment sentences. In experiencer predicate clauses, the experiencer NP can be expressed as a topic, with the comment containing an attributive clause, or as a clitic pronoun on an attributive predicate, or both (see §2.6). Predicative possession always involves a topic-comment structure: the topic is the possessor NP, and the comment is an existential clause which contains the possessed NP (see §4.3).

1.5.1 Introduction to Urim clauses

Transitive clauses are illustrated in example (5) with the verb *alm* 'shoot, pound' and in example (6) with the verb *nampil* 'hold'.⁶

- (5) *Men alm nak pa.*
 1PL pound sago DEM
 'We pound the sago.'

⁶ The demonstrative *pa* 'there' is used to express givenness of the preceding NP, among other functions (Hemmilä 1989).

- (6) *Tu kipman nampil hmpei pa.*
 3PL man hold vine DEM
 'The men hold the rope.'

Example (7) is an intransitive clause. The verb *ham* 'hide' takes one argument, *muinwrwr yek pa* 'the little brother'.

- (7) *Muinwrwr yek pa ham.*
 brother DIM DEM hide
 'My little brother is hiding.'

There is no copula in Urim. Examples (8) and (9) are equative clauses, in which the second NP (in square brackets) is a non-verbal predicate.

- (8) *Hamung pa [ekipma wor].*
 banana DEM food good
 'Bananas are healthy food.'
- (9) *Wail pa [kipman alkupm-en].*
 big DEM man 1SG.GEN-EMPH
 'The big one is my husband.'

Example (10) is an attributive clause, in which the adjective *watinet* 'long' is the predicate of the clause.

- (10) *Tapmanei pa watinet.*
 string DEM long
 'The string is long.'

Examples (11) and (12) are semi-transitive clauses, in which the verbs *kinar* 'go down' and *ha* 'lie' take a locative object without the use of a preposition. (See the discussion of semi-transitive verbs and locative objects in §4.2.)

- (11) *Mentekng kinar kop wail.*
 1DU go.down river big
 'We (two) go down to the big river.'
- (12) *Nak hapmin ha nimong pa.*
 sago sago.shavings lie black.palm DEM
 'The sago shavings are in the black palm basket.'

There are two negators in Urim: *ake* 'not' and *kalpm* 'no'. *Ake* precedes and negates verbs and non-verbal predicates, while *kalpm* follows the entire clause and negates clauses. *Kalpm* is also used to answer yes/no questions (Hemmilä & Luoma n.d.:85). When *kalpm* and *ake* are used together, it reinforces the negation:

- (13) *Tu ake ari=o ak ikng, kalpm.*
 3PL not see=1PL.O use eye no
 'They don't look at us only on the outside,'
 i.e., 'They look beyond our appearances.'
 Lit: 'They don't see us with the eyes.'

Ake can occur either before the verb or before the subject. Example (14) is a simple negation, while in example (15) *ake* 'not' is fronted, to add emphasis to the negation. The pre-subject *ake* negates the whole sentence, not only the NP which immediately follows it.

- (14) *Kil ake alm wampung ur.*
 3SG not shoot possum one
 'He didn't shoot a possum.'
- (15) *Ake kil alm wampung ur.*
 not 3SG shoot possum one
 'He didn't shoot a possum (on his hunting trip).'

Example (16) contains *kalpm* but no *ake*.

- (16) *Kitn arpm hute pa kalpm.*
 2SG sit only DEM no
 '(If) you just live — no!' > 'Don't just live (without working)!'

1.5.2 Typological overview

As mentioned above, Urim has SVO word order, like most Torricelli languages. However, unlike most Torricelli languages, verbs are not inflected for subject agreement. Since verbs do not carry subject agreement prefixes, there is often an overt subject pronoun in text paragraphs. Verbs take object enclitics which are pronouns, not agreement markers. Both independent pronouns and clitic pronouns are used only for animate referents. Clitic pronouns tend to have semantic roles of recipient or beneficiary.

Urim has aspect instead of tense, and realis/irrealis modality, including vowel-raising to mark irrealis forms. The language is rather isolating. There is an applicative suffix *-n*, and a derivational suffix *-en* with lexical semantic effects. There is a locative suffix *-e* which refers back to a location, and a homophonous derivational suffix *-e*, which unfortunately is not studied in this thesis. There is no passive alternation. Although verbs carry much of the functional load, Urim does have adjectives.

There is a generic preposition *ekng* 'PREP' (which is comparable to Tok Pisin *long* 'PREP'), but Urim expresses peripheral semantic roles by means of serial verb constructions, particularly with motion verbs and posture verbs. The verb *ak* 'do' is used to express instrumental serial verb constructions, while the verb *nti* 'accompany' participates in comitative (serial verb?) constructions. The one preposition also functions as a complementizer, introducing complement clauses.

Noun phrases are head-initial with all modifiers following the head noun. For part-whole relationships such as body parts and generic-specific relationships such as flora and fauna, the larger or more general entity precedes the more specific part. There is no case-marking or subject agreement, so word order is used to indicate grammatical relations. The

same word *a* 'POSS' that is used for simple possession is also used as a relativizer. As noted by Hemmilä (1989:41), there are three deictics: *ti* 'here', *pa* 'there', and *ai* 'far'.

1.6 Syntactic objecthood tests

Both primary and secondary objects of a verb can be omitted by zero-anaphora, topicalized, or relativized. The behavior of transitive objects is introduced here, as these three syntactic tests will be used throughout the thesis.

1.6.1 Zero-anaphora

The primary or secondary object of a verb is often omitted when it is known from the preceding context. Object NPs can be omitted under zero-anaphora, while oblique arguments must be overt. The following four examples show zero-anaphora of the object of a transitive verb. In the second sentence of example (17), *ken* 'collect' has a null object referring back to *mintipm* 'tulip greens', whereas the English translation requires a pronoun "them." In example (18), *wel* 'bird' is the implicit, understood object of *lap* 'burn', *ntam* 'cook', and *al* 'eat'.

- (17) *Kil ken mintipm pa. Kil ken kai kai.*
 3SG collect tulip DEM 3SG collect go go
 'She gathered tulip greens. She gathered them for a while.'

- (18) *Kil wi wel ripa, lap, ntam, om al.*
 3SG take bird this burn cook and eat
 'He took the bird, burned the feathers off, cooked it, and ate it.'

In the second clause in example (19), the primary object *munto* 'pig' of *alm* 'shoot' is animate, so that a clitic pronoun =*el* '3SG.O' could be used, but instead there is no overt pronoun. Example (20) is from a traditional legend about mangoes that turn into women; the old woman has given the two young men two mangoes which will turn into women for

them. In (20a) the clitic =en '3PL.O' is on the verb *wi* 'take' of a serial verb construction *wi nar* 'take down'. In (20b) immediately following, there is a clitic on the verb *lokli* 'care for', but zero-anaphora for the object of *wi* 'take'.

- (19) *Munto hor kul pa, kmel alm.*
 pig exit come DEM person shoot
 'The pig came out and a man shot it.'
- (20) a. *Wi=en nar om,*
 take=3PL.O descend now
 'Take them away,'
- b. *wi om lokli=en wor-wor om.*
 take and care.for=3PL.O good-good now
 'Take (them) and take good care of them.'

Secondary objects can also be omitted under zero-anaphora. Example (21) is a ditransitive clause with an applicative suffix. In (21a), the primary object is =*eitn* '2SG.O' and the secondary object is *kha* 'grasshoppers'. In (21b), 'grasshoppers' is omitted, but understood to be the secondary object of *ntekngteitn*. In this example, the secondary object is inanimate; example (62) in §2.3.1 shows zero-anaphora of a secondary object which is animate, *kin* 'woman'. For an example of zero-anaphora of a secondary object when both objects are independent NPs, see example (56) in §2.3.1.

- (21) a. *Mentekng kitin-t=eitn kha nar kokng ai,*
 1DU dig-APPL=2SG.O grasshopper descend stream far
 'We'll dig grasshoppers for you down at the stream.'
- b. *Ekng wa no om ntekng-t=eitn il om.*
 1DU back ascend and make-APPL=2SG.O eat\IRR now
 'We'll come back and cook (them) for you to eat.'

However, the primary object of an applicative ditransitive clause cannot be left implicit. In example (21a) there is a pronoun =*eitn* for the primary object, while in the un-

grammatical (22) there is no pronoun. When the applicative suffix is added to a transitive verb and there is an (animate) beneficiary, the clitic pronoun for the beneficiary is always present.⁷ This pattern with applicative primary objects differs from primary objects of the verb *uk* 'give'; see example (55) in §2.3.1.

- (22) **Mentekng kor-n=Ø kha om.*
 1DU search-APPL=PRO grasshopper now
 'We'll search for grasshoopers for (you).'

Section 5.1 shows that oblique arguments, the objects of prepositions, cannot be omitted via zero-anaphora.

1.6.2 Fronting and left-dislocation

Chafe (1976:50) defines *topic* as that which “sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds.” In Urim, the topic is an optional structural position which precedes the clause; the topic is introduced, and the clause, which is the comment, says something about the topic. In topicalization, or fronting, a constituent (usually an NP) is placed in the topic position, immediately to the left of the clause. The topic NP may have a grammatical relation in the clause, but there is no resumptive pronoun within the clause. Left-dislocations have a similar sentence structure, but are characterized by the presence of a pronominal element within the clause, coreferential with the topic NP (Foley 2007:443). The left-dislocated NP can be coreferential with the subject in Urim, but here we are concerned with the fronting and left-dislocation of primary and secondary objects.

In example (23a), the fronted NP *yor pa* 'the meat' is also the syntactic object of *ye* 'carry' in the serial verb construction *ye nar* 'carry down'. *Yor* 'meat' cannot be an antecedent

⁷ Speech verbs are an exception; see §3.3.2.

for a pronoun, since it is inanimate. Thus, there is no pronominal element in the clause to refer to *yor* 'meat'. The corresponding non-fronted serial verb construction is in (23b).

- (23) a. *Yor pa kil ye nar.*
 meat DEM 3SG carry descend
 'The meat, he brought it (down).'
- b. *Kil ye yor pa nar.*
 3SG carry meat DEM descend
 'He brought the meat (down).'

In example (24a), the topic *yaret* 'dragonfly' > 'helicopter' is inanimate, and is the null object of the verb *kwe lak* 'call say'. Example (24b) shows that the sentence topic *ek hawen pa* 'the local language' does not need to correspond to an element within the clause. Again, *kwe lak* 'call say' has an implicit object *yaret* 'helicopter', the discourse topic understood from the previous clause.

- (24) a. *Ari yaret ti, ak wang riti pa mento kwe lak "sopa" pa.*
 but dragonfly here at time this DEM 1PL call say chopper DEM
 'As for the helicopter, now we call it *chopper* you know.'
- b. *Ek hawen pa mento pike kwe lak "yaret."*
 mouth local DEM 1PL before call say dragonfly
 'In Urim, we used to call it *dragonfly*.'

As for fronting and left-dislocation of a monotransitive primary object which is animate, the verb can have or not have a resumptive pronoun clitic, depending on the discourse properties of that participant. Example (25) is the second element of a tail-head linkage in a text; i.e., it is a summary of the preceding clause. The fronted topic *man pa* 'the mother' is the understood object of *alm* 'shoot', and there is no resumptive pronoun for the animate antecedent.

- (25) *Man pa kil al yo palk alm.*
 mother DEM 3SG eat wood skin shoot
 'The mother, he chewed the betel bark and shot (her) (with an arrow).'

In example (26), that same mother is so happy about what the man did for her and her daughters that she offers her daughters to him. The large NP *warim kin wekng a kupm ti* 'my two daughters' is a left-dislocated topic, and the pronoun clitic *=en* '3PL.O' is coreferential with it.

- (26) *Warim kin wekng a kupm ti kitn wi=en wasok wail ye.*
 child female two POSS 1SG here 2SG take=3PL.O small big carry
 'My two daughters — why don't you take both of them (the younger and the older) and marry them?'

Primary objects of an applicative ditransitive clause can be left-dislocated, but not topicalized. In example (27), the resumptive pronoun *=el* '3SG.O' refers to the left-dislocated NP *Seija*. See also example (64a) in §2.3.1, where the primary object of *uk* 'give' is left-dislocated.

- (27) *Seija, mentekng kor-n=[t]el kha.*
 Seija 1DU search-APPL=3SG.O grasshopper
 'Seija, we two search for grasshoppers for her.'

Secondary objects can be topicalized. In example (28), the clitic pronoun *=o* '1PL.O' is the primary object while the fronted NP *tipmungskul kweikweiur* 'bones and stuff' is the secondary object. Interestingly, *tipmungskul kweikweiur* is topicalized out of a larger NP *tipmungskul kweikweiur waillet* 'a lot of the bones, meat, etc.'

- (28) *Tipmungskul kweikweiur tu wi-n=[j]o waillet ekng mentekng.*
 bone something 3PL take-APPL=1PL.O many PREP 1DU
 'The bones and nice parts of the meat, they took a lot (from the tree kangaroo) for us two.'

Question words such as *mła* 'who', *kuina* 'what', and *ahi* 'where' remain in-situ in Urim. In example (29), *ahi* 'where' occurs in the position that the locative object of *kai* 'go' would occur; in example (30) *mła* 'who' replaces the possessor of the hand that was bitten by a mosquito. The question word has intonational stress and raised pitch.

(29) *Kil wet kai ahi?*
 3SG today go where
 'Where did he go today?'

(30) *Nangil nam wam a mła?*
 mosquito bite hand POSS who
 'Whose hand did a mosquito bite?'

However, question words can occur in the fronted position as well. In example (31) the NP *mła pa* 'who' is fronted, and the comment has a subject, verb, and object, including a pronoun *kil* '3SG' which is coreferential with *mła pa*. Cross-linguistically, question words (or wh-words) have pragmatic focus, not topic (Kroeger 2004:139). This example shows that left-dislocation can be used for focused information.

(31) *Mła pa nangil nam wam a kil?*
 who DEM mosquito bite hand POSS 3SG
 'Who was it that a mosquito bit her hand?'

Prepositional phrases (PPs) can be adjuncts in a clause or oblique arguments of a clause. There are two prepositions in Urim: the generic *ekng* 'PREP' and *ak* 'at', which is a time and manner (but not locational) preposition. PPs with *ekng* 'PREP', whether adjunct or oblique, are never fronted; all examples of *ekng* at the beginning of a sentence involve the complementizer *ekng* 'COMP'. Adjunct time PPs with *ak* 'at' can certainly precede a clause, as in example (32). However, example (33) shows that the oblique PP *ak telp pa* 'with the knife', cannot be fronted. See §5.3.2 for an analysis of the post-verbal *ak* as a preposition.

- (32) *Ak wang hep pa, men pike akwekngel.*
 at time go.first DEM 1PL before not.know
 'In earlier times, we did not know (about all these modern things).'
- (33) **Ak telp pa tu ro mitark.*
 use knife DEM 3PL split jews.harp
 'With the knife they carve a jew's harp.'

Objects, both primary and secondary, can be fronted or left-dislocated. This pattern contrasts with oblique arguments such as oblique PPs or oblique NPs (see §4.2 for oblique NPs).

1.6.3 Relativization

Urim can relativize on the subject, object, and object of a preposition. Monotransitive objects and secondary objects of a ditransitive clause can use a gap strategy, while the object of a preposition (an oblique argument) requires the use of a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause. However, relativization of the primary object of a ditransitive clause always uses a resumptive pronoun, as well.

The head noun *men* '1PL' in example (34) is the subject of the relative clause. The gap for the subject in the relative clause precedes the verb *kwat* 'bear'.

- (34) *men a Ø kwat warim pa*
 1PL REL GAP cut child DEM
 'we who bear children'

Relativization of the primary object of a monotransitive verb can use either the gap strategy or a resumptive pronoun. In examples (35a) and (36a), the gap in the relative clause is for the object of the verb *naren* 'descend on' or *katnun* 'follow'. Example (35a) is from an oral text, while examples (35b), (36a), and (36b) are elicited. The resumptive pronoun =*el* in examples (35b) and (36b) is a transitive object and refers to the head noun *kmel* 'person' of the relative clause.

- (35) a. *kmel a pike maur nar-en Ø*
 person REL before spirit descend-TR GAP
 'the man on whom the spirit came down'
- b. *kmel a pike maur nar-en=[t]el*
 person REL before spirit descend-TR=3SG.O
 'the man that the spirit came down on him'
- (36) a. *Kmel a men katnun Ø mo ase.*
 person REL 1PL follow GAP die CPL
 'The man that we followed has died.'
- b. *Kmel a men katnun=[t]el mo ase.*
 person REL 1PL follow=3SG.O die CPL
 'The man that we followed (him) has died.'

Free and clitic pronouns cannot refer to inanimate antecedents (see §2.2), so a resumptive pronoun is not possible in examples (37) and (38), and a gap strategy is used for the inanimate nouns *wring* 'garden', *nak* 'sago palm', *nep* 'coconut palm', and *hamung* 'banana palm'.

- (37) *wring ketn-ketn a tu ntekng Ø*
 garden little-little REL 3PL make GAP
 'the little garden that they made'
- (38) *nak a kil kli Ø, nep a kil alin Ø, hamung a*
 sago REL 3SG plant.sago GAP coconut REL 3SG plant GAP banana REL
kil alin Ø
 3SG plant GAP
 'the sago palm that she planted, the coconut palm that she planted, the banana palm that she planted'

Example (39a) is a monotransitive clause, having one object NP and one oblique PP. In example (39b), the object *munto wail* 'big pig' is relativized, using a gap following *er* 'hit'.

- (39) a. *Tu kipman er munto wail ekng warim kin wekng.*
 3PL man hit pig big PREP child female two
 'The men killed a big pig for the two girls.'
- b. *munto wail a tu kipman er Ø ekng tu warim kin pa*
 pig big REL 3PL man hit GAP PREP 3PL child female DEM
 'the big pig that the men killed for the two girls'

When the same meaning as (39a) is expressed with an applicative suffix, the clause is ditransitive. The clitic pronoun =*en* '3PL.O' in example (40a) is the primary object and *munto wail* 'big pig' is the secondary object (see §3.3.1), as opposed to (39a) where the pig is a primary object. Example (40b) shows relativization of the secondary object, also using the gap strategy. Example (40c) is a parallel example of secondary object relativization, with a first person pronoun =*opm* '1SG.O' for the primary object.

- (40) a. *Tu kipman er-n=[t]en munto wail.*
 3PL man hit-APPL=3PL.O pig big
 'The men killed a big pig for them.'
- b. *munto wail a tu kipman er-n=[t]en pa Ø*
 pig big REL 3PL man hit-APPL=3PL.O DEM GAP
 'the big pig that the men killed for them'
- c. *munto wail a tu kipman er-n=[t]opm pa Ø*
 pig big REL 3PL man hit-APPL=1SG.O DEM GAP
 'the big pig that the men killed for me'

Example (41a) shows relativization of the two girls, which was the primary object of the applicative construction in (40a). It uses a resumptive pronoun =*en* 'them' on the verb, following the applicative suffix. Without a resumptive pronoun, as in example (41b), the relative clause is ungrammatical. Ditransitive applicative verbs are never attested as in (41b), without a following clitic. Note also that primary objects of a ditransitive clause (which are nearly always clitic pronouns) are always animate in Urim; based on available data, there are no ditransitive primary objects which are inanimate (see §2.3.1).

- (41) a. *tu warim kin a tu kipman er-n=[t]en munto pa*
 3PL child female REL 3PL man hit-APPL=3PL.O pig DEM
 'the girls that the men killed a pig (for them)'
- b. **tu warim kin a tu kipman er-n=Ø munto pa*
 3PL child female REL 3PL man hit-APPL=GAP pig DEM
 'the girls that the men killed a pig (for them)'

The beneficiary of example (39a), the two girls, is the object of a preposition. When that beneficiary is relativized, there must be a resumptive pronoun in the PP, as shown in (42a); example (42b) is ungrammatical.

- (42) a. *warim kin wekng a tu kipman er munto ekng tu*
 child female two REL 3PL man hit pig PREP 3PL
 'the two girls that the men killed a pig for them'
- b. **warim kin wekng a tu kipman er munto ekng Ø*
 child female two REL 3PL man hit pig PREP GAP
 'the two girls that the men killed a pig for (them)'

When the benefactive relationship is merely implicit, i.e., when there is neither a PP nor an applicative suffix, elicitation data shows conflicting grammaticality judgements for relative clauses with no resumptive pronoun. Example (43a) is acceptable, while (43b) is ungrammatical. I do not know why this is the case, or which judgement is more reliable.

- (43) a. *Warim kin a tu kipman er munto pa, pa warim a*
 child female REL 3PL man hit pig DEM that child POSS
Ruben.
 Ruben
 'The girl that the men killed a pig (for her), that was Ruben's daughter.'
- b. **Kerobin, kil warim a mentekng kor kha.*
 Kerobin 3SG child REL 1DU search grasshopper
 '*Kerobin, he's the child that we searched for grasshoppers (for him).'

The intended structure of example (43b) is that *warim* 'child' is the head noun of the relative clause, 'We searched for grasshoppers (for him).' Kalpm speakers interpreted the sentence as having a possessive NP *warim a mentekng* 'our child', and suggested examples (44a) and (44b) as a better paraphrase.

- (44) a. *Mentekng kor kha ekng Kerobin.*
 1DU search grasshopper PREP Kerobin
 'We (two) searched for grasshoppers for Kerobin.'
- b. *Kerobin pa, kil warim a mentekng.*
 Kerobin DEM 3SG child POSS 1DU
 'Kerobin, he's our son.'

Relativization of objects has the following patterns: when the verb is transitive, relativization of the object occurs both with and without a resumptive pronoun, unless the primary object is inanimate (in which case it uses only the gap strategy). When the verb is ditransitive, relativization of the primary object always involves a resumptive pronoun, while relativization of the secondary object always uses a gap.

1.7 Thesis outline

The two main valence-increasing strategies in Urim are an applicative suffix and serial verb constructions. The applicative suffix promotes an oblique argument from a prepositional phrase to primary object. Serial verb constructions often introduce an additional argument into the clause.

Chapter 2 discusses pronominal clitics and external possession, a non-applicative ditransitive construction. On the verb *uk* 'give', the clitic pronoun position has the grammatical relation of primary object, while the free NP is a secondary object. Clitic pronouns are restricted to animate referents. The primary object position is reserved for the recipient of *uk* 'give', even when both objects are animate. In external possession constructions, a

body part and the possessor of that body part are both syntactic objects. The possessor is the primary object in clitic position, while the body part is the secondary object. Chapter 3 describes the applicative suffix *-n*. The applicative changes an intransitive verb to transitive, and a transitive verb to ditransitive. Ditransitive applicative constructions are mainly benefactive, though non-benefactive applicative examples are found with speech verbs.

Chapter 4 introduces directional verbs and posture verbs, and then explores their role in locative serial verb constructions. Directional and posture verbs occur in both intransitive clauses and semi-transitive clauses, which have a locative object instead of a primary object. In serial verb constructions, directional verbs and posture verbs likewise occur both intransitively and semi-transitively. For example, the verb *eln* 'put' in Urim only has two elements in its argument structure: <agent, theme>. In order to express the semantic role of location or goal, a semi-transitive posture (or directional) verb is required. Then, the serial verb construction takes three arguments: agent, theme, and location. Chapter 4 also includes a section on aspect, since posture verbs are used to express continuous aspect. Chapter 5 describes instrumental serial verb constructions, as well as the many related functions of the verb *ak* 'do, use'. The instrumental serial verb construction introduces an instrument argument as an object of the instrumental verb *ak* 'use', so that the entire SVC takes three arguments: agent, instrument, and theme. *Ak* 'use' and its object can occur either before or after the VP of the main verb; while the pre-verbal order is a serial verb construction, the post-verbal order is not a serial verb construction because *ak* 'use' in that position is found to be a preposition.

Chapter 2

Clitic Pronouns and Ditransitive Constructions

2.1 Introduction

There are fewer ditransitive verbs in Urim than in English. The verb *uk* 'give' is the only underived verb found thus far which can have two NP objects. However, the applicative suffix provides an additional object position, allowing ditransitive clauses which have one clitic NP object and one free NP object (Chapter 3). In addition, other ditransitive clause types are found with specialized semantic functions. This chapter surveys the non-applicative types of ditransitive clauses in Urim, and the role of clitic pronouns as objects in those constructions. Section 2.3 examines the syntax of three-place predicates, finding that *uk* 'give' can occur in a ditransitive clause but *nampreng* 'distribute' cannot, except with the addition of the applicative suffix. External possession (§2.4), which contrasts with internal possession, is a ditransitive construction in Urim in which one object is a body part, and the other object is the possessor of that body part. Instead of a possessive NP as in internal possession, the possessor is expressed as a clitic pronoun on the verb.

Section 2.2 shows that object clitic pronouns are restricted to referents whose antecedents are animate. Furthermore, I argue in this chapter and the next that the clitic pronoun position is restricted to primary objects. The primary object has the semantic roles of patient in §2.2, recipient with *uk* 'give' in §2.3.1, and affected possessor in §2.4.1.

In addition, the data in §2.5 shows that these clitics are specifically object pronouns, and cannot be used as subjects. In §2.6, clitic pronouns on adjectives and other non-verbal predicates are objects with the semantic role of experiencer, but these experiencers must undergo some adverse experience in order to appear as clitic pronouns.

2.2 Object clitic pronouns

Urim has free pronouns, possessive pronouns, and clitic pronouns. Table 4 lists the free pronouns. They can occur as subject, object, object of a preposition, or possessor.¹

Table 4. Free pronouns

free pronouns	singular	dual	paucal	plural
1	<i>kupm</i>	<i>mentekng</i>	-	<i>mento, men, to</i>
2	<i>kitn</i>	<i>kipmekng</i>	<i>kipmten</i>	<i>kipm</i>
3	<i>kil</i>	<i>tuwekng, (w)ekng</i>	<i>tunten, ten</i>	<i>tu</i>

The three sets of possessive pronouns are displayed in Table 5. The possessive linker *a* 'POSS' is also used as the relativizer in relative clauses. The forms in the basic possession column are phonologically two distinct words, but native speakers sometimes write them as one word. The genitive forms are composed of the possessive *a* 'POSS' phonologically adjoined to the free pronouns.

Table 5. Possessive pronouns

	basic possession	genitive	emphatic genitive
1sg	<i>a kupm</i>	<i>alkupm</i>	<i>alkupmen</i>
2sg	<i>a kitn</i>	<i>alkitn</i>	<i>alkitnen</i>
3sg	<i>a kil</i>	<i>alkil</i>	<i>alkilen</i>
1pl	<i>a men</i>	<i>alpmen</i>	<i>alpmenen</i>
2pl	<i>a kipm</i>	<i>alkipm</i>	<i>alkipmen</i>
3pl	<i>a tu</i>	<i>alntu</i>	<i>alntuen</i>

The three types of simple possession are illustrated in example (45).

¹ The number 'two' is *wekng*, so the dual forms are transparent.

- (45) a. *Man a kupm ari tolti...*
 mother POSS 1SG see thus
 'My mother saw how it was...'
- b. *Man alkupm kor=o.*
 mother 1SG.GEN search=1PL.O
 'My mother is searching for us.'
- c. *Kupm nasi warim alkupm-en, tolpa.*
 1SG tell child 1SG.GEN-EMPH thus
 'I teach my own children, like this.'

There is a set of pronominal clitics that can attach to the predicate. They are never used for the subject of a sentence, and Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.) call them “bound object clitics” or in shortened form, “bound objects.” Table 6 shows the object clitic pronouns. The dual, paucal, and plural number distinctions found in free pronouns are neutralized in the object clitics; the plural forms are used in cases of dual and paucal.²

Table 6. Object clitic pronouns

clitic pronouns	singular	plural
1	= <i>opm</i>	= <i>o</i>
2	= <i>e(i)tn</i>	= <i>epm</i>
3	= <i>el</i>	= <i>en</i>

Clitic pronouns are in complementary distribution with free pronoun forms and full NPs which function as the object. Thus, these clitics are the pronominal arguments themselves, not agreement markers.

Example (46a) is ungrammatical because it contains both an object clitic on the verb and the independent object NP *Joyce*; having one or the other is acceptable, as in examples (46b) and (46c), but not both.

² One example of an archaic 1st person dual pronominal clitic has been found: =*ol* '1DU.O'.

- (46) a. **Mentekng aklin=[j]el Joyce ekng ek hawen.*
 1DU help=3SG.O Joyce PREP mouth local
 'We (two) help her Joyce with (the) local language.'
- b. *Mentekng aklin Joyce ekng ek hawen.*
 1DU help Joyce PREP mouth local
 'We (two) help Joyce with (the) local language.'
- c. *Mentekng aklin=[j]el ekng ek hawen.*
 1DU help=3SG.O PREP mouth local
 'We (two) help her with (the) local language.'

