

2 *A sketch of Mpur*

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In loving memory of Margit Odé-van der Grinten

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1 Introduction¹

1.1 Background of the Mpur language

Mpur is a Non-Austronesian language with three lexical tones and is spoken by approximately 5,000 speakers in the north east Bird's Head area, Irian Jaya, Indonesia. In the literature Mpur is sometimes referred to as Kebar or Amberbaken, which are geographic names for the two regions where it is spoken.

Mpur is a phylum-level isolate with dialectal differences in at least lexicon and prosody between speakers in the Kebar Valley, in the mountains (East Kebar) and on the coast (Amberbaken), respectively. The lexicon is of Papuan origin, but morphology and syntax show Austronesian features (Reesink 1998:603ff.), such as subject-verb-object word order and the absence of heavy verb morphology. Many loans entered Mpur from Numforese, Irianese Malay, Standard Indonesian, and also some from Dutch. Indonesian is taught in village schools by non-Mpur teachers, but they play truant as much as Mpur children do. In town Mpur children learn Indonesian more properly and only they are fairly able to distinguish between Indonesian and Mpur words. Only a few Mpur speakers are literate in Mpur, though much progress has been made in Kebar since G. and C. Kalmbacher (Irian Jaya Bethany Foundation and Summer Institute of Linguistics) began to give literacy courses with educational materials in the villages of that area; literacy in Indonesian is much better.

Speakers of Mpur do not know the origin of the name Mpur. Coastal Mpur speakers refer to Mpur speakers in the Kebar Valley as *ma-ye* 'who are outside' (lit. REL-outside), that is, at the other side of the eastern Tamrau mountains. Kebar people call Papuan people *maksam*, most likely from *mam-kesam* 'person from Irian' (lit. person-big-forest), in contrast to *matem* 'white people' from *mam-war-tem* 'person-mouth-river'. So far I have no explanation for the term *Mpur* which is only used to refer to the language.

The Mpur-speaking community has been extensively described by Miedema (1984) and many examples of their oral tradition have been published in Miedema (1997). The story *Kaman ja* 'Squash seeds', for the first time presented in this article, is an old story but a new item to Miedema's collection.

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I would like to thank the people of Kebar and Amberbaken for their friendship, confidence, teaching and help. Our long chats, gossips and discussions revealed some of their lifestyle and inspired my work. Through recordings on tape and video I still enjoy their beautiful voices full of suspense, humour, joy and sorrow. I feel especially grateful for what, in alphabetical order, Amanda Ajoin, Mince Jambuani, Mada Sapari and Seppy Wabia and their families have done for me to make my fieldwork such an impressive experience.

I am greatly indebted to Greg and Carol Kalmbachers who, apart from their help on the Mpur language, offered me their Tarzan house in Anjai, Kebar, for a couple of months in 1994 and 1995.

1.2 A personal note

The present article is a sketch of Mpur. The main aim of my research was an experimental phonetic study of prosody in Bird's Head languages, more specifically of Mpur and Abun. Because of the time-consuming character of such studies, morphology and syntactics did not get the attention it deserved. A description of Abun has recently been published (Berry & Berry 1999), but Mpur is still mostly a blank spot on the language map of the Bird's Head. A phonology (Kalmbacher 1996, MS), a limited wordlist and some other works have been written by G. and C. Kalmbacher. Though a full description of the Mpur language was never my intention, I nevertheless collected enough data to undertake the challenge of writing this article, largely encouraged to do so by my fellow researchers. Yet quite a few issues remain insufficiently described or explained, and in some cases that is even an understatement. However, since I do have quite a bit of data from the language and since it is unlikely that anyone else will study the language in detail soon, I have decided to present an analysis of what I have collected so that the language will not remain completely undocumented except for its phonetics.

Data for this article were collected during three periods of fieldwork in 1993–94, 1995 and 1998 in the Kebar valley and in Amberbaken. Apart from the work by G. and C. Kalmbacher mentioned above, which became accessible to me only later, no data on the Mpur language were available. I worked intensively with Amanda Ajo and Seppy Wabia in Anjai, the Kebar Valley, and in Saukorem, Amberbaken, with Seppy Wabia, Markus Wabia, Moses Warijo and a few other people. Twice I met the Kalmbachers in Kebar and discussed many Mpur issues with them. For a study of the three dialects I visited Jenderau (East Kebar) and Nekori (over the mountains behind Jenderau) and along the Amberbaken coast the villages from Arfu to Wau. In all areas mentioned I worked with indigenous inhabitants of the villages and recorded their speech on tape.

This article reflects the limitations explained above and will mainly present word classes, morphological processes and, where this seems adequate, some syntactic information.

2 Phonology

Mpur is a language with lexical tone contrasts. To my knowledge it is, together with the neighbouring Abun language (Berry & Berry 1999), the only Non-Austronesian tone language in the Bird's Head area.

A detailed phonology of Mpur by G. Kalmbacher is in preparation, of which a draft (Kalmbacher 1996) was kindly offered to me by the author. The data presented here do not necessarily agree with all data in Kalmbacher's phonology. This is especially the case with respect to word stress and the tone system, but differences will not be discussed. Full responsibility for this short phonology is mine.

2.1 Phonemes

There are twelve consonant and five vowel phonemes. They are presented in Tables 1 and 2 below with the phonemes between slashes and their phonetic realisation and allophones between square brackets.

Table 1: Mpur consonantal phonemes and their allophones

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosive voiceless	/p/ [p, p ^h , p ^ʷ]	/t/ [t, t ^h , t ^ʷ]		/k/ [k, k ^h , k ^ʷ , g]
voiced	/b/ [b, β]	/d/ [d, r]		
Fricative	/f/ [ɸ]	/s/ [s]	/j/ [tʃ, dʒ]	
Nasal	/m/ [m]	/n/ [n, ŋ]		
Approximant	/w/ [w, β]		/y/ [y]	

It is beyond the scope of this article to give rules for morphophonemics. But for a better understanding of the examples and text discussed here a few morphophonemic processes are presented.

Voiced stop /d/ is only pronounced as [d] in word-initial position and after nasal /n/, otherwise it is pronounced as a voiced alveolar flap [r]. In final position, voiceless stops are often not released or released with a delay of up to some hundreds of milliseconds.

Nasal /n/ is pronounced as [ŋ] before velar /k/ which is then voiced and pronounced as [g]: /manka/ [maŋga]. Before bilabials morpheme final nasal /n/ is pronounced as [m] (see also §3.1), and before morpheme initial nasal /n/ it is omitted. Note that nasals in Mpur can be syllabic in word-initial and in word-final position: the word *nton* ‘yesterday’ has three syllables, two of which are syllabic nasals.

On morpheme boundaries, the approximants /w/ and /y/ can be inserted between vowels.

Consonant elision on morpheme boundaries is a very frequent phenomenon in Mpur.

Table 2: Mpur vocalic phonemes and their allophones

	Front	Central	Back
High	/i/ [i]		/u/ [u]
Mid	/e/ [ɛ, e, ɛ, ə]		/o/ [u, o, ɔ]
Low		/a/ [a]	

After final vowels a non-phonemic glottal stop may occur. Another non-phonemic phenomenon that is characteristic of at least other Papuan languages spoken in the Bird’s Head area, is an utterance final voiceless velar with strong nasal aspiration, which is released only hundreds of milliseconds after a final vowel. It has been attested for Maybrat by Dol (1999:45).

The large scale of phonetic variations of vowels in different positions or under the influence of morphophonemic processes, vowel elision and vowel shortening or lengthening will not be described here.

2.2 Syllable structure and phonotactics

The syllable structure in monosyllabic words is as follows:

V	<i>i</i>	to stand
CV	<i>pa</i>	already
VC	<i>am</i>	eye
CVC	<i>kur</i>	snake

Consonant clusters do not occur in syllable-final position and are rare in syllable-initial position, except C + semivowel. One can even question whether initial consonant clusters are in fact the result of vowel elision, as, for example, in *from* 'think', and thus not monosyllables.

In polysyllabic words, consonant and vowel clusters occur over syllable boundaries:

V-V	<i>a-i</i>	he stands
CV-V	<i>ma-u</i>	continually
V-VC	<i>e-un</i>	we go
CV-VC	<i>ba-um</i>	people
CCV-VC	<i>kwa-ik</i>	strong
CVC-CVC	<i>ben-kan</i>	papaya
V-VC-CVC	<i>a-un-sek</i>	wrong

Sequences of consonants and vowels, also over syllable or morpheme boundaries, are subject to complex rules of constraints. As stated earlier, I will not go into details.

2.3 Tones

On the basis of an experimental phonetic approach, described in, for example, Odé (1996), three tones have been attested in Mpur: high, mid and low. The issue still is whether a fourth midrising tone, existing on the perceptual level, is phonologically significant. The analysis in progress of the results of a last set of experiments is expected to answer this question.

Generally speaking, the range between high and low, expressed on a logarithmic scale, can be up to twelve semitones, which in musical terms is equivalent to one octave. But note that tones and intonation in speech are not perceived on the same logarithmic scale as music (Odé 1996: note 10). The range between high and low in absolute terms, that is, expressed in hertz, is of course speaker dependent. Tone sandhi, the influence of tones on the realisation of adjacent tones, is a normal phenomenon in Mpur that together with other tonal and intonational phenomena will be described in *Mpur tones and intonation: an experimental phonetic analysis with interlinearized texts* (Odé, in process). Downdrift (i.e. in a sequence of high-low-high tones, the latter high tone is lower than the former) and downstep (i.e. the phonological lowering of the second of two tones of the same type) are not observed in Mpur. In spontaneous speech there can be some declination (i.e. the fundamental frequency declines gradually in the course of an utterance). See also Odé (1996:86).

Table 3 presents the three lexical tones with phonetic specification, that is, the level of the tone in semitones (ST) measured above the lowest (zero semitones) level of a register of twelve semitones of a speaker, and examples. These are maximum values. The actual realisation of tones can be higher or lower than indicated in the table, depending on utterance position, melodic context, tone sandhi, intonation and the idiosyncrasy of the speaker. High and low tones are marked with ' and ` , respectively, on vowels; mid tone remains unmarked.

