

On verbs, subject prefixation is obligatory with human subjects, except with *(mi)nton* 'child' and *mamir* 'person', unless gender is stressed. The word order in verbal clauses is SVO. A verbaliser *bi-* can be used to change loans or words from other word classes into a verb: *bi-tutup* VB-close 'close', *bi-sik* 'VB-be.unable' from *sik* 'not.possible'. In sequences, verbs are obligatorily inflected, as in (3):

¹Research for this article was conducted under the auspices of ISIR (Irian Jaya Studies: a programme for interdisciplinary research, 1993-2000), a priority programme of NWO (Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research) which is financed by WOTRO (Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research). The programme is carried out in cooperation with LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia). I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Hasan Alwi, head of the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, for his willingness to be my sponsor.

²Note that in a number of cases classifiers are required in combination with numerals.

- (3) *De-jap de-frur de-tar bain.*
 3PL-live 3PL-make 3PL-possess garden

They live and work in their garden.

Verbs are not inflected for the marking of Tense-Mood-Aspect. A general question-marking particle *-e* indicates the interrogative (4) in clauses without question word; the imperative mood is expressed by the second person, sometimes followed by the clause-final demonstrative *ka* (5); the prohibitive is expressed by *jan* 'not' (6).

- (4) *An-un si jan-e?*
 2SG-go to house-QM

Are you going home?

- (5) *Nen-dokwa njep na nen-kapet! Jan! An-dokwa ka!*
 2PL-carry firewood for 2PL-cut no 2SG-carry that

You must carry the firewood and cut it! No, you must carry (it)!

- (6) *An-wandar jan!*
 2SG-shame not

Don't be ashamed!

Alienable nouns are possessed with the possessive pronouns *-tar* and *-bi* (*de-tar jan* 3PL-POS house 'their house') and inalienable nouns by means of bound pronouns (*n-prek* 3SF-foot 'her feet'). The noun *bar* 'thing' occurs frequently with other nouns or as nominaliser with words from other word classes: *ba(r)-bwa* thing-leaf 'vegetables', *ba(r)-kotot* thing-laugh 'funny'. Nouns referring to human beings and names are marked for gender: *nton-a* child-3SM 'boy', *Flora-n* Flora-3SF 'Flora'.

Adjectives follow the noun and can be further specified with the relative marker *ma* (*iw mafun* bird beautiful 'a beautiful bird' vs *iw ma mafun* 'the bird that is beautiful'). In predications, adjectives can occur as verb and take subject prefixation: *a-umfrum* 3SM-yellow 'he looks yellow'. Adjectives such as *kwaik* 'strong, hard' can also be used as adverbs: *de-jap kwaik* 3PL-sit strong 'they are firmly seated'.

Some spatial prepositions have an aspectual meaning with verbs of motion as illustrated in (7-9). *Ku* 'to, in, at' may be prefixed with *a-*, which I have glossed as '3SM'.

- (7) *In-aw si Manokwar.*
 1SG-go.home to Manokwari

I go home to Manokwari.

- (8) *An-un ma Anja.*
 3SM-go to Anjai

He has gone to Anjai (and is there now).

- (9) *Saji n-un ku Anja.*
 once 1SG-go to Anjai

Once I have been to Anjai.

In this brief survey of Mpur morphology only a few words can be said about the deictic system, which requires extensive research since it is not very well understood yet. Spatial deictics are expressed by the basic demonstratives *ki* 'here/this', *ka* 'there/that' and *nek* 'over there'. The demonstratives occur with the prefix morpheme *n-*, probably '3SF' and, if used attributively, with relative pronoun *ma* and *n-* '3SF' as shown in the following examples:

- (10) *Aka dwaw det bain ma-n-k*
and.then pig eat garden REL-3SF-this

And then the pig will eat up this garden.

- (11) *A-mim bapu ma Amtur a-ni-mek.*
3SM-arrive far.away at Amtur 3SM-come-there

He arrived far away at (the river) Amtur there.

The anaphoric *ta* and focus/topic marking *ni* indicate textual deictics. They are shown in examples (12, 13):

- (12) *A-wot ka nton ni tut nton mafun mim.*
3SM-see that child FOC because child beautiful so

He looked after that child because it was so beautiful.

- (13) *Aka n-jat a-ta kn.*
and.then 3SF-wound 3SM-ANA healthy

And then her wound was cured.

The anaphoric elements can be prefixed by *a-* '3SM?' and *ba(r?)* 'thing?': *a-ta*, *ba-ta*, *ba-ni*. My consultant insisted that in the forms with *a-*, initial *b-* is omitted and that it comes from *bar* 'thing'. They may be combined with the demonstrative *ki* 'this' and *ka* 'that'.

In narrative texts, the conjunctions *min-ta-ki* like-ANA-this, *min-ta-(a)re* like-ANA-so and some other combinations with *min-* 'like-' with the meaning 'having arrived at this point, things were like that' (in short: 'like that'), occur very frequently in clause-initial as well as clause-final position. Finally, an interesting feature in Mpur is the frequent occurrence of clitics, which function in discourse as interrogative, continuation, focus, temporal marker, vocative, and as the expression of emotive emphasis (see also Odé 1997a; 1998). Though some clitics, like interrogative clitic *-e* and clitic *-o* in enumerations, have a clear meaning of their own, it is not easy to explain differences between the clitics. I will gloss all of them as CL.

The text for this contribution is told in the coastal dialect of Saukorem, Amberbaken, in which for example Mpur *wóp* 'masses.of.water' is realized as *op*. Notational conventions, apart from the abbreviations listed at the beginning of this volume, are the following. Semivowel insertion between vowels is indicated by *Y*; vowels and consonants that are not pronounced are presented in parentheses. Stem-initial /d/ preceded by a prefix ending in a vowel is pronounced as [r]; this may also occur in connected speech if a preceding word ends in a vowel. In the text I spelled according to the actual pronunciation of /d/ as [d] or as [r]. Likewise I followed in the spelling the actual pronunciation of word-initial /n/ before bilabials as [m], of word-initial /b/ as [w, β] in for instance the deictic elements (*a*)*bata* and *bani* and in *bar* 'thing' and of word-initial /p/ which is sometimes pronounced as [w, b, β].

ISSN 0126 – 2874

NUSA

LINGUISTIC STUDIES OF INDONESIAN
AND OTHER LANGUAGES IN INDONESIA
VOLUME 47, 2000

STUDIES IN IRIAN LANGUAGES
PART II

Edited by
GER P. REESINK