Examples (47a) and (47b) are grammatical, though (47b) is unusual, because the object in the second clause is a free pronoun rather than a clitic pronoun. However, (47c) is ungrammatical, because it contains both a free pronoun *kitn* '2SG' and the object clitic pronoun *=etn* '2SG.O.'

- (47) a. *Kitn arpm hute pa, kipman kle=[w]etn.*
 2SG sit only DEM man scold=2SG.O
 'If you don't work, your husband will scold you.'
- b. *Kitn arpm hute pa, kpman kle kitn.*
 2SG sit only DEM man scold 2SG
 'If you don't work, your husband will scold you.'
- c. **Kitn arpm hute pa, kpman kle=[w]etn kitn.*
 2SG sit only DEM man scold=2SG.O 2SG
 'If you don't work, your husband will scold you.'

Example (48), a sequence of clauses from a narrative, contains several examples of object clitics used for the patient arguments of verbs. It includes *eropm* 'hit me' in (48b), *pilntopm* 'throw me' in (48c), and *arkopm* 'poke me' in (48d), as well as *kweweitn* 'call you' and *koreitn* 'look for you' in (48e). Example (48b) begins with the external topic *kupm* 'I', the little boy who is talking, and who is the 'me' of the clitic *=opm* '1SG.O' in this example.

- (48) a. *Ah, kupm pake.*
 ah 1SG EMPH
 'Hey, it's me!'
- b. *Kupm wet mamei er=opm om,*
 1SG today grandma hit=1SG.O now
 'Grandma spanked me today.'
- c. *kat piln=[t]opm nar nak tamplokng eln arpm ti.*
 lift throw=1SG.O descend sago branch put sit here
 'picked me up and threw me down onto this prickly sago palm.'
- d. *Ti ningkil ark=opm ti kupm hakng.*
 here thorn hang=1SG.O here 1SG cry
 'I'm crying because the thorns are poking into me.'
- e. *Om kwe=[w]eitn, kor=eitn.*
 Now call=2SG.O search=2SG.O
 'So I was calling you, seeking you.'

The object clitics are pronouns which refer to animate referents, such as (large) animals, people, and spirits. If the object of the verb is known from context, and is inanimate, Urim uses zero-anaphora for the object, as in the second clause of example (49). In example (50), which is ungrammatical, the 3rd person clitic =*el* '3SG.O' cannot be used to refer to the shirt. However, with the application of the applicative suffix -*t* 'APPL' in example (51), the clitic pronoun =*el* '3SG.O' refers to Seija, which is perfectly acceptable.

- (49) *Kil klak hapm a Seija, kil klak wor.*
 3SG wash cloth POSS Seija, 3SG wash good
 'She washes Seija's shirt, she washes it well.'
- (50) **Kil klak hapm_i a Seija, kil klak=el_i wor.*
 3SG wash cloth POSS Seija, 3SG wash=3SG.O good
 'She washes Seija's shirt, she washes it well.'
- (51) *Kil klak hapm a Seija_j, kil klak-t=el_j wor.*
 3SG wash cloth POSS Seija 3SG wash-APPL=3SG.O good
 'She washes Seija's shirt, she washes it for her well.'

2.3 Three-place predicates

Three-place predicates have three arguments: for example, agent, patient or theme, and recipient. In languages such as English, these predicates are often ditransitive verbs, but this label is less appropriate in Urim because there are very few verbs that form ditransitive clauses without the help of the applicative suffix. Sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 discuss the syntax of *uk* 'give' and *nampreng* 'distribute', respectively.

2.3.1 *Uk* 'give'

Urim is a primary object language, in the sense of Dryer (2007:256). Word order, or position within the clause, is used to express grammatical relations. The patient and the recipient are found in the same primary object location, the clitic position, while the theme of a ditransitive clause can only be in the secondary object position, an NP following the verb+clitic. The object clitic examples in §2.2 above have the semantic role of patient. The verb *uk* 'give' has agent, theme, and recipient arguments. In this section I show that the clitic position on *uk* 'give' is available only for the recipient, not the theme.

The verb *uk* 'give' is the only verb in Urim (found so far) which can have two NP objects. If the recipient of *uk* 'give' is animate, it can be an NP in a ditransitive clause. However, if the recipient is inanimate, it must be expressed by a PP. To begin, in example (52), the verb *uk* 'give' is monotransitive; it has one direct NP object and one oblique PP argument.³

- (52) *Tuwekng uk neimun pa ekng mamin ur.*
 3DU give hornbill DEM PREP grandfather one
 'They (two) gave the hornbill to a grandfather.'

³ In the Urim kinship system, one's father's brothers are also called *yan* 'father'. Therefore, in a village setting, the man receiving this bird is typically one's grandfather, or at least someone's grandfather. In this example, *mamin* means 'grandfather'; it is not a general term of respect for an old man.

Both the theme *neimun* 'hornbill' and the recipient *mamin* 'grandfather' can occur in a ditransitive clause as NP objects, as in (53), but not in the reverse order as illustrated in (54).

(53) *Tuwekng uk neimun pa mamin ur.*
 3DU give hornbill DEM grandfather one
 'They (two) gave a grandfather the hornbill.'

(54) **Tuwekng uk mamin ur neimun pa.*
 3DU give grandfather one hornbill DEM
 'They (two) gave a grandfather the hornbill.'

When the recipient is already known from the context, it can be omitted as in example (55). Also, when the theme is known from context, it too can be omitted and one could say the recipient object only. Example (56) means, 'They gave (it) to a grandfather of his.'

(55) *Tuwekng uk neimun wail.*
 3DU give hornbill big
 'They (two) gave a big hornbill (to a grandfather).'

(56) *Tuwekng uk mamin ur alkil.*
 3DU give grandfather one 3SG.GEN
 'They (two) gave a grandfather of his (a hornbill).'
 'They (two) gave it to his grandfather.'

In example (57a), the inanimate recipient *wan skul pa* 'the school' is the object of the preposition *ekng*. This preposition is obligatory, since (57b) with two independent NP objects is ungrammatical. *Ekng wan skul pa* 'to the school' is an oblique PP, so sentence (57a) is monotransitive, not ditransitive.

(57) a. *Kupm uk wurkapm a klal ekng wan skul pa.*
 1SG give paper POSS image PREP house school DEM
 'I give a picture dictionary to the school.'

- b. **Kupm uk wurkapm a klal wan skul pa.*
 1SG give paper POSS image house school DEM
 'I give the school a picture dictionary.'

The pattern of ditransitive clauses in which both objects are independent NPs is rare. In the absence of evidence for primary objecthood, I will assume for now that the recipient NP is the primary object of *uk* 'give', rather than the theme NP. In the case of example (53), the second NP after the verb, *mamin ur* 'a grandfather', is the primary object. Also, this means that example (55) involves zero-anaphora of the primary object, and (56) shows zero-anaphora of the secondary object.

It is also possible for one object of *uk* 'give' to be a clitic pronoun, while the other object is a normal NP. The context of examples (58), (60), and (62) is from a traditional legend in which a snake wants to marry a woman from the village. The people have been protecting her from him, but now they say, "We give up, let's just give her to him!" In example (58), the pronoun =*el* '3SG.O' on the verb refers to the snake, the recipient of the woman, not the woman who is being given to him. In example (59), with the 'give' context from above, the pronoun =*el* on the verb refers to the grandfather, the recipient of the hornbill.

- (58) *To uk[w]=el kin kwat.lam om!*
 1PL give=3SG.O woman completely now
 'Let's just give him the woman for good!'

- (59) *Tuwekng uk[w]=el neimun pa.*
 3DU give=3SG.O hornbill DEM
 'They gave him the hornbill.'

The clitic object on the verb *uk* 'give' can only refer to the recipient. Examples (60) and (61) were elicited with the clitic pronoun =*el* as the theme, but they are ungrammatical for the intended meaning. The pronoun =*el* '3SG.O' cannot refer to the woman or the hornbill, respectively. The clitic pronoun on *uk* 'give' must refer to the recipient. Since the clitic

pronoun can only be the recipient, and it is also used for the patient of transitive clauses, it is the primary object in this ditransitive construction, according to Dryer's (2007) definitions in Table 3.

(60) **To uk[w]=el ul kwat.lam om!*
 1PL give = 3SG.O snake completely now
 'Let's just give her away to the snake!'

(61) **Tuweekng uk[w]=el mamin ur.*
 3DU give = 3SG.O grandfather one
 'They gave it to a grandfather.'

In the same way, when both the theme and the recipient are animate (and thus could satisfy the animacy restrictions for clitic pronouns), and the only overt argument is a clitic pronoun as in example (62), the pronoun =*el* '3SG.O' on *uk* 'give' can only be interpreted as referring to the recipient, i.e., the snake.

(62) *To uk[w]=el kwat.lam om!*
 1PL give = 3SG.O completely now
 'Let's just give (her) away to him!'

Relativization of an animate recipient uses a resumptive pronoun =*el* '3SG.O' on *uk* 'give', as shown in (63a), in which a man is the recipient of some food. Example (63b), in which the verb does not have a pronoun clitic, is ungrammatical. This resumptive pronoun relativization pattern corresponds to the relativization of an animate primary object discussed in §1.6.3.

(63) a. *Kil kipman a kupm uk[w]=el ekipma.*
 3SG man REL 1SG give = 3SG.O food
 'He is the man to whom I gave food.'

- b. **Kil kipman a kupm uk Ø ekipma.*
 3SG man REL 1SG give GAP food
 'He is the man to whom I gave food.'

Topicalization of an animate recipient also involves a resumptive pronoun. The clitic pronoun =*el* '3SG.O' in example (64a) is coreferential with the left-dislocated NP *kipman pa* 'the man'. The corresponding example (64b) without a clitic pronoun is of intermediate grammaticality; not fully accepted, but understood by native speakers.

- (64) a. *Kipman pa kupm uk[w]=el ekipma.*
 man DEM 1SG give=3SG.O food
 'The man, I gave him food.'
- b. ?*Kipman pa kupm uk Ø ekipma.*
 man DEM 1SG give GAP food
 'The man, I gave him food.'

When an animate theme argument is relativized, such as the woman who was given to the snake, a resumptive pronoun cannot occur. Example (65a) with a gap strategy is grammatical, while (65b) with an overt resumptive pronoun *kil* '3SG' is ungrammatical. This data corresponds with the pattern of secondary object relativization described in §1.6.3.

- (65) a. *Kil kin a tu uk[w]=el Ø.*
 3SG woman REL 3PL give=3SG.O GAP
 'She's the woman that they gave to him.'
- b. **Kil kin a tu uk[w]=el kil.*
 3SG woman REL 3PL give=3SG.O 3SG
 'She's the woman that they gave to him.'

Likewise, when the animate theme is topicalized, a resumptive pronoun is not used. Example (66a) is grammatical, while (66b) is ungrammatical. This pattern matches the topicalization of secondary objects described in §1.6.2.

- (66) a. *Kin pa tu uk[w]=el Ø ase.*
 woman DEM 3PL give=3SG.O GAP CPL
 'The woman, they gave to him already.'
- b. **Kin pa tu uk[w]=el kil.*
 woman DEM 3PL give=3SG.O 3SG
 'The woman, they gave her to him.'

The clitic pronoun on *uk* 'give' is the primary object position of a ditransitive construction with one clitic object and one NP object. It refers to the recipient and never the theme. When an animate recipient is relativized or topicalized, a resumptive pronoun is found on *uk* 'give'. This pattern corresponds to the primary object relativization observed for applicative objects in §1.6.3. When an animate theme is relativized or topicalized, a gap strategy is used and a resumptive pronoun is ungrammatical. The theme NP is the secondary object of *uk* 'give'.

2.3.2 *Nampreng* 'distribute'

Unlike *uk* 'give', other verbs cannot take two NP objects, even verbs with three semantic arguments. The verb *nampreng* 'to distribute, to share evenly' occurs in example (67), where the sentence provides the context for the following elicited examples illustrating the syntax of *nampreng*. They have shot a large pig in the bush, and then they distribute the meat to everyone in the village. As example (67) shows, this verb *nampreng* 'distribute' can be used with just the theme object, *yor* 'meat'.

- (67) *Tu alm munto, tu nampreng yor.*
 3PL shoot pig, 3PL distribute meat
 'They shot a pig, they distribute the meat.'

In order to mention both the theme and the recipient, the recipient must be in an oblique PP, as in example (68). The verb *nampreng* 'distribute' cannot have two NP objects; examples (69a) and (69b) are both ungrammatical.

- (68) *Tu nampreng yor munto ekng tu warim.*
 3PL distribute meat pig PREP 3PL child
 'They distribute pig meat to the children.'
- (69) a. **Tu nampreng yor munto tu warim.*
 3PL distribute meat pig 3PL child
 'They distribute pig meat to the children.'
- b. **Tu nampreng tu warim yor munto.*
 3PL distribute 3PL child meat pig
 'They distribute pig meat to the children.'

However, with the addition of the applicative suffix *-t* 'APPL' in example (70), the recipient⁴ can be a clitic pronoun on the verb. The applicative suffix is necessary to make a ditransitive construction, and the only available object positions are the clitic position and the one NP object position. The recipient =*en* '3PL.O' is the applicative object and the primary object, while *yor munto* 'pig meat' is the secondary object. Example (71) shows that the applicative *-en* 'APPL' (seen here in its word-final allomorph) does not license two NP object positions.

- (70) *Tu nampreng-t=en yor munto.*
 3PL distribute-APPL=3PL.O meat pig
 'They distribute pig meat to them.'
- (71) **Tu nampreng-[k]en tu warim yor munto.*
 3PL distribute-APPL 3PL child meat pig
 'They distribute to the children pig meat.'

Besides the oblique PP strategy to express the recipient, Urim speakers can use the verb *uk* 'give' as the second verb in a serial verb construction with *nampreng* 'distribute'. In example (72b), each verb has its own object, and together they express that the father

⁴ Section 3.3.1 calls the applicative suffix a benefactive morpheme and discusses the semantic role of the applicative object as beneficiary. As mentioned for Table 3, beneficiaries are included as recipient-like arguments in the grammar of Urim.

divided up his possessions between his two sons. The object of the first verb *nampreng* is the theme, and the object of *uk* 'give' is the recipients.

- (72) a. *Yatom yan pa wreitn tolti*
 then father DEM get.up like.this
 'Then the father got up,'
- b. *wa nampreng kweiur-kweiur pa uk warim kipman wekng alkil.*
 and distribute thing-thing DEM give child male two 3SG.GEN
 'and divided his possessions to his two sons.'

2.4 External possession constructions

Urim has an interesting use of object clitics for body part possession, as illustrated in examples (73a) and (73b). In (73b), the literal meaning is 'a mosquito bit me (the) arm', but a more natural English translation is 'a mosquito bit my arm'. In Urim, as in many languages, the word *wam* 'hand' refers to the whole arm including the hand. Simple possession is shown in example (73c).

- (73) a. *Nangil nam=[p]opm.*
 mosquito bite=1SG.O
 'A mosquito bit me.'
- b. *Nangil nam=[p]opm wam.*
 mosquito bite=1SG.O hand
 'A mosquito bit me on my arm.'
 'A mosquito bit my arm.'
- c. *Nangil nam wam a kupm.*
 mosquito bite hand POSS 1SG
 'A mosquito bit my arm.'

Sentence (73b) illustrates external possession or possessor raising. External possession is a construction in which the semantic relation of possession is expressed with the possessor as a core grammatical relation of the verb, instead of within the NP constituent

which contains the possessed noun (Payne & Barshi 1999:3). In examples (73a) and (73b), the clitic pronoun =*opm* '1SG.O' is an object of the verb. In (73b), *wam* 'hand' is also an object. It follows the verb+clitic as a bare NP. This double object construction presents a difficulty in the analysis, because the verb *nam* 'bite' only subcategorizes for two arguments: <agent, patient>.⁵

In an analysis of Swahili external possession constructions (EPC), Schrock (2007) proposes a lexical rule which derives a new lexical entry with three arguments instead of two: <agent, patient, possessor>. Applying his syntactic analysis to Urim, the verb *nam* 'bite' in example (73c) has the representation in (74). The possessed noun *wam* 'hand' is mapped to the primary object. The possessor *kupm* '1SG' is within the possessive NP *wam a kupm* 'hand of me', and does not have a semantic role or a grammatical relation in the clause. The lexical rule derives lexical entry (75) from (74). The possessor (Schrock's affectee) becomes the new primary object, and the patient, the possessed noun, becomes a secondary object.⁶ Thus, external possession derives a ditransitive clause.

(74)	<i>nam</i> 'bite'	<agent,	patient>	
		SUBJ	OBJ	
(75)	<i>nam</i> 'bite'	<agent,	patient,	possessor>
	(EPC)			
		SUBJ	OBJ2	OBJ

Aside from external possession, Kalpm speakers have an option to use a serial verb construction to express the body part location. In example (76b), which contrasts with (76a), *kai* 'go' is the second verb in a directional location SVC. Its object *ek tip* 'lips' expresses the location of the biting, and is a locative object, which is an oblique argument of the clause. In (76a) there are two objects, =*opm* 'me' and *ek tip* 'lips', while in (76b) there is only one

⁵ In Lexical-Functional Grammar (Bresnan 2001:63), having more arguments than elements in the subcategorization is a violation of the Coherence Principle.

⁶ Schrock (2007) argues that the external possession construction does not involve semantic possession, so the argument should be called affectee, not possessor.

object =*opm* 'me'. The external possession construction is ditransitive, while the serial verb construction is monotransitive (see Chapter 4).

- (76) a. *Wunta ur nam=[p]opm ek tip!*
 ant one bite=1SG.O mouth lip
 'An ant bit my lip!'
- b. *Wunta ur nam=[p]opm kai ek tip.*
 ant one bite=1SG.O go mouth lip
 'An ant bit me on (the) lip.'

Example (77) has two external possession clauses. In the first one, the primary object is =*opm* 'me', and the secondary object is the body part *nepm* 'leg'. In the second clause, the wound on (my) leg is treated as a body part and is the secondary object in an external possession construction. The English translation of the two objects in *yipo=[w]opm hi* is 'my wound'.

- (77) *Telp kwat=opm nepm, yipo=[w]opm hi.*
 knife cut=1SG.O leg, tie=1SG.O sore
 'A small knife cut me on my leg, please bandage my wound.'
 Lit: 'A small knife cut me (my) leg, tie me (the) sore.'

Example (78) contains the metaphorical expression *ro lingkep* 'write (on one's) forehead' which means 'teach'. The clitic pronoun =*el* 'her' is the primary object, and the body part *lingkep* 'forehead' is the secondary object, a free NP.

- (78) *Mentekng ro=[w]el lingkep.*
 1DU write=3SG.O forehead
 'We (two) taught her'
 Lit: 'We (two) wrote her the forehead.'

The clitic pronoun and the free NP are the only positions available for the two objects in an external possession construction. As example (79b) shows, the pronominal clitic cannot be replaced by a free NP; *nam* 'bite' cannot take two NP objects.

- (79) a. *Nangil nam=[p]el wam.*
 mosquito bite=3SG.O hand
 'A mosquito bit her on the arm.'
 'A mosquito bit her arm.'
- b. **Nangil nam Joyce wam pa.*
 mosquito bite Joyce hand DEM
 'A mosquito Joyce on the arm.'
 'A mosquito bit Joyce's arm.'

In the external possession construction of example (80), the two objects are =*epm* '2PL.O' and *klal* 'picture'. The modern development of photos is expressed with the word *klal*, which is also the word for 'shadow.'

- (80) *Kupm wi=epm klal.*
 1SG take=2PL.O image
 'I take your picture.'
 Lit: 'I take you the shadow.'

The external possession construction is available for example (81a), in which the referent of =*en* 'them' is some chickens. However, since the referent of =*el* '3SG.O' in (81b) is inanimate, it is ungrammatical. The corrected sentence is example (81c), in which the object of the verb is a regular possession NP *klal a wan* 'image POSS house'.

- (81) a. *Kupm wi=en klal.*
 1SG take=3PL.O image
 'I take a photo of them (the chickens)'
 Lit: 'I take them (the) shadow.'
- b. **Kupm wi=el klal.*
 1SG take=3SG.O image
 'I take a photo of it (the house)'
- c. *Kupm wi klal a wan.*
 1SG take image POSS house
 'I take a photo of the house'
 I.e.: 'I take the house's picture.'

Like body parts, shadows are prototypically attached to one's body. Body parts are the only class of nouns which participate in external possession constructions in Urim. This looks like inalienable possession, but there is no other grammatical evidence in Urim of inalienable possession, besides the semantic restriction to body parts in external possession. Also, while kinship terms are commonly found in systems of inalienable possession (Dryer 2011), they are not used in Urim external possession constructions. In example (82), (82a) gives the context for (82b) or (82c). Example (82c) is ungrammatical because external possession is not available for the kinship relation of mother and daughter.

- (82) a. *Kipman ekla nampon-en kin ur*
 man speak accompany-TR woman one
 'A man speaks with a woman,'
- b. *kil akal wi warim kin a kil.*
 3SG want take child female POSS 3SG
 '...he wants to marry her daughter.'
- c. **kil akal wi=*el* warim kin.*
 3SG want take=3SG.O child female
 '...he wants to marry her daughter.'

2.4.1 Possessor object

The possessor is a pronominal clitic in external possession constructions. Since it is animate, and the body part object is not, the possessor has exclusive access to the clitic pronoun object position. In this way, it is similar to the primary object (which is the recipient) in the syntax of *uk* 'give' (cf. examples (58) and (59) in §2.3.1). In fact, the possessor is the primary object in external possession constructions.

The possessor of the body part can be omitted from external possession constructions via zero-anaphora. In example (83), the idiom from example (78) above does not explicitly state the pronoun =*el* '3SG.O'. Likewise, the external possession construction in

(84b) states only the body part NP *nepm pa* 'the leg'. The possessor object is understood from the context, as if the speaker had used the external possession in (84a).

- (83) *Mentekng ro lingkep.*
 1DU write forehead
 'We (two) taught her.'
 Lit: 'We (two) wrote (her) the forehead.'

- (84) a. *Nangil nam=[p]el nepm.*
 mosquito bite=3SG.O leg
 'A mosquito bit her on the leg.'
 'A mosquito bit her leg.'
- b. *Nangil nam nepm pa.*
 mosquito bite leg DEM
 'A mosquito bit her leg.'

The possessor object can be relativized both with and without a resumptive pronoun. In example (85a), the head NP *kin riti* 'the woman' has a resumptive pronoun =*el* '3SG.O', whereas in (85b) there is no resumptive pronoun attached to *nam* 'bite'. In the relative clause in (86a) there is a resumptive pronoun =*el* '3SG.O', while (86b) uses a gap strategy. The use of a resumptive pronominal clitic is possible only when the head noun is animate.

- (85) a. *Kin riti a nangil nam=[p]el wam*
 woman this REL mosquito bite=3SG.O hand
 'the woman who the mosquito bit her arm'
- b. *Kin riti a nangil nam wam*
 woman this REL mosquito bite hand
 'the woman who the mosquito bit (her) arm'
- (86) a. *Kin wunakul a mentekng ro=[w]el lingkep tukngnakng*
 woman young REL 1DU write=3SG.O forehead head
 'a young woman that we (two) taught her'

- b. *Kin riti a mentekng ro lingkep*
 woman this REL 1DU write forehead
 'the woman whom we (two) taught'

This pattern of both gap and resumptive pronoun relativization contrasts with the relativization of primary objects in both §1.6.3 and §2.3.1, where a resumptive pronoun is required for relativization of the primary object of a ditransitive clause. In using both strategies, it agrees with the pattern of relativization of the (animate) primary object of a monotransitive clause (§1.6.3).

Both left-dislocation and fronting of the possessor NP are possible. In example (87), the NP *kin riti pa* 'this woman' is left-dislocated. The possessor =*el* '3SG.O' is the primary object of the external possession construction, and is a resumptive pronoun of the left-dislocated NP.

- (87) *Kin riti pa mentekng ro=[w]el lingkep.*
 woman this DEM 1DU write=3SG.O forehead
 'This woman, we (two) taught her.'

The sentence in (88) begins with a left-dislocated NP *warim kin wekng pa* 'the two daughters' (example 88a), and ends with an external possession construction (example 88c) in which the clitic pronoun =*en* '3PL.O' refers to the two daughters.

- (88) a. *Warim kin wekng pa,*
 child female two DEM
 'As for the two daughters,'
 b. *kil al, al waring yiple, ak yo palk pa wa yiple*
 3SG eat eat betel.nut.bark finish use wood skin DEM again finish
 'he ate, ate betel bark, he finished using the betel bark,'
 c. *om alm=[p]en num pa.*
 and shoot=3PL.O body DEM
 'then he shot them (the two daughters) in the body.'

In example (89a), the possessor Joyce is within a possessive NP *nepm a Joyce* 'Joyce's leg'. In example (89b) the "Joyce" NP has a resumptive pronoun =*el* '3SG.O' in the external possession, but (89c) is grammatical without a resumptive pronoun.

- (89) a. *Nangil nam nepm a Joyce.*
 mosquito bite leg POSS Joyce
 'A mosquito bit Joyce's leg.'
- b. *Joyce yek pa nangil nam=[p]el nepm.*
 Joyce DIM DEM mosquito bite=3SG.O leg
 'Our Joyce -- a mosquito bit her on the leg.'
- c. *Joyce yek pa nangil nam nepm.*
 Joyce DIM DEM mosquito bite leg
 'Our Joyce -- a mosquito bit her on the leg.'

This section has shown that the possessor NP, which is a pronominal clitic and the primary object of external possession constructions, has the three objecthood properties of zero-anaphora, relativization, and topicalization. While the (animate) primary object of ditransitive clauses (the recipient-like argument) in §1.6 and §2.3.1 requires a resumptive pronoun in relativization and left-dislocation and cannot be a zero pronoun, the possessor NP does not have those restrictions. It can be omitted via zero-anaphora, can be both fronted and left-dislocated, and can be relativized both with and without a resumptive pronoun. Since external possession constructions in Urim are restricted to body part terms, perhaps the body part relation contributes to a semantic explanation for this differing syntactic behavior.

2.4.2 Possessed object

The possessed body part noun is the secondary object in external possession constructions. It is still the patient of the verb, but the possessor is mapped to primary object, and the patient is left with the secondary object grammatical relation. As a grammatical

object, the secondary object has the objecthood properties of zero-anaphora, relativization, and topicalization. Example (90) is based on example (77) above. In example (90b), the secondary object *hi* 'sore' is not mentioned, yet the meaning is something like, 'So I tied his wound for him.' This is zero-anaphora of the body-part object.

- (90) a. *Kipman ur la tolpa, "Telp kwat=opm nepm, yipo=[w]opm hi."*
 man one say that knife cut=1SG.O leg tie=1SG.O sore
 'A man said, "A small knife cut me on my leg, please bandage my wound.'"
- b. *Om kupm yipo=[w]el.*
 then 1SG tie=3SG.O
 'So I bandaged his wound.'
 Lit: 'And I tied him (the wound).'

Example (91) shows relativization of *wam* 'hand', the body part object of the external possession construction. *Wam* 'hand' is the theme object of *plan* 'show' and the head noun of the relative clause 'that the mosquito bit me.' The relative clause has a gap in the external possession construction for the secondary object.

- (91) *Kupm plan=[t]eitn wam a nangil nam=[p]opm.*
 1SG show=2SG.O hand REL mosquito bite=1SG.O
 'I show you the hand that the mosquito bit me on.'
 'I show you the hand on which the mosquito bit me.'

In examples (92a) and (92b), the body part NP is fronted. Example (92a) is grammatical, but (92b), in which the fronted NP *wam a kupm pa* 'my hand' includes the simple possession, is preferred by native speakers.

- (92) a. *Wam pa nangil nam=[p]opm.*
 hand DEM mosquito bite=1SG.O
 'It's the hand where the mosquito bit me.'

- b. *Wam a kupm pa nangil nam=[p]opm.*
 hand POSS 1SG DEM mosquito bite=1SG.O
 'It's my hand where the mosquito bit me.'

Also, *wam kuina pa* 'which hand' can be in the same fronted position, as shown in example (93).

- (93) *wam kuina pa nangil nam=[p]eitn?*
 hand what DEM mosquito bite=2SG.O
 'Which hand was it that the mosquito bit you?'

The secondary object in the external possession construction, the possessed body part, can be omitted as in (90b), relativized using a gap as in (91), and fronted as in (92). There is never a resumptive pronominal clitic because body parts are not considered animate. These objecthood properties match the syntactic behavior of secondary objects in §1.6. The body part NP of an external possession construction is an object, not an oblique argument (cf., example (76b) above).

2.5 Clitic pronouns on nouns

Urim clitic pronouns usually attach to verbs. When they attach to nouns, they refer to the possessor of that noun. (All examples found are body part nouns.) In example (94), the snake has just been mentioned, and the woman grabs hold of its neck: *krong=kel* is 'its neck', and *tukngnakng=el* is 'its head'.