Table 3: High, mid and low tone with their names, levels in semitones (ST) and examples

Type	Name	Level in ST	Examples
high	H	12 ST	<i>pér</i> dog <i>ján</i> house <i>bé</i> but
mid	M	7 ST	<i>per</i> to dig <i>bak</i> new <i>be</i> in
low	L	0	<i>bàk</i> axe <i>jàn</i> not <i>bè</i> fruit

Apart from minimal tone pairs as given in Table 3, tonal homonyms also exist. For example, *íp* 'bone' and *íp* 'strong', *ka* 'to bark' and *ka* 'that'.

2.4 Stress

In polysyllabic words, a syllable can be more prominent than its surrounding syllables, especially if it has high tone or a relatively longer duration. Yet there is no evidence that lexical stress in Mpur is phonologically significant. In a pilot experiment conducted in the field, I observed that no regular pattern of realised prominence of syllables exists. In different contexts one and the same word may even show shifting prominence without expressing a contrast.

2.5 Intonation

Some intonation patterns have been dealt with in Odé (1996, 1997). A description of Mpur tones and intonation is still in progress and will be published separately. For the time being only some limited notes on intonation are presented.

A general tendency is observed to realise large pitch movements at prosodic boundaries (a pause, silence, hesitation, reset), for which the final syllable is then lengthened. At the end of declaratives pitch usually moves downwards. Interrogatives and continuations cannot be expressed by intonation alone: interrogatives take question markers (§8) which have their 'own' tones, and enclitics are used to express a continuation (§16). The importance of a word in an utterance, as a means of accent, is highlighted by focus marker *ni* (see §7), by enclitics or by repeating words (of most word classes), examples of which can be found in the text at the end of this article. Enclitics especially have salient falling or rising pitch movements. The expression of emotive emphasis has been described in Odé (1997, 1998).

3 Pronouns

3.1 Free and bound pronouns

Mpur has free and bound pronouns. Bound pronouns are subject markers prefixed on verbs and possessor markers prefixed on inalienable nouns. The free and bound forms are presented below with an example on a prefixed verb and on an inalienable noun:

(1)	Person	Free pronoun	Bound pronoun	Verb <i>jap</i> 'to stay'	Inalienable noun <i>yen</i> 'mother'
	1SG	<i>in</i>	<i>(i)n-</i>	<i>n-jap</i>	<i>n-yen</i>
	2SG	<i>nan</i>	<i>an-</i>	<i>an-jap</i>	<i>an-yen</i>
	3SM	<i>yeta</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-jap</i>	<i>a-yen</i>
	3SF	<i>men</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-jap</i>	<i>n-yen</i>
	1DU	<i>wor</i>	<i>(w)o-</i>	<i>o-jap</i>	<i>o-yen</i>
	2DU	<i>non</i>	<i>no(n)-</i>	<i>non-jap</i>	<i>no-yen</i>
	3DU	<i>dor</i>	<i>do-</i>	<i>do-jap</i>	<i>do-yen</i>
	1PL	<i>yek</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>e-jap</i>	<i>e-yen</i>
	2PL	<i>nen</i>	<i>ne(n)-</i>	<i>nen-jap</i>	<i>ne-yen</i>
	3PL	<i>der</i>	<i>de-</i>	<i>de-jap</i>	<i>de-yen</i>

The final nasal of a bound form assimilates to the point of articulation of the stem-initial consonant. Personal free pronouns preceding a verb with subject prefixation express emphasis. For example (in the translation, the emphatic pronoun is capitalised):

- (2) *Yeta a-un si jan.*
3SM 3SM-go to house
HE will go home.

- (3) *Nton nan an-jap.*
child 2SG 2SG-stay
Child YOU stay.

Personal free pronouns are used as verbal or prepositional object, without special emphasis, as in (4) and (5):

- (4) *A-from nan.*
3SM-love 2SG
He loves you.

- (5) *Am-bot jetenon na men.*
2SG-give knife to 3SF
You give the knife to her.

Examples of personal bound pronouns on verbs and on inalienable nouns are:

- (6) *Im-bwana in-un si in-aya a-tar jan.*
1SG-want 1SG-go to 1SG-father 3SM-possess house
I want to go to my father's house.

- (7) *N-yen n-am pam.*
3SF-mother 3SF-eye pain
Her mother's eye hurts.

Bound pronouns can occur in object position as verbal suffix:

- (8) *War-(d)okwa-y-a.*
 water-carry-Y-3SM
 The water carries him along.
- (9) *A-unsra kutut na men-dot ma n-nap-a.*
 3SM-like because for 3SF-younger REL 3SF-husband-3SM
 He likes the younger girl to sleep with him.

Note that the voiced alveolar stop /d/ is pronounced as [d] in word-initial position and after nasal /n/; otherwise it is pronounced as a voiced alveolar flap [ɾ]. In example (8) an elision of initial /d/ of the verb *dokwa* 'to carry' occurs after *war* 'river'; an epenthetic glide -y- occurs between verb-final -a and 3SM -a.

3.2 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is expressed by means of free pronouns. It can be emphasised by *do* 'self, alone', which has subject prefixation and often occurs in combination with numeral *tu* 'one' to express exclusivity. Examples of the two expressions of reflexivity are:

- (10) *In-tik-war in.*
 1SG-bathe-water 1SG
 I wash myself.
- (11) *An-unan nan da.*
 2SG-ask 2SG first
 Ask yourself first (think before you act).
- (12) *A-jik a-ro.*
 3SM-kill 3SM-self
 He killed himself.
- (13) *In-do in-i na n-tera.*
 1SG-self 1SG-stand to 1SG-see
 I stood (there) myself to see (it).
- (14) *Yeta a-ro a-jap be-jun.*
 3SM 3SM-self 3SM-sit on-top
 He alone sits on top.
- (15) *In-frur in-do-tu.*
 1SG-do 1SG-self-one
 I do it by myself.
- (16) *A n-aya an-do-tu an-mam an-mam mer*
 ah 1SG-father 2SG-self-one 2SG-cut.down 2SG-cut.down garden
ma bapak.
 REL big
 Well, father, you have to clear that big garden by yourself.

4 Verb

Subject prefixation for person and number on verbs (see §3) is obligatory only with human subjects, but note that (*mi*)*nton* 'child', *mamir* 'person', *nkan* 'old person', *mampu* 'youngster', *maunbwat* 'thief' etc. do not trigger subject prefixation if the speaker does not know the gender. The word order in verbal clauses is SVO.

4.1 Simple and compound verbs

Simple verbs are verbs consisting of one single stem, for instance *bot* 'to take, fetch' (also: 'to give' in conjunction with the preposition *na* 'to'). Compound verbs are verbs that consist of a combination of two verbs, for instance *unot* 'to know' which is made up of the two verbs *un* 'go' and *wot* 'see'; *berto* 'tell' from *ber* 'talk' and *dito* 'tell'; *konot* 'dream' from *kon* 'sleep' and *wot* 'see'.

Regular verb paradigms are the following:

(17)			<i>bot</i> 'to give'	<i>aw</i> 'to run'	<i>unot</i> 'to know'
	1SG	<i>in</i>	<i>m-bot</i>	<i>in-aw</i>	<i>n-unot</i>
	2SG	<i>nan</i>	<i>am-bot</i>	<i>an-aw</i>	<i>an-unot</i>
	3SM	<i>yeta</i>	<i>a-bot</i>	<i>a-y-aw</i>	<i>a-unot</i>
	3SF	<i>men</i>	<i>m-bot</i>	<i>n-aw</i>	<i>n-unot</i>
	1DU	<i>wor</i>	<i>o-bot</i>	<i>o-y-aw</i>	<i>o-unot</i>
	2DU	<i>non</i>	<i>nom-bot</i>	<i>non-aw</i>	<i>non-unot</i>
	3DU	<i>dor</i>	<i>do-bot</i>	<i>do-y-aw</i>	<i>do-unot</i>
	1PL	<i>yek</i>	<i>e-bot</i>	<i>e-y-aw</i>	<i>e-unot</i>
	2PL	<i>nen</i>	<i>nem-bot</i>	<i>nen-aw</i>	<i>nen-unot</i>
	3PL	<i>der</i>	<i>de-bot</i>	<i>de-y-aw</i>	<i>de-unot</i>

Simple and compound verbs in context are illustrated in (18) and (19):

- (18) *A-bot bak na in.*
 3SM-give axe to 1SG
 He gives me an axe.
- (19) *Ni ka muk-i in-unot jan.*
 wood that name-CL 1SG-know not
 I don't know the name of that wood.

4.2 Transitive and intransitive verbs

Transitive verbs can, but need not always, have an object, whereas intransitive verbs cannot have a direct object, but can have an object with a preposition.

The verb *det* 'to eat' is an example of a transitive verb and requires at least the object *bar* 'thing':

- (20) *An-det bar-(d)et pa-e?*
 2SG-eat thing-eat already-Q
 Have you already eaten?

Verbs like *minsa* 'to hunt', *nkwan* 'to cook', *din* 'to play' and *dokwa* 'to carry' are also transitive and cannot occur without an object, unless the latter is easily recovered from the context:

- (21) *N-nkwan sukwan.*
 3SF-cook sago.porridge
 She cooks sago porridge.
- (22) *A-bwana a-rokwa in.*
 3SM-want 3SM-carry 1SG
 He wants to carry me.

In example (21) subject prefix *n-* 'she' is a syllabic nasal which is only audible in careful speech.

Examples of intransitive verbs are *tikwar* 'to bathe' and *kwem* 'to fall':

- (23) *Kutu(t)-ba(n?) an-tik-war jan-to?*
 for-what 2SG-bathe-water not-yet
 Why haven't you bathed yet?
- (24) *De-kwem bari baprek.*
 3PL-fall from bridge
 They fall from the bridge.

Transitive verbs may occur without an object. Examples with and without objects are illustrated in (25) and (26):

- (25) *Derek-a a-onsra nan.* vs *Derek-a a-onsra.*
 Derek-3SM 3SM-like 2SG Derek-3SM 3SM-likes(it)
 Derek likes you. Derek is happy.
- (26) *An-pin jan!* vs *A-pin Derek-a.*
 2SG-call.names not 3SM-call.names Derek-3SM
 Don't call names! He insults Derek.

4.3 Verb sequences

Sequences of verbs are a common phenomenon in Mpur. They occur without any conjunction and all verbs in such a sequence are finite and thus obligatorily inflected.

There are a few criteria according to which sequences of verbs in Mpur actually could be cases of verb serialisation: conjunctions do not occur between the verbs, a clause boundary occurs only after the last verb, the subject is the same for all verbs, verbs may also occur individually in a clause, verbs form together a prosodic group (no pauses between verbs, a single intonation contour). Three examples are:

- (27) *Do-un do-mim do-fo subwe Ari-a a-tem.*
 3D-go 3DU-arrive 3DU-ascend follow Ari 3SM-mouth
 They walk up along the River Ari till they reach its mouth.
- (28) *(Minton) kenep-i bwan pundir.*
 (child) look.around-CONT call search
 (The children) looked around, they called and searched.

- (29) *Bari nek a-na a-fo arwar a-ta.*
 from down 3SM-come 3SM-ascend stairs 3SM-ANA
 From down he came up those stairs.

It remains unclear whether sequences of verbs in Mpur are serial verb constructions or coordinate constructions. I did not study the issue and a detailed discussion is also beyond the scope of the present article.

4.4 Verbaliser *bi-*

The prefix *bi-* can be used for loans or words of other word classes to change the item into a verb. For example:

- (30) *bi-rekam* to record (from Indonesian *rekam*)
bi-paksa to force (from Indonesian *paksa*)
bi-jadi to appear (from Indonesian *jadi*)
bi-jadi nton to give birth to (from Indonesian *jadi*)
bi-hanyat to float (from Indonesian *hanyat*)
bi-lewat to cross (from Indonesian *lewat*)
bi-undang to invite (from Indonesian *undang*)
bi-skop to kick, hit (from Dutch *schoppen*)
bi-ankar to lie, to deceive (from NF *ankar* 'to deceive')
bi-sik to be unable (from Mpur adverb *sik* 'not.possible')
bi-aka to make possible (from Mpur conjunction *aka* 'so')
bi-osum to be funny, humorous (from Mpur *sum* 'spicy?')

On Mpur words, the verbaliser *bi-* is not always obligatory. Compare the following two examples:

- (31) *Aka men bani n-kon-e m-bi-sik pa.*
 then 3SF that 3SF-sleep-CL 3SF-VBL-impossible already
 And then she was asleep, there was nothing more she could do.
- (32) *A-non-o fi-rokir de-mika sik de-mika sik wa.*
 3SM-child-CL CLF-two 3PL-wait impossible 3PL-wait impossible already
 His two children could not wait, they could not wait anymore.

As the following example shows, Mpur words from other word classes can be used as a verb without the verbaliser *bi-* simply by taking subject prefixation:

- (33) *kum smoke de-kum-a they smoke him*

4.5 Causative verbal prefix *fa-*

Mpur makes use of a verbal prefix, which is most likely of Numforese origin indicating a causative, for instance *fa-ur* 'to extinguish' consisting of the causative *fa-* and the adverb *ur* 'extinguished'. *Fa-* can be prefixed to words from different word classes making it a transitive verb. Some examples are:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| (34) | <i>yep</i> | dry | <i>fa-yep</i> | to dry |
| | <i>dubun</i> | to pull | <i>fa-rubun</i> | to pull out |
| | <i>bum</i> | fog, cloud | <i>fa-bum</i> | to hide |
| | <i>jik</i> | to kill | <i>fa-ji(k)-em</i> | to argue (lit. CAUS-kill-RECIP) |
| | <i>brek</i> | to turn | <i>fa-brek</i> | to turn around, to capsize |

In a number of cases I do not know the origin of the stem of the transitive verb, for instance *fa-wop* 'to close'. Note that Taba (South Halmahera) has *ha-op* CAUS-be covered 'to cover' (John Bowden, pers. comm.). Some verbs like *farkor* 'to learn' and *f(a)nander* 'to forget' are wholesale borrowings from Numforese (note that the vowel *a* of *fa-* is often omitted).

4.6 Verbal complements

There are a few verbs which require a verbal complement. For example the modal verbs *bwana* 'to want, to need' (*bwa* + *na* 'to say + to'), *mom* 'to want not', *si* 'to be able', as in:

- (35) *Do-bwana do-bep nton.*
 3DU-want 3DU-carry.in.cloth child
 They want to carry the child.
- (36) *Im-bwana n-fa manik.*
 1SG-need 1SG-buy mineral.oil
 I need to buy mineral oil.
- (37) *A-mom a-sasyar jan.*
 3SM-want.not 3SM-go.outside not
 He doesn't want to come outside.
- (38) *Derek-a a-si a-unot a-minsa-bar.*
 Derek-3SM 3SM-is.able 3SM-knows 3SM-hunt-thing
 Derek is very good at hunting.

Other verbs, such as *bwar* 'say' and *from* 'think' may have a verbal complement, but they do not require it like the modal verbs.

4.7 Emotive verbs with *wa-*

There are a number of verbs expressing mental or physiological states with the initial syllable *wa-*, mostly for negative feelings such as *warmor* 'to be angry', *wanaw* 'to be afraid', *wafnem* 'to be lazy', *waka* 'to be jealous', *wamar* 'to be tired', *wandar* 'to be shy', *wantek* 'to be ill'. The verb *mom* (see §4.6) also occurs with *wa-*: *wamom* 'to want not'. I have no explanation yet for the origin of *wa-*. According to my language consultants the form *wa* comes from *wow* 'body' or *mwan* 'face, appearance', for instance: *wamar* 'to be tired' consists of *wow-mar* 'body-tired', *wantek* 'to be ill' is claimed to be *mwan-tek* 'face-hot'.

Two examples are:

- (39) *A-waka in.*
3SM-jealous 1SG
He envies me.
- (40) *A-warmor in.*
3SM-angry 1SG
He is angry with me.

Other states of emotion are expressed by inalienable nouns indicating body parts with a qualifying noun or adjective, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (41) *A-bwam-bit.*
3SM-head-stone
He is naughty (lit. he has a head like a stone).
- (42) *A-bwa-ip.*
3SM-head-bone
He is naughty (lit. he has a head like a bone).
- (43) *A-wanken bapak.*
3SM-nose-big
He is angry (lit. he has a big nose, also used in this literal meaning).
- (44) *A-unket pam.*
3SM-chest-painful
He is furious, wild (lit. his chest hurts, also used in this literal meaning).

4.8 Reciprocal suffix *-em*

Reciprocal actions are expressed by means of *-em* 'each other' suffixed on the verb, as in *wot-em* 'to see each other', *from-em* 'to love each other' (lit. to think each other), *job-em* 'to make love (to each other)', *sapat-em* 'to force each other', *meni-em* 'to hear each other', *unot-em* 'to understand each other', as in:

- (45) *A-mim jan bapu Asit do-tem wom-em.*
3SM-arrive house at Asiti 3DU-mouth.of.river sew-RECIP
He arrived at the house in Asiti where the two mouths of the rivers come together.

The reciprocal suffix *-em* 'each other' also occurs as prepositional object. For example:

- (46) *De-bwar na-em.*
3PL-say to-RECIP
They say to each other.

4.9 Quote marker *bwa*

In running speech the verb *bwar* 'to say' can be used as quote marker. Final *-r* is often omitted, final *-a* can be (sometimes extremely) lengthened, and the verb keeps its subject prefixation. Examples are:

- (47) *Kaman bwar na Sasua bwa ...*
 pumpkin say to Sasua QUOT
 The pumpkin said to Sasua, he said ...
- (48) *A-bwar a-bwa nan n-ka ma-bwak non nan.*
 3SM-say 3SM-QUOT 2SG 3SF-that REL-magic.cannibal child 2SG
 He says: are you the child of a magical cannibal?

4.10 Expression of imperative

Verbs are not inflected for the marking of Tense-Mood-Aspect. The imperative is expressed by a verb inflected for the second person and can be strengthened by the clause-final demonstrative *ka*: *an-det ka* 'you-eat that' 'you must eat'. The prohibitive is expressed by *jan* 'not' or by *jan pa* 'not anymore' (lit. not already). For example:

- (49) *Am-bop sansun ka.*
 2SG-wash clothes that
 You must wash clothes.
- (50) *Anoka!*
an-wot-ka
 2SG-see-that
 Look out!
- (51) *An-un jan pa!*
 2SG-go not already
 Don't go!

5 Adjectives

There are reasons for positing a separate word class of adjectives distinct from either verbs or nouns, although Mpur adjectives do have some similarities with Mpur verbs. Both verbs and adjectives take subject prefixation in predicative position. In attributive position verbs require the relativiser *ma* following the noun and preceding the prefixed verb. Adjectives in attributive position occur with and without the relativiser *ma*.

Some examples of adjectives, including the five terms for colours, are:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| (52) | <i>bapak</i> | big | <i>nombak</i> | small |
| | <i>berep</i> | light | <i>dim</i> | dark |
| | <i>mafun</i> | good | <i>wandek</i> | bad |
| | <i>serer</i> | long | <i>kunon</i> | short |
| | <i>kot</i> | heavy | <i>sapja</i> | light |
| | <i>kwar</i> | sour | <i>minyar</i> | sweet |
| | <i>fam</i> | salty | <i>wot</i> | bitter, spicy |
| | <i>fibe</i> | white | <i>nim</i> | black |
| | <i>sum</i> | red | | |
| | <i>ufrum</i> | yellow | | |
| | <i>bwa-wop</i> | green, blue (lit. leaf + ?) | | |

Note that there are three more names for yellow: *minam* (in the mountains also used for white), *dapraw* and *bwa-bin* (lit. ripe-leaf). Colours can be further specified by using the adverbs *dera* or *pit* 'bright' which are only used for colours and by *berep* 'light' and *dim* 'dark', which all follow the name of the colour. The word for azure, for instance, is *bwawop dera* 'bright green' and the word for 'pink' is *sum berep*. To indicate the intensity of a colour, the adverbs *ten* 'just' and *tati, kaku* 'very' are used: *sum ten* 'reddish', *sum tati* 'very red'.