- (94) *Kil nampil krong=[k]el tolti, nakir tukngnakng=el, alupm nar nimong.*
 3SG hold neck=3SG thus bite head=3SG fill descend basket
 'She held the snake's neck like this, bit its head (to kill it), and put the snake into her black palm basket.'

In Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.) these clitic pronouns are most often referred to as object clitics. The following examples show that these clitics cannot be used as possessor on a

noun, when that noun is the subject NP of a verb.⁷ That is, in their possessor clitic function, they only appear on non-subject (body part) nouns. In example (95), the subject of the second clause is the NP *num a men* 'bodies POSS 1PL'. Example (96) uses a possessor clitic strategy *numpo* 'body=1PL.O' for the subject of *atning paitn* 'feel bad', but it is ungrammatical.

(95) *ri alm=[p]o num om num a men atning paitn.*
 this shoot=1PL.O body and body POSS 1PL feel bad
 'This shoots our bodies and our bodies feel pain.'

(96) **ri alm=[p]o num om num=[p]o atning paitn.*
 this shoot=1PL.O body and body=1PL.O feel bad
 'This shoots our bodies and our bodies feel pain.'

Likewise, examples (97a) and (97b) show that the possessor clitic cannot occur on a subject noun. In (97a), the subject of *kaino* 'go up' in the second clause (beginning with the second *wa* 'again') is merely *ikng* 'eye', with the subject *kil* '3SG' understood as the possessor of those eyes. In (97b), which is ungrammatical, *ikng* is replaced with *ikng=el* 'his eye'. The possessor clitic is not allowed on the subject of the clause.

- (97) a. *Kil wa kai atn nokng wa ikng kaino ari*
 3SG again go stand ground again eye go.up see
 'Once again he went and stood under the tree and (his) eyes went up and looked,'
- b. **Kil wa kai atn nokng wa ikng=el kaino ari*
 3SG again go stand ground again eye=3SG.O go.up see
 'Once again he went and stood under the tree and his eyes went up and looked,'

When a noun with a possessor clitic is the object of the verb, the possessor may optionally be stated as a full NP, redundant with the clitic pronoun on the possessed noun.

⁷ As a possessor within the NP, it is strange that the clitic pronoun should have a syntactic restriction to non-subject.

The object *lim=pe* 'nose=her' in example (98b) is a right-dislocation with the possessor *kin pa* 'the woman' specified after the clause.

- (98) a. *Kil klo kowampen ark hapm pa tolti*
 3SG take.out axe hang cloth DEM like
 'He took out an axe from his bilum bag,'
- b. *ak kopor lim=[p]el kin pa,*
 use break nose=3SG.O woman DEM
 'and (with it) hit her nose, the woman'
- c. *apm mo eln nar knokng.*
 now die put descend ground
 'then she died and fell to the ground.'

Likewise, in example (99a) the 3rd singular =*el* is on *wam* 'hand', and the right-dislocated wh-word *m**la* 'who' following it is co-referential with the clitic pronoun. Example (99a) was offered as a correction to the ungrammatical (99b).

- (99) a. *nangil nam wam=[p]el mla?*
 mosquito bite hand=3SG.O who
 'Whose hand did the mosquito bite?'
- b. **mla nangil nam wam?*
 who mosquito bite hand
 'Whose hand did the mosquito bite?'

Just as kinship terms are not eligible for external possession, they are not found in possessor clitic examples. Comparing the simple possession in example (100a), the clitic =*opm* '1SG.O' in example (100b) does not refer to the possessor of the mother. Example (100c) fails as an external possession of *man* 'mother', but is grammatical with the meaning 'you call me (by the title) mother.'

- (100) a. *Kitn kwe man a kupm.*
 2SG call mother POSS 1SG
 'You call my mother.'

- b. **Kitn kwe man=[t]opm.*
 2SG call mother=1SG.O
 'You call my mother.'
- c. *Kitn kwe=opm man.*
 2SG call=1SG.O mother
 *'You call my mother.'
 'You call me mother.'

2.6 Experiencer constructions

2.6.1 Experiencer constructions

Topic-comment clauses are common in Urim and are the basic structure for expressing possession, emotions, sensations, and sicknesses (Hemmilä & Luoma n.d.:179). The following examples of clitic pronouns attached to an adjective have a topic-comment structure. In example (101a), *kupm* '1SG' is the topic, while *num* 'body' is the subject, and the adjective *waknget* (from *wakng* 'fire') is a non-verbal predicate. The topic *kupm* '1SG' is the possessor of *num* 'body'. In addition, the adjective can optionally host a clitic that refers to the experiencer of the feeling, as in example (101b). The clause *num waknget(=opm)* 'body is hot' can stand alone as a complete proposition, see examples (101c) and (101d). However, example (101e) shows that the subject *num* 'body' is obligatory.

- (101) a. *Kupm num waknget.*
 1SG body hot
 'I have a fever.'
 Lit: 'I, (my) body is hot.'
- b. *Kupm num waknget=opm.*
 1SG body hot=1SG.O
 'I have a fever.'
- c. *Num waknget=opm.*
 body hot=1SG.O
 'I have a fever.'

- d. *Num waknget.*
 body hot
 'I have a fever.'
- e. **Kupm waknget=opm.*
 1SG hot = 1SG.O
 'I have a fever.'

Unlike the typical use of object clitics, a pronominal clitic attached to a non-verbal predicate is not obligatory. If the experiencer is already mentioned in the sentence topic, the clitic is not necessary as seen in (101a), but if it is used, it is coreferential with the topic as illustrated in (101b). Also, the clitics do not alternate with the independent pronouns; for example, (102a) is ungrammatical. Nor can the experiencer be expressed as the object of a PP as in (102b), '(my) body is hot for me.'

- (102) a. **Kupm num waknget kupm.*
 1SG body hot 1SG
 'I have a fever.'
- b. **Kupm num waknget ekng kupm.*
 1SG body hot PREP 1SG
 'I have a fever.'

Using the same topic-comment structure, the word *ahi* 'where' can be in the subject position, as in example (103a). An answer to that question is shown in (103b). *Ntutang* 'shoulder blade' is the body part, while =*opm* 'me' is the owner of that body part, and the experiencer of the pain. The same meaning in a topic-comment clause is illustrated in example (104).

- (103) a. *Kitn ahi wleket?*
 2SG where painful
 'Where do you hurt?'
 Lit: 'You, where hurts?'

- b. *Ntutang wleket=opm!*
 shoulder.blade painful = 1SG.O
 'My shoulder blade hurts!'

- (104) *Kupm ntutang wleket=opm.*
 1SG shoulder.blade painful = 1SG.O
 'My shoulder blade hurts.'
 Lit: 'I, shoulder blade hurts (to) me.'

2.6.2 Experiencer clitics and adversative predicates

The experiencer use of the pronominal clitics requires the predicate to have “adversative” semantics. In example (105), the subject of the non-verbal predicate *paitn* 'bad' is a possessive NP, *nepm kilko a men* 'our knees'. In the second clause, the proposition is shortened to *nepm paitn=[j]o* 'leg bad=us', 'we suffer bad knees.'

- (105) *Nepm kilko a men paitn, nepm paitn=[j]o.*
 leg knee POSS 1PL bad leg bad = 1PL.O
 'Our knees are bad, (our) knees are bad to us.'

There are three clauses in example (106). In the first one, *warim* 'child' is the subject, and *nimpet* 'sick' is a non-verbal predicate. In the following two clauses, *warim* 'child' is the topic, *num* 'body' is the subject, and *waknget* 'hot' is a non-verbal predicate. The third clause has a clitic pronoun =*el* 'her' which is coreferential with the topic *warim* 'child'. The predicate *waknget* 'hot' has the same meaning, whether the pronominal clitic is included or not.

- (106) *Warim nimpet, num waknget, num waknget=el.*
 child sick body hot body hot = 3SG.O
 'The baby is sick, her body has fever, she has a fever.'

Examples (107) and (108) show that experiencer clitics cannot be used for positive experiences. In example (107a), *num* 'body' with the non-verbal predicate *kulkula* 'be light,

not heavy' is a metaphor that means 'I feel well, I feel fine.' This topic-comment structure does not require an adversative reading. However, the use of the experiencer clitic in example (107b), parallel to the previous examples, is ungrammatical.

- (107) a. *Kupm num kulkula.*
 1SG body lightweight
 'My body is not heavy' > 'I feel well.'
 Lit: 'I, (my) body light.'
- b. **Kupm num kulkul=opm.*
 1SG body lightweight = 1SG.O
 'I feel well.'
 Lit: 'I, (my) body light (to) me.'

In example (108a), *utopen* 'be happy' is a verb, rather than an adjective.⁸ Even so, it cannot take an experiencer clitic as it does not have negative semantics. The meaning would have to be expressed with a PP, shown in example (108b).

- (108) a. **Kupm utop-en=[t]opm ekipma ha-[w]en.*
 1SG be.happy-TR = 1SG.O food village-ADJ
 'I rejoice over local food.'
- b. *Kupm utop-en ekng ekipma ha-[w]en.*
 1SG be.happy-TR PREP food village-ADJ
 'I rejoice about local food.'

The following example does not use the topic-comment structure, only an adjective used as an adversative predicate. In example (109), the adjective *kalkut* is a non-verbal predicate, and the little girl for whom the bucket of water is too heavy is expressed as a pronoun clitic on the adjective 'heavy.' Alternately, this can be expressed with a PP in example (109b), 'the water was heavy for her.'

⁸ From the Yangkolen dialect, we can observe the realis and irrealis forms of this verb, *atop(en)* and *itop(en)*.

- (109) a. *Ari hu kalkut=el.*
 but water heavy = 3SG.O
 'But the (bucket of) water was heavy for her.'
- b. *Ari hu kalkut ekng kil.*
 but water heavy PREP 3SG
 'But the water was heavy for her'

2.7 Chapter conclusion

This chapter introduced Urim clitic pronouns, which have animacy restrictions and are used in object positions, not subject. On the verb *uk* 'give', there is a clitic pronoun position for the recipient, whereas other verbs require the use of the applicative suffix in order to have the recipient as a clitic pronoun. This clitic pronoun on the verb is the primary object, while the NP object is the secondary object of an Urim ditransitive construction. External possession constructions are also ditransitive clause types, in which the possessor is the primary object and a pronominal clitic attached to the verb, and the possessed body part NP is the secondary object. The clitic pronouns are also used as possessors on object nouns, and as the experiencer of experiencer predicates in adversative constructions.

Chapter 3

The Applicative Suffix

3.1 Introduction to the applicative suffix

Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.) note in the main dialect a process of 'dative shift' with the *-(e)n* suffix, and that the same *-(e)n* suffix has varied semantic effects. In the Kalpm dialect the same is true. The applicative, which has the morphosyntactic behavior of promoting an NP from an oblique PP to be an object of the verb, seems to also have derivational effects. However, the form of the applicative suffix is *-n*, while the derivational suffix is *-en*.

Sadler & Spencer (2001) distinguish morpholexical operations from morphosyntactic operations. Morpholexical operations are meaning-changing. Morphosyntactic operations do not change semantic representations, but change the way that the arguments are linked to grammatical relations. Under this view, an applicative is a morphosyntactic operation: it promotes an oblique argument to be a grammatical object, and the resulting verb + applicative complex has increased valence. In addition to the morphosyntactic use of the Urim applicative, the applicative suffix can produce idiosyncratic changes to the semantics of the predicate. The morphosyntactic applicative in Urim-Kalpm has an underlying form of */-n/*, whereas the morpholexical applicative is */-en/*. The *-en* suffix applies within the lexicon, and its meaning changes must be lexically specified. This chapter will explore the behavior of the morphosyntactic applicative, and merely give some examples of the morpholexical *-en* suffix derivations.

Peterson (2007) uses the terminology 'base object' for the object of the verb in its base form (for verbs that can be transitive without an applicative suffix), and 'applicative

object' for the NP that becomes an object by way of the applicative.¹ A monotransitive verb plus an applicative suffix is the primary way that Urim verbs are found in ditransitive clauses.

The examples in (110) are from a traditional legend, in which a sister is talking to her younger brother. She refers to their grandmother, who earlier had beaten the boy and thrown him onto a prickly sago palm. In addition to the benefactive applicative examples in (110a), (110c), and (110d), there is a direct object use of the pronominal clitic =*eitn* '2SG.O' in *kil ereitn*, 'she hit you' in (110b).

- (110) a. *Ekng kai om, ekng kor-n=[t]eitn kha om.*
 1DU go now, 1DU search.for-APPL=2SG.O grasshopper now.
 'Let's go, we'll search for grasshoppers for you.'
- b. *Ekng pikekng kil er=eitn ekng la yor pa.*
 COMP yesterday 3SG hit=2SG.O PREP say meat DEM
 'Because yesterday she spanked you for asking for meat, you know.'
- c. *Kitin-t=eitn kha nar kokng ai kai.*
 dig-APPL=2SG.O grasshopper descend stream far go.
 'We'll dig grasshoppers for you down at the stream.'
- d. *Ekng wa no om ntekng-t-eitn il om.*
 1DU back ascend now make-APPL=2SG.O eat\IRR now
 'We'll come back and cook them for you to eat.'
- e. *Ekng kitn hakng-en yor pa.*
 COMP 2SG cry-APPL meat DEM
 'Because you cried for meat.'

In this text example, we observe all three allomorphs of the applicative suffix: *-n*, *-t*, and *-en*. When the suffix can form a coda on the final syllable of the word, the *-n* allomorph results, while when it cannot, and it is followed by an object clitic pronoun, it surfaces as a *-t* and forms a syllable with the clitic, all of which begin with vowels. In example (110a), the

¹ The term 'applied object' has been used in much LFG (Lexical-Functional Grammar) work, especially work in Bantu languages (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987).

applicative allomorph of *-n* joins the coda of the syllable *kor*. Then, syllable contact (see §1.2) produces an epenthetic [t] before the clitic pronoun. The verb in examples (110c) and (110d) ends with a nasal, so the applicative allomorph is *-t*, which is the onset of a syllable with the clitic pronoun =*eitn* 'you'. When the applicative is word-final and /n/ cannot be added to the coda of the verb's syllable, as in example (110e), a vowel is inserted, and the allomorph of the applicative is *-en*.

3.2 The applicative on intransitive verbs

The applicative suffix promotes an NP from an oblique PP to be an object of the verb. In the recorded text called *Palk Tungkoren* 'white skin', Andrew Nirak spoke about the first time his people saw white people. *Kark* is an intransitive verb that means both 1) 'run away', and 2) 'be afraid'. In examples (111a) and (111c), the people (animate) and the airplanes (inanimate) that *men* 'we' were afraid of, are within a PP, showing that *kark* 'be afraid' is an intransitive verb. With the addition of the applicative suffix *-en*, the white people and the airplanes in examples (111b) and (111d) are now objects of the applicative verb *karken* 'be afraid of'.

- (111) a. *Men kark ekng tu tungkoren.*
 1PL be.afraid PREP 3PL white
 'We were afraid of the white people.'
- b. *Kupm ti pike kark-en tungkoren yat.*
 1SG here before be.afraid-APPL white also
 'I too was afraid of the white people.'
- c. *Men pike kark ekng wel pa.*
 1PL before be.afraid PREP bird DEM
 'We were afraid of airplanes.'
- d. *Tu pike kark-en wel ti.*
 3PL before be.afraid-APPL bird here
 'They were afraid of airplanes.'

In example (112b), *hakng* 'cry' is an intransitive verb, and the applicative suffix *-en* allows *yor* 'meat' to be an object of the now transitive verb *hakngen* 'cry for.'

- (112) a. *Kitn hakng ekng yor.*
 2SG cry PREP meat
 'You cry for meat.'
- b. *Kitn hakng-en yor pa.*
 2SG cry-APPL meat DEM
 'You cry for meat.'

In example (113), involving the same verb *hakng* 'cry' plus the applicative suffix, the applicative object is the clitic pronoun =*opm* '1SG.O'. The context here is that I cried in saying goodbye to my village papa, and later he said this sentence to someone else. Thus, on intransitive verbs the applicative causes the verb to become transitive, i.e., to have an object, here expressed by a clitic pronoun.

- (113) *Joyce yek hakng-t=opm.*
 Joyce DIM cry-APPL=1SG.O
 'Joyce cried for me.'

The clitic pronoun in example (113) contrasts with the free NP for the applicative object in example (112b). Since the applicative object *yor* 'meat' is inanimate, it cannot show up as a clitic pronoun on the verb. In both cases, the applicative creates a primary object of a monotransitive verb.

In examples (114) and (116b), the addition of the applicative suffix *-n* to a semi-transitive verb results in a transitive clause. 'Come' in the free translation of (114) refers to *no* 'ascend'. The purpose of his coming is to work with us, because we have asked him to come. The pronominal clitic =*o* '1PL.O' is the applicative object of the verb. This applicative clause contrasts with (115), where a PP *ekng mentekng* 'for us' expresses the same meaning.

The locative object of a semi-transitive verb is a location, but the object of an applicativized semi-transitive verb is a person, someone to whom a pronoun can refer.

(114) *Hikng kil wa no-n=[t]o.*
 tomorrow 3SG back ascend-APPL=1PL.O
 'He will come up for us again tomorrow.'

(115) *Hikng kil wa no ekng mentekng.*
 tomorrow 3SG back ascend PREP 1DU
 'He will come up for us again tomorrow.'

Example (116), from the same story as (110) above, contains an applicative suffix plus pronominal clitic on the semi-transitive verb *nar* 'descend'. In example (116b) the pronominal clitic =*eitn* '2SG.O' is the applicative object, while in (117) it is the object of a preposition in the oblique PP *ekng kitn* 'for you'.

(116) a. *Kupm wrij kaino kaino ri plaln,*
 1SG one go.up go.up see\IRR finish
 'I'll go up alone and see first.'

b. *pa ri wa nar-n=[t]eitn pa ekng kaino om.*
 DEM this back descend-APPL=2SG.O DEM DU go.up now
 'then I'll come back down for you (to get you), for us to go up.'

(117) *Pa kupm wa nar ekng kitn pa.*
 DEM 1SG back descend PREP 2SG DEM
 'Then I'll come back down for you.'

3.3 The applicative on transitive verbs

3.3.1 Benefactive applicative

When the applicative suffix is added to a monotransitive verb in order to promote the beneficiary to object, there are two object positions: the applicative object is a clitic pronoun on the verb and the base object is a free NP following the verb. The pronominal clitic is the primary object and the free NP is the secondary object in the derived ditransitive construction.

In example (118), the applicative suffix is *-n*, and there is an epenthetic [t] between it and the clitic pronoun. The subject *mentekng* '1DU' will search for grasshoppers, the base object, for the benefit of *=eitn* '2SG.O'. The applicative object is the beneficiary. Another way to express the same meaning is shown in example (119), where the beneficiary is within a PP, an oblique argument. Thus, the applicative suffix promotes the oblique beneficiary to be the primary object of the verb.

(118) *Mentekng kor-n=[t]eitn kha om.*
 1DU search.for-APPL=2SG.O grasshopper now
 'We (two) seek grasshoppers for you (to eat)'

(119) *Mentekng kor kha ekng kitn.*
 1DU search.for grasshopper PREP 2SG
 'We (two) seek grasshoppers for you.'

Following are two more benefactive examples. The form of the applicative suffix is *-t*, in both cases. In example (120), *kha* 'grasshopper' is the base object, while *=eitn* 'you', the beneficiary, is the applicative object. In example (121), *ilm* is the irrealis form of *alm* 'shoot'. The base object is *mapok wail* 'large tree kangaroo', and the applicative object is *=o* 'us'.

(120) *Mentekng kitin-t=eitn kha nar kokng.*
 1DU dig-APPL=2SG.O grasshopper descend stream
 'We (two) dig grasshoppers for you down at the stream.'

(121) *Papap, ijutu om! No ilm-t=o mapok wail!*
 uncle hurry\IRR now ascend shoot\IRR-APPL=1PL.O tree.kangaroo big
 'Uncle, hurry! Come (up and) shoot a big tree kangaroo for us!'

The clitic position on the verb, the applicative object, is the primary object, while the NP following the verb, the base object, is a secondary object. The beneficiary of an applicative verb, like the recipient on the verb *uk* 'give', can occur in the clitic object position. While the base object (the patient P) can be in the clitic position when there is only one object (if it is animate), in a ditransitive applicative clause the base object (now the theme T) can never appear in the clitic position.

In order to distinguish the grammatical restriction of the object clitic to primary object (recipient/beneficiary) from the animacy restriction on clitic pronouns, I present an example with two animate objects: an animate base object as well as a human beneficiary. (The base object *kha* 'grasshopper' in example (118) above is not animate in Urim.)

First, however, the following set of examples verifies that pigs are considered animate in Urim and can be referred to by clitic pronouns. In the examples in (122), a pig is the beneficiary of the action. A man builds a house (shelter) for his pig in the bush. (122a) shows the PP strategy, which contrasts with the applicative strategy in example (122b). The clitic object position made available by the applicative suffix is filled by a clitic pronoun =*el* '3SG.O' which refers to the pig. Example (122c) is ungrammatical because it lacks an applicative suffix.

(122) a. *Kipman ntekng wan ekng munto alkil-en.*
 man make house PREP pig 3SG.GEN-EMPH
 'The man makes a shelter for his pig.'

- b. *Kipman ntekng-t=el wan.*
 man make-APPL=3SG.O house
 'The man makes a shelter for him.'
- c. **Kipman ntekng=el wan.*
 man make=3SG.O house
 'The man makes a shelter for him.'

The clitic object position on an applicative verb is limited to the semantic role of beneficiary. In example (123), the beneficiary is *=eitn* 'you', and the base object is *munto* 'pig', the one that they are looking for. Example (124) switches the object positions: the clitic *=eitn* '2SG.O' is replaced by an NP (pronoun) following the verb. However, the reading in which the clitic *=el* '3SG.O' refers to the pig is inaccessible. The only possible interpretation of example (124) is one in which the clitic pronoun is a beneficiary. The base object cannot occur as a clitic pronoun, which is the primary object position.

(123) *Tu kor-n=[t]eitn munto pa.*
 3PL search.for-APPL=2SG.O pig DEM
 'They seek the pig for you.'

(124) **Tu kor-n=[t]el kitn.*
 3PL search.for-APPL=3SG.O 2SG
 *'They seek him (the pig) for you.'
 '?They seek you for him (the pig).'

Without the applicative, the pig is the patient of the verb *kor* 'search for', and as primary object of a monotransitive verb we expect that the pig can be a clitic on the verb, but example (125a) which uses the clitic pronoun *=el* '3SG.O' is infelicitous. Third person pronouns are not commonly used for monotransitive objects, although they can be used to highlight the fact that the identity of the object argument is unexpected and pragmatically prominent (San Roque 2008:151). Instead, the normal way to express this sentence is to leave the primary object implicit, as in examples (125b) and (125c).

- (125) a. **Tu kor=el ekng kitn.*
 3PL search.for = 3SG.O PREP 2SG
 'They seek him (the pig) for you.'
- b. *Tu kor ekng kitn.*
 3PL search.for PREP 2SG
 'They seek (him, the pig) for you.'
- c. *Munto pa, tu kor ekng kitn.*
 pig DEM 3PL search.for PREP 2SG
 'The pig, they seek (him) for you.'

When the participant (the antecedent of the pronoun) is important in the text, overt clitic pronouns can be found. In example (126), an atypical text example, the 3rd person singular clitic pronoun =*el* '3SG.O' is attested as the object of the verb *katnun* 'follow (someone)'. The younger brother is trying to find the older brother and follows his footsteps into the bush.

- (126) *Wasok alkil wa katnun=[t]el kai.*
 small 3SG.GEN back follow = 3SG.O go
 'His younger brother followed him'

Example (127) does not have the 3rd person singular limitations since the object is 1st person; it is expressed as a clitic pronoun =*opm* 'me'.

- (127) *Man alkupm kor=opm.*
 mother 1SG.GEN search.for = 1SG.O
 'My mother is seeking me.'

To summarize, the clitic pronoun position is available for the patient (P) of a transitive clause and for the beneficiary (R for recipient-like) of an applicative ditransitive clause. The theme (T), the base object of the applicative clause, cannot be a clitic pronoun on the verb, even when that base object is animate. Thus, the applicative data shows that the clitic pronoun is restricted to primary object (P & R).

3.3.2 Speech verbs with the applicative *-n*

For transitive verbs, as with intransitive verbs, the applicative promotes an otherwise oblique argument to object position. When the applicative suffix is added to a monotransitive verb, the resulting applicative verb is ditransitive. In example (128b) there are two applicative suffixes, one on the verb *ropo* 'ask' and one on *la kiti* 'tell'. *La kiti* is a verb that is usually written as two words, but may be a compound verb, which means 'tell, recount' (Tok Pisin '*stori*').

- (128) a. *Kupm akal la kiti por ur a mamikng-mamin.*
 1SG want say follow story one POSS grandmother-grandfather
 'I want to tell a traditional legend.'
- b. *Seija ropo-n=[t]opm ti kupm akal la kiti-n=[t]el.*
 Seija ask-APPL=1SG.O here 1SG want say follow-APPL=3SG.O
 'Seija asked me so I will tell her one.'

This announcement of what they are about to do is a common speech act that storytellers employ. The subcategorized object of these speech verbs *ropo* 'ask' and *la kitin* 'tell' is the message, whereas the recipient of the question or story is an optional oblique argument marked with a preposition, as in example (129a). The applicative object can occur as a free NP instead of a clitic pronoun, as in example (129b). Example (129a) uses a PP to mark the beneficiary, Joyce, whereas in example (129c) the applicative suffix allows the beneficiary =*el* '3SG.O' to be a clitic on the verb. The clitic pronoun =*el* '3SG.O' refers to the recipient and not the story.

- (129) a. *Kupm akal la kiti por ur ekng Joyce.*
 1SG want say follow story one PREP Joyce
 'I want to tell a story to Joyce.'
- b. *Kupm akal la kiti-n Joyce por ketn ti,*
 1SG want say follow-APPL Joyce story little here
 'I want to tell Joyce this little story.'

- c. *kil ropo om kupm la kiti-n=[t]el.*
 3SG ask and 1SG say follow-APPL=3SG.O
 'She asks and I tell her (the little story).'

Example (130) shows the verb *ropo* 'ask' taking a PP for the person that the younger brother is asking. In the text example (131), the verb takes the applicative suffix *-n*, and the applicative object *kin* 'wife' is an NP object instead of within a PP.

- (130) a. *Wasok alkil pa ropo ekng kin a wawil,*
 younger.sibling 3sg.gen dem ask prep wife poss older.sibling
 'His_i younger brother_j asked the wife of the older brother_i,'
 b. *Kil wet kai ahi?*
 3sg today go where
 'Where did he_i go today?'

- (131) *Wasok alkil pa ropo-n kin, kil wet kai ahi?*
 younger.sibling 3SG.GEN DEM ask-APPL wife, 3SG today go where
 'His_i younger brother_j asked his_i wife, 'Where did he_i go today?'

I asked for clarification on the referent of the applicative object *kin* 'wife', and example (132) has a larger NP as the applicative object, [_{NP} *kin a wawil*] 'wife of older.brother'.

- (132) a. *Wasok pa ropo-n kin a wawil,*
 younger.sibling dem ask-appl wife poss older.sibling
 '(His_i) younger brother_j asked the wife of the older brother_i,'
 b. *Kil wet kai ahi?*
 3sg today go where
 'Where did he_i go today?'

In examples (128b) and (129c), the addressee (or beneficiary) is a clitic pronoun, while in examples (129b), (131), and (132), it is an independent NP (a proper name or a kinship term). In both cases, it has become an object by way of the applicative, and this

applicative object is the primary object. It is atypical for both objects to be included at the same time, but example (129b) shows that a ditransitive clause is possible.

3.4 The derivational *-en* suffix

Derivational uses of an applicative morpheme have been discussed for Bantu languages, Chickasaw, and Indonesian. Marten (2003) presents data from the Bantu languages Swahili, Bemba, Luganda, and Pogoro in which the applicative is used for concept-strengthening or predicate emphasis, not necessarily to add an object. Chickasaw has multiple different applicative prefixes for promoting instrumental objects, beneficiary objects, etc. After describing the syntactic behavior of each of the Chickasaw applicatives, Munro (2000) describes the derivational effects of the applicative prefixes, which must be lexically specified. Some verbs occur only with certain applicatives, and sometimes combinations of verb plus applicative that seem semantically justified are not attested. For Indonesian *-kan*, Kroeger (2007) analyzes there to be two separate but homophonous suffixes: a syntax-changing, meaning-preserving benefactive applicative suffix, and a derivational suffix which alters the semantic representation of the verb's arguments.