Adjectives follow the noun and can be specified with relative marker *ma* as shown in (53). The relative marker *ma* occurs on attributive adjectives as in (53), but also introduces relative clauses and occurs as relative marker in Headless RC. For a further discussion of *ma* see §15.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| (53) | <i>jan mafun</i> | a beautiful house | <i>jan ma mafun</i> | the house which is beautiful |
| | <i>kwap kot</i> | a heavy bag | <i>kwap ma kot</i> | the bag which is heavy |
| | <i>uk fibe</i> | a white flower | | |
| | <i>war tek</i> | hot water | | |
| | <i>babwa minyar</i> | delicious vegetable | | |
| | <i>bertobar serer</i> | a long story | | |

A number of adjectives occur in predications as verbs with subject prefixation. Examples are:

- (54) *In-tek.*
1SG-hot
I am hot (to be translated as 'I feel cold', shivering from fever).
- (55) *A-rot.*
3SM-younger
He is younger.

Indefinite numerals (see §13.3) behave as adjectives as shown in:

- (56) *A-men per fon.*
3SM-look.after dog many
He looked after many dogs.

6 Nouns

Nouns are of the following types: simple nouns, compounds, alienable and inalienable nouns. Nouns referring to human beings are marked for gender. Nouns have possessive inflection by means of bound pronouns prefixed to inalienable nouns and by means of the subject prefixed verb *tar* or *bi* 'to possess' preceding the alienable noun. Nouns as head of noun phrases can be modified by adjectives, numerals and demonstratives following the noun. Loans are predominantly from neighbouring languages: Numforese, Irianese Malay or Standard Indonesian, but also from Dutch. Since loans do not behave differently from original Mpur words, they will not be further discussed.

6.1 Simple nouns

Examples of simple nouns are:

- (57) *fa* banana
iw bird
war river
yet fire
kwap rope.bag
wom hand
prei green onions (from Dutch *prei*)

6.2 Compounds

In compound nouns easy elisions of syllable final consonants or sometimes of whole syllables occur. Examples of compounds are:

- (58) *am-fe(k)-bur*
 eye-skin-body.hair
 eyebrow
- (59) *ambon-kwe*
 neck-swelling
 goitre
- (60) *marwabur*
mamir-dwaw-bur
 person-pig-body.hair
 good hunter
- (61) *kaparek*
kapal-dek
 ship-fly
 aeroplane

6.3 Nominaliser *bar*

A special case of compounding involves *bar* 'thing', which is frequently used in combination with other nouns or as nominaliser with members of other word classes. For example:

- (62) *bain*
bar-in
 thing-grow
 garden
- (63) *baret*
bar-det
 thing-eat
 food

- (64) *baprokir*
bar-prek-dokir
 thing-leg-two
 cassowary
- (65) *bawantek*
bar-wantek
 thing-sick
 illness
- (66) *mabakwar*
ma-bar-kwar
 REL-thing-sharp
 criminal

6.4 Alienable nouns

There are two possessive pronouns which are used with alienable nouns. Both *-tar* and *-bi* always precede the noun. The possessive morpheme *bi* is identical to the Abun form (see Berry & Berry 1999:78). Examples of alienable nouns in a context with possessive pronouns are presented below:

- (67) *In-un si n-tar jan.*
 1SG-go to 1SG-POS house
 I go to my house.
- (68) *De-ter a-bi jetenon.*
 3PL-put 3SM-POS knife
 They put down his knife.
- (69) *E-rak-bar Lambert-a a-bi ba(r)-in.*
 1PL-work-thing Lambert-3SM 3SM-POS thing-grow
 We work in Lambert's garden.

6.5 Inalienable nouns

Inalienable nouns include terms for body parts, kinship relations and a few other items, which require a prefix signalling for person and number of the possessor:

- (70) *a-wom*
 3SM-hand
 his hand
- (71) *e-yen*
 1PL-mother
 our mother
- (72) *an-muk*
 2SG-name
 your name

For a full list of kinship terms in Mpur the reader is referred to Miedema and Welling (1985).

6.6 Gender

Female personal names are suffixed with *-n*: *Amandan*, *Mincen*, *Marian* 'Amanda, Mince, Maria'. Male personal names are suffixed with *-a*: *Seppia*, *Mosesa*, *Lamberta* 'Seppy, Moses, Lambert'.

Other examples of nouns with gender indication are:

- | | | |
|------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| (73) | <i>yen</i> | mother |
| | <i>a</i> | father |
| | <i>nton</i> | girl, woman (of all ages); child |
| | <i>ntoa</i> | boy, man (of all ages) |
| | <i>niman</i> | girlfriend |
| | <i>nimata</i> | boyfriend |

Note that *nton* is the generic form for 'child', which suggests that female *-n* indicates the unmarked form.

6.7 Nouns with the same form as verbs

A number of nouns in Mpur have the same form as verbs with subject prefixation. For example *sor* 'mountain/cross' and *tum* 'arrow/shoot':

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (74) | <i>In-sor</i> | <i>dok.</i> |
| | 1SG-cross | bridge |
| | I cross the bridge. | |
| (75) | <i>A-fankar sor</i> | <i>ma-n-ka.</i> |
| | 3SM-over | mountain REL-3SF-that |
| | He goes over that mountain. | |
| (76) | <i>A-tum</i> | <i>dwaw.</i> |
| | 3SM-shoot | pig |
| | He shoots a pig. | |
| (77) | <i>N-ketet</i> | <i>n-fer tum.</i> |
| | 3SF-release | 3SF-dig.up arrow |
| | She releases and digs up the arrow. | |

6.8 Nouns and word order

Word order in noun phrases is as follows: POS + N + A + NUM + DET, as in:

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| (78) | <i>A-onsra</i> | <i>a-bi</i> | <i>jan</i> | <i>mafun</i> | <i>fon.</i> |
| | 3SM-like | 3SM-possess | house | beautiful | many |
| | He likes his many beautiful houses. | | | | |

A modifying relative clause (see §15) is normally introduced by the relative marker *ma*, occupying the position of the postnominal modifiers. In the following example, a nominal predication is presented followed by a negation which obligatorily follows the nominal predicate:

- (79) *Iw ma-n-ka kokor jan.*
 bird REL-3SF-that chicken NEG
 This bird is not a chicken.

7 Deictics

In Mpur a distinction exists between spatial and textual deictics, the forms of which occur in combinations as summarized in Table 4. As we will see, the deictic system is not a simple issue at all. As said in my introduction, research carried out for the present article was limited and does not answer many questions I still have, and the examples shown in this section leave us with a great deal of uncertainty. Table 4 presents the forms of deictics:

Table 4: Forms of spatial and textual deictics

Spatial			Textual	
near	far	very far	anaphoric	focus/topic
<i>ki</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mek</i>	<i>ta(w)</i>	<i>ni</i>
<i>n-ki</i>	<i>n-ka</i>		<i>(n)da(w)</i>	<i>(b)a-ni</i>
<i>ma-n-ki</i>	<i>ma-n-ka</i>			
<i>na-ki</i>	<i>na-ka</i>	<i>na-mek</i>		
<i>ta-ki</i>	<i>ta-ka</i>			
<i>(b)a-ta-ki</i>	<i>(b)a-ta-ka</i>	<i>ba-ta-mek</i>	<i>(b)a-ta</i>	

The form *mbano* (*mbana*) was only attested as an independent utterance and therefore it is not indicated in Table 4. Note that the form *ba-ni* is used in Amberbaken and, according to my Kebar consultant, equivalent to the Kebar form *ka-ni*.

Spatial deictics are expressed by the basic demonstrative pronouns *ki* 'here/this' and *ka* 'there/that' referring, respectively, to a distance near and a distance further away from the speaker. The demonstratives are illustrated in the following example:

- (80) *Ah n-bwar ka nan pa n-bwar ki an-bwar jan.*
 ah 1SG-say that you already 1SG-say this 2SG-say not
 Ah, I already told you, I said don't you say anything.

The basic demonstratives *ki* and *ka* are frequently prefixed by what is likely the morpheme *n* '3SF'. They are shown in three nominal clauses:

- (81) *Baban n-ka?* *N-ka bak.* *Bak n-ki mafun jan.*
 what 3SF-that 3SF-that axe axe 3SF-this good not
 What is that? That is an axe. This axe is not good.

If used attributively, the demonstrative pronouns *ki* 'this' and *ka* 'that' are mostly combined with the relative pronoun *ma* and the morpheme *n* '3SF':

- (82) *Ibor ma-n-ki bar ma bi bwa kanik tu-ni.*
 rope REL-3SF-this thing REL kind.of leaf like coconut-FOC
 This rope is like a leaf of the coconut. (lit. This rope is a thing that is of
 a kind of leaf like a coconut.)
- (83) *M-fatot m-fatot a-bwam ma-n-ka ti-prik-i a-ut-i.*
 3SF-cut 3SF-cut 3SM-head REL-3SF-that broken-cut-CL 3SM-dead-CL
 She cuts till his head is broken off and he is dead.

According to my informants the forms *ma-n-ki* and *ma-n-ka* rather than *n-ki* and *n-ka* are used to refer to something that has not been communicated yet. For example in the phrase *ni ma-n-ki* 'this tree', 'tree' is new information, whereas in *ni n-ki* 'this tree', the existence of the tree was already known to the listener. Informants are not consistent in their explanations; this has to be checked further. For a discussion about the many puzzling functions of *ma* the reader is referred to §15.

Next to (*n-ka*) 'there' a form *mek* 'there' exists. This demonstrative seems to be used for distances more remote than (*n-ka*). Two examples are:

- (84) *Do-tek ka ne(k)-mek arwar mek do-y-aw.*
 3DU-down that down-there stairs there 3DU-Y-run
 They went down the stairs and ran.
- (85) *N-kurem mamer a-ta bwan mum mek.*
 3SF-enter k.o.tree 3SM-ANA hole deep there
 She went inside the deep hole of that *mamer* tree.

The forms (*n-ka*) and (*n-ki*) and *mek* can be specified further with elements from textual deictics and other forms. This is discussed below.

Textual deixis is indicated by anaphoric *ta* and focus/topic marking *ni*, the latter most likely of Numforese origin. Both can be prefixed with *a-* or *ba-*. For the time being, I interpret *a* as '3SM'; but note that the origin of *ba-* seems to be *bar* 'thing', where initial *b-* is often omitted. The forms *ba-ta*, *a-ta* and *ba-ni*, as well as a number of more complex forms (see below), occur equally frequently in my materials. A focus-marking form *a-ni* is in a single case attested. Anaphoric *ta* can also be found in the free personal pronoun *yeta* '3SM'. Sometimes *ta* is followed by a semivowel /w/: *taw*. The form *nda* 'that/there' does not occur without *n* in my materials; it can also be followed by a final semivowel /w/: *ndaw*. A form *da* is only attested with the meaning 'first, earlier', and as such is related to anaphoric *ta*. It seems likely that *nda* consists of *n* '3SF' and anaphoric *ta*, where the initial stop is voiced after *n*.

Examples of textual deictics are presented in the following examples:

- (86) *Mamir ma ut a-ta biasa de-kum.*
 person REL dead 3SM-ANA usually 3PL-smoke
 The people who are dead they usually smoked.
- (87) *A-bot na a-non ba-ta det.*
 3SM-give for 3SM-child ?-ANA eat
 He gave them to his child to eat.
- (88) *A-na na a-mim minton ni.*
 3SM-come for 3SM-arrive child FOC
 He came to reach the child.

- (89) *O minton ba-ni umbrut-on min-taw jap.*
 oh child ?-FOC baby-very.small like-ANA stay
 Oh, that child was still a baby, so it stayed behind.
- (90) *Ah mamir n-da pa.*
 ah person 3SF-ANA already
 Ah, somebody is there.

The deictic system in Mpur shows a large number of complex forms consisting of elements of spatial and textual deictics. The demonstratives *ki*, *ka* and *mek* can be further specified and be prefixed with anaphoric (*b*)*a-ta*, with what is likely the preposition *na* 'to, for', and they can be suffixed with topic/focus marker *ni*. All these forms can occur as object of a preposition. The combinations are shown in the examples below:

- (91) *Seluruh yen ba-ta-mek n-ketet sik.*
 all needle ?-ANA-there 3SF-release impossible
 She could not release (it) with any needle over there at all.
- (92) *O bar na-mek musom pa-y-a.*
 oh thing come-there abandoned already-Y-CL
 Oh, everything there was abandoned.
- (93) *Ku ma-n-ki war ku jan.*
 at REL-3SF-this water at not
 Here is no water.
- (94) *Mamir kwar jap ku ma na-mek.*
 person bad live at REL come-there
 Bad people live over there.
- (95) *A-un ku na-ka.*
 3SM-go at come-there
 He walks there.
- (96) *An-na-re yek-o e-jatik nan ma ta-ki.*
 2SG-come-just 1PL-CL 1PL-wait 2SG REL ANA-here
 Just come on in, we'll wait for you here.
- (97) *Aka de-jap pu na-m(ek?).*
 then 3PL-stay at.far.away come-there
 And then they stayed there (far away).
- (98) *A-un si-te? In-un si na-mek.*
 2SF-go to-where 1SG-go to come-there
 Where are you going? I am going there (far away).
- (99) *A-jap ku fa-war ka-ni.*
 3SM-sit at banana-tip that-FOC
 He sits on the tip of that banana(leaf).

In example (97) final *-ek* in *pu na-m* is probably lost. More such examples are found (e.g. *ma-ta-m(ek)* 'there'). The demonstrative *mek* is also used in combination with spatial nouns (e.g. *ne(k)-mek* 'down-there').

The conjunction *aka* '(and.)then' probably consists of *a-ka* '3SM-that' (a form **a-ki* was not observed):

- (100) *Nari a-na aka a-ret wor.*
 in.a.while 3SM-come then 3SM-eat 1DU
 He will come and eat us.

Another form for 'here' is *na-k(i)* 'to-here', where the final high front vowel *-i* is mostly lost, shown in the following example:

- (101) *An-dak bain ma-n-te? Na-k(i).*
 2SG-make garden at-3SF-where to-here
 Where are you making a garden? Right here.

There also exists a form for 'here' whose internal structure is not clear yet: *mbano* (sometimes *mbana*), used for something visible quite near the speaker and listener:

- (102) *Tep ma-n-te? Mbano.*
 plate at-3SF-where right.here
 Where is the plate? Right here (in front of you).
- (103) *An ma-n-te? I(n)-mbano.*
 2SG at-3SF-where 1SG-right.here
 Where are you (I can hear you but I don't see you)? I am right here.

8 Questions

Questions are marked morphologically. Though questions are not expressed by means of intonation alone, question-marking clitic *-e* is realised with a salient, large rising or falling pitch movement.

8.1 Question marker *-e*

Question marker *-e* is an utterance-final clitic occurring in yes/no questions. For example:

- (104) *An-bwana an-kon-e?*
 2SG-want 2SG-sleep-Q
 Do you want to sleep?
- (105) *N-jap ku ma-n-ka-e?*
 3SF-live at REL-F-that-Q
 Does she live there?
- (106) *In-korem ten-e?*
 1SG-enter just-Q
 May I come in?
- (107) *A-un si bain jan-e?*
 3SM-go to garden not-Q
 Doesn't he go to the garden?

8.2 Question words

Content questions occur with specific question words some of which have the question marker *-e*. Question words usually occur in the same syntactic position as the element they are questioning would occur in. There is no utterance-final question marker *-e* in content questions. Question words are given in (108) together with their assumed morphological make-up:

(108)	<i>baban, ban(o)</i>	what, which	<i>bar-ban</i>	thing-what
	<i>kutuba</i>	why	<i>kutut-ba(n?)</i>	for-what
	<i>ma, man</i>	who	<i>ma-n</i>	who-3SF
	<i>unte</i>	how much/far/long	<i>un-te</i>	go-where
	<i>mande/mante</i>	where	<i>ma-n-de/n-te</i>	REL-3SF-where
	<i>tote</i>	when	<i>to-te</i>	still-where
	<i>arote</i>	how	<i>aro-te</i>	like-where

Note that the difference between *nde* and *nte* is dialectal, the former being common in Amberbaken, the latter in Kebar. Question word *baban* is often pronounced as [baβan] or [bawan]. Gender is expressed in the question word 'who': *ma* for masculine, *man* for feminine (see examples (112) and (113)).

The question words listed in (108) are illustrated in some examples:

- (109) *An-kiti ir-o-bar na baban?*
 2SG-cut rope-V-thing for what
 What do you cut the rope for?
- (110) *Baban ma jap ku fa?*
 what REL sit on banana.tree
 What is sitting on the banana tree?
- (111) *Kutu(t)-ba(n?) nton det bar-(d)et jan?*
 for-what child eat thing-eat not
 Why doesn't the child eat?
- (112) *An-muk ma?*
 2SG-name who
 What is your name?
- (113) *Maria-n n-yen ma-n?*
 Maria-3SF 3SF-mother who-3SF
 Who is Maria's mother?
- (114) *Ba(r)-in un-te?*
 thing-grow go-where
 How far is the garden?
- (115) *Waras un-te?*
 hour (NF, see §11.3) go-where
 What is the time?

- (116) *An-tar bain ma-n-te/ma-nde?*
 2SG-possess garden REL-3SF-where
 Where is your garden?
- (117) *An-bwana an-tik-war to-te?*
 2SG-want 2SG-bathe-river still-where
 When do you want to bathe in the river?
- (118) *A-y-aw aro-te? N-dat-bur a-pem pa.*
 3SM-Y-flee like-where 3SF-genitals-body.hair 3SM-around already
 How can he escape? Her pubic hair is completely wound around him.

The question word *aro-te* 'how' is also used in daily conversation to ask how things are going, next to the common questions *an-un si-te?* 'where are you going?' and *am-bari-te?* 'where do you come from?'.

9 Prepositions

Prepositions in Mpur have no subject prefixation. For the purpose of this exposition, prepositions are subdivided into three types: (1) referring to space, (2) referring to space with an aspectual meaning, and (3) non-spatial prepositions. Such a subdivision may not be tenable, since the preposition *na* 'for, to', mainly used with verbs like 'say' and 'give', also occurs with demonstratives. Some prepositions also occur as verbs (see below). The discussion of locative prepositions *be* and *fe* is delayed till §10.

The prepositions presented below in alphabetical order will be commented upon in this section:

- (119) *bari* from
be LOC (see §10)
fe LOC (see §10)
fraru between (lit. 'middle')
ka with (instrument)
ke to (in the process of going to)
koso along
ku to, at, in (completed action)
ma to, at, in (habitual, permanent or actual presence)
mim till
na for, to
pu to, at, in (far away)
si to (future action)
tut with (comitative)

Examples of the three types are, respectively:

- (120) *In-un koso war.*
 1SG-go along river
 I walk along the river.

- (121) *N-un ku Akmur.*
 3SF-go to Akmuri
 She has been to Akmuri.
- (122) *Am-bot jetenon na in.*
 2SG-give knife to 1SG
 You give the knife to me.

Spatial prepositions are *ke* 'to', *ku* 'to, at, in', *ma* 'to, at, in', *pu* 'to, at, in', *si* 'to', *koso* 'along (a combination of *ku* and *si*?)' and, in fixed combinations with words expressing spatial orientation, *be* and *fe*. The latter two will be discussed in §10. Prepositions *ku* and *pu* can take the prefix *ba-*: *ba-ku*, *ba-pu*. As mentioned in §7, I have no explanation for *ba-*.

The meaning of preposition *pu* 'to, at, in' is said to have the meaning 'to/at far away', illustrated in the following examples:

- (123) *M-bi-jadi nton sok are n-jap pu jan-i-kem.*
 3SF-VBL-give.birth child new so 3SF-stay at.far.away house-CL-fall
 She'll give birth to a new child, so she stays at a far away birth-house.
- (124) *De-un pu si a-jam-a.*
 3PL-go to.far.away to 3SM-brother.in.law-3SM
 They go far away to his brother-in-law.
- (125) *Tep fiti n-dir pu beruk n-jun.*
 plate other 1SG-put on.far.away rack.over.fireplace 3SF-top
 The other plate I'll put high up on top of the rack over the fireplace.