The Urim derivational *-en* suffix applies to verbs and sometimes to nouns, and results in verbs, the semantics of which are often not transparent. As a morpholexical suffix (Sadler & Spencer 2001), it derives new verbs and applies within the lexicon. Urim verbs have final syllable stress, and with the addition of the *-en* suffix, word stress is on the new final syllable, rather than the original last syllable of the verb. By contrast, word stress on applicative verbs such as *karken* 'fear' and *hakngen* 'cry for' in §3.2 remains on the (sole) syllable which precedes the applicative suffix.

Table 7 shows the range of meaning derivations that are found for the derivational *-en* suffix. Since the range of meaning changes of the *-en* suffix is so broad, I follow Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.:31-34) and gloss it 'TR' as 'transitivizer'. It sometimes adds an argument,

or adds metaphorical meaning to a literal meaning (c.f., *yipon* 'make agreement' in Table 7), or adds “emphasis” to the meaning (Marten 2003).

Table 7. Lexical derivations with the *-en* suffix

V	V-en
<i>ak</i> 'do'	<i>aken</i> 'labor'
<i>alil</i> 'place'	<i>aliln</i> 'smoke something'
<i>alm</i> 'shoot, aim'	<i>almpen</i> 'mix, mash; grasp'
<i>arm</i> 'plant'	<i>armpen</i> 'buy'
<i>arpm</i> 'sit'	<i>arpmen</i> 'wait; live.with'
<i>ark</i> 'hang'	<i>arken</i> 'wait; cover'
<i>atn</i> 'stand'	<i>atnen</i> 'wait; congregate'
<i>halpul</i> 'peel'	<i>halpuls</i> 'remove bark'
<i>ho</i> 'play instrument'	<i>howen</i> 'sing'
<i>itna</i> 'be.on, stick.to'	<i>itnen</i> 'attached'
<i>kat</i> 'lift'	<i>katen</i> 'carry'
<i>kle</i> 'scold'	<i>klen</i> 'argue'
<i>klo</i> 'remove'	<i>klon</i> 'forbid, make taboo, abstain'
<i>kopor</i> 'circle, take.care.of'	<i>koporn</i> 'wrap, surround'
<i>kut</i> 'sew, poke'	<i>kuten</i> 'split'
<i>kwat</i> 'cut'	<i>kwaten</i> 'trap something'
<i>nampon</i> 'together'	<i>namponen</i> 'with'
<i>nangnang</i> 'sing'	<i>nangnangen</i> 'celebrate, dance'
<i>nar</i> 'descend'	<i>naren</i> 'descend on him'
<i>pleln</i> 'turn'	<i>plelnten</i> '?turn'
<i>rkol</i> 'pull'	<i>rkoln</i> 'pulled tight'
<i>ro</i> 'split, write'	<i>ron</i> '?split'
<i>yipo</i> 'tie (string)'	<i>yipon</i> 'make agreement'

The allomorphs of this derivational suffix are *-n* and *-en*, with an underlying form of */-en/*, unlike the applicative suffix which is */-n/* and includes an allomorph *-t* in addition to *-n* and *-en*. See examples (141b) and (142b) in §3.4.2 for a contrast between the two suffixes in the same phonological environment.

3.4.1 The *-en* suffix on posture verbs

Urim has a set of six posture verbs, three of which can apply to people: *arpm* 'sit', *ark* 'hang', and *atn* 'stand'. See §4.4.2 for underived posture verb examples. The *-en* suffix derives new verbs with meanings that must be lexically specified. It can derive two different meanings from the same posture verb. In example (133b), *arpmen* means 'wait'; however, in example (134), *arpmen* means 'to live with someone, e.g., one's husband.'

(133) a. *Kil kai kwat hla pa, ak ak plaln,*
 3SG go cut bird.hide DEM do do finish
 'He went and made a house for hunting birds, he finished building it.'

b. *kil kahor arpm-en arpm.*
 3SG enter sit-TR CONT
 'and he went inside and was waiting.'

(134) *Kitn kai, arpm-en kpman ripa pa,*
 2SG go sit-TR man this DEM
 'You will go, and live with your husband...'

In example (135), *arken* means 'cover' or 'fill'. The women scoop water, and use that water to make the sago sawdust wet (see §5.4.1).

(135) *Tu kin nong hu ak ark-en nak hapmin.*
 3PL woman scoop water use hang-TR sago dust
 'The women scoop water and soak the sago sawdust.'

Example (136) is another 'wait' example, but in example (137) the meaning of *atnen* is more like 'be', or an intensified 'be' verb. The phrase *ntekng paitn* is an idiom that means 'a lot, greatly'.

(136) *Tu atn-en huyang pa wri.*
 3PL stand-TR sago.water DEM clear
 3PL wait sago.water DEM clear
 'They wait for the sago water to become clean.'

- (137) *Namning trapuk atn-en ntekng paitn.*
 huge.fly fly stand-TR make bad
 'Flies hovered around like crazy.'

The following two examples have similar semantics. I was told that *kai atnen* in example (138) means 'collect'. In example (139) there is another verb *kor* 'search' in between *kai* 'go' and *atn-en* 'stand-TR'.

- (138) *Hknga wror pa kil kai atn-en kweiur-kweiur mlahaij mlahaij,*
 younger brother DEM 3SG go stand-TR thing-thing slippery slippery
 'His younger brother had gone to collect all sorts of slippery things...'

- (139) a. *Kin pa nti hiknga-wror pa,*
 woman DEM be.with younger-sibling DEM
 'The wife and her younger sister,'
- b. *tu kai kor atn-en wanukng nung ekipma.*
 3PL go search stand-TR vegetables firewood food
 'they went and gathered firewood, greens and food.'

3.4.2 The *-en* suffix on other verbs

The verb *arm* 'plant' is one of six planting verbs. *Armpen*, with an epenthetic [p] and the derivational *-en* suffix, means 'to buy'. In example (140) *arm* means 'plant', whereas in examples (141a) and (141b) *armpen* 'buy' is used to mean 'hire workers'. In example (141b), a pronominal clitic =*en* '3PL.O' is appended to the derived verb *arm-en* > *armpen*. Since the verb is derived before the clitic pronoun is added, the form of the derivational suffix is *-en*. After the clitic pronoun is appended, *armpenten* has an epenthetic [t] between the derived verb and the pronoun =*en* 'them'.

- (140) *Kupm arm yamingkit.*
 1SG plant bean
 'I plant beans.'

- (141) a. *Kul, arm-[p]en tu maminen.*
 come plant-TR 3PL grandfathers
 'They came, and hired our grandfathers.'
- b. *Arm-[p]en=[t]en ak nokng ketn-ketn, om wi=en ye kai.*
 plant-TR=3PL.O use salt little-little and take=3PL.O carry go
 'They hired them for a little salt, and carried them away.'

This example, *armpenten*, with the derivational *-en* suffix, contrasts with applicative suffix examples (as in §3.3.1). When there is both an applicative and a pronoun clitic, as in example (142b), the allomorph of the applicative suffix is always *-t*, and the combination of applicative suffix and clitic pronoun forms a syllable. The evidence of the *-en* suffix and the epenthetic [t] in *armpenten* 'hired them' instead of *arm-t=en* supports the analysis of two distinct suffixes, */-en/* 'TR' and */-n/* 'APPL'.

- (142) a. *Tu arm yo ek ekng tu warim.*
 3PL plant tree seed PREP 3PL child
 'They plan seeds for the children.'
- b. *Tu arm-t=en yo ek pa.*
 3PL plant-APPL=3PL.O tree seed DEM
 'They plant seeds for them.'

Ak 'do' is a main verb. The normal way to say 'work' is *ak kwap* 'do work' (see §5.2), but the first clause in example (143) also means 'do work'. From the context, the contribution of the *-en* suffix to the verb *ak* 'do' is concept-strengthening or emphasis. In example (144), the verb *aken* 'labor' is in a relative clause; the context is that all the things they have done have not been in vain.

- (143) *Men ak-en kwap, hnjam hor, ...*
 1PL do-TR work sweat exit
 'We work hard, we sweat,'

- (144) *korkor a men aken pa*
 something REL 1PL labor DEM
 'whatever we have done (hard work) in the past,'

A common use of *kat* 'lift' refers to carrying a child, when one is standing in one place, as opposed to *ye* 'carry' when one is walking or moving horizontally while carrying.

- (145) *Kil kat warim kipman pa.*
 3SG lift child male DEM
 'He held the boy.'

A common use of *katen* 'lift' is in the predictable series of actions that are done with a pot of food cooked on the fire. When the pot is placed over the fire, the serial verb construction *eln itna wakng* 'put be fire' is used. When the food is done the person *katen* 'lifts' the pot of food and sets it to cool on the ground with the serial verb construction *eln arpm (knokng)* 'put sit (ground)'.

- (146) a. *Arpm-en wanukng pa, no-[w]en, ilmpiln, hlo,*
 sit-TR vegetables DEM ascend-TR stir cooked
 'Waiting for the vegetables to cook, they come up in the pot, she stirs the food, it's cooked,'
- b. *kil kat-en, eln [t]arpm.*
 3SG lift-TR put sit
 'She lifts the pot from the fire, and puts it on the ground.'

In the following three examples, *katen* means 'carry, with, include'. Example (147a) is from a traditional legend in which the people have never been able to excrete waste. The object of *katen* 'carry' here is implicit, i.e., the food that they ate.

- (147) a. *Men rikil wa arpm tolkil om al al om kat-en ye atn om,*
 1PL this back live like.this and eat eat and lift-TR carry stand and
 'We here lived like this, eating and carrying everything around,'

- b. *ri alm=[p]o num om num a men ri atning paitn.*
 this shoot=1PL.O body and body POSS 1PL this hear[feel] bad
 'this hurts our bodies and we feel pain.'

In example (148b), the implicit object of *ntam* 'cook' is food, and the food (root crops) is *katen palk*, 'with skin, unpeeled.' I first heard example (149) when I ate something in the dark. As in example (148b), this phrase *katen palk* 'holding skin' modifies a noun (banana) that is the object of a verb.

- (148) a. *Korkor pike a ntam pa,*
 something before REL cook DEM
 'Whatever we used to cook,'
 b. *tiur pike klak om ntam kat-en palk.*
 some before wash and cook lift-TR skin
 'they would wash the root crops then cook them with the skin on.'
- (149) *Kil al hamung kat-en palk!*
 3SG eat banana lift-TR skin
 'She took a bite of banana with the skin on!'

An additional example is example (150), in which the *-en* suffix is on *kai* 'go', and the derived meaning is 'toward' each other. *Kaien tita* is used in a serial verb construction with the imperative *irpm* 'sit'.

- (150) *Irpm kai-en tita!*
 sit\IRR go-TR each.other
 'Sit facing each other!'

3.5 Chapter conclusion

The morphosyntactic applicative suffix */-n/* increases the valence of a verb by promoting an oblique NP to object. In fact, the applicative object is the primary object. With the addition of the applicative suffix, intransitive (and semi-transitive) verbs become transitive, while transitive verbs become ditransitive. Applicative ditransitive clauses are often benefactive. The beneficiary is usually marked by a clitic pronoun on the applicative verb; however, note the exception in example (129b). In the case of a clitic pronoun and an independent NP following the verb, the beneficiary clitic pronoun is the primary object, while the theme NP is the secondary object. Although beneficiaries are usually animate, and Urim clitic pronouns are always limited to animate referents, §3.3.1 showed that there is a grammatical restriction of clitic pronouns (in applicative ditransitive constructions) to primary object, not only a semantic restriction of animacy.

The derivational suffix */-en/* applies within the lexicon to derive new verbs, with a wide range of semantic changes. Adding it to intransitive, semi-transitive or transitive verbs does not necessarily increase the valence of those verbs. It can derive two separate verbs from the same verb root, as in *arpmen* 'wait' and *arpmen* 'marry/live.with'. Its allomorphy and stress pattern differently from the morphosyntactic applicative.

Chapter 4

Directional and Posture Serial Verb Constructions

4.1 Introduction

A serial verb construction (SVC) is a monoclausal, multi-predicational construction composed of two (or more) otherwise independent verbs. Aikhenvald (2006:1) gives the following definition of serial verb constructions:

A serial verb construction (SVC) is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonational properties are the same as those of a monoverbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect, and polarity value. SVCs may also share core and other arguments. Each component of an SVC must be able to occur on its own.

This description of SVCs is concise and helpful, but contrasts with Baker and Harvey's (2010:35) analysis that a serial verb construction contains multiple predicates, and thus expresses multiple events.

As explained by Baker & Harvey (2010), SVCs are monoclausal but multi-predicational. That is, they involve two or more distinct predicating morphemes, linked together in a single clause by virtue of the fact that they share one or more argument positions through coindexation (Jarkey 2010:110).

Jarkey (2010:111) explains that the apparent disagreement between Aikhenvald (2006) and Baker & Harvey (2010) is due to "a difference of approach, resulting in a different use of terminology." Baker and Harvey's use of the word 'event' is constrained by what can be

expressed by the single lexical conceptual structure (LCS) of a single predicate. That is, it is a formal constraint using a specific type of semantic representation. When there is more than one predicate, there is more than one ‘simplex event’.

Proponents of the notion that SVCs describe a single ‘event’, however, do not use the term in this way at all. Their focus ... has tended to be on the language-specific constraints on what is construed, and thus presented, as a single event, in a particular utterance type. This sense of the word is referred to here as a ‘conceptual event’ (Jarkey 2010:111-12).

I agree with Jarkey (2010) that Baker and Harvey’s use of ‘simplex event’ and the multi-predicational nature of SVCs does not preclude Aikhenvald’s claim that an SVC describes a single event, meaning ‘conceptual event’. In this thesis, I use ‘predicate’ in the sense of Baker & Harvey (2010), and describe SVCs as monoclausal but multi-predicational. However, I do not use Baker & Harvey’s sense of ‘event’ as a simplex event, with the number of events corresponding to the number of predicates. For this study of SVCs, it is useful to refer to conceptual events, such that the two verbs of an SVC together represent one conceptual event.

Serial verb constructions involve the coindexation of an argument of one predicate with an argument of the other predicate (Baker & Harvey 2010:17). Following Nordlinger (2010:247), I assume that this coindexation occurs in the argument structure, as distinct from syntactic structure, and results in a single argument being available for linking to grammatical relations. This method captures the observation that serial verb constructions cannot contain more than one of a particular semantic role (Durie 1997:340). The argument structures of the two predicates are not merged together, merely coindexed to share an argument. Thus, an SVC can have a monoclausal syntactic structure but an argument structure of varying complexity.

Table 8 lists the four SVC tests which are applied in this study: Negation, Conjunction, Adverbs, and Time adjuncts. Since SVCs form one clause, the two verbs share one

value for polarity. If one verb in the construction can be negated independently of the other, then the construction is not an SVC. Likewise, a conjunction cannot be inserted between the verbs in an SVC. In addition, one verb in an SVC cannot have a different time reference than the other verb, so the use of a different time reference for the two verbs can be used to test for the interpretation of a “single conceptual event.”

Table 8. Tests for SVC in Urim

SVC	non-SVC
All verbs must share the same polarity	One verb can be negated independently
No conjunction between the verbs	Insertion of conjunction does not change meaning
Adverbs modify only the major verb	Adverbs can modify either or both verbs
Same time reference for both verbs	Different time reference for each verb is possible

Aikhenvald (2006:3) contrasts *symmetrical* vs. *asymmetrical* SVCs: in asymmetrical SVCs, the major verb is from an open class of verbs, but the minor verb is from a closed set of verbs. In symmetrical SVCs, both verbs are from an unrestricted class. In the third SVC test in Table 8, adverbs can precede only the major verb of an SVC, but not the minor verb. If both verbs in the construction can be preceded by an adverb, the construction contains a coordinate VP or two clauses rather than an SVC.

The majority of SVCs in Urim are asymmetrical: two types of directional verb SVCs, two types of posture verb SVCs, instrumental SVCs, and comitative SVCs. Instrumental and comitative SVCs have one unique minor verb, *ak* 'use' and *nti* 'accompany' respectively. In directional and posture verb SVCs, the minor verb belongs to the set of directional motion or posture verbs. Directional and posture verb SVCs are discussed in this chapter, while instrumental SVCs are described in the following chapter. Comitative constructions are not discussed in this thesis.

Section 4.2 contains a brief introduction to directional verbs, while §4.3 introduces posture verbs. Directional verb SVCs and posture verb SVCs (§4.4) are the focus of this

chapter. Finally, §4.5 presents aspect in Urim, because posture verbs are used to express continuous aspect (§4.5.2).

4.2 Directional verbs and locative objects

Urim has a set of directional motion verbs which are listed in Table 9. *Kai* 'go' refers to horizontal motion, while *no* 'ascend' and *nar* 'descend' refer to vertical motion without horizontal displacement. *Kaino* 'go.up' and *kinar* 'go.down' involve changes of both horizontal distance and elevation. *Hor* is used for both entering and exiting a house. *Wli* 'arrive' means to come (or go) to a location or a boundary. The deictic point of reference is always the speaker. All eight directional motion verbs are used both as independent verbs and in serial verb constructions.

Table 9. Directional verbs

<i>wli</i> 'arrive'	<i>kai</i> 'go'
<i>no</i> 'ascend'	<i>kaino</i> 'go up to'
<i>nar</i> 'descend'	<i>kinar</i> 'go down to'
<i>hor</i> 'enter; exit'	<i>kahor</i> 'enter into; go out of'

Kaino, *kinar*, and *kahor* seem to have been derived historically from the combination of *kai* 'go' and another directional verb. Corresponding derived directional verbs have not been found for the verb *kul* 'come'. Directional motion verbs do not have irrealis forms (Hemmilä & Luoma n.d.:23).

Directional motion verbs and posture verbs, which are introduced in §4.3, are semi-transitive verbs in Urim, as distinct from transitive verbs. *Semi-transitive* verbs have two NP arguments, S (core) and L (non-core), as opposed to the A and P of transitive verbs, which are both core arguments. Their first argument is a theme, and their second argument is usually a location. The argument structures for these two sets of verbs are shown in (151).

- (151) a. Directional Verbs: <theme, (location)>
 b. Posture Verbs: <theme, (location)>

The theme is the subject of directional verbs, and if the clause is semi-transitive (i.e., if the location argument is present), the meaning is that the agent or theme went to the location. The location NP directly follows the directional verb without a preposition. The location argument L of a semi-transitive verb is mapped to the grammatical relation *locative object*, which is an oblique argument.

Locative objects have different syntactic properties from primary objects of transitive verbs. As noted in Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.:171), locative objects cannot be fronted, while objects of transitive verbs can typically be fronted (see §1.6.2). In example (152), *kaino* 'go.up' is a verb, and *ha* 'village' is its locative object. Example (153) shows that locative objects such as *ha pa* 'the village' cannot be fronted.

- (152) *Kipman ur kaino ha.*
 man one go.up village
 'A man went up to a/the village.'
- (153) **Ha pa kipman ur kaino.*
 village DEM man one go.up
 'The village, a man went up to.'

Locative objects can be relativized, but the relativization strategy is different than the gap strategy used for transitive objects (see §1.6.3). In relative clauses, semi-transitive verbs take a 'locative anaphora' suffix *-e* 'LCAN' that refers back to the location, which is the head of the relative clause.¹ In example (154), the posture verb *arpm* 'sit' means 'live' and has a locative anaphora suffix *-e*. The example means 'the cliff that Warnu lives there' or 'the cliff where Warnu lives.' Example (155) is a locative relative clause for 'airport', a

¹ The clitic *y* 'there' in French serves a similar locative anaphora function.

place that the Urim speakers did not traditionally have. The locative anaphora suffix is on the directional verb *nar* 'descend'.

(154) *kwahin a Warnu arpm-e*
 cliff REL Warnu sit-LCAN
 'the cliff where Warnu lives'

(155) *wrik a wel nar-e*
 place REL bird descend-LCAN
 'airport'
 Lit: 'place where the airplane comes down'

The verbal suffix *-e* 'LCAN' is specific to semi-transitive verbs.² In relative clauses which do not contain directional or posture verbs, there is no locative anaphora suffix. In examples (156a) and (156b), the head of the relative clause is *wrik* 'place', and the verb *la* 'say' in the relative clause cannot take the locative anaphora suffix *-e*.

(156) a. **Mentekng no wli wrik a tu la-[w]e kpman ur mo ase.*
 1DU ascend arrive place REL 3PL say-LCAN man one die CPL
 'We (two) came up to the place where they said a man had died.'

b. *Mentekng no wli wrik a tu la kpman ur mo ase.*
 1DU ascend arrive place REL 3PL say man one die CPL
 'We (two) came up to the place where they said a man had died.'

The locative anaphora suffix is not limited to relative clauses. In example (157), a (spirit) man has taken two wives. (Hence the subject pronoun for the three of them is *ten* '3PAUC'.) The locative suffix *-e* on *arpm* 'live' in (157b) refers back to the house which they had just built, so that *arpm-e* 'live-LCAN' means 'lived there'.

² There is a separate derivational verbal suffix *-e*, which is not limited to semi-transitive verbs, and which is not discussed in this thesis.

- (157) a. *Ten arpm kai kai apm ntekng wan,*
 3PAUC sit go go now make house
 'They lived for a while, until they built a house,'
- b. *pa ten arpm-e kai kai.*
 DEM 3PAUC sit-LCAN go go
 'then they lived there (in that house).'

4.3 Posture verbs

The six verbs in Table 10 encode various postures or positions: 'sit', 'stand', 'hang', 'be on', 'be up', and 'lie'.³ In contrast to directional verbs, they have irrealis forms, in which the /a/ vowel is raised to /i/.

Table 10. Posture verbs

<i>arpm</i>	'sit'
<i>ark</i>	'hang'
<i>atn</i>	'stand'
<i>itna</i>	'be.on'
<i>hel</i>	'be.up'
<i>ha</i>	'lie'

Urim posture verbs can function as locative copulas, which have locative predication as part of their meaning and are often best glossed 'be.at' (Dryer 2007:239). Some languages

³ The main dialect, Yangkolen, also has six posture verbs, but with two variations. It has only one verb for 'stand' while Kalpm has both *atn* and *itna*. Yangkolen has a verb *rmpa* 'lie' which Kalpm does not have; however, the Kalpm dialect expresses the lying posture with the verb *ha* (Luoma 1992). The Yangkolen dialect posture verbs are in the right column of this table (Hemmilä & Luoma n.d.:172).

Kalpm posture verbs	Yangkolen posture verbs
<i>arpm</i> 'sit'	<i>rpma</i> 'sit'
-	<i>rmpa</i> 'lie'
<i>ark</i> 'hang'	<i>rka</i> 'hang'
<i>atn</i> 'stand'	<i>itna</i> 'stand'
<i>itna</i> 'be.on'	-
<i>hel</i> 'be.up'	<i>ela</i> 'be.situated'
<i>ha</i> 'lie'	<i>ha</i> 'be'

use one copula with nominal and adjectival non-verbal predicates, and a different one for locative predicates. Some languages, like Urim, “use as locative copulas a set of words that vary along some more specific spatial dimension,” such as posture (Dryer 2007:239). The Diyari language (Pama-Nyungan; Australia) examples of posture verb locative copulas in Dryer (2007:240) have locative case marking on the location noun, but in Urim locative predicates the locative object is not in an oblique PP. Locative predicates can be used in existential clauses (Dryer 2007:241), and existential clauses are often used to express predicate possession (Dryer 2007:244). Both are true in Urim.

Posture verbs take two arguments, a theme and a location. For example, (158) is a lexical entry for the posture verb *arpm* 'sit'; the lexical entries for the other five posture verbs have the same argument structure. The theme argument is the subject of the locative clause, and the location is a locative object. The theme is obligatory, while the location argument is optional.

(158) *arpm* 'sit' < theme, (location) >

Posture verbs in Oceanic languages exhibit lexical polysemy between posture meanings, locative meanings, and existential meanings. According to Lichtenberk (2002:273), the verbs have basic posture meanings; the meanings are identified as locative or existential when the use of the posture verb does not also specify the posture of the subject referent. Urim posture verbs have the same polysemy. Table 11 shows how the locative and existential meanings correlate with syntactic patterns. Locative meanings are always in semi-transitive clauses, while existential meanings are always intransitive constructions. Both semi-transitive and intransitive clauses may express posture meanings, as shown in the third column.

Table 11. Lexical polysemy in Urim posture verbs

Clause structure	Non-posture meaning	Posture meaning
Semi-transitive	NP _{SUBJ} V NP _{LOC} <i>Seija arpm wan.</i> Seija sit house 'Seija is in the house.' [Locative]	<i>Mapok arpm yo talpuk.</i> tree.kangaroo sit tree branch 'A tree kangaroo sits on the branch.'
Intransitive	NP _{SUBJ} V <i>Yan a kupm arpm.</i> father POSS 1SG sit 'My father lives.' [Existential]	<i>Kupm arpm.</i> 1sg sit 'I sit.'
Topic-Comment	NP _{Topic} NP _{SUBJ} V <i>Kupm warim wraur arpm.</i> 1SG child three sit 'I have three children.' [Predicative Possession]	

Predicative possession uses existential constructions in a topic-comment structure, in which the topic is the possessor and the subject which exists is the thing possessed. That is, in the predicative possession example in Table 11 the topic is *kupm* '1SG' and the comment is *warim wraur arpm* 'three children sit', which itself is an existential construction. In a sense, 'three children exist to me' results in the meaning of, 'I have three children'. Possessive meanings are also expressed with existential constructions in Oceanic languages, as noted by Lichtenberk (2002:273).

4.3.1 *Arpm* 'sit', *ark* 'hang', *atn* 'stand'

The verb *arpm* 'sit' in example (159) and in the second clause of example (160) expresses posture, that the tree kangaroo and *mentekng* '1DU' are sitting. Example (160) is intransitive, and it is only the context which suggests that the English translation should include posture meaning, as opposed to existential meaning.

(159) *Mapok wail arpm yo.*
 tree.kangaroo big sit tree
 'A big tree kangaroo sits in a tree.'

(160) *Mentekng num wleket, mentekng arpm pen.*
 1DU body hot, 1DU sit yet
 'We're hot, we'll sit for a while yet.'

In example (161), however, *Seija* is likely to be sitting, but the speaker cannot see her, so the sentence has the locative meaning, 'Seija is in the house'. Saying that someone *arpm wan* 'sit house' is also used to say that he or she stayed home, or didn't go out to work.

(161) *Seija arpm wan.*
 Seija sit house
 'Seija is in the house.'

Intransitive posture verbs are used for existential meanings. Example (162) is in response to a question (from a Papua New Guinean I just met) about whether my father is still living. Example (163) is about how even though their leader died, they are still there, continuing on.

(162) *Yan a kupm arpm.*
 father POSS 1SG sit
 'My father is alive.'

(163) *Kil mo, men ark om.*
 3SG die 1PL hang now
 'He died but we live.'

The posture meaning of *ark* is 'to hang', and also 'to lean against'. Examples (164) and (165a) show posture meanings. Example (165a) is said if both speaker and hearer are looking at the *bilum* bag. It emphasizes the posture meaning. Example (165b) is more

natural and could be used to say, 'yes, it's there'. The sentence is intransitive and expresses existential meaning.

(164) *Yo talpuk pa ark yo tipmakng.*
 tree branch DEM hang wood bench
 'The pen leans against (the side of) the chair.'

(165) a. *Hapm a kupm ark.*
 string.bag POSS 1SG hang
 'My string bag is hanging.'

b. *Hapm a kupm ark pa.*
 string.bag POSS 1SG hang DEM
 'My string bag is there (hanging).'

Example (166a) has both posture and locative meanings. The subject *hapm* 'string bag' precedes the verb, and the locative object *yo* 'wood' follows it. As usual for Urim, word order is rigid; the locative object *yo* 'wood' cannot be moved in front of the verb for emphasis, so (166b) is ungrammatical.

(166) a. *Hapm ark yo.*
 string.bag hang wood
 'A string bag hangs from the wood.'

b. **Hapm yo ark.*
 string.bag wood hang
 'A string bag hangs from the wood.'

When speaking of people, the posture verbs *arpm* 'sit', *ark* 'hang', and *atn* 'stand' are prototypically used. Example (167) shows that all three of these verbs can be used in the same context. *Atn* 'stand' in (167a) has an existential meaning, while *ark* 'hang' in (167b) and *arpm* 'sit' in (167c) mean 'live at/in', which are locative meanings.

- (167) a. *Yo hmpei a men pike wreitn, tu pike atn om,*
 tree vine POSS 1PL before get.up 3PL before stand then
 'Our lineage started, they lived,'
 Lit: 'The vine of our ancestors arose, they stood,'
- b. *Pike ake ark wrik ark-e kalpm, pike wli ai kul.*
 before not hang place live-LCAN no before arrive far come
 'back then they didn't live in villages, they came from far away.'
- c. *Kul kul kul, kul arpm kinar Takirk.*
 come come come come sit go.down Takirk
 'They came and came until they came and lived down at Takirk.'