With verbs of motion, the prepositions *ke*, *ku*, *ma*, *si* 'to' acquire an aspectual meaning: *ke* 'in the process of going to', *ku* 'completed action' (having arrived and come back), *ma* 'habitual, permanent presence', and *si* 'future action'. The four prepositions for 'to' are presented in the following examples:

- (126) *A-un ke Bwatem.*
 3SM-go to Saukorem
 He is on his way to Saukorem.
- (127) *A-un ku niraw.*
 3SM-go to forest
 He has been to the forest (and is back now).
- (128) *A-un ma Manokwar.*
 3SM-go to Manokwari
 He has gone to Manokwari (e.g. he has moved there and lives there now).
- (129) *A-mim jan ba-pu Asit.*
 3SM-arrive house ?-at.far.away Asiti
 He arrives at his house far away in Asiti.
- (130) *A-un si war.*
 3SM-go to river
 He will go to the river (he has not yet gone or he has not yet arrived there).

In combination with verbs that do not express motion, for example *jap* 'to sit, live', *dakbar* 'to work', the preposition *ma* indicates a more permanent physical presence, while *ku* conveys a more temporary meaning.

- (131) *N-jap ku Anja.* vs *N-jap ma Anja.*
 3SF-live in Anjai 3SF-live in Anjai
 She lives in Anjai. She has her living in Anjai.

The aspectual meaning of the prepositions *ku* and *ma* is also reflected when used in combination with question marker *-te* 'where' (see also §8):

- (132) *An-jap ku-te? In-jap ku war.*
 2SG-stay to-where 1SG-stay at river
 Where have you been? I have been to the river.
- (133) *N-jap ma-n-te? N-jap ma war.*
 3SF-stay where-3SF-where 3SF-stay at river
 Where is she? She is at the river.

The prepositions *bari* 'from', *ku* 'to, at, in' and *mim* 'till' are used for both spatial and temporal relations. Examples of both uses are as follows:

- (134) *In-un bari Bwatem si Anja.*
 1SG-go from Saukorem to Anjai.
 I walk from Saukorem to Anjai.
- (135) *A-un bari krimbor.*
 3SM-go since morning
 He walks since the morning.
- (136) *Bari nan ten.*
 from 2SG just
 It's up to you (as you like it).
- (137) *Ku tot e-meni fobik kwap.*
 at night 1PL-hear lizard voice
 At night we hear lizards.
- (138) *Do-rokwa bik mim jan.*
 3DU-take bamboo till house
 They took the bamboo as far as the house.

Non-spatial prepositions are, for instance, *tut* 'with (comitative)', *ka* 'with (instrument)', *na* 'to (recipient)' as shown in the following examples:

- (139) *A-un tut per.*
 3SM-go with dog
 He goes with his dogs (he goes hunting).
- (140) *A in-mam ka in-wom.*
 ah 1SG-cut that 1SG-hand
 Well, I will cut down (the garden) with my hand.

- (141) *Do-ton nton dur ka yaw nan.*
 3DU-cut child navel with HES k.o.bamboo
 They cut the child's navel with, eh, poisonous bamboo.
- (142) *An-det ka asyok.*
 2SG-eat with spoon
 You eat with a spoon.
- (143) *Im-bwar na nan.*
 1SG-say to 2SG
 I say to you.

Prepositions *bari* 'from' and *mim* 'till' occur also as verbs 'come.from' and 'arrive', respectively:

- (144) *Amanda-n m-bari bain.*
 Amanda-3SF 3SF-come.from garden
 Amanda comes back from the garden.
- (145) *N-aw m-mim m-binon der pa.*
 3SF-run 3SF-arrive 3SF-brother 3PL already
 She ran till she had arrived at her brothers'.

The preposition 'between' can be expressed as follows:

- (146) *Wor o-jap be mamir fiti a-jap ku ka-wow.*
 1DU 1DU-sit but person other 3SM-sit at that-body
 Somebody sits between us.
- (147) *ni war-(d)okir fraru braw ni war-(d)okir*
 tree CLF-two middle between tree CLF-two
 between two trees

Note that *b(e)raw* also means 'with', 'and':

- (148) *Fawar a-kon beraw der-o.*
 finally 3SM-sleep with 3PL-CL
 Finally he sleeps with them.
- (149) *nton braw per*
 child and dog
 the child and the dog

10 Spatial orientation

In addition to the rather general locative prepositions, discussed in §9, Mpur employs a number of spatial relator nouns to specify the spatial orientation of an object. Some of these are clearly nouns in their own right, such as *bwan* 'hole', others transparently refer to body parts, such as *dir* 'rib', again others can be classified as nouns, because they occur as object of the preposition *be*. This preposition has not been discussed in §7, since it is rather restricted to locative phrases with or without spatial nouns. Some spatial nouns are included in this category on the basis of analogy to the items mentioned. That is, if a noun referring to an object which serves as spatial anchoring point is present, the spatial nouns either follow

that noun directly, as in (150), or with an additional instance of the preposition *be*, as in (151).

- (150) *N-un be dok upem.*
 3SF-go LOC bridge under
 She walks under the bridge.
- (151) *Wot be sor be-am.*
 sea LOC mountain LOC-side
 The sea is behind the mountains.

Items which follow a head noun of a locative phrase immediately, in other words, those which enter constructions, as in (150), are *bwan* 'hole' and *fraru* 'middle', as in the following examples:

- (152) *A-jap ku jan bwan.*
 3SM-sit in house hole
 He sits inside the house.
- (153) *N-kem ku war fraru.*
 3SF-fall in river middle
 She falls in the middle of the river.

In the case of body part terms *dir* 'rib' and *dumom* 'front', the spatial anchoring point can be a human, in which case the appropriate person prefix is attached, as in:

- (154) *Tep kon be an-dir.*
 plate lie LOC 2SG-side
 The plate lies beside you.
- (155) *In-i domi Mince-n n-dumom.*
 1SG-stand before Mince-3SF 3SF-front.of.body
 I stand before Mince.

Note that in example (155) *n-dumom* '3SF-front.of.body' may be omitted.

When no anchoring noun is available, the locative phrase consists of just the preposition *be* plus the spatial noun, consider:

- (156) *An-ter bar-(d)et be-u.*
 2SG-put eat-thing LOC-inside
 Put the food inside.
- (157) *Maria-n n-jut tu be-ye.*
 Maria-3SF 3SF-rasp coconut LOC-outside
 Maria rasps coconut outside.

There are a number of spatial nouns which can only follow the anchoring noun when they themselves are marked with the preposition *be*. The whole locative phrase may be governed by either *be* or by the locative prepositions *ku* 'to/at', *ma* 'in, at' and *pu* 'to/at.far.away' and *si* 'to'. Note that at the moment of speaking in such constructions instead of locative *be*, the locative preposition *ku* 'to/at' expresses absence, *ma* presence. For example, in (158) and (159), instead of *be*, *ma* would have the aspectual meaning 'still present', and *ku* 'not present anymore' (see also §9).

Spatial nouns are shown in the following examples:

- (158) *Dwaw kon be jan be-nek.*
 pig sleep LOC house LOC-earth
 The pig sleeps under the house.
- (159) *Ba-ban ut be tep be-u?*
 thing-what stay LOC plate LOC-inside
 What is inside the plate?
- (160) *A-jap be war dir be-am.*
 3SM-live LOC river side LOC-side
 He lives at the other side of the river.
- (161) *De-kum-a de-rir baku beruk ku yet-am be-jun.*
 3PL-smoke-3SM 3PL-put on rack at fire-eye LOC-top
 They smoked him and put him on the rack over the fireplace.
- (162) *Tep fiti n-dir pu beruk n-jun.*
 plate other 1SG-put on.far.away rack.over.fireplace 3SF-top
 The other plate I'll put high up on top of the rack over the fireplace.
- (163) *N-fo si jan si-jun den-e.*
 1SG-go.up to house to-top just-CL
 I'll just go up to the house.

Note that in examples (160) and (161) *am* 'side' and *am* 'eye' have mid and high tone, respectively.

Besides (161) and (163) it is also possible to inflect *jun* 'top' with '3SF' in case an anchoring noun is present, as in (162) and (164), or with '3SM' when this is not the case (165).

- (164) *N-a a-se bari beruk a-ta n-jun-i.*
 1SG-father 3SM-fall.to from rack 3SM-ANA 3SF-top-CL
 My father has fallen down from above the rack.
- (165) *An-tra fe a-jun.*
 2SG-look to 3SM-top
 You look upwards.

A similar contrast as between (164) and (165) seems to apply to postnominal *be-nek* in (166) and the adverbial *a-nek* in (167):

- (166) *A-jap be jan be-nek.*
 3SM-sit LOC house LOC-earth
 He sits under the house.
- (167) *Am-bru a-nek na e-un.*
 2SG-descend 3SM-earth to 1PL-go
 Please come down so that we can go.

The prepositional phrase 'from ... to ...' uses directional preposition *fe*, used with spatial nouns prefixed with *a-* '3SM': *fe a-y-am* 'to 3SM-Y-side' 'sideways', *fe a-wot* 'to 3SM-sea' 'seawards', *fe a-jun* 'to 3SM-top' 'upwards'. The combination is as follows:

- (168) *A-kem bari beruk n-jun fe a-nek.*
 3SM-fall from rack 3SF-top to 3SM-earth
 He fell down from the top of the rack.

11 Adverbs

On the basis of meaning and function, adverbs can be subdivided into types of location, time, aspect, mode and negation. Adverbs do not take prefixes or suffixes and occur in clause-initial and/or in clause-final position. Adjectives such as *mambom* 'lazy', *frenkak* 'wrongly', *mafun* 'beautifully' etc., can be used adverbially, as can NPs, like *put manki* 'day this' for 'today'. Examples are:

- (169) *A-mambom a-tum dwaw.*
 3SM-lazy 3SM-shoot pig
 He shoots badly at the pig (that is, he misses).
- (170) *A-frur bar frenkak.*
 3SM-do thing wrong
 He does things (cooking, writing etc.) wrongly.

11.1 Adverbs of location

Adverbs of location follow the predicate with(out) object and indicate where the action expressed by the verb takes place. For instance:

- (171) *A-jap bwaner.*
 3SM-live far
 He lives far away.

The adverb *fanam* also occurs as verb and takes subject prefixation:

- (172) *Do-un do-fanam mer-i do-bwanjar per.*
 3DU-walk 3DU-close uncleared.garden-CL 3DU-call dog
 They walk till they are close to the garden and call the dogs.