4.3.2 *Itna* 'be.on'

The posture verb *itna* has a locative meaning ('be on something') when it has a locative object, i.e., when its location argument is present.⁴ The “posture” of *itna* seems to be that it is predicated of small things, or small things in reference to large locations.⁵ When we are sitting under the house, and I see a mosquito on a house post, I can say (168), while (169) is incorrect. The verb *itna* was used to describe ants crawling around on a stalk of *hriek* leaves (example 170), and bits of cooked taro stuck on my hand after eating with my hands (example 171).

- (168) *Nangil itna hong.*
 mosquito be.on house.post
 'The mosquito is on the post.'

- (169) **Nangil ark hong.*
 mosquito hang house.post
 'The mosquito is on the post.'

⁴ The spelling of *itna* (and *ipma* 'stomach') uses the grapheme <i> for a word-initial *i*. Stress is on the final syllable, i.e. the beginning of the word has a reduced vowel.

⁵ The Yangkolen dialect does not have *itna* 'be.on', but *itna* 'stand' is the Yangkolen form corresponding to Kalpm *atn* 'stand'. See footnote 3.

- (170) *Wunta itna wanukng hriek.*
 ant be.on vegetables hriek
 'Ants are on the *hriek* greens.'
- (171) *Wi itna wam a kupm, om kupm klak wam.*
 taro be.on hand POSS 1SG then 1SG wash hand
 '(Bits of) taro are on my hand, so I wash (my) hands.'

The following two examples are intransitive and express existential meanings. The subject NP *hu wleket hmpu* 'soup remainder' in example (172) is the bits and pieces of sweet potato or other root vegetable that remain in the pot after the food has been served to everyone. Example (173) states that when the outer piece of black palm material (Tok Pisin *limbum*) dries out and falls off, the *yipmang* is up there (on the *nimong* palm tree), and is now visible. The theme argument and subject NP of the intransitive *itna* 'be.on' is *yipmang pa* 'the sheath'.

- (172) *Hu wleket hmpu itna pa.*
 water hot remainder be.on DEM
 'There were soup leftovers.'
- (173) *Nimong pa nur, om yipmang pa itna.*
 black.palm DEM fall.down, then sheath DEM be.on
 'The *limbum* sheet falls to the ground, then the sheath is there.'

When placing a cooking pot over the fire (example 174), *itna* is the posture verb used in the serial verb construction (see §4.4.2.2).

- (174) *Kupm eln kuntuk itna wakng.*
 1SG put pot be.on fire
 'I put the pot on the fire.'

4.3.3 *Hel* 'be.up', *ha* 'lie'

As seen above with the other posture verbs, semi-transitive uses of *hel* 'be.up' express locative meanings; for example, the gecko is on the stone in (175), and 'you' are 'on' the picture in (176).

(175) *Wapin hel weij.*
 gecko be.up stone
 'The gecko is on the stone.'

(176) *Kitn hel klal.*
 2SG be.up image
 'You are in the picture!'

The following two examples are intransitive and express existential meanings. Example (177) states that the moon is there, that it is visible tonight. Example (178) is about *wanukng mintipm*, greens that grow on a tree, and says that (plenty) leaves exist up here, up in the branches of the tree.

(177) *Kainil hel.*
 moon be.up
 'The moon is out (tonight).'

(178) *Wanukng mintipm hel ti.*
 vegetables tulip be.up here
 'There are "tulip" leaves here.'

The posture meaning of *hel* 'be.up' is that it is raised off the ground, or on top of something. Example (179a) refers to a pen or pencil, *yo talpuk*, but any other object would also be ungrammatical. The only thing that could be said to *hel knokng* 'be on the ground' would be a bed or a bench with short legs, which would thus be raised off the ground (Seija Meinander, p.c.). In example (180a), the pen is described as on top of the *yo tipmakng*

'table'. In the locative examples (179b) and (180b), the pen is on the ground and thus the posture verb used is *ha* 'lie'.

- (179) a. **Yo talpuk hel knokng.*
 tree branch be.up ground
 'A pen is on the ground.'
- b. *Yo talpuk ha knokng.*
 tree branch lie ground
 'A pen is on the ground.'
- (180) a. *Yo talpuk hel yo tipmakng.*
 tree branch be.up wood bench
 'A pen is on the table.'
- b. *Yo talpuk ha yo tipmakng hanekng.*
 tree branch lie wood bench underside
 'A pen is under the table.'

As further evidence of the contrast between *hel* and *ha*, example (181) was a correction response to my question about what chickens do.⁶

- (181) a. *Krek ha kaino ai, hel kalpm,*
 chicken lie go.up far, be.up no,
 'Chickens are over there, they don't *hel*, (they *ha*),'
- b. *krek ha kaino ai.*
 chicken lie go.up far
 'chickens *are* over there.'

Ha 'lie' in example (181) is the prototypical posture of chickens when their existence is being predicated. Posture verbs are used to express continuous aspect, and usually the prototypical posture verb for that action or position is used as an aspectual auxiliary (see §4.5.2). However, in the appropriate context, a non-prototypical posture verb can be used:

⁶ Example (181) is grammatical both with *kinar* 'go.down' or *kaino* 'go.up' in the serial verb construction *ha kaino ai* 'be over there' (Seija Meinander, p.c.)

when chickens hop up on a tree branch to go to sleep for the night, the posture verb used as a continuous aspect auxiliary is *hel* 'be.up'.

- (182) *Krek hokng hel.*
 chicken sleep be.up
 chicken sleep CONT
 'Chickens are sleeping.'

Ha 'lie' is predicated of snakes on the ground and fish that live (down) in a river. The following two examples are locative sentences which also express posture (or prototypical habitat) meaning. Example (183) says that a snake *ha* 'lies' on the road. *Ha* 'lie' is the main verb in (184), and the motion verb *kinar* 'go.down' forms a serial verb construction with it (see §4.4.1.2).

- (183) *Ul ha ya.*
 snake lie road
 'A snake lies on the road.'

- (184) *Yul ha kinar kop wail.*
 fish lie go.down river big
 'Fish are/live down in the big river.'

The posture verb *ha* 'lie' is often used for things that are stored on the ground. In the second clause in example (185), the subject is *tapmanei pa* 'the string' and the intransitive verb *ha* 'lie' says that the string exists (or remains, as the context is that they are waiting until it is used up). Example (186) is of the existence of 'my sadness'; the noun phrase is within square brackets.

- (185) *Waitketn, tapmanei pa ha.*
 little string DEM lie
 '(It was only) a little (progress) — there was still string left.'

- (186) [*Ipma kalkut a kupm pa*] *ha*.
 stomach heavy POSS 1SG dem lie
 'My heavy heart was there / I was sad.'

4.3.4 Semantic classification

All predication of existence in Urim is accomplished by one of the six posture verbs. Each posture verb occurs with subject NPs which have certain prototypical properties or postures. As such, the set of posture verbs provides a (nonexhaustive) semantic classification of the nouns of the language. Lang (1975) is a semantic study of the seven posture verbs (which she calls existential verbs) in Enga, a Trans-New Guinea (Papuan) language. The main factors relevant for the classification of animate beings in Enga are habitat and size/shape/posture (Rumsey 2002:186). I find habitat or prototypical location to be relevant for Urim posture verbs as well, after posture and size. To illustrate the general classification in Urim, Table 12 shows the set of posture verbs with an example sentence for each verb.

Table 12. Urim posture verbs and prototypical subjects

verb	gloss	example	subject referent
<i>arpm</i>	'sit'	<i>wampung arpm (yo)</i> 'A possum sits (in a tree).'	possum
<i>ark</i>	'hang'	<i>khipo ark (mumu)</i> 'A spider hangs (on a web).'	spider
<i>atn</i>	'stand'	<i>yo walek atn</i> 'Papaya tree stands'	tree
<i>itna</i>	'be.on'	<i>nangil itna hong</i> 'A mosquito is on the post.'	mosquito (small things)
<i>hel</i>	'be.up'	<i>takngni hel (kitnong)</i> 'The sun is (in the sky).'	sun (raised things)
<i>ha</i>	'lie' (down)	<i>ul ha (ya)</i> 'A snake lies (on the road).'	snake (things down below)

In Enga one of the posture (existential) verbs is used “with subject NPs whose typical referents are internal or subterranean, e.g. 'worm', 'liver', 'sweet potato'.” That is, they are

not visible; they are hidden/concealed (Lang 1975). Urim posture verbs do not make this distinction, and yams before they are dug up *ha knobng* 'are (down) in the ground' (Seija Meinander, p.c.). Also, the generalization “Men (and tall, thin or powerful things) stand and women (and small, horizontal or weak things) sit,” well-known in Papuan languages (Rumsey 2002:179), does not hold in Urim. Posture/existential verbs have also been found in the Sandaun Province languages Waris and Anggor. “Men stand and women sit” is true in Waris but not in Anggor (Franklin 1981:129).

As in other PNG languages and Tok Pisin, *nep* 'coconut' is primarily the coconut palm and secondarily refers to the fruit of the tree, the coconut itself. Young or green coconuts are called *nep mongkon*, and coconuts that have fallen to the ground are *nep tukngun* 'coconut ripe'. In context, the adjectives *mongkon* or *tukngun* can be omitted, and even more so with the semantics of the posture verb. In example (187), *nep* 'coconut' refers to the palm tree, the green coconuts, and the brown/dry coconuts, respectively.

- (187) a. *Nep atn.*
 coconut stand
 'Coconut palm stands' / 'There is a coconut palm.'
- b. *Nep hel.*
 coconut be.up
 '(Green) coconuts are up there.'
- c. *Nep ha.*
 coconut lie
 '(Dry) coconuts are on the ground.'

These three posture verbs correlate with three forms of a coconut (palm), prototypically, but exceptions can be made. In response to the comment, 'We have no (dry) coconuts with which to make coconut milk and cook dinner' in (188a), example (188b) says *nep hel* 'coconut be.up' > 'coconuts exist'. In example (187b) the coconuts which *hel* 'be.up' are unripe and full of water, while in (188b) they are dry/ripe and just haven't fallen to the ground yet — they are available to be picked and used.

- (188) a. *Mentekng ti nep kalpm.*
 1DU here coconut no
 'We (two) have no coconuts.'
- b. *Kalpm. Ti nep hel ai.*
 no here coconut be.up far
 'No, there are coconuts, right up there.'

4.4 Directional & Posture SVCs

Directional verbs and posture verbs, introduced in §4.2 and §4.3 respectively, participate in many serial verb constructions.

Compare examples (189) and (190). The second verb *kinar* 'go.down' is the same in both sentences. In (189) the location argument of *kinar* 'go.down' is left unexpressed, whereas *kinar* 'go.down' in (190) takes a locative object *wring* 'garden'. In (189) it contributes direction to the motion event of carrying something somewhere, while in (190) it specifies both direction of motion and the semantic role (goal) of its locative object. Any of the eight directional verbs (see Table 9 in §4.2) may participate in serial verb constructions with this alternation.

- (189) *Kil ye hamung naro pa kinar.*
 3SG carry banana stalk DEM go.down
 'She carries the banana stalk down/away.'
- (190) *Kil ye hamung naro pa kinar wring.*
 3SG carry banana stalk DEM go.down garden
 'She carries the banana stalk (down) to the garden.'

Examples (191) and (192) show a parallel contrast. *Arpm* 'sit' in example (191) is intransitive and adds “posture” meaning to the action of putting something somewhere. *Arpm* 'sit' in (192) is semi-transitive, taking the locative object *knokng* 'ground' and meaning that the location *knokng* 'ground' is the goal of the putting.

- (191) *Kil eln keimung arpm.*
 3SG put plate sit
 'She put the plate down.'
- (192) *Kil eln keimung arpm knobng.*
 3SG put plate sit ground
 'She put the plate on the ground.'

Table 13 shows the four types of serial verb constructions that are discussed in this section. When two verbs occur in an SVC, I call the first verb V_1 and the following verb V_2 . These are asymmetrical SVCs, with V_1 as the major verb and V_2 as the minor verb. The SVCs in the first column have directional verbs as V_2 , while the SVCs in the second column have posture verbs as V_2 . In the SVCs in the first row, V_2 is intransitive, while in the second row V_2 takes a locative object.

Table 13. Directional and Posture serial verb constructions

	Directional verbs	Posture verbs
Path	V_{motion} (NP) $V_{\text{direction}}$ <i>ye kinar</i> 'carry go.down'	V_{transfer} (NP) V_{posture} <i>eln arpm</i> 'put sit'
Location	V (NP) $V_{\text{direction}}$ NP _{location} <i>ye</i> (NP) <i>kinar wring</i> 'carry s.t. down to the garden'	V (NP) V_{posture} NP _{location} <i>eln</i> (NP) <i>arpm knobng</i> 'put s.t. on the ground'

Each quadrant of the table also contains an example of a prototypical SVC in that category. The V_1 in directional path SVCs may be limited to the motion verb *ye* 'carry', and in posture path SVCs the V_1 may be limited to the transfer verb *eln* 'put'. However, the directional location and posture location SVCs (in the second row) can be found with many different verbs as V_1 . The meanings expressed by the semi-transitive V_2 in these SVCs tend to be locative or goal meanings which are translated into English as prepositional phrases.

4.4.1 Directional verb SVCs

Section 4.4.1.1 describes directional path SVCs, which are composed of *ye* 'carry' and a directional verb. (Asymmetrical) SVCs in Urim have only two verbs; when the verb *wi* 'take' is juxtaposed before directional path SVCs such as *ye kul* 'carry come', *wi* 'take' and its object form a separate clause from the SVC.

Section 4.4.1.2 discusses directional location SVCs, in which the directional verb is semi-transitive. I show that locative objects of the semi-transitive V_2 of an SVC have the same syntactic properties as locative objects whose semi-transitive verb is the only verb in its clause.

4.4.1.1 Directional path SVCs

When expressing the idea of “bring” or “take away,” Urim speakers use serial verb constructions as in (193). *Ye* 'carry' involves both holding something and motion: walking or otherwise travelling. The verb *kul* 'come' in example (193a) and *kai* 'go' in (193b) adds direction to the verb *ye* 'carry'. *Kul* and *kai* are directional motion verbs which can occur independently, but when they co-occur with the motion verb *ye*, they express the direction of the motion 'carry'.

(193) a. *Kil ye keimung kul.*
 3SG carry bowl come
 'She brings a/the plate (here).'

b. *Kil ye telp kai.*
 3SG carry knife go
 'She carries a/the knife away.'

The object *telp* 'knife' can be omitted if known from the context, as in (194a), but example (194b) shows that the object must immediately follow V_1 *ye* 'carry'; it cannot fol-

low V_2 *kai* 'go'. This example would mean that she carried something to the knife, i.e., that the knife was the locative object of *kai* 'go' (cf. §4.4.1.2).⁷

- (194) a. *Kil ye kai.*
 3SG carry go
 'She carries it away.'
- b. **Kil ye kai telp.*
 3SG carry go knife
 'She carries a/the knife away.'

Example (195a) shows how to negate SVCs, with *ake* 'not' preceding V_1 . In example (195b), *ake* 'not' precedes V_2 *kul* 'come', and the sentence is ungrammatical. Because the second verb *kul* 'come' cannot be negated separately from *ye* 'carry', this supports an SVC analysis for *ye kul* 'carry come'.

- (195) a. *Kil ake ye keimung kul.*
 3SG not carry bowl come
 'She doesn't bring a/the plate.'
- b. **Kil ye keimung ake kul.*
 3SG carry bowl not come
 'She brings a/the plate but not here.'

The two verbs of the SVC form one clause; the addition of a conjunction between the two verbs forces a bi-clausal reading in which *kai* is an independent verb 'go' (instead of the directional 'away') and breaks up the SVC. At best, example (196) would mean that the woman picked up the knife and left, but in that case it would be better to say *wi* 'take' instead of *ye* 'carry'.

- (196) **Kil ye telp om kai.*
 3SG carry knife and go
 'She carries a/the knife away.'

⁷ When the object NP is implicit, as in example (194a), native speakers often choose to write these two verbs together as one word, e.g., <*yekai*>.

In example (197) the verb *ye* 'carry' is repeated, due to the “heavy constituent” following the first *ye*. As a type of mid-sentence correction, the long NP in brackets is followed by the SVC *ye kul* 'carry come'. The implicit object of *ye* 'carry' in the SVC is the long NP which was the object of the first *ye*.

- (197) *Warim kin ye [hamung, nimun kweiur pa] ye kul,*
 child female carry banana wild.sugar something DEM carry come
 'The girl brought (carrying) the bananas, wild sugar cane, and things.'

In the same way, example (198a) would be grammatical, but in example (198b) the speaker repeated *ye* 'carry', because of the long NP (in brackets) between *ye* and *kaino*.⁸

- (198) a. *Kipm ye [hmpkngan yor tngklak ti] kaino Wran om.*
 2PL carry sago meat dry here go.up Wran now
 'You carry the sago and meat up to Wran village.'
- b. *Kipm ye [hmpkngan yor tngklak ti] ye kaino Wran om.*
 2PL carry sago meat dry here carry go.up Wran now
 'You carry the sago and meat up to Wran village.'

To summarize, directional path constructions such as *ye* (NP) *kul* are SVCs. V_1 seems to always be *ye* 'carry', while V_2 can be any of the directional verbs (see chart in §4.2). *Ye* encodes motion, and V_2 the directional verb adds direction to that (conceptual) motion event.

Urim does not have directional or posture SVCs with more than two verbs in the SVC. The examples in (199) seem like they might be SVCs with three verbs, because they can be expressed with one English verb “bring” or “take away,” but they are a sequence of two clauses: *wi telp* 'take knife' and a directional path SVC *ye hor* 'carry exit' or *ye kul* 'carry come'. The verbs *hor* 'exit' and *kul* 'come' provide direction to the motion verb *ye* 'carry'. As

⁸ The examples in (198) are directional location SVCs and technically belong in §4.4.1.2, but are discussed here as “heavy NP” examples.

suggested by the pronoun 'it' in the English translations, there is an implicit object between *ye* and *hor* in example (199a), and between *ye* and *kul* in (199b).

- (199) a. *kil wi telp ye hor.*
 3SG take knife carry exit
 'She takes a/the knife and brings it out (of the house).'
- b. *kil wi telp ye kul.*
 3SG take knife carry come
 'She takes a/the knife and brings it here.'

Wi 'take' cannot be V_1 in a directional path SVC. In order to make example (200) grammatical, *ye* 'carry' would have to be added before the directional verb *kai* 'go'. Thus, 'take (NP) go' is not an SVC in Urim, although it is a common SVC in Tok Pisin and other languages.

- (200) **kil wi telp kai.*
 3SG take knife go
 'She takes a/the knife away.'

The clause *wi (telp)* 'take knife' is “separable” from *ye (telp) kai* 'carry knife go'. To show that *wi* 'take' and *ye* 'carry' are in separate clauses, example (201) will be tested with a conjunction, negation, the adverb *wa* 'back, again', and differing time adjuncts. Each of the tests (except conjunction) are applied both with and without a conjunction in the sentence.

First, contrast examples (201) and (202). In (201) the first instance of the VP *ye kai* 'carry go' follows *wi telp* 'take knife' directly, while in (202) the conjunction *om* 'and' is inserted between the two VPs. There is no change in meaning from the insertion of the conjunction, which suggests that the three verbs *wi (telp) ye kai* 'take (knife) carry go' do not form an SVC.

- (201) *Kil wi telp ye kai, kil wi ye kai.*
 3SG take knife carry go, 3SG take carry go
 'She takes a/the knife (and) carries it away, she takes it away.'

- (202) *Kil wi telp om ye kai.*
 3SG take knife and carry go
 'She takes a/the knife and carries it away.'

In the following negation examples, *ye kai* 'carry go' can be negated apart from *wi* 'take'. If example (203) was ungrammatical, that would support the whole *wi ye kai* 'take carry go' being an SVC. Instead, since (203) is grammatical just like examples (204a) and (204b) which have a conjunction, the first clause in example (203) must be a coordinate structure of two clauses.⁹

- (203) *Kil wi telp ake ye kai, kil atn pen.*
 3SG take knife not carry go 3SG stand yet
 'She takes a/the knife (and) does not carry it away, she stays yet.'

- (204) a. *Kil wi telp om ake ye kai, kil atn pen.*
 3SG take knife and not carry go 3SG stand yet
 'She takes a/the knife and does not carry it away, she stays yet.'
- b. *Kil wi telp ari ake ye kai, kil atn pen.*
 3SG take knife but not carry go 3SG stand yet
 'She takes a/the knife but does not carry it away, she stays yet.'

Wa 'again, back' is an adverb which precedes the verb it modifies. Example (205a) is the same SVC from example (193a) above, and in example (205b) *wa* 'back' precedes the entire SVC.

- (205) a. *Kupm ye keimung kul.*
 1SG carry bowl come
 'I bring a/the plate here.'
- b. *Kupm wa ye keimung kul.*
 1SG back carry bowl come
 'I bring a/the plate back here.'

⁹ Although it could be a coordinate VP structure, that distinction is not relevant here. The same caveat applies in the rest of this section.

The adverb *wa* cannot precede V_2 in an SVC. Both (206a) and (206b), in which *wa* 'back' precedes *kai* 'go', result in an interpretation in which *kai* 'go' is an independent verb, rather than the V_2 of an SVC, providing direction to V_1 . In example (206a) *wa kai* 'back go' forms a second clause after *ye telp* 'carry knife', and in (206b) there is a *wa* adverb for each clause: *wa ye telp* 'back carry knife' and *wa kai* 'back go'.¹⁰

- (206) a. *Kil ye (telp) wa kai.*
 3SG carry knife back go
 *'She carries a/the knife away again.'
 'Em karim naip na i go.'
 'She carries a/the knife and goes.'
- b. *Kil wa ye (telp) wa kai.*
 3SG back carry knife back go
 *'She carries a/the knife away again.'
 'Em karim naip na i go.'
 'She (again?) carries a/the knife and goes.'

Examples (207) and (208) contrast the presence or absence of a conjunction in *wa* sentences. In examples (207a) and (208a), there is an adverb *wa* 'back' before *wi* 'take' but not before *ye kai* 'carry go'. Examples (207b) and (208b) have *wa* 'back' before *ye kai* 'carry go' but not before *wi* 'take'. And finally, in examples (207c) and (208c) *wa* precedes both *wi* 'take' and *ye kai* 'carry go'. We observe the same grammaticality acceptance for the sentences with or without a conjunction, which suggests that the examples in (207) contain two clauses, not one SVC with three verbs.

- (207) a. *Kil wa wi telp ye kai.*
 3SG back take knife carry go
 'She (again?) carries a/the knife away.'

¹⁰ The adverb *wa* 'again, back, return' is very close phonologically to *a* 'and'. That is, the *wa* which precedes *kai* 'go' in examples (206a) and (206b) may be interpreted as a conjunction (*wa* 'and'), or it may be an adverb and the conjunction is inserted in the Tok Pisin and English translations due to the independent verb *kai* 'go'. Either way, *wa* breaks up the SVC and results in a bi-clausal interpretation.

- b. *Kil wi telp wa ye kai.*
 3SG take knife back carry go
 'She takes a/the knife and carries it away (again?).'
- c. *Kil wa wi wa ye kai.*
 3SG back take back carry go
 'She takes a/the knife and carries it away (again?).'

- (208) a. *Kil wa wi telp om ye kai.*
 3SG back take knife and carry go
 'She (again?) takes a/the knife and carries it away.'
- b. *Kil wi telp om wa ye kai.*
 3SG take knife and back carry go
 'She takes a/the knife and carries it away (again?).'
- c. *Kil wa wi om wa ye kai.*
 3SG back take and back carry go
 'She takes it and carries it away (again?).'

Testing with time phrases also shows that the *wi telp ye kai* 'take knife carry go' expression is actually two clauses. Inserting a different time phrase next to each of the verbs in the SVC *ye kai* 'carry go' > 'carry away' is ungrammatical and doesn't make sense. In example (209a) a time PP follows V_1 *ye* 'carry' and V_2 *kai* 'go', and in (209b) a time adverb precedes V_1 and V_2 .

- (209) a. **Kil ye telp ak kang kai ak takngni.*
 3SG carry knife at morning go at sun
 'She carried a/the knife in the morning, carried it away at noon.'
- b. **Kil pikekng ye telp wet kai.*
 3SG yesterday carry knife today go
 'She carried a/the knife yesterday and today carried it away.'

In the following sets of sentences, there is a different time reference on the *wi telp* 'take knife' VP than on the *ye kai* 'carry go' VP. Example (210a), without a conjunction, and example (211a) with a conjunction, have the same adjunct time phrases and are both

grammatical. In examples (210b), (211b) and (211c), the adjunct time word occurs as an adverb before the verb in each clause. The examples in (210a) and (210b) must have two clauses, because they are grammatical with the differing time adjuncts, and because they have the same meanings as their counterparts with a conjunction in (211).

- (210) a. *Kil wi telp ak kang ye kai ak takngni.*
 3SG take knife at morning carry go at sun
 'She took a/the knife in the morning, carried it away at noon.'
- b. *Kil pikekng wi telp wet ye kai.*
 3SG yesterday take knife today carry go
 'She took a/the knife yesterday and today carried it away.'
- (211) a. *Kil wi telp ak kang om ye kai ak takngni.*
 3SG take knife at morning and carry go at sun
 'She took a/the knife in the morning and carried it away at noon.'
- b. *Kil pikekng wi telp ari wet ye kai.*
 3SG yesterday take knife but today carry go
 'She took a/the knife yesterday but carried it away today.'
- c. *Kil pikekng wi telp om hikng ye telp kai.*
 3SG yesterday take knife and tomorrow carry knife go
 'She took a/the knife yesterday and tomorrow will carry the knife away.'

All these test sentences are found to be grammatical, so *wi ye kai* 'take carry go' contains two clauses. Thus, *wi* 'take' does not form an SVC with the SVC *ye kai* 'carry away'.

The following examples show the effect of an applicative suffix and pronominal clitic on a *ye kul* 'carry come' SVC and a *wi ye kul* 'take carry come' coordinate construction. The applicative suffix *-n* and the pronominal clitic beneficiary can attach to V_1 *ye* 'carry' of the SVC, as in (212a), but as shown in (212b) they cannot be appended to V_2 *kul* 'come', which provides direction to the SVC.

- (212) a. *Ye-n=[t]opm nimpén-ímplo kul.*
 carry-APPL=1SG.O bat-wing come
 'Bring (my) umbrella here for me.'
- b. **Ye nimpén-ímplo kul-n=[t]opm.*
 carry bat-wing come-APPL=1SG.O
 'Bring (my) umbrella here for me.'

Example (213) contains two clauses: *wintopm nepmpalk* 'take-for-me shoes' and *ye kul* 'bring (them) here'. The applicative suffix (and the beneficiary) are appended to the verb *wi* 'take' of the first clause, and the object *nepm-palk* 'shoes' of *wi* 'take' is the understood object of *ye* 'carry'. Although *wi* 'take' is not part of the SVC *ye kul* 'carry come', the meaning of the whole example (excluding the benefactive applicative) can be expressed in English with just one verb: 'bring'.

- (213) *Wi-n=[t]opm nepm-palk ye kul om.*
 take-APPL=1SG.O leg-skin carry come now
 'Bring (my) shoes here for me.'
 Lit: 'Get (my) shoes for me and bring them here.'

Example (213) is preferred by native speakers, but (214a) with redundant applicatives on *wi* 'take' and *ye* 'carry' is also grammatical. *Ye* 'carry' is V_1 of the SVC *ye kul*. In example (214b), the shoes are the object of the first clause and understood as the implicit object of the second clause, the SVC. This example is grammatical, with the applicative suffix on V_1 of the SVC, in contrast to (212b) above, where the applicative is on V_2 of the SVC, *kul* 'come'. Only V_1 of an SVC can host the applicative suffix and clitic pronoun, not V_2 . Thus, *ye kul* 'carry come' is an SVC but *wi ye kul* 'take carry come' is not an SVC.

- (214) a. *Wi-n=[t]opm nepm-palk ye-n=[t]opm kul.*
 take-APPL=1SG.O leg-skin carry-APPL=1SG.O come
 'Bring (my) shoes here for me.'
 Lit: 'Get (my) shoes for me and bring them here for me.'

- b. *Wi nepm-palk ye-n=[t]opm kul.*
 take leg-skin carry-APPL=1SG.O come
 'Get (my) shoes and bring them here for me.'

4.4.1.2 Directional location SVCs

Directional location serial verb constructions, in which V_2 is a directional motion verb and has a locative object, express locative meanings. In some directional location SVCs, the locative object of V_2 is the goal of the action of V_1 ; in others, it is the location where the the action of V_1 occurs.

The following two examples are directional location SVCs in which the locative object of V_2 is the goal of the action of V_1 . In example (215) V_1 is *rkol* 'pull', and V_2 *kinar* 'go down' has a locative object *ha* 'village' which is the goal of the pulling. In example (216), *hu* 'water' is a shared argument in the SVC. It is both the theme of *alm* 'shoot' <agent, theme> and the theme of *nar* 'descend' <theme, location>. *Nar* 'descend' takes a locative object *keimung* 'cup', which is the goal of the motion. The two verbs each take their own object or locative object, but between the two verbs there are three arguments in all: agent, theme, and goal.