11.2 Adverbs of time

Generally speaking, adverbs referring to time occur in clause-initial position:

- (173) *Sobon-i n-jap ku Manokwar.*
 before-CL 3SF-live in Manokwari
 Before she lived in Manokwari.
- (174) *Bitu nen-suma biskwan braw mwan.*
 in.a.while 2PL-receive sago.porridge with fish
 In a while you'll get sagoporridge with fish.
- (175) *Tokiri men musim fiti n-ut.*
 day.before.yesterday 3SF woman certain 3SF-dead
 The day before yesterday a woman has died.

Note that 'today' and different parts of the day are expressed by combinations of those parts with the demonstrative *manki* 'this', such as *put manki* 'day this' for 'today', or *tot manki* 'evening this' for 'tonight', etc. Reduplications (of word combinations) like, for instance, *put tu put tu* 'day one day one' for 'always' or *kiti kiti* 'sometimes' are also used. However, with a few exceptions, hardly any reduplication is found in Mpur. Parts of the day of yesterday, tomorrow etc. follow the temporal adverb:

- (176) *Dosir tot in-bwana m-bwar na nan.*
 tomorrow evening 1SG-want 1SG-talk to 2SG
 Tomorrow evening I want to talk to you.

Some other temporal and morphologically complex adverbs are:

- (177) *nunki* later today
nuni earlier today
dosir tomorrow
nur day after tomorrow
nton yesterday
tokiri day before yesterday
torwari a few days ago
torenur three days ago
torbwati four days ago
femuki now, nowadays
kiti kiti sometimes
tekeki a while ago
bitu in a while
toren recently, just
suba a long time
firoko daybreak

To the adverbs of time also belong some adverbial phrases, as in:

- (178) *A-rin fanam ka firoko.*
 3SM-dance close at.the.time.of daybreak
 He dances till daybreak.
- (179) *Bat-ip enon jan-i bwansan bi-tutup sor.*
 beat-wind? little not-CL cloud VBL-close mountain
 Not much later clouds cover the mountains.

There are no indigenous words for 'week', 'month' or 'year'. Mpur speakers use Indonesian words, but for 'year' the compound *bra-n-ka-wa* is sometimes used, from classifier *bra* for long things, demonstrative pronoun *n-ka* '3SF-that' and aspect adverb *pa* 'already'. For 'month' the form *man* is used from the Dutch loan *maand*.

11.3 Adverbs of aspect

A number of adverbs specify aspectual meanings of the clause and usually follow the predicate and object (if present). Some examples are:

- (180) *Derek-a a-tum dwamir pa.*
 Derek 3SM-shoot wild.boar already
 Derek has shot a wild boar.
- (181) *Kaparek na to.*
 aeroplane come still
 The plane is yet to come.
- (182) *Ma Kebar ip donin.*
 in Kebar wind always
 In Kebar there is always wind.
- (183) *A-na kwaraw.*
 3SM-come immediately
 He must come immediately.
- (184) *In-na kait.*
 1SG-come too.late
 I am late.
- (185) *A-jik iw fer.*
 3SM-kill bird again
 He killed a bird again.
- (186) *Ba(r)-ban fer?*
 thing-what again
 Anything more?
- (187) *An-tik-wot pasinem na ban?*
 2SG-bath-sea all.the.time for what
 Why are you bathing (in the sea) all the time?

Note that the complex question *na ban* 'why?' may occur in clause-final position after the adverb of time.

The adverb *pa* 'already' preceded by *isi* 'enough, finished, ready', and usually followed by *be* 'but', marks an action that has been completed insufficiently or unsatisfactorily. For example:

- (188) *In-det bar-(d)et isi pa be in-diwor jan-to.*
 1SG-eat thing-eat enough already but 1SG-full not-yet
 I have eaten but I am still not full.

Other adverbs of aspect are:

- (189) *donin* always
janpa not anymore
janto not yet
fawar finally
mau continually
maw finished
menit completely, sufficiently
sukem usually, always

A sufficiently completed action is expressed by the adverbial phrase *menit pa* 'enough already' or *maw pa* 'finished already'.

11.4 Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner can refer to how the event expressed by the verb actually takes place. Such modifying aspectual adverbs also occur in clause-final position. For instance:

- (190) *An-korem ten.*
2SG-enter just
Come on in.
- (191) *O-fuk mpan bapak na nan ten.*
1DU-sew sleeping.mat big for 2SG just
We are just sewing a sleeping mat for you.
- (192) *A-kon borya.*
3SM-sleep intensely
He is fast asleep.
- (193) *Tot ma-n-ki in-kon wasren.*
evening REL-3SF-this 1SG-sleep quickly
Tonight I'll go to sleep early.

11.5 Adverbs of mode

Adverbs of mode tend to occur clause-finally, at least post-predicate, following the object if that is expressed. Adverbs of mode refer to the (im)possibility, necessity etc. of the event expressed by the verb. Such adverbs are *sik/tasik* 'impossible, useless', *fari* 'possible/able.to', as in:

- (194) *Bwan-o bwan-o bwan-o sik.*
call-CL call-CL call-CL useless
All the calling didn't help.
- (195) *Yen ba-ta-mek n-ketet sik.*
needle ?-that-there 3SF-release impossible
She could not loose that needle.
- (196) *Do-bwana do-bep nton-i ta-sik do-y-a*
3DU-want 3DU-carry child-CL ANA-not.possible 3DU-Y-father
a-wamom.
3SM-want-not
They wanted to carry the child but no way, their father didn't want them to.
- (197) *Bar aw fari jan to de n-da-i.*
thing run able not yet till 3SF-ANA-CL
Something ran and cannot have passed here yet.

11.6 Intensifying adverbs

Intensifying adverbs can modify a clause or occur as modifiers in a noun phrase. For example:

- (198) *Men-dot nap-a-i a-kon tot fon jan.*
 3SF-younger copulate-3SM-CL 3SM-sleep night much not
 The younger sister copulates with him continuously, he doesn't sleep much at night.

- (199) *A-put a-put-e kwaik kaku.*
 3SM-fill 3SM-fill-CL strong very(NF)
 He kept on filling (the hole) till it was tight enough.

Other intensifying adverbs are:

- (200) *famber* very, too
fon famber very much
tati very
ten only

11.7 Adverb of negation

The adverb of negation *jan* always occurs clause-finally. For example:

- (201) *De-unot Seppi-a a-jap ku Bwatem jan.*
 3PL-know Seppi-3SM 3SM-live in Saukorem not
 They don't know whether Seppy lives in Saukorem./They know that Seppy does not live in Saukorem.

This utterance can be disambiguated by positioning the negative element directly following the predicate of the main clause:

- (202) *De-unot jan Seppi-a a-jap ku Bwatem.*
 3PL-know not Seppy 3SM-live in Saukorem
 They don't know whether Seppy lives in Saukorem.

Other examples are (203) and (204), in which two clauses are coordinated by contrastive *be* 'but'. The negative adverb has to be in final position of the clause under its scope.

- (203) *In-ton bajarek jan be bijam.*
 1SG-cut bamboo not but ironwood
 I don't cut bamboo but ironwood.

- (204) *In-ton bajarek be bijam jan.*
 1SG-cut bamboo but ironwood not
 I cut bamboo but not ironwood.

11.8 To be or be not: the presentative *mu*

The presence or existence of something is expressed by the presentative *mu* with verbs like *ut* 'to stay', *i* 'to stand', *jap* 'to sit' or *kon* 'to lie, sleep'. The word class it belongs to is not

clear to me, so for the time being the presentative is discussed in this final section on adverbs. The most frequent use is in combination with the verb *ut* 'to stay' forming the compound construction *umu* and with the demonstratives *ka* 'that.there' and *ki* 'that.here'. *Mu* is always preceded by a verb. Though its use is not yet clear to me, the presentative is shown in a few examples:

- (205) *Fentor-a a-i mu-ki pa.*
 Fentor-3SM 3SM-stand present-here already
 Fentori is here already.
- (206) *Nek tapok ut ma Jam-bwan-a a-muk u(t)-mu.*
 earth high stay at clock-call-3SM 3SM-tail stay-present
 A hill at the foot of the Jambuani mountain still exists.
- (207) *Derek-a a-jap mu-ka.*
 Derek-3SM 3SM-stay present-there
 There is Derek.
- (208) *Mwan ut ma war mu-ki-e?*
 fish stay in river present-this-Q
 Is here any fish in the river?
- (209) *Watini kon mu-ka-e?*
 cassava lie present-that-Q
 Are there cassava?
- (210) *Amanda-n m-wamar-e? In-unot jan Amanda-n m-wamar(o)-mu.*
 Amanda-3SF 3SF-tired-Q 1SG-know not Amanda-3SF 3SF-tired-present
 Is Amanda tired? I don't know whether she is tired.

In examples (208) and (209) in the form *mu-ka-e* and *mu-ki-e*, *ka* and *ki* may be omitted: *mu-e* 'present-Q'. The negation of *mu* is *ku jan* 'at not' or *(n)ka jan* '(3SF-)there not', as in:

- (211) *Be n-do n-kopaw bar doku be mamir ku jan-e.*
 but 1SG-self 1SG-chop thing in.vain but person at not-CL
 But I myself chopped things for nothing, there is nobody.
- (212) *Fentor-a n-ka jan.*
 Fentor-3SM 3SF-there not
 Fentori is not there.

12 Conjunctions

There are simple (*aka* 'and then', 'so') and complex (*na toka* 'in order to') conjunctions that link clauses. For example:

- (213) *An-un si bain-e aka an-det bar-(d)et!*
 2SG-go to garden-Q then 2SG-eat thing-eat
 Are you going to the garden, then you must eat (first)!

- (214) *Minya non-fuk mpan bapak na toka n-ser non.*
 tomorrow 2DU-make sleeping.mat big for so.that 1SG-touch 2D
 Tomorrow you'll make a big sleeping mat so that I can have sex with the two
 of you.

Other conjunctions are:

- (215) *aka* and then, so
are and so, therefore
be but
braw and, with
bwa if
ete or
kanik like
kutut about, because
mintaki like that, this being so, subsequently
na for, (in order) to
tetate therefore

Conjunctions such as *braw* 'and', *kanik* 'like', *na* 'for, to' can also conjoin NPs, like *Irinan braw Florian* 'Irina and Flora'. The conjunctions *aka* indicating a sequence, *are* indicating a cause-result relationship, and *mintaki* occur very frequently in storytelling. A few examples are:

- (216) *Do-si mer-i aka Babwafe-a a-bwana a-supur.*
 3DU-clear garden and.then Babwafe-3SM 3SM-want 3SM-make-love
 They cleared a new garden, and then Babwafe wanted to make love to them.
- (217) ... *Nwandar aka abwa a anoka anwandar jan.*
n-wandar a-bwar an-wot-ka an-wandar
 1SG-shame then 3SM-say oh 2SG-see-that 2SG-shame not
 ... I am ashamed! Then he said: Oh, don't be ashamed!
- (218) *Pa-pet are yek e-bi-rekam jan.*
 rain-fall so 1PL 1PL-VBL-record not
 It rains, so we won't make recordings.
- (219) *A-wantek are a-un si bain jan.*
 3SM-ill so 3SM-go to garden not
 He is ill, so he will not go to the garden.

The conjunction *mintaki* can occur either in initial or in final position of an utterance and is a general discourse-cohesive conjunction with the meaning 'having arrived at this point of the story, things were like that' and anticipating that things are yet to come. The form is illustrated in the following examples:

- (220) *Min-ta-ki pu-tu n-un na m-ba njep.*
 like-ANA-this day-one 3SF-go for 3SF-split firewood
 And so one day she went to cut firewood.

- (221) *A-bat a-ro ku ter min-ta-ki.*
 3SM-bang 3SM-self on floor like-ANA-this
 He banged himself on the floor, it was like this.

13 Quantifiers

13.1 Cardinal numbers

The numeral system is a base-five system. There are cardinals for one to five:

- 1 *tu*
- 2 *dokir*
- 3 *denur*
- 4 *bwat*
- 5 *me*

Cardinals six to nine are most likely combinations of *mam-bi* 'five-plus', with the numerals one to four; a possible explanation for the form *mam* is *ma-me* 'REL-five': *ma-m(e)-bi-tu* 'REL-five-plus-one'. These cardinals are as follows:

- 6 *mambitu*
- 7 *mambrokir*
- 8 *mambrenur*
- 9 *mambibwat*

In the term for cardinal ten at least the numeral *(do)kir* 'two' can be recognised:

- 10 *onkir*

The cardinals from eleven to ninety-nine follow this system regularly, using *asen* 'plus' for each higher number:

- 11 *onkir tu asen*
- 12 *onkir dokir asen*
- etc.
- 20 *onkir kir*
- 21 *onkir kir tu asen*
- etc.
- 30 *onkir denur*
- etc.

The numeral for hundred is of Numforese origin. Its combinations are as follows:

- 100 *untin tu*
- 101 *untin tu tu asen*
- etc.

There is no numeral for thousand, for which the Indonesian word *ribu* is used, also regularly following the numeral system:

- 1000 *ribu tu*
- 1001 *ribu tu tu asen*

13.2 Ordinal numbers

The ordinal numbers are compounds of *saso* 'time' and a cardinal number. For example:

<i>sasotu</i>	time one, once
<i>sasorokir</i>	time two, second
<i>sasorenur</i>	time three, third

An exception is the ordinal *saji* 'first, once, first time':

- (222) *Saji n-jap ku Anja.*
 once 1SG-live in Anjai
 Once I lived in Anjai.

Note that in example (222) *ku* is the only possible preposition with the aspectual meaning 'not anymore' (see §9).

13.3 Indefinite quantifiers

Indefinite quantifiers like *fon* 'many', *kerenon* 'few, little' *masek* 'all', *fari* 'more' behave like adjectives or adverbs (see §5 and §11.5). For example:

- (223) *Man maw in-suma kumpan fon.*
 month finished 1SG-receive money much
 At the end of the month I'll get a lot of money.
- (224) *In-wamar kerenon.*
 1SG-tired little
 I am a little tired.
- (225) *Benkan ma-n-ki bin fari ku benkan ma-n-ka.*
 papaya REL-3SF-this ripe more at papaya REL-3SF-that
 This papaya is riper than that papaya.

Note that the final syllables of *fari* 'able' (see §11.5) and *fari* 'more' have high and mid tone, respectively.

14 Classifiers

Mpur has a large number of classifiers that are obligatory in combination with numerals which they precede. Though I don't know their exact number, I found over twenty different classifiers. For example, *bik* for counting houses and *fi* for counting persons and animals:

- (226) *jan bik denur*
 house CLF three
 three houses
- (227) *nton firokir*
fi-dokir
 child CLF-two
 two children

Other examples of classifiers are:

- (228) *bo* long objects, such as sticks, poles
bwan large-sized area
bwat cutting tool
ja seed, stone, grain, small round object
sum for bananas (and other short-sized objects)
ur woven item

Examples are:

- (229) *mpan* *urkir*
ur-dokir
 sleeping.mat CLF.woven.item-two
 two sleeping mats
- (230) *kaprur ja onkir denur mambrenur asen*
 peanut CLF ten three eight plus
 thirty-eight peanuts

Measure nouns, such as *tap* 'bunch', seem to function much like classifiers, such as *sum* 'short-sized object', as compared in:

- (231) *fa tap mambrokir* vs *fa sum mambrokir*
 banana MEAS seven banana CLF seven
 seven hands of bananas seven (separate) bananas

Some classifiers can also be found as a noun, for instance *bik* 'bamboo', or as a member of a compound, for instance *ja* in:

- (232) *bi-ja-be*
 small.round.object-seed-fruit
 testicles

15 Relativisation and the form *ma*

The form *ma* is observed in various languages of the Bird's Head area. Reesink (1998:626ff.) discusses the different functions of *ma*. To supplement his article I present some other functions which *ma* has in Mpur, in addition to sections 7–10 where the form has also been discussed.

My informants indicated that preposition *ma* 'at, to' and *ma* as relative marker have different tones: high tone and mid tone, respectively. I analysed many examples of *ma* and found that in both functions the tone realised in context fluctuates considerably; pronounced in isolation I did not find any difference in tone: both were realised with mid tone. The form is so frequently used, that a discrete difference in tone would have been noticed.

For the time being, the different *ma*, which, in spite of native speakers' judgements, are considered homophonous, to be distinguished are:

- as relative marker, introducing relative clauses;
- as relative marker in Headless RC, resembling a nominalising particle;
- on attributive adjectives in RC;

- (d) as marking demonstratives;
- (e) in question words (examples (244)–(246));
- (f) as preposition (example (247)).

The different uses of *ma* indicated in (a) to (d) will be discussed in §15.1, (e) and (f) in §15.2.

15.1 Relative clauses

In example (233) *ma* introduces a restrictive relative clause, which is always in postnominal position (see §6.8):

- (233) *M-bot pek ma muk tak na kur.*
 3SF-give worm REL name k.o.wood to snake
 She gave the snake worms called *tak*.

In examples (234)–(236) *ma* is a relative marker in a Headless RC, resembling a nominalising particle:

- (234) *In ma m-bep nton.*
 1SG REL 1SG-carry.in.cloth child
 I am the one who carries the child.
- (235) *Kurito-n n-jap ku ma yep-i.*
 Kurito-3SF 3SF-sit on REL dry-CL
 Kuriton sits on the dry one.
- (236) *ma-ba(r)-kwar*
 REL-thing-sharp
 criminal

Single adjectives may occur in a RC construction introduced by *ma*, as shown in (237), as opposed to a direct modifying function, as illustrated in (238):

- (237) *Jan ma mafun im-frur jan.*
 house REL beautiful 1SG-make not
 The house which is beautiful I did not build.
- (238) *Im-frur jan mafun.*
 1SG-make house beautiful
 I built a beautiful house.

As marking demonstratives *ma* is illustrated in (239)–(241):

- (239) *Nton ma-n-ka a-muk Fentor-a.*
 child REL-3SF-this 3SM-name Fentor-3SM
 This child's name is Fentori.
- (240) *De-jap ku ma-n-ka ni Fentor-a-o a-jap beraw der.*
 3PL-live at REL-3SF-there FOC Fentor-3SM-CL 3SM-live with 3PL
 They live there and Fentori lives there too with them.

- (241) *Bawan ma an-ter ma kon ma kwap ka?*
 what REL 2SG-put REL lie in bag that
 What did you put in your bag?

The relative pronoun *ma* obligatorily precedes verbs that are used attributively:

- (242) *Nton ma kon wantek.*
 child REL sleep ill
 The sleeping child is ill.
- (243) *Dwaw ma aw ut jan-to.*
 pig REL run dead not-yet
 A running pig is not yet dead.

15.2 Other uses of the form *ma*

The form *ma* is also used in question words, as shown in (244)–(246):

- (244) *Maria-n n-yen ma-n?*
 Maria-3SF 3SF-mother who-3SF
 Who is Maria's mother?
- (245) *Ma ma non ka?*
 who REL child that
 Whose child is that?
- (246) *Anike-n n-jap ma-n-te?*
 Anike-3SF 3SF-live REL-3SF-where
 Where does Anike live?

The form *ma* is used as preposition (see also §9) in (247):

- (247) *Anike-n n-jap ma Anja.*
 Anike-3SF 3SF-live in Anja
 Anike lives in Anjai.

16 Clitics

Clitics are monosyllabic morphemes attached to lexical words of different classes, but usually not on prepositions. Clitics are meaningful elements and in Mpur frequently have a salient intonation and syllable lengthening. All clitics are enclitics which modify a word, a clause or a whole utterance. The interrogative clitic *-e* is discussed separately in §7. The same form is used with an apparently different function. The other clitics *-a*, *-i*, *-o* function in discourse as, for instance, vocatives, continuation, focus and temporal markers, as expression of (emotive) emphasis. It is hard to tell the different meanings of the clitics apart, and I did not study the issue thoroughly enough to explain the differences. Working on the translations of texts, Mpur informants were often unable to indicate what a given clitic means. Despite this some examples are presented below.

Clitic *-a* occurs as a vocative for persons: *nen-a!* 'Mum-VOC!'. It is used to call someone who is not far away (otherwise *-o* is used, see below):

- (248) *Amanda-n-a!*
 Amanda-3SF-VOC
 Amanda!

Another example of *-a* is illustrated in the following sentence:

- (249) *Men n