- (215) *Tu rkol nim kinar ha.*
 3PL pull slit.drum go.down village
 'They pull the slit drum down to the village.'

- (216) *Kupm alm hu nar keimung.*
 1SG shoot water descend cup
 'I pour water into a cup.'

The following three examples are directional location serial verb constructions in which the directional verb V_2 expresses a locative rather than a motion meaning. In (217), *alm* 'shoot' is V_1 , and *kai ming* 'go bush' means 'in the bush'. In example (218), the two birds are fighting '(down) at the stream'. In example (219), V_2 of the SVC is the directional verb

kaino 'go.up'. It has as locative object a village which is at higher elevation than where the speaker is.

(217) *Tu alm munto kai ming.*
 3PL shoot pig go bush.
 'They hunted pigs in the bush.'

(218) *Wel neimun wekng er tita nar kokng kapm.*
 bird hornbill two hit each.other descend stream pool
 'Two hornbills fight (down) at the stream.'

(219) *Kil ak nim kaino Ha Mrinim.*
 3SG do slit.drum go.up village Mrinim
 'She played the slit drum up at Ha Mrinim.'

As mentioned above with Table 13, V_1 in these directional location SVCs can be almost any verb. In example (220), the first verb *hipon* 'squeeze' takes an object NP *nep ma pa* 'coconut milk', which is then the zero object in the SVC *eln nar kuntuk* 'put descend saucepan'. V_1 in this SVC is *eln* 'put', which is also the typical V_1 of the posture path SVCs (see §4.4.2.1). V_2 *nar* 'descend' takes a locative object *kuntuk* 'saucepan'. The subject of the SVC puts the coconut milk into the pot.

(220) *Hipon nep ma pa, eln nar kuntuk.*
 squeeze coconut milk DEM put descend saucepan
 'Squeeze coconut milk, squeeze it into the saucepan.'

V_2 of directional location SVCs has the following verbal properties: it can be reduplicated for imperfective aspect, and it can take pronominal clitics. In example (221) from a traditional legend, mangoes which have turned into women are now turning back into mangoes. The directional locative SVC is *tpra kaino naurk* 'jump go.up mango (tree)', and V_2 *kaino* 'go.up' is repeated for iterative aspect. The combination of the reduplication of V_2 and the verb *yipele* 'finish' following the SVC expresses that all of the women jumped

back up onto the mango tree (cf., *plaln* 'finish' in §4.5.3). In example (222) V_2 *kai* 'go' has a pronominal clitic =*en* '3PL.O'. The two children are the locative goal of the water in the pond.

(221) *Kin naurk pa tipra kaino kaino naurk yipele.*
 woman mango DEM jump go.up go.up mango finish
 'The mango women jumped up one by one onto the mango tree.'

(222) *Hu kitir kai=en.*
 water jump go = 3PL.O
 'Water splashed toward them.'

The coindexation of the shared argument is shown in (223) for example (215) and in (224) for example (221). The total number of arguments available to the syntax in these SVCs are three (agent, theme, location) and two (agent, location), respectively.

(223) *rkol* 'pull' <agent, theme_i> *kinar* 'go down' <theme_i, location>

(224) *tipra* 'jump' <agent_i> *kaino* 'go up' <theme_i, location>

The properties of locative objects in an SVC are the same as that of locative objects of semi-transitive verbs which are independent verbs. They cannot be fronted, and relativization uses the locative anaphora suffix *-e* 'LOC' on the semi-transitive verb.

In the SVC in example (225a), V_1 *rkol* 'pull' takes its object *nim* 'slit.drum', while V_2 *kinar* 'go.down' takes a locative object *ha* 'village'. In (225b) the transitive object of V_1 is fronted, while (225c) shows that the locative object *ha pa* 'the village' cannot be fronted, away from its semi-transitive verb *kinar* 'go.down'.

(225) a. *Tu rkol nim kinar ha.*
 3PL pull slit.drum go.down village
 'They pull (the) slit drum down to the village.'

- b. *Nim pa tu rkol kinar ha.*
 slit.drum DEM 3PL pull go.down village
 'The slit drum, they pull (it) down to the village.'
- c. **Ha pa tu rkol nim kinar.*
 village DEM 3PL pull slit.drum go.down
 'The village, they pull the slit drum down to.'

The context of example (225) was that the large drum was pulled down to another village. That is, the locative object was a semantic goal of the motion of the SVC. In example (226a), the semantics of V_1 *er* 'fight' does not involve motion (i.e., horizontal or vertical displacement), and the semantic contribution of V_2 *nar* 'descend' and its locative object *kapm* 'pond' to the SVC is merely location, not goal. Example (226b), in which the locative object *kapm pa* 'the pond' is fronted, is ungrammatical because the directional verb *nar* 'descend' remains at the end of the sentence.

- (226) a. *Wel neimun wekng er tita nar kokng kapm.*
 bird hornbill two hit each.other descend stream pond
 'Two hornbills fought each other down at the pond.'
- b. **Kapm pa wel wekng er tita nar.*
 pond DEM bird two hit each.other descend
 'The pond, two birds fought each other down there.'

Example (227a) shows that the locative object cannot be relativized except with the locative anaphora suffix on the directional (semi-transitive) verb, as in (227b).

- (227) a. **Kapm a wel wekng er tita nar*
 pond REL bird two hit each.other descend
 '(the) pond where two birds fought each other down at'
- b. *Kapm a wel wekng er tita nar-e*
 pond REL bird two hit each.other descend-LCAN
 '(the) pond where two birds fought each other down at'

Example (227b) encodes a specific instance of birds fighting down at a pond. The following example is a relative clause describing the purpose of a large bowl: something that is true all the time, not just when one is preparing sago. There are two verbs in the directional location SVC: V₁ *kwat* 'cut' and V₂ *nar* 'descend'. Examples (228a) and (228b) show that the locative anaphora suffix *-e* 'LCAN' belongs on the directional verb *nar* 'descend', not on V₁ *kwat* 'cut'.

- (228) a. *keimung a kwat hmpikngan nar-e*
 bowl REL cut cooked.sago descend-LCAN
 'bowl for preparing sago in'
- b. **keimung a kwat-e hmpikngan*
 bowl REL cut-LCAN cooked.sago
 'bowl for preparing sago in'

4.4.2 Posture verb SVCs

Posture verbs participate in two kinds of SVCs, one in which the posture verb is intransitive, and one in which the posture verb is semi-transitive (see Table 13). Example (229) lists four ways to describe the same event. The longer, more explicit expression of the event is in (229b), whereas (229a) is more common. *Keimung* 'plate' is the theme, the thing being put, and *knokng* 'ground' is the goal argument of the action. If the plate is known from context, (229c) and (229d) are grammatical; zero-anaphora is used in this example for the object *keimung* 'plate', which is inanimate.

- (229) a. *Kil eln keimung arpm.*
 3SG put plate sit
 'She put the plate down.'
- b. *Kil eln keimung arpm knokng.*
 3SG put plate sit ground
 'She put the plate on the ground.'

- c. *Kil eln arpm knokng pa.*
 3SG put sit ground DEM
 'She put it on the ground.'
- d. *Kil eln arpm om.*
 3SG put sit now
 'She put it down.'

Examples (229a) and (229d) are posture path SVCs, in which *arpm* 'sit' is intransitive (see §4.4.2.1), while (229b) and (229c) are posture location SVCs, in which the posture verb is semi-transitive (see §4.4.2.2).

The lexical entries for *eln* 'put' and *arpm* 'sit' are in (230) below.

- (230) a. *eln* 'put' <agent, theme >
 b. *arpm* 'sit' <theme, (location) >

Example (231) shows the coindexing of the theme argument in the posture location SVC. The agent of *eln* 'put' maps to the subject of the clause, the theme to primary object, and the location of *arpm* 'sit' maps to the locative object of the clause. Each verb takes its own object, although the object of V_2 is a locative object, since V_2 is a semi-transitive verb. The SVC has one clause, two verbs with their own objects, and three arguments in two argument structures linked by coindexation.

- (231) *eln* 'put' <agent, theme_i> *arpm* 'sit' <theme_i, location >

Likewise, the theme of posture path SVCs is coindexed as shown in (232). The posture verb is intransitive, and the SVC has a total of two arguments (in two argument structures, linked by coindexation.)

- (232) *eln* 'put' <agent, theme_i> *arpm* 'sit' <theme_i>

The verb *eln* 'put' takes an agent and a theme, but requires another verb, a posture or directional verb, to express the goal of the putting. That is, posture location SVCs (and directional location SVCs) are the strategy to express the goal argument of the event.

The overwhelming majority of *eln* 'put' examples in the text corpus (and in elicitation) are in SVCs with a semi-transitive verb. When *eln* 'put' occurs on its own instead of in an SVC, the goal or location is not very relevant. Example (233) from a narrative text says that the meat will benefit someone, and lacks a posture or directional verb to specify where they put the meat for him.

- (233) *Tu eln-t=el yor wrom.*
 3PL put-APPL=3SG.O meat rump
 'They put rump meat for him.'

4.4.2.1 Posture path SVCs

In posture path SVCs, V_1 is *eln* 'put', and the posture verb V_2 is intransitive, not specifying a locative object. The verb *eln* 'put' can be combined in an SVC (either posture path or posture location) with all six of the posture verbs. This section illustrates posture path SVCs with various posture verbs, and then briefly shows two SVC tests, negation and conjunction.

In the following three examples, the posture path SVC is the last in a series of actions, and the zero object of *eln* 'put' is placed in the posture of V_2 . Example (234) contains a directional path SVC *ye nimong nar* 'carry basket descend', a directional location SVC *ye kahor wan* 'carry enter house', and the posture path SVC *eln [t]ark* 'put hang', which means that the woman hangs the basket up by its strap. Example (235) has a directional path SVC *ye kai* 'carry go' in series with a posture path SVC *eln [t]atn* 'put stand'. The girl put the piece of bamboo down in a vertical position, so that it was *atn* 'standing'. In example (236), the *yo* 'tree' which has been chopped down is then *eln* 'put' in a *hel* 'be.up' posture or position, i.e., horizontally.

- (234) *Kil ye nimong nar, ye kahor wan, eln [t]ark.*
 3SG carry basket descend, carry enter house put hang
 'She carried the basket down, carried it into the house, and hung it up.'
- (235) *Kil nalu hinipm pa, ye kai eln [t]atn.*
 3SG remove bamboo.piece DEM carry go put stand
 'She pulled up the piece of bamboo, carried it over and set it down.'
- (236) *Kitn pa akal ser wring, kampil yo, ware yo hen, eln [t]hel.*
 2SG DEM want weed garden prune tree fell tree outside put be.up
 'You will clean the garden, cut the branches off a tree, chop the tree down, lay it flat (to dry in the sun).'

In example (237), a man is given (wrapped) food, but doesn't want to eat it yet and puts it down. The posture verb *ha* 'lie' contributes an associated posture meaning of lying on the ground.

- (237) a. *Kil wi hmpikngan pa ari, ake wa al pen.*
 3SG take cooked.sago DEM but not back eat yet
 'He took the sago but, he didn't eat it yet.'
- b. *Kil eln [t]ha.*
 3SG put lie
 'He put it down.'

Example (238) was said about a notebook, which is the implicit object of *eln* 'put'. The posture verb *ha* 'lie' is in its irrealis form *hi* for imperative mood.¹¹

- (238) *Eln [t]hi pa pen!*
 put lie\IRR there yet
 'Leave it there for me for now.'

Just as in directional path SVCs, the directional verb V_2 contributes direction to the event of V_1 , in posture path SVCs the posture verb V_2 contributes posture information to V_1 , not a separate conceptual event.

¹¹ The verb *eln* 'put' does not have a vowel which could be raised for irrealis ablaut.

In posture path SVCs, V_1 *eln* 'put' cannot be negated separately from V_2 *arpm* 'sit'. The entire SVC in example (239a) is negated with *ake ... pen* 'not yet'. In the ungrammatical example (239b), *ake* 'not' precedes V_2 , while in (239c) V_1 and its NP object are within the negation *ake ... pen* 'not yet', which is also ungrammatical.

- (239) a. *Kil ake eln keimung arpm pen.*
 3SG not put plate sit yet
 'She didn't put the plate down yet.'
- b. **Kil eln keimung ake arpm.*
 3SG put plate not sit
 'She put the plate not sitting.'
- c. **Kil ake eln keimung pen arpm.*
 3SG not put plate yet sit
 'She did not yet put the plate sitting.'

Likewise, the conjunction *om* 'and' cannot intervene between the two verbs of the SVC, as shown in (240a). In order to say, 'She put the plate (down) and sat,' one would say (240b), in which a second clause *om arpm* 'and sit' follows an SVC.

- (240) a. **Kil eln keimung om arpm.*
 3SG put plate and sit
 'She put the plate and sat.'
- b. *Kil eln keimung arpm om arpm.*
 3sg put plate sit and sit
 'She put the plate down and sat.'

4.4.2.2 Posture location SVCs

In posture location serial verb constructions, V_2 is a posture verb which has a locative object, while V_1 is from an open class. As in directional location SVCs (§4.4.1.2), posture location SVCs can express action either to a goal (or from a source) or at a location.

The following two examples are posture location SVCs in which the locative object of the posture verb has the semantic role of goal. In (241) the local language is written *hel wurkapm* 'be.up paper', while in (242) the jew's harp is placed *itna wan wang* 'be.on house rafter' to dry.

(241) *Kil ro ek hawen hel wurkapm.*
 3SG write mouth local be.up paper
 'She wrote some of our language on paper.'

(242) *Tu eln mitark itna wan wang.*
 3PL put jews.harp be.on house beam
 'They put the jew's harp on a rafter.'

In example (243), V_2 and its locative object *ark hapm pa* 'hang string bag' describe the location of *ko wampen* 'hand axe'. It is perhaps the semantics of the V_1 predicate 'take out' that leads to the semantic role of source for the string bag.

(243) *Kil klo ko wam-[p]en ark hapm pa.*
 3SG remove axe hand-TR hang string.bag DEM
 'He removed a hand axe from (his) string bag.'
 Lit: 'He took out a hand axe in the string bag.'

In the next two examples the locative object specifies location, not goal. In (244), the woman is carrying a large bucket of water on her head. *Hu* 'water' is the object of *ye* 'carry' and the theme argument of *arpm* 'sit'. In (245), the man is carrying a beam of wood on his shoulder. *Yo* 'wood' is the coindexed theme argument of both *kat* 'lift' and *hel* 'be.up'. He carries the wood, and the wood is on his shoulder.

(244) *Kitn ye hu arpm tukngnakng.*
 2SG carry water sit head
 'You are carrying water on your head.'

- (245) *Kil kat yo hel mlem.*
 3SG lift wood be.up.on shoulder
 'He carries the wood on his shoulder.'

Example (246a) shows how to negate the SVC in (245). In example (246b), V_2 *hel* cannot be separately negated, unless possibly to mean that the man who was carrying the wood was not up on (someone else's?) shoulder. The failure to allow separate negation supports a monoclausal analysis for posture location SVCs.

- (246) a. *kil ake kat yo hel mlem.*
 3SG not lift wood be.up.on shoulder
 'He didn't carry the wood on his shoulder.'
- b. **kil kat yo ake hel mlem.*
 3SG lift wood not be.up.on shoulder
 'He carried the wood but not on his shoulder.'

Relativization of locative objects involves the locative anaphora suffix on the posture verb in an SVC, just as when the posture verb is the sole verb. In example (247a), *arpm* 'sit' is V_2 within the relative clause SVC, and takes the suffix *-e* 'locative anaphora'. In the corresponding SVC in (247b), *wan kot* 'courthouse' is the locative object of *arpm* 'sit', and *arpm wan kot* 'sit courthouse' provides location meaning to the SVC.

- (247) a. *wan kot a tu eklala arpm-e*
 house court REL 3PL talk sit-LCAN
 'the courthouse where they are talking'
- b. *Tu eklala arpm wan kot.*
 3PL talk sit house court
 'They talk in the courthouse.'

Example (248a) contains a posture location SVC in a relative clause modifying *ni-mong* 'black palm basket'. V_1 is *la* 'wash sago', and V_2 *ha* 'lie' has a locative anaphora suffix *-e*; *ha* is the appropriate posture verb because the sago water settles down (into the basket).

In example (248b), a time adverb *pikekng* 'yesterday' modifies the SVC *la nak hawe* 'washed sago into'. This shows that *a la nak hawe* in these two examples is a relative clause, not, for example, a purpose clause.

- (248) a. *Kin ur ye nimong a la nak ha-[w]e.*
 woman one carry black.palm REL wash.sago sago lie-LCAN
 'A woman carries a basket for washing sago into it.'
- b. *Kil ye nimong a pikekng la nak ha-[w]e.*
 3SG carry black.palm REL yesterday wash.sago sago lie-LCAN
 'She carries the basket into which she washed sago yesterday.'

4.5 Aspect

4.5.1 Introduction to Urim aspect

Urim does not mark tense. Without aspect marking, the verb is unspecified for a simple present versus a simple past interpretation.

4.5.1.1 Completive aspect

The completive aspect marker *ase* may have originated as a verb but is now grammaticalized into an auxiliary. It functions similarly to *pinis* in Tok Pisin, which Verhaar (1995:115) glosses as 'perfective' but describes as 'completive', indicating the end of a process. This section describes *ase* 'CPL' on verbs which express processes, on verbs which express states, on stative verbs used as processes (example 254), and on process verbs "used as" states (examples 256 and 257). I leave for further research the question of whether there are specific stative predicates which can be used as process predicates, and vice versa, or whether all stative predicates in Urim can be used as both states and processes.

To begin, *ase* 'CPL' indicates the end of a process. Like many Papuan and Austronesian languages, the verb meaning 'die' can mean 'die', 'faint', or 'be very sick'. In example

(249), the hornbill is dying. The addition of the completive *ase* in examples (250) and (251) provides an endpoint and confirms that the bird actually died. Furthermore, the second free translation in (251) illustrates that *mo ase* 'die CPL' is also used to express stative clauses such as 'The hornbill is dead.'

(249) *Wel neimun pa mo.*
 bird hornbill DEM die
 'The hornbill is dying.' / 'The hornbill died.'

(250) *Wel neimun pa apm mo ase.*
 bird hornbill DEM now die CPL
 'The hornbill died (just now).'

(251) *Wel neimun pa mo ase.*
 bird hornbill DEM die CPL
 'The hornbill died' / 'The hornbill is dead.'

Secondly, the addition of the completive auxiliary to stative predicates still expresses a state. In example (252), the adjective *paitn* 'bad' is a non-verbal predicate, to which *ase* 'CPL' is added. This sentence describes a state which is not temporary, and could be said by someone who has been lame from birth.

(252) *Nepm a kupm paitn ase.*
 leg POSS 1SG bad CPL
 'My leg is lame.'

Also, when completive aspect *ase* is used with states, the translation to English tends to include 'already'. In example (253), the verb *ari* 'see' has a sense meaning 'know'. The use of *ase* 'completive' provides a sense of 'already' to the meaning.

(253) *Kor-kor pike men ak-en pa, men ari ase.*
 thing-thing before 1PL do-TR DEM 1PL know CPL
 'Whatever we have done (labored) before, we already know it.'

Next, stative verbs plus the completive auxiliary can be used to express process situations. *Wor* 'good' is an adjective which is used both in NPs and as a non-verbal predicate (cf., example 8). It can also be used with the sense, 'become good'. Example (254) can be said after one has been sick to mean 'I got better,' or 'I am healthy now.' Also, (255) shows that this sense of *wor* can be expressed without the completive auxiliary. When the predicate is a process, the addition of *ase* 'CPL' provides an endpoint to it, and describes the resultant state of the process.

(254) *Kupm wor ase.*
 1SG good CPL
 'I am well (again).'

(255) *Kupm arpmen nimpet wor pen.*
 1SG wait sick good yet
 'I'm waiting for the sickness to get better.'

Finally, when *ase* 'CPL' is added to a verb that describes a process, the combination can refer to the result state, more than the completion of the process. The verb *numprampen* 'get ready' is derived etymologically from 'body dry', i.e., becoming dry after one has bathed. Preparing oneself to go out is a process with an endpoint, but example (256) could be said in the context of, 'I'm ready and I'm waiting.' *Mo ase* 'die CPL' in example (257) describes a situation that has been true for many years (cf., example (251) above.)

(256) *Kupm numprampen ase.*
 1SG get.ready CPL
 'I am ready.'

(257) *Ei, mamin a kupm mo ase.*
 yes grandfather POSS 1SG die CPL
 'Yes, my grandfather is dead.' / 'Yes, my grandfather is not alive.'

Example (258) uses a topic-comment structure ‘Me, my body is hot!’ *Ase* ‘CPL’ on this experiencer predicate suggests ‘and that is enough!’ — meaning that it is time to do something about the fact that it is too hot in here.

- (258) *Kupm num waknget ase!*
 1SG body hot CPL
 ‘I am already very hot!’ > ‘It’s too hot in here!’

In example (259a), the meaning of the intransitive posture verb *atn* ‘stand’ is existential, i.e., it is stative. The meaning of *atn ase* ‘stand CPL’ in example (259b) is still existential and stative.

- (259) a. *Pa lotu¹² ti atn pa.*
 then church here stand DEM
 ‘Thus the church exists.’
- b. *Pa lotu ti atn ase.*
 then church here stand CPL
 ‘Thus the church (denomination) was established and is still here.’

It is unclear how the stative meaning of examples such as (259b) is composed, e.g., whether a state or process is included, whether it refers to a result state, or what the contribution of ‘completely’ or ‘completive’ is. However, this use of *ase* ‘CPL’ describes a state, in contrast to cross-linguistic expectations of ingressive/inchoative meaning (Comrie 1976:19).

4.5.1.2 Reduplication of verbs

Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.:28) describe the reduplication of verbs as encoding imperfective aspect. Urim speakers can repeat either the verb itself, or the verb *kai* ‘go’ or *kul* ‘come’ after the verb. The examples in this subsection can be translated that they did V over

¹² The Tok Pisin word *lotu* is used for ‘to worship’, ‘church’, and ‘denomination’.

and over again, or that they kept V-ing. In example (260), *al al al* is one clause and *apm mo ase* is a second clause; the completive *ase* applies only to the verb *mo* 'die'.

- (260) *Milknkil al al al apm mo ase.*
 snake eat eat eat now die CPL
 'The snakes kept eating him until finally he died.'

Usually after dragging out the repetition for dramatic effect, the speaker names a result, meaning that the action continued (or was done iteratively) until there was a result (261), change of state, or new time of day (262). While this does result in an unbroken sequence of verbs, it does not constitute an SVC (Ingraham 2006:220).

- (261) *Wel neimun weknng er tita er tita, hmpei yapm=en.*
 bird hornbill two hit each.other hit each.other trachea breathe=3PL.O
 'The two hornbills fought and fought each other, until they were out of breath.'

- (262) *Tu nangnang kai kai nungkwat,*
 3PL sing go go dawn
 'They celebrated and celebrated until morning.'

- (263) *Ten er tita er tita kai kai kai kai kai kai,*
 3PAUC hit each.other hit each.other go go go go go go
 'The men fought and fought each other...'

Examples (264) and (265) involve the use of *kul* 'come', to move from a time in the past forward to the present.

- (264) *Men komkiti kul kul,*
 1PL follow come come
 'We followed and followed him, until now.'

- (265) *Kul kul wang rikil pa, kil wi arie ekng ek hawen.*
 come come time this dem, 3SG take knowledge PREP mouth local
 'By now, she has learned (some of) our language.'
 Lit: 'Coming to now, she took knowledge of our language.'

In example (266), the directional verb *kai* 'go' forms a serial verb construction with the posture verb *itna* 'be.on'. The phrase that is repeated three times is *kai itna (naurk) ikng*, 'go onto (mango) stem'.

- (266) *Naurk ek kai itna ikng kai itna ikng kai itna ikng,*
 mango fruit go be.on eye go be.on eye go be.on eye
 'The mangoes went (one by one?) on to the stems (of the mango tree),'

4.5.2 Continuous aspect with posture verbs

When a posture verb follows a verb (and its object, if transitive), it functions as an aspectual auxiliary.¹³ The posture verb contributes continuous aspect, and sometimes also the relevant posture of the action. Posture verbs are also used to express aspectual functions in many Oceanic Austronesian languages (Lichtenberk 2002:308) and in the Australian language Ngan'gityemerri. Seiss (2009:514) analyzes Ngan'gityemerri posture verb clitics as auxiliaries (versus light verbs and, indirectly, serial verbs). They can be used with a wide range of predicates, they contribute aspectual meaning, and they do not change the valence of the other verb or contribute the semantic role of an argument. They can provide posture meaning, i.e., they are not completely bleached semantically, yet they can contribute aspectual meaning with a posture that does not match the expected posture of the other verb or the context. The Urim data is similar, and fits this analysis.

In example (133b), modified slightly as (267), *kahor hla* is one clause and *arpmen arpm* is a second clause. The verb *arpmen* 'wait' is derived from *arpm* 'sit'. The following *arpm* 'sit' indicates the continuous nature of the waiting and corresponds to the position of sitting.

- (267) *Kil kahor hla arpmen arpm,*
 3SG enter bird.hide wait CONT
 'He went inside the bird blind and was waiting,'

¹³ This construction is very much like the *V i stap* 'V PRED be' construction in Tok Pisin which expresses continuous aspect.

Example (268) means 'she sweeps' or 'she swept', while example (269) adds continuous aspect to mean 'she is sweeping' or 'she was sweeping'. If the verb is transitive, the aspectual posture verb follows the object; it does not intervene between the verb and its object. *Yipik* is the bits of dirt that she is sweeping. In English we would generally say, "She is sweeping the floor," but there is no floor to measure out the event; there is nothing implied about when the sweeping will be finished, only that the action continues indefinitely. *Atn* 'stand' is likely the only posture verb that could be used for continuous aspect with a verb for sweeping, due to real-world knowledge that it is hard to sweep a floor unless one is standing up.

(268) *Kil kingkim yipik.*
 3SG sweep rubbish
 'She sweeps.'

(269) *Kil kingkim yipik atn.*
 3SG sweep rubbish stand
 3SG sweep rubbish CONT
 'She is sweeping.'

In example (270), *arken ark* means 'staying, dwelling' with continuous aspect. The posture verb *ark* 'hang' has an existential meaning in the first verb and contributes an aspectual meaning in the second verb. As in many PNG languages, the liver is the seat of emotions (Kwan 1989).

(270) *Nikng-walpm a kupm ark-en=[t]epm ark.*
 stomach-liver POSS 1SG hang-TR=2PL.O hang
 stomach-liver POSS 1SG dwell=2PL.O CONT
 'My heart is staying on you.'
 'I am thinking of you.'

When dried coconut half-shells are burned on a campfire, they burn hot and fast and create very bright light. Just as in example (174) in §4.3.2, in which *itna* 'be.on' was

the appropriate posture verb for placing a pot on the fire, *itna* is the posture verb used in example (271) for the continuous aspect given to the onomatopoeic verb *kurkur* 'crackle'.

- (271) *Keimung pa kurkur itna.*
 coconut.shell DEM crackle be.on
 coconut.shell DEM crackle CONT
 'The coconut shell was crackling on the fire.'

While the posture verbs that give aspectual meaning usually correspond to prototypical postures of the verb's action, posture verbs used aspectually of humans do not have to correspond. In example (272), *atn* 'stand' contributes continuous aspect to the verb *hokng* 'sleep' but does not imply that the sleepers are in an upright posture.¹⁴ In example (273), *hel* 'be.up' provides continuous aspect to the action of playing the kundu drum. The posture verb *hel* 'be.up' is not usually predicated of humans (but see below).

- (272) *Ten atn, hokng atn, arpm kai kai kai...*
 3PAUC stand sleep stand sit go go go
 3PAUC live sleep CONT live go go go
 'They lived, slept, lived for a while...'

- (273) *Ten ho titi hel.*
 3PAUC play kundu.drum be.up
 3PAUC play kundu.drum CONT
 'They are playing the kundu.'

In example (274), the object *wanukng* 'vegetables' occurs after the main verb and before the posture verb *hel* 'be.up' which gives continuous aspect. The context is that the old man went back to a "tulip" tree to pick greens, but when he arrived, there was already a woman up in the tree gathering greens.¹⁵ The verb *hel* 'be.up' is used, rather than another

¹⁴ The imperfective aspect in *hokng atn* 'sleep stand' is not precisely 'continuous' in the same manner as in other examples. It could possibly be 'habitual' aspect, which is also a type of imperfective aspect.

¹⁵ The man standing on the ground can see the woman in the tree. In asking the question he is suggesting that she is stealing his greens.

posture verb, to express the fact that her position on the tree branch is raised off the ground. The same sentence could be expressed without the object, as in (275a), but example (275b) is ungrammatical. The object *wanukng* 'vegetables' must immediately follow the verb *ken-topm* 'pick for me'; the continuous aspect *hel* 'CONT' cannot intervene between them.¹⁶

(274) *Mla ken-t=opm wanukng hel pa?*
 who pick-APPL = 1SG.O vegetables be.up DEM
 who pick-APPL = 1SG.O vegetables CONT DEM
 'Who is picking greens for me?'

(275) a. *Mla ken-t=opm hel pa?*
 who pick-APPL = 1SG.O CONT DEM
 'Who is picking (greens) for me?'

b. **Mla ken-t=opm hel wanukng pa?*
 who pick-APPL = 1SG.O be.up vegetables DEM
 *'Who is picking greens for me?'
 ??'Who picks (greens) for me up on the tulip tree?'

Posture verb continuous aspect can co-occur with the completive auxiliary *ase* 'CPL', as seen in example (276). The English translation includes 'already' in the (stative?) meaning.

(276) *Kin pa ken hel ase.*
 woman DEM pick be.up CPL
 'The woman was already up in the tree collecting leaves.'

Speakers of the Yangkolen dialect say *kop hel* for 'the river is in flood.' In the Kalpm dialect, they say *kop u* (277a). It is interesting, then, that while Kalpm speakers do not accept (277b), they can say (277c), *kop u hel*, with *hel* 'be.up' as the appropriate posture verb for continuous aspect.

¹⁶ If example (275b) were grammatical, *hel wanukng pa* would have a locative meaning 'on the leaves'; that is, that the woman was perched on the leaves of the "tulip" tree, as suggested in the alternate translation.

- (277) a. *Kop u.*
 river flood
 'The river rises'
- b. **Kop hel.*
 river be.up
 'The river rises'
- c. *Kop u hel.*
 river flood be.up
 'The river is in flood.' (a state)

Continuous aspect usage is not attested for the posture verb *ha* 'lie'.

4.5.3 Sequential *plaln*

The verb *plaln* 'finish' is more often found working with other verbs, but can also be a main verb by itself. In example (278) it means 'end, stop', and is negated with *ake*, the pre-verbal negator. Example (279) is from a traditional legend that involves cannibalism. A man and wife had killed a woman for food and stored the rest of her "meat" to eat with their sago in the following days. The verb *plaln* here means that the human meat is gone or used up.

- (278) *Ipma kalkut a kupm ake plaln.*
 stomach heavy POSS 1SG not finish
 'My heavy heart did not end.'
 > 'My sadness did not go away.'

- (279) *Tolpa kai kai kai yor a kmel kin ripa plaln.*
 like.that go go go meat POSS person female this finish
 'They went on and on like that until the meat of this woman was finished.'

The combination of verb repetition and the verb *plaln* means that the action stopped or came to completion, as in examples (280) and (281).

(280) *Kil kai kwat hla pa, ak ak plaln, kil kahor arpmen arpm.*
 3SG go cut bird.hide DEM, do do finish 3SG enter wait CONT
 'He went and made a bird hide, he worked and worked until it was finished, and then he went inside and (sat) waiting.'

(281) *Men alm nak pa kai kai kai plaln, hapmin pa ngko wailat.*
 1PL pound sago DEM go go go finish sago.shavings DEM fall many
 'We pound sago on and on, until it was finished, and the sago shavings pile up high.'

In tail-head linkage, in which the end of the previous clause is repeated before telling what happened next, *plaln* 'finish' relates two clauses to each other sequentially. Example (282) is from the beginning of a written procedural text about preparing sago. The verb *plaln* in (282a) stands alone as its own clause. Its meaning is the sequential meaning of tail-head linkage, not necessarily the 'end' or 'finish' meaning of the main verb *plaln*, as in examples (278) and (279). In (282b), *tupor* 'fall' repeats what happened to the sago palm in the previous line, and the addition of *plaln* gives the meaning 'After it falls to the ground,...' The tail-head linkage from the second line to the third line is more typical; in example (282c), the exact verb and object are repeated, with the addition of *plaln*.

(282) a. *Heplim men kai ari nak wor, plaln, men wi kotuwang men ak*
 first 1PL go see sago good, finish, 1PL take axe 1PL use

ware nak ripa.

fell sago this

'First of all we go find a ripe sago palm. After that, we take our axes and chop down this sago palm.'

b. *Tupor kai ha knokng plaln, men halpuln hingkamning ak sakal.*
 fall go lie ground finish, 1PL peel bark use machete
 'After it falls to the ground, we peel off the sago bark with a machete.'

c. *Halpuln hingkamning pa plaln, wi kotuwang ak kwat nak tapung.*
 peel bark DEM finish, take axe use cut sago petiole
 'Having removed some bark, we take our axes and cut the thick part of the sago branches.'

The meaning expressed by *V plaln* is: Having done A, we did B; or, After we did A, we did B. A is the known information, merely being repeated in order to move on to B, the new information. *V plaln* expresses not completive aspect, but sequential events.

It is optional to express the object NP, but if it is stated it must occur before the verb *plaln*: example (283a) is grammatical, with an implicit object *hingkamning* 'sago bark', while example (283b) is ungrammatical.

- (283) a. *Halpuln plaln, wi kotuwang ak kwat nak tapung.*
 peel finish take axe use cut sago petiole
 'Having removed some bark, we take our axes and cut the thick part of the sago branches.'
- b. **Halpuln plaln hingkamning pa, wi kotuwang ak kwat nak tapung.*
 peel finish bark DEM take axe use cut sago petiole
 'Having removed some bark, we take our axes and cut the thick part of the sago branches.'

Whether this construction is an SVC remains a matter for further research. *Plaln* 'finish' indicates a sequential relation between clauses, contributing a type of aspectual meaning to its preceding verb, and does not contribute the semantic role of an argument like verbs in the other SVCs discussed. Negating only the second verb in this construction does not produce ungrammaticality, due to the use of *plaln* 'finish' as an independent verb. In examples (284a) and (284b), there is a context to make *ake plaln* 'not finish' felicitous and grammatical.

- (284) a. *Men halpuln hingkamning pa ake plaln, men halpuln pen.*
 1PL peel bark DEM not finish 1PL peel yet
 'We peeled sago bark but didn't finish, we peel yet.'
- b. *Tuwekng ak nim ake plaln, tuwekng ak nim kai kai nungkwat.*
 3DU do slit.drum not finish 1DU do slit.drum go go dawn
 'They (two) played the slit gong but didn't stop, they played it until morning.'

4.6 Chapter conclusion

Directional motion verbs and posture verbs can be semi-transitive, meaning that they have a subject and a locative object. Directional verbs obligatorily encode elevation as well as motion or travel. There are six posture verbs, two of which differ slightly from the main dialect. Locative meanings are always expressed via semi-transitive clauses, while existential meanings are always in intransitive clauses.

In directional path and posture path SVCs, V_2 is a directional or posture verb which is intransitive and contributes direction or posture meaning to the action of V_1 . Four tests were applied in §4.4.1.1 to show that this structure is a serial verb construction: separate negation, the insertion of a conjunction, the insertion of the adverb *wa* 'back, again', and separate time adjuncts. Section 4.4.1.1 showed that *wi ye kul* 'take carry come' is not an SVC but two clauses, whose verbs are *wi* 'take' and *ye kul* 'bring' respectively. The distinguishing feature of directional location SVCs (§4.4.1.2) and posture location SVCs (§4.4.2.2) is that V_2 is semi-transitive, that it takes a locative object. The semi-transitive verb has verbal properties consistent with its behavior when it is not in a serial verb construction. Its locative object cannot be fronted, but can be relativized if the semi-transitive verb takes the locative anaphora suffix *-e*.

Posture verbs can function as auxiliaries which express continuous aspect. They follow the main verb (and its object), and usually the choice of posture verb reflects the action of the verb or the prototypical subject for that posture verb, although there is evidence of a posture verb auxiliary not matching the appropriate or expected posture of the context. The verb *plaln* 'finish' can be used as an independent verb or as a sequential marker on a preceding verb, usually within tail-head linkages. Further research is required to determine whether there is language-internal evidence to analyze *V plaln* as an SVC.

Chapter 5

Instrumental Serial Verb Constructions

5.1 Introduction

The verb *ak* 'do, use' occurs as a main verb, a light verb, in instrumental serial verb constructions (SVC), and in instrumental purpose clauses. Section 5.2 describes light verb constructions with *ak* 'do'. Section 5.3 explores instrumental SVCs, finding that when the instrumental verb *ak* 'use' is pre-verbal the construction is indeed an SVC, while in the post-verbal order the instrumental *ak* acts more like a preposition. In §5.4.1 I discuss instrumental SVC examples in which the instrument NP is omitted under zero-anaphora. Finally, in §5.4.2 I show how implicit instrument SVCs relate to instrumental purpose clauses.

Ak as a main verb has two senses. The first one is 'do, make', a general action verb. In example (285), *kwat hla* 'cut bird.house' is used for building a bird blind, but the verb which refers to that action is *ak* 'do'. In the relative clause example of (286), *ak* also refers to the action of building a wooden platform.

(285) *Kil kai kwat hla pa, ak ak plaln,*
3SG go cut bird.house DEM do do finish
'He went and made a bird blind, he worked and worked until it was finished,
then...'

(286) *tpmakng a pike ekng ak hep pa*
platform REL before two do first DEM
'the smoking platform that they (two) had made earlier'

Another sense of *ak* as a main verb is 'use'. Example (287) is two sentences that were spoken together, in an oral text about a *kowejj*, a traditional stone axe.

- (287) a. *Tu ake pike ak kotuwang, sakal pa,*
 3PL not before use axe, bushknife DEM
 'They didn't use axes or machetes,'
- b. *Tu pike ak ko-weij.*
 3PL before use axe-stone
 'They used stone axes back then.'

There is a preposition *ak* which introduces time (and manner) words. In example (288), a complex NP *kang mining mit ai* 'the wee hours of the morning', is the object of the time preposition *ak* 'at'.

- (288) *Ak kang mining mit ai, pa kil kaino ak nim pa.*
 at morning dark whole far there 3SG go.up do slit.drum DEM
 'Early in the morning (when it was still dark), then she went up and played the slit drum.'

The two verbs of an SVC must form just one clause. The diagnostic tests for SVCs from Chapter 4 which are used in this chapter are 1) negation, i.e., whether one verb of the SVC can be independently negated, and 2) the conjunction test, i.e., whether a conjunction can intervene between the two verbs of the SVC. In addition to these two tests that relate to the monoclausality of the construction, Table 14 introduces four properties of transitive verbs that distinguish them from prepositions. In order for a construction to be an SVC, both verbs must be able to be used independently, and both must be verbs.

Van Klinken (1999:264) gives properties for distinguishing a (transitive) verb from a preposition in Tetun, an Austronesian language of West Timor. Like Urim, Tetun has SVO constituent order and very little productive morphology. Many Tetun verb properties are relevant for Urim verbs. Table 14 contrasts properties of verbs versus prepositions in Urim, and is adapted from the Tetun verb vs. preposition tests.

Table 14. Verb vs. Preposition tests for Urim

Transitive verb	Preposition
Object NP can be omitted	Object NP cannot be omitted
Object NP can be fronted	Object NP cannot be fronted
Can relativize on Object NP without resumptive pronoun	Cannot relativize on Object NP without resumptive pronoun
Can take irrealis marking	Does not inflect for irrealis

Objects of transitive verbs in Urim are often implicit (via zero-anaphora), when their antecedents are available in the previous context. Objects of transitive verbs can be fronted in topicalization. The object of a verb can also be the head noun of a relative clause. Urim verbs that have an /a/ vowel can be inflected for irrealis modality: the /a/ vowel in the verb stem is raised to /i/.

Prepositions do not have those four properties: zero-anaphora, fronting, relativization without resumptive pronoun, and inflecting for irrealis. Urim has a generic preposition *ekng* which is glossed 'PREP', and functions much like *long* 'PREP' in Tok Pisin. This preposition cannot have its object omitted or fronted. Example (289a) has an intransitive verb and a preposition whose object refers to people. Examples (289b) and (289c) are both ungrammatical: in (289b) the NP *tu tungkoren* 'the white (people)' is implicit and in (289c) the preposition *ekng* 'PREP' is stranded due to topicalization of the NP.

- (289) a. *Kupm kark ekng tu tungkoren.*
 1SG be.afraid PREP 3PL white
 'I am afraid of the white people.'
- b. **Kupm kark ekng.*
 1SG be.afraid PREP
 'I am afraid of (them).'

- c. **Tu tungkoren pa kupm kark ekng.*
 3PL white DEM 1SG be.afraid PREP
 'The white people, I am afraid of.'

Example (290) illustrates the relevant relative clause data for *ekng* PPs. Example (290a) is a basic sentence with a prepositional phrase. Example (290b) is ungrammatical because the relative clause uses the gap strategy in an attempt to relativize the object of *ekng* 'PREP'. In example (290c) relativization is possible with a resumptive pronoun, since the object of the preposition is human. However, when the object of the preposition is inanimate, which would include all cases of instrumental *ak*, the resumptive pronoun strategy is not available and relativization of the object of a preposition is not possible.

- (290) a. *Mentekng kor kha ekng Kerobin.*
 1DU search grasshopper PREP Kerobin
 'We (two) search for grasshoppers for Kerobin.'
- b. **Kerobin pa, kil warim a mentekng kor kha ekng.*
 Kerobin DEM 3SG child REL 1DU search grasshopper PREP
 'Kerobin, he's the child that we search for grasshoppers for.'
- c. *Kerobin pa, kil warim a mentekng kor kha ekng kil.*
 Kerobin DEM 3SG child REL 1DU search grasshopper PREP 3SG
 'Kerobin, he's the child that we search for grasshoppers for him.'

Prepositions do not inflect for irrealis modality. The preposition *ekng* would not have an irrealis form, due to its vowel quality, but the lack of irrealis marking is illustrated below for the time preposition *ak* 'at'.

Example (291) illustrates three of the verbhood tests on *ak* 'at', a preposition. Example (291b) which has *kang* 'morning' omitted is ungrammatical. *Kang* 'morning' in (291c) cannot be fronted, and in (291d) it cannot be relativized. Example (291e) shows that a time adjunct can be expressed in a relative clause, if the preposition is not stranded.

- (291) a. *Kupm klak hapm ak kang.*
 1SG wash cloth at morning
 'I wash clothes in the morning.'
- b. **Kupm klak hapm ak.*
 1SG wash cloth at
 'I wash clothes in (the morning).'
- c. **Kang pa kupm klak hapm ak.*
 morning DEM 1SG wash cloth at
 'The morning is when I washed clothes.'
- d. **wang a kupm klak hapm ak*
 time REL 1SG wash cloth at
 'the time that I washed clothes at'
- e. *Ak wang a kupm warim, kupm al pikpoy.*
 at time REL 1SG child 1SG eat bubble.gum
 'When I was a child, I chewed Big Boy bubble gum.'

The time preposition *ak* 'at' does not inflect for irrealis modality. While the time reference in example (292a) is in the future, *ak* retains its /a/ vowel, instead of having the irrealis vowel /i/. In example (293), *itning ak mining* 'listen at night' is an imperative command. The verb *atning* 'hear, listen' is in its irrealis form *itning*, but the time phrase is *ak mining* 'at night', not *ik mining*.¹

- (292) a. *Ti ak kwahikng Trinde pa*
 here at above.tomorrow Wednesday DEM
 'So the day after tomorrow,'
- b. *men mpa wli ark ekng kitn nar.*
 1PL FUT arrive hang COMP 2SG descend
 'we will come (and stay) for you to come down (to the school).'

- (293) *Mama, itning ak mining, hu wei wail...*
 mother hear\IRR at dark water rain.vb big
 'Mama, listen at night, when the storms come, ...'

¹ Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.:59) analyze the temporal *ak* in the Yangkolen dialect as a verb which has an irrealis form *ik*.

5.2 Light verb

There is a light verb *ak*, semantically bleached except for a generic action meaning, which is used with nouns, adjectives, and even verbs. It is a clitic, and native speakers often write the complex predicate together as one word. A light verb is one that has the same form as a main verb, but is dependent on another linguistic element (e.g., a noun) to supply the main predicative content. “The complex predication is syntactically monoclausal and the contribution of the light verb is not necessarily transparent” (Butt 2010:72). “*Ak N*” means to do the action associated with that noun, as illustrated in example (294) where *kwap* 'work' is a noun.

(294) *Men ak=kwap.*
 1PL do = work
 'We do work / we are working.'

(295) *Kil ak=nim.*
 3SG do = slit.drum
 'He plays the slit drum.'

(296) *Warim ak=nanikng.*
 child do = urine
 'The baby urinated.'

A *nim* 'slit drum' in example (295) is a large tree trunk hollowed out into a drum, used not just for music and festivals but to send messages to faraway villages. In example (296), *warim* 'child' is used for both a child and a baby. Thus, these three examples mean: to do work, to play the *garamut* 'slit drum' (or to send a message by hitting the *garamut*), and to urinate.

Example (297) shows the irrealis form of the light verb *ak* 'do', used here for imperative mood.

- (297) *To ik=nangnang om!*
 1PL do\IRR=song now
 'Let's sing!'

There is also a construction *ak=Adj-el* that means 'cause to become Adj'. Supporting the idea that *ak* 'do' is a clitic, Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.:123) state that these constructions are phonologically one word, but grammatically phrases.

- (298) *Men al hmpikngan ak=titnongket-el ipma.*
 1PL eat cooked.sago do=strong-CAUS stomach
 'We ate sago to strengthen our stomachs.'

The suffix *-el* looks like the 3rd person clitic pronoun *=el*, but isn't a pronoun. It never has a 1.O or 2.O form, always the form that looks like 3SG.O. The following example is from an older speaker. Perhaps the *ak* N light verb construction, above, derives from a generic *ak=el* causative "circumclitic" that could be applied to both adjectives and nouns, since *kwap* 'work' in example (299) is a noun, and *titnongket* 'strong' is an adjective.

- (299) *Tu pike ak=kwap-el ekng maur wailen atn knobng ti.*
 3PL before do=work-CAUS PREP spirit big stand ground here
 'They used to do (garden) work by the god of this earth.'

Akikngwampel 'steal' in (300) is another example of this "circumclitic," lexicalized into a verb meaning 'to steal'.

- (300) *Tu ak=ikng-wam-[p]el kin a men.*
 3PL do=eye-hand-CAUS woman POSS 1PL
 'They steal our women.'

In a third light verb construction, pointed out by Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.:174), inanimate subjects cannot do the action directly, but must be expressed with the light verb *ak* in front of the verb.² In example (301), two characters live below the lake, and the water

² Potent nouns, such as the sun and the wind, are exceptions (Hemmilä & Luoma n.d.:36)

ak hmpri 'blocked' other people from seeing them. In example (302), the subject *tukngnakng walkng* 'head hair' is inanimate, and the predicate is *ak haur* 'cover' instead of *haur* 'cover'. Example (303) has a metaphorical subject *ipma kalkut pa* 'heavy heart' > 'sadness', which is also inanimate.

(301) *Hmej hu ti ak hmpri.*

lake water here do block

'The lake water blocked the view of them.'

(302) *Tukngnakng walkng ak haur ikng a kupm.*

head hair do cover eye POSS 1SG

'Hair covers my eyes.'

(303) *Ipma kalkut pa kul, akal ak haur ipma utopen pa.*

stomach heavy DEM come, want do cover stomach happy DEM

'The sadness would have covered (overcome) the happiness.'

5.3 Instrumental SVC

Instrumental SVCs in Urim are asymmetrical. The major verb belongs to an open class, and the minor verb is always the verb *ak* 'use'. In the following two examples, taken from the same oral text, the instrumental *ak* in the SVC is used to refer both to the instrument of carving in example (304) and to the wood, the patient of the carving action (example 305). While this SVC is used to express the semantic role of instrument, the semantic range is wider than instrument.

(304) *Tu ro mitark ak telp.*

3PL split jews.harp use knife

'They carve a jew's harp with a knife.'

(305) *Tu ake ro mitark ak yo wetet pa kalpm.*

3PL not split jews.harp use wood new DEM no

'They don't carve a jew's harp out of new wood.'

The “*ak* instrument” phrase can occur either before or after the main verb. Example (306) shows that the instrumental SVC expresses the same meaning, whether *ak sakal* ‘use machete’ comes before or after the V NP_{obj}.

- (306) a. *Kil ak sakal er ul wail.*
 3SG use machete hit snake big
 ‘He killed a big snake with a bushknife.’
- b. *Kil er ul wail ak sakal.*
 3SG hit snake big use machete
 ‘He killed a big snake with a bushknife.’

Durie (1997:305) observes that in instrumental SVCs the verb introducing the instrument always occurs before the main verb, whether the language has SVO or SOV word order. Examples like (306b) seem to contradict this claim. According to van Klinken (1999:273), Tetun also displays both before- and after- orders of the instrument phrase. Van Klinken finds the instrument-first ordering to be a serial verb construction, but analyzes the instrument-last ordering as having a PP, saying that the verb *hodi* ‘hold, use’ is a preposition in that construction, and that the construction is not an SVC. Thus, Tetun does not contradict Durie’s principle of iconic ordering in instrumental SVCs, in which taking hold of the instrument precedes doing something with it. If the Urim instrumental *ak* ‘use’ were shown to be a verb (and not a preposition) and examples (306a) and (306b) were both SVCs, then Urim would be an exception to this generalization. Using the verb vs. preposition tests in §5.1, I tested the properties of the object NP of the instrumental *ak* in order to determine the syntactic category of *ak* ‘use’ in instrumental constructions.

5.3.1 *Ak* Inst V NP: serial verb analysis

Instrumental constructions in which “*ak* Instrument” precedes the verb and its object are SVCs. The major verb in example (307) is *ware* 'fell'. The verb *ak* and the instrument precede the verb *ware* and its object. Likewise, the “*ak* Instrument” phrase *ak nep ma* 'use coconut milk' in example (308) precedes *ntam* 'cook' and its object.

(307) *Men ak kotuwang ware nak ripa.*
 1PL use axe fell sago this
 'We chop this sago palm down with axes.'

(308) *Kil ak nep ma ntam kwei pa.*
 3SG use coconut milk cook yam DEM
 'He boils yams in coconut milk.'

The two verbs cannot be separately negated. Example (309a) shows a grammatical 'not yet' negation of the SVC with the preverbal negator *ake* 'not' and the postverbal adverb *pen* 'yet'. In example (309b) the major verb *ntam* 'cook' and its object are negated with *ake* 'not', while in (309c) the minor verb *ak* 'use' and the coconut milk *nep ma pa* are negated with *ake...pen*. Both are ungrammatical. The two verbs in this construction form one clause and have a single event interpretation. The fact that they cannot be negated separately supports an SVC analysis for the pre-verbal instrumental SVC.

- (309) a. *Kil ake ak nep ma pa ntam kwei pa pen.*
 3SG not use coconut milk DEM cook yam DEM yet
 'He does not yet boil yams in coconut milk.'
- b. **Kil ak nep ma pa ake ntam kwei pa.*
 3SG use coconut milk DEM not cook yam DEM
 'He does not boil yams in coconut milk.'
- c. **Kil ake ak nep ma pa pen ntam kwei pa.*
 3SG not use coconut milk DEM yet cook yam DEM
 'He does not yet use coconut milk to boil yams.'

In example (310), there is an instrumental SVC *ak ware* 'use fell' within the relative clause. The head of the relative clause *kotuwang* 'axe' is the instrument with which they cut down the sago palm, and there is a gap between *ak* 'use' and *ware* 'fell'. The coordinate structure constraint is a syntactic test which says that coordinate structures are “islands” from which individual conjuncts cannot be extracted (Ross 1967). Example (311), in which *kotuwang* 'axe' is relativized out of the coordination *ak (kotuwang) om ware* 'use and fell', is ungrammatical, illustrating the coordinate structure constraint. Since the grammaticality of (310) and (311) differ, the *ak* (instrument) V (NP) construction in (310) is an SVC, not a coordinate structure.

(310) *Men wi kotuwang a men ak ware nak ripa.*
 1PL take axe REL 1PL use fell sago this
 'We take axes with which we chop this sago palm down.'

(311) **Men wi kotuwang a men ak om ware nak ripa.*
 1PL take axe REL 1PL use and fell sago this
 *'We take axes which we use and chop this sago palm down.'

Ak 'use' in this *ak* Inst V NP order is fully verbal, as the following discussion shows. When the instrument is known from context, it can be omitted, resulting in the collocation of *ak* with the main verb. The second clause of example (312), after the conjunction *om* 'and', is an instrumental SVC with an implicit instrument (cf. §5.4.1). As with inanimate NP objects of other transitive verbs, zero-anaphora is used, because pronouns are limited to animate antecedents.

(312) *Men wi kotuwang om ak ware nak ripa.*
 1PL take axe and use fell sago this
 'We take axes and (with them) chop this sago palm down.'

Fronting the object NP, the second test for verbal properties, is not grammatical for the instrumental SVC, or for any asymmetrical SVC I have investigated. Example (313a) is

an instrumental SVC, with pre-verbal order in contrast to example (304) above. Topicalization of the instrument *telp pa* 'the knife' in (313b) is ungrammatical, although topicalization of a verb's object in a clause containing a single verb is typically acceptable. Also, example (313c) shows that the entire verb phrase *ak telp pa* 'use the knife' cannot be topicalized.

- (313) a. *Tu ak telp ro mitark.*
 3PL use knife carve jews.harp
 'They make a jew's harp with a knife.'
- b. **Telp pa tu ak ro mitark.*
 knife DEM 3PL use carve jews.harp
 'They make a jew's harp with the knife.'
- c. **Ak telp pa tu ro mitark.*
 use knife DEM 3PL carve jews.harp
 'With the knife they make a jew's harp.'

By contrast, the instrument NP can be relativized, as in example (314). There is a gap for *telp* 'knife' following *ak* 'use' within the relative clause.

- (314) *telp a tu ak ro mitark*
 knife REL 3PL use carve jews.harp
 'the knife with which they make a jew's harp'

Example (315b) is the imperative version of (315a). Both the minor verb *ak* 'use' and the major verb *alm* 'shoot' are inflected for irrealis modality, a verbal property.

- (315) a. *Tu ak yikal alm wel.*
 3PL use bow shoot bird
 'They shoot a bird with a bow and arrow.'
- b. *Ik yikal ilm wel!*
 use\IRR bow shoot\IRR bird
 'Shoot (the) bird with (a) bow and arrow!'

To summarize, *ak* 'use' in this instrument-first order is a verb. It has the same form as the independent verb *ak* 'use, do', and shows inflection for irrealis modality. Its object can be omitted when the instrument is known from context, and can be relativized. However, the instrument NP cannot be fronted in topicalization, apparently due to a general constraint on SVCs. It passes the three tests in Table 1 which can be applied: zero-anaphora, relativization, and irrealis inflection (§1.6). The two verbs share one value for polarity, and cannot be negated separately. The instrument NP cannot be relativized out of a coordinate VP structure. All the evidence collected supports the *ak* Inst V NP order to be a serial verb construction.

5.3.2 V NP *ak* Inst: V or P?

Instrumental examples (316) and (317) have “*ak* Instrument” following the major verb and its object. The meaning is the same as the instrument-first ordering (cf. example 307), but is instrumental *ak* here functioning as a verb or preposition? The diagnostic tests result in post-verbal instrumental *ak* being more like a preposition than a verb.

(316) *Men ware nak ripa ak kotuwang.*
 1PL fell sago this use axe
 'We chop this sago palm down with axes.'

(317) *Kil ntam kwei ak nep ma.*
 3SG cook yam use coconut milk
 'He boils yams in coconut milk.'

In this instrument-last construction, the object of instrumental *ak* cannot be omitted. The second clause of example (318) is ungrammatical because *ak* 'use' does not have an explicit object NP.

(318) **Men wi kotuwang om ware nak ripa ak.*
 1PL take axe and fell sago this use
 'We take axes and (with them) chop this sago palm (down).'

Example (319a) shows that the object *kwei* 'yams' of the main verb can be omitted, but (319b) is ungrammatical, when the instrumental *ak* follows the main verb but the instrument is implicit. By contrast, example (319c) is acceptable because *ak* with an implicit instrument NP precedes the verb *ntam* 'cook'.

- (319) a. *Kil ntam ak nep ma.*
 3SG cook use coconut milk
 'He boils them in coconut milk.'
- b. **Kil ntam ak.*
 3SG cook use
 'He boils them in it.'
- c. *Kil ak ntam.*
 3SG use cook
 'He boils them in it.'

In example (320), 'the knife' cannot be fronted out of its place following the post-verbal *ak* 'use'. However, topicalization is also ungrammatical for the pre-verbal *ak*, so this test is inconclusive.

- (320) **Telp pa tu ro mitark ak.*
 knife DEM 3SG carve jews.harp use
 'They make a jew's harp with the knife.'

The object of post-verbal instrumental *ak* is not available for relativization either. In (321), a relative clause on the instrument *kotuwang* 'axe' is ungrammatical. Similarly, the relative clause on the instrument *telp pa* 'the knife' in (322b) is ungrammatical, with the stranded *ak* 'use'.

- (321) **kotuwang pa a men ware nak pa ak*
 axe DEM REL 1PL fell sago DEM use
 'axes with which we chop down the sago palm'

- (322) a. *Tu ro mitark ak telp.*
 3PL carve jews.harp use knife
 'They make a jew's harp with a knife.'
- b. **telp pa a tu ro mitark ak*
 knife DEM REL 3PL carve jews.harp use
 'the knife that they make a jew's harp with'

Two of the previous three tests suggest a preposition analysis for the post-verbal instrumental *ak*. However, even in post-verbal position *ak* 'use' can take irrealis marking. Example (323a) is in the reverse order as example (315a) in §5.3.1. In example (323b), the irrealis *ilm* 'shoot' is followed by the irrealis *ik* 'use'.

- (323) a. *Tu alm wel ak yikal.*
 3PL shoot bird use bow
 'They shoot a bird with a bow and arrow.'
- b. *Ilm wel ik yikal!*
 shoot\IRR bird use\IRR bow
 'Shoot (the) bird with (a) bow and arrow!'

The instrumental *ak* 'use' when it follows the main verb (phrase) cannot be omitted or relativized. It cannot be topicalized, but neither can the pre-verbal instrumental *ak*. It can be inflected for irrealis, which is a verbal property. There is mixed evidence, but the post-verbal *ak* 'use' seems to be a preposition. The time *ak* is a preposition and does not take irrealis marking (in this dialect). The post-verbal instrumental *ak* is a preposition, but can take irrealis marking. Incidentally, prepositions in the closely related language Kombio can undergo irrealis vowel-raising (Henry 1992).

Pirkko Luoma (p.c.) pointed out that the post-verbal order sounds more marked. It seems to be due to Tok Pisin (which would use a preposition *long*) that now in the Kalpm dialect we hear the post-verbal order of the instrumental construction without any unusual contrast.

5.4 Variations of the instrumental SVC

5.4.1 Instrumental SVC with implicit instrument

Often, especially in texts, the instrument of an instrumental SVC is left implicit, because it is known from the preceding context.

Example (324) contains two clauses. *Ko sakal* 'machete' in the first clause is the antecedent of a null pronoun following *ak* 'use' in the second clause. In example (325), *hu* 'water' in (325a) is the understood "instrument" with which they *itne* 'sprinkle' the garden in (325b). In the same way, in (326) the women take water and use it to wash the sago.

(324) *Man a kupm kat ko sakal tolti, kil ak er neimun ur;*
 mother POSS 1SG lift axe machete like.this 3SG use hit hornbill one
 'My mother lifted (her) machete like this, and she hit a hornbill (with the machete)...'

(325) a. *Tu nong hu kai wrik a hom[p]hom,*
 3PL scoop water go place POSS magic
 'They scoop water from the magical place.'

b. *om tu ak itne wring.*
 and 3PL use sprinkle garden
 'then they (with that water) sprinkle the garden.'

(326) *Tu kin nong hu om ak la nak hapmin.*
 3PL woman scoop water and use wash.sago sago shavings
 'The women take water and (with it) wash the sago shavings.'

Examples (327a) and (327b) show that the object *nak hapmin* 'sago shavings' of *la* 'wash sago' must follow the verb directly, that neither the aspectual *ase* 'CPL' nor a post-verbal negation *pen* 'yet' can intervene before the object NP. Thus, in instrumental SVCs the object of the verb forms a VP (or V') constituent with the verb, and verbal modifiers such as aspect must follow the object of the verb.

- (327) a. **Tu kin ak la ase nak hapmin.*
 3PL woman use wash.sago CPL sago shavings
 'The women already washed the sago shavings (with water).'
- b. **Tu kin ake ak la pen nak hapmin.*
 3PL woman not use wash.sago yet sago shavings
 'The women do not yet wash the sago shavings (with water).'

In the final clause of example (328), *ak al* 'use eat' could be spelled out as: *ak mapok al hmpikngan* 'with tree kangaroo eat sago'. Both the object *mapok* 'tree kangaroo' of *ak* 'use' and the object *hmpikngan* 'cooked sago' of *al* 'eat' are omitted under zero-anaphora; the instrumental SVC *ak al* 'use eat' means that they ate their sago with the tree kangaroo meat that they had just cooked.

- (328) *Pa men kwat hmpikngan, ntam mapok pa plaln, ak al.*
 DEM 1PL cut cooked.sago cook tree.kangaroo DEM finish, use eat
 'Then we make sago balls, cook the tree kangaroo, and eat (sago) (with tree kangaroo meat).'

The relationship between the null pronoun and its antecedent can be long-distance, not limited to the immediately preceding clause. In example (329), there are five consecutive clauses (including one tail-head linkage, so there are four distinct clauses). The bracketed NP *yipik klain pa* 'bits and pieces' in (329a) is the object of *wi* 'take', the zero object of *ntam* 'cook' in (329a) and (329b), and is the antecedent of a null pronoun following *ak* at the end of (329b). Just as in (328), the instrumental SVC *ak al* 'with (meat) eat (sago)' does not include *hmpikngan* 'sago' explicitly. Example (330) shows that in the tail-head linkage of the following line in the text, the constituent *ak al* (not just *al* 'eat') is repeated.

- (329) a. *Ekng wi [yipik klain pa], ekng ntam.*
 3DU take rubbish bits DEM 3DU cook
 'They (two) took the small pieces of meat that were left over, and they (two) cooked them.'

- b. *Ekng ntam, kin yek pa kwat hmpkngan pa, tuwekng ak al.*
 3DU cook woman DIM DEM cut cooked.sago DEM 3DU use eat
 'They (two) cooked it, the wife made sago, and they (two) ate dinner.'

- (330) *Tuwekng ak al plaln,*
 3DU use eat finish
 'They (two) ate dinner (of sago and meat soup), and then...'

As mentioned in §5.3.1, the SVC with implicit instrument cannot have negation or a conjunction inserted between the verb *ak* 'use' and the main verb. Example (331a) contains two clauses: 'we take axes' and an instrumental SVC '(we) chop this sago palm down (with them)'. Example (331b) shows a grammatical 'not yet' negation of the SVC: the preverbal negator *ake* 'not' and the postverbal adverb *pen* 'yet' surround the entire SVC. Examples (331c) and (331d) show that neither of the verbs can be separately negated. The difference between (331b) and (331d) is that in the latter example, *pen* 'yet' occurs after the first verb *ak*, limiting the scope of negation to *ak*, 'use (axe)', and excluding the rest of the verb phrase.

- (331) a. *Men wi kotuwang ak ware nak ripa.*
 1PL take axe use fell sago this
 'We take axes and (with them) chop this sago palm (down).'
- b. *Men ake ak ware nak pa pen.*
 1PL not use fell sago DEM yet
 'We do not yet chop down the sago palm (with axes).'
- c. **Men ak ake ware nak ripa.*
 1PL use not fell sago this
 'We do not chop this sago palm down (with axes).'
- d. **Men ake ak pen ware nak ripa.*
 1PL not use yet fell sago this
 'We do not yet use axes to chop down this sago palm.'

When the conjunction *om* 'and' is inserted between the two verbs, as in example (332), it cannot express an instrumental SVC with implicit instrument. *Ak* in this example would be interpreted as an independent verb glossed 'do'.

- (332) **Men ak om ware nak ripa.*
 1PL use and fell sago this
 *'We chop this sago palm down (with axes).'
 'We made (something) and then chopped this sago palm down.'

However, when there are two clauses *wi kotuwang* 'take axe' and *ak ware nak ripa* 'chop down this sago palm', an intervening conjunction between them is grammatical. Example (333a) contrasts with example (331a) above, by the addition of the conjunction *om* 'and' between the clauses. Also, (333b) is grammatical, so *ak* 'use' in *ak ware* 'use fell' is not obligatory in this context.

- (333) a. *Men wi kotuwang om ak ware nak ripa.*
 1PL take axe and use fell sage this
 'We take axes and (with them) chop this sago palm down.'
- b. *Men wi kotuwang om ware nak ripa.*
 1PL take axe and fell sago this
 'We take axes and chop this sago palm down.'

5.4.2 Instrumental purpose clauses

The following two examples have purpose clauses which are introduced by the complementizer *ekng*.

- (334) *Kupm la kiti por, ekng Joyce akal atning.*
 1SG say follow story COMP Joyce want hear
 'I tell a story, for Joyce to hear.' / 'I tell a story, because Joyce wants to listen.'
- (335) *Tuntan kahor wan ekng hokng ari kalpm.*
 3PAUC enter house COMP sleep but no
 'They went inside to sleep, but no — they didn't.'

The instrumental SVC can be used in purpose clauses, usually with an implicit instrument NP. In example (336a), the complementizer *ekng* introduces the instrumental SVC

ak kopor yalmpikng, in which the implicit object of *ak* 'use' is *hayor* 'animal'. In addition, the complementizer can be omitted, such that the SVC sounds like an instrumental purpose clause (Hemmilä & Luoma n.d.:58). “*Ak* purpose” clauses such as (336b) always involve an instrument of some sort. By having meat to feed his mother-in-law, the son-in-law can take good care of her.

- (336) a. *Kitn alm hayor ekng ak kopor yalmpikng.*
 2SG shoot animal COMP use care.for mother.in.law
 'You hunt game to feed your mother-in-law (with that meat).'
- b. *Kitn alm hayor ak kopor yalmpikng.*
 2SG shoot animal use care.for mother.in.law
 'You hunt game to feed your mother-in-law.'

The complementizer *ekng* is optional in instrumental purpose clauses, and the instrumental verb *ak* 'use' is obligatory. In examples (337a) and (337b), the regular purpose clause and the instrumental purpose clause modify an instrument *wampinek* 'spoon', which is the object of a (directional path) SVC *ye kul* 'carry come'.

- (337) a. *Kipm ye wampinek kul ekng *(ak) al ekipma.*
 2PL carry spoon come COMP use eat food
 'You brought a spoon for eating food.'
- b. *Kipm ye wampinek kul ak al ekipma.*
 2PL carry spoon come use eat food
 'Yupela karim spun i kam bilong kaikai.'
 'You brought spoons to eat food with them.' / 'You brought spoons to eat with.'

In addition, the verb *akal* 'want, intend to' can be used as a complementizer, as in example (338a), or along with the complementizer *ekng* as in (338b). In both cases, the instrumental SVC must be present, i.e., *ak* 'use' is obligatory.

- (338) a. *Kupm ye wampinek kul akal *(ak) al ekipma.*
 1SG carry spoon come want use eat food
 'I brought a spoon to eat food with it.'

- b. *Kupm ye wampinek kul ekng akal *(ak) al ekipma.*
 1SG carry spoon come COMP want use eat food
 'I brought a spoon to eat food with it.'

Instrumental purpose clauses, with a \emptyset complementizer instead of *ekng*, are very close to instrumental relative clauses. Example (339) has an instrumental relative clause which modifies *kuntuk* 'saucepan', the object of the matrix verb *klak* 'wash'. The *kuntuk* 'saucepan' is the instrument with which they cooked yesterday. Within the relative clause, *kuntuk* 'saucepan' fills a gap which is the object of *ak* 'use'. In this instrumental relative clause, *ase* 'CPL' modifies *ntam* 'cook' within the relative clause, not *klak* 'wash'.

- (339) *Kupm klak kuntuk a mentekng pikekng ak ntam wanukng ase.*
 1SG wash saucepan REL 1DU yesterday use cook vegetables CPL
 'I'm washing the saucepan in which we cooked greens yesterday.'

There is no subject pronoun in the relative clause of example (340a), and it is easy for “*a ak*” to be conflated phonologically as “*ak*.” Example (340b) has a purpose clause *ak ntam wanukng* 'to cook greens', which cannot take a subject pronoun.

- (340) a. *Kupm klak kuntuk a ak ntam wanukng.*
 1SG wash saucepan REL use cook vegetables
 'I wash a/the saucepan with which one cooks greens.'
 'I wash a/the saucepan for cooking greens.'
- b. *Kupm klak kuntuk ak ntam wanukng.*
 1SG wash saucepan use cook vegetables
 'I wash a/the saucepan for cooking greens.'

Relative clauses can take aspect marking, as shown in (339) above. Example (341a) is a purpose clause, not a relative clause with the relativizer omitted or conflated. It shows that *ase* 'completive' cannot be added to the purpose clause of (340b). The completive aspect is interpreted as applying to the matrix verb, i.e., *klak ase* 'washed', rather than the verb of

the purpose clause, *ntam ase* 'cooked'. In fact, native speakers suggested (341b) as a better alternative. The relative clause interpretation is not available for (341a).

- (341) a. ?*Kupm klak kuntuk ak ntam wanukng ase.*
 1SG wash saucepan use cook vegetables CPL
 'I washed a/the saucepan for cooking greens.'
 *'I wash a/the saucepan with which (we) cooked greens.'
- b. *Kupm klak kuntuk wanukng-en ase.*
 1SG wash saucepan vegetable-ADJ CPL
 'I washed a/the vegetable saucepan.'

In the same way, example (342) has a relative clause modifying the spoon, but example (343) has a purpose clause. In (343), *ase* 'CPL' applies to *uk* 'give', not the verb of the purpose clause.

- (342) *Kupm uk[w]=eitn wampinek a kitn ak al ekipma.*
 1SG give=2SG.O spoon REL 2SG use eat food
 'I give you a spoon with which you eat food.'
- (343) *Kupm uk[w]=eitn wampinek ak al ekipma ase.*
 1SG give=2SG.O spoon use eat food CPL
 'I (already) gave you a spoon for eating.'

Instrumental purpose clauses are subordinate clauses in which a noun in the matrix clause is the implicit instrument of an “*ak V*” instrumental SVC in the subordinate clause. Instrumental purpose clauses cannot take aspect marking, and they do not have an independent subject pronoun. By contrast, instrumental relative clauses can have overt subject pronouns, aspect marking, and separate time modifiers.

5.5 Chapter conclusion

The verb *ak* 'use' participates in light verb constructions, instrumental SVCs, and instrumental purpose clauses. The focus of this chapter is the instrumental SVC, in which the instrumental verb and its object can either precede or follow the main verb and its object. Section 5.1 proposed four tests for verbal properties in Urim, as distinct from prepositions. Fronting of the object NP is typical for transitive verbs in Urim, but this test is inconclusive for *ak* 'use'. Applying the remaining tests (zero-anaphora of the object, object relativization, and irrealis marking) to the instrumental verb *ak* 'use' shows that the pre-verbal order (*ak* Inst V NP) has an instrumental verb *ak* and is an SVC, while the post-verbal order (V NP *ak* Inst) has an instrumental preposition *ak*. Due to the PP analysis, the post-verbal order is not an SVC, and Durie's (1997:305) principle of iconic ordering in instrumental SVCs is not violated.

Instrumental purpose clauses have an obligatory *ak* 'use' in the “*ak* V” instrumental SVC, and the complementizer *ekng* is optional. Unlike instrumental relative clauses, instrumental purpose clauses with a null complementizer cannot take aspect markers; the aspect marker is interpreted as applying to the verb of the matrix clause.

Chapter 6

Concluding Remarks

This thesis describes valence-increasing strategies in Urim. The two primary valence-increasing strategies in Urim are an applicative suffix and serial verb constructions. The applicative suffix promotes an oblique argument from a prepositional phrase to primary object. Serial verb constructions introduce additional arguments into the clause. Beneficiaries and recipients are expressed with the applicative suffix, while locations and instruments are expressed via serial verb constructions.

Chapter 2 introduced the pronominal clitics and discussed external possession, a non-applicative ditransitive construction. The pronominal clitics are used for the patient argument of transitive verbs, and for the recipient argument of *uk* 'give', a ditransitive verb. The clitic pronoun position on *uk* 'give' has the grammatical relation of primary object, while the free NP is a secondary object. Clitic pronouns are limited to animate referents, but even when both objects are animate, the primary object position on *uk* 'give' is reserved for the recipient semantic role. That is, the clitic pronoun position has a grammatical restriction of primary object, not merely an animacy restriction.

Chapter 3 described the applicative suffix *-n*. The applicative changes an intransitive verb to transitive, a semi-transitive verb to transitive, and a transitive verb to ditransitive. The applicative object is primary object, and on ditransitive applicative verbs it is usually a clitic pronoun which expresses the beneficiary of the action. When both the base object and the applicative object are animate, the clitic pronoun position on the verb is still limited to the applicative object, i.e., the primary object. The related lexical semantic suffix *-en*, glossed 'transitivizer', is a rich area for further research.

Chapter 4 introduced directional verbs and posture verbs, and explored their role in serial verb constructions. Directional and posture verbs occur in both intransitive and semi-transitive clauses. In semi-transitive clauses, the locative object has syntactic properties which are distinct from that of a primary object. Locative objects cannot be fronted, as regular objects often are. When they are relativized, the semi-transitive verb takes a locative anaphora suffix *-e* which refers back to the location, the locative object of the semi-transitive verb. Posture and directional verbs have the same syntactic behavior within SVCs as when they occur independently. They can be intransitive, taking no object, or semi-transitive with a locative object. When the directional or posture verb in an SVC takes a locative object, and the other verb is transitive, each verb takes its own object, but the entire SVC has three arguments: agent, theme, location. Locative objects of semi-transitive verbs have been analyzed as oblique arguments, in contrast to the objects of transitive verbs. (If locative objects are not core arguments, then directional and posture SVCs do not necessarily increase syntactic valence.)

Chapter 5 described instrumental serial verb constructions, as well as the many related functions of the verb *ak* 'do, use'. The instrumental serial verb construction introduces an instrument argument as an object of the instrumental verb *ak* 'use', so that the entire SVC takes three arguments instead of two: <agent, instrument, theme>. When *ak* 'use' and its object occur before the VP of the main verb, the construction is an SVC. The SVC has two verbs which each take their own object. When they occur following the main verb and its object, however, the post-verbal *ak* is a preposition, instead of a verb. The verb *ak* 'use' is also used in light verb constructions and instrumental purpose clauses.

Two areas for further research in Urim include tense-aspect-mood and serial verb constructions. Urim verbs have irrealis forms via vowel ablaut, but they are not as widespread in the Kalpm dialect as described for the Yangkolen dialect in Hemmilä & Luoma (n.d.). Also, the verb *akal* 'want' may be used to express irrealis modality (c.f., *la* 'say' in Hemmilä

& Luoma n.d.:214). Related to both aspect and serial verbs, the sequential construction of *plaln* 'finish' following a verb may be an SVC, but more research is needed to answer this question (see §4.5.3).

The verb *nti* 'be.with' is used in comitative constructions, both preceding and following the main verb. This is a potential asymmetrical SVC with minor verb *nti* 'be.with'. Urim expresses inanimate “instruments” with instrumental SVCs using the verb *ak* 'use', and animate (usually human) co-participants in comitative (serial verb?) constructions using the verb *nti* 'be.with'. In addition to distinguishing between the verbal or preposition-like properties of *nti* 'be.with', there is a research question of whether it is a verb or a conjunction. See Brown & Dryer (2008) for verbs in another Torricelli language which mean 'and' and conjoin NPs.

Symmetrical SVCs are not within the scope of this thesis. Symmetrical SVCs, in which neither verb is from a restricted class, include those in which the meaning is lexicalized, such as *al ari* 'eat see' > 'taste', or *la ron* 'say split' > 'preach'. Another type is SVCs in which the second verb expresses a result of the first verb. In examples (344) and (345), the object of V_1 is the subject of V_2 . V_2 can stand on its own as the single verb of a clause, and can optionally take the aspectual auxiliary *ase* 'CPL'. If these two examples are SVCs, then the completive aspect would apply to the entire SVC.

(344) *Kil er ul mo (ase).*
 3SG hit snake die CPL
 'He killed a snake.'

(345) *Kupm ntam wanukng hlo (ase).*
 1SG cook vegetables cooked CPL
 'I cooked vegetables.'

Most of the approximately 50 Torricelli family languages are very small, endangered, and not well studied by linguists.¹ The need for more research and documentation of these endangered languages is acute, especially given the increasing influence of Tok Pisin in the Sepik region. This thesis is a small contribution, and I hope that it piques the interest of other linguists in Torricelli languages, Papuan languages which are different from both Trans-New Guinea and Oceanic Austronesian languages.

¹ SIL in Papua New Guinea has a lot of unpublished resources on Torricelli languages, more and more of which are available online at www.pnglanguages.org.

Appendix A

Interlinear Text

Mitark

Mitark:1

Wet, Joyce ari mitark a mentekng, warim kin riti Maria, ekng er.
today Joyce see mouth.harp POSS 1DU child female this Maria two hit
'Today Joyce saw our mouth harp, which Maria and I are playing.'

Mitark:2

Om, kil wa ropo-n=topm, tolpa,
and 3SG back ask-APPL=1SG.O thus

la kupm al wa la kiti-n=tel ekng kil al atning.
say 1SG want back say follow-APPL=3SG.O PREP 3SG want hear
'So, she asked me, she asked me to tell her about it, for her to listen.'

Mitark:3

Kil akwekngel.
3SG not.know
'She does not know about mouth harps.'

Mitark:4

Tolpa ti kupm al wa la kiti-n=tel.
thus here 1SG want back say follow-APPL=3SG.O
'Thus I will tell her.'

Mitark:5

Mitark pa, a tu yantin, tu warim kpman kpman ti ur pa
mouth.harp DEM POSS 3PL fathers 3PL child male male here one DEM
'When men and boys want to make a mouth harp,'

Mitark:6

tu ware, kwat plaln om, ake ro ak wetet pa kalpm.
3PL chop cut finish now not split use new DEM no
'they chop wood, finish cutting it, they don't use new wood.'

Mitark:7

Tu kul ro, eln itna wan wang.
3PL come split put be.on house trunk
'They come and split it and put it on a main beam of the house.'

Mitark:8

Ka wakng, wakng hra hra tngklak plaln, pa tu ro.
light fire fire heat heat dry finish then 3PL split
'They make a fire, the fire dries it, and when it is dry, they cut it.'

Mitark:9

Tu ro om, tu kahal om.
 3PL split now 3PL scrape now
 'After they cut, they carve it (into the shape of a mouth harp).'

Mitark:10

Tu ro ak telp, ak kahal nina plaln, wi mrik, ak noworel.
 3PL split use knife use scrape DUR finish take razor use fix
 'When they have cut and carved it, they take a bamboo razor to finish it.'

Mitark:11

Ak noworel, ak kahal ek mlip pa nina kuinen plaln,
 use fix use scrape mouth tongue DEM DUR middle finish
 'Finally, after they carve the tongue in the middle'

Mitark:12

tu ak er wam a ari wilntet, pa, tu wi hapm, klie.
 3PL use hit hand REL see sound then 3PL take cloth weave
 'they play it with their hand to hear the sound, then, they take the piece of cloth and attach it.'

Mitark:13

Kut teng pa plaln, klie hapm wom-pel
 sew hole DEM finish weave cloth side-ADJ
 'After they make a hole, they attach the thin piece of cloth.'

Mitark:14

Om er. Er itna ek. Er atning ilko a kil pa.
 and hit hit be.on mouth hit hear noise POSS 3SG DEM
 'Then they play it. They listen to the sound of it.'

Mitark:15

Atning ilkoet, wor pa, apm.pa.ke.
 hear noise good DEM INTJ
 'If it sounds good, that's great.'

Mitark:16

Ketn tolpa, kupm eklala ekng mitark, la kiti-n, Joyce akal atning,
 a.little thus 1SG talk PREP mouth.harps say follow-APPL Joyce want hear

apm kai eln ketn tol pake
 now go put a.little like EMPH
 'That's it, I told about a mouth harp for Joyce to hear and that is how it goes.'

Mitark:17

Uk=weita wor Joyce takngni wor
 give=2SG.O good Joyce sun good
 'Thank you Joyce, have a good day.'

Mitark:18

Apm.pa.ke
 INTJ
 'The end.'

Appendix B

Informed Consent

I read this permission form out loud with my language teachers and storytellers. We discussed it as a group, and they all signed the same form. For the women, some of whom had no formal education, I explained that writing their name on this paper signaled that they were in agreement with the message on this paper.

The third paragraph is about sharing or archiving the recordings on the Internet. As of November 2009, they do not know what the Internet is, but I expect that they will soon, due to mobile phones (which were introduced to the area in August 2009).

Joyce Wood
Sandaun Province, Papua New Guinea
7 November 2009

Informed Consent

- Tok Pisin:** *Joyce Wood i kam i stap long ples bilong mipela, Nangen Womgrer, wantaim Seija Meinander.*
- English:** 'Joyce came to stay in our place, Nangen Womgrer, with Seija.'

Em i laik lainim tok ples bilong mipela, bilong helpim mipela long tanim tok bilong God i go insait long tok ples bilong mipela yet.
 'She wanted to learn our language, for helping us to translate God's word into our own language.'

Mipela bin stori sampela stori long Joyce, ol tumbuna stori na ol liklik stori bilong laip bilong mipela yet, na mipela putim i go long teip rikoda.
 'We told stories to Joyce, traditional legends and stories from daily life, and put it on the tape recorder.'

Mipela givim tok orait bilong mipela, i go long Joyce tupela Seija,
 'We give our permission to Joyce and Seija,'

long ol i ken harim dispela stori, raitim i go long pepa, na yusim bilong inapim work SIL bilong tupela.
 'to listen to these stories, write them down on paper, and use them in their SIL work.'

Tupela i no save mekim work bisnis, nogat.
 'They are not businesswomen.' / 'They will not use our stories to make money.'

Mipela givim tok orait tu, long bihain, sapos i gat rot, Joyce tupela Seija i ken serim ol dispela stori i stap pinis long teip.
 'We also give permission, that later, if there is a way, Joyce and Seija can share these stories that are on the tape.'

Dispela bai inapim ol wantoks bilong mipela i stap long taun o Port Moresby long harim na ritim ol dispela stori,
 'This will enable our relatives in town or Port Moresby to hear and read these stories,'

na tu em bai inapim ol arapela manmeri long harim nek bilong tok ples bilong mipela.
 'and will enable other people to hear the voice of our language.'

Mi wanbel long dispela toktok.
 'I agree with this statement.'

TOK ORAIT BILONG YUSIM OL TOK PLES STORI

Joyce Wood i kamap i stap long ples bilong mipela, Nangken Womgerer wantaim Seija Meinander. Em i laik lainim tok ples bilong mipela, bilong helpim mipela long tanim tok bilong God i go insait long tok ples bilong mipela yet. Mipela bin stori sampela stori long Joyce, ol tumbuna stori na ol liklik stori long laip^{bilong} mipela yet, na mipela putim long teip rikoda.

Mi givim tok orait bilong mi i go long Joyce tupela Seija long tupela i ken harim dispela stori, raitim i go long pepa na yusim bilong inapim wok SIL bilong tupela. Tupela i no save mekim wok bisnis, nogat.

Mi givim tok orait tu, long bihain, sapos i gat rot long dispela, Joyce tupela Seija i ken serim ol dispela stori i stap pinis long teip. Dispela bai inapim ol wantok bilong mipela i stap long taun o Port Moresby long harim na ritim ol dispela stori. Na tu, em bai inapim ol arapela manmeri long harim nek bilong tok ples bilong mipela.

Mi wanbel ^{long} wantaim dispela toktok.

FERDINAND YAWORAM

MARIA NIRAK

ANDREW NIRAK.

DANIEL HUAL.

DICKSON KALAMAK.

RUBEN PARAMBO

MAK KOWOR

Joyce Wood i kamap i stap long ples bilong mipela, Nangken Womgerer wantaim Seija Meinander. Em i laik lainim tok ples bilong mipela, bilong helpim mipela long tanim tok bilong God i go insait long tok ples bilong mipela yet. Mipela bin stori sampela stori long Joyce, ol tumbuna stori na ol liklik stori long laip mipela yet, na mipela putim long teip rikoda.

Mi givim tok orait bilong mi i go long Joyce tupela Seija long tupela i ken harim dispela stori, raitim i go long pepa na yusim bilong inapim wok SIL bilong tupela. Tupela i no save mekim wok bisnis, nogat.

Mi givim tok orait tu, long bihain, sapos i gat rot long dispela, Joyce tupela Seija i ken serim ol dispela stori i stap pinis long teip. Dispela bai inapim ol wantok bilong mipela i stap long taun o Port Moresby long harim na ritim ol dispela stori. Na tu, em bai inapim ol arapela manmeri long harim nek bilong tok ples bilong mipela.

Mi wanbel wantaim dispela toktok.

Pipiana - Yaming.

ANA

Makret

ELIAS ABET
MADALENA

ANA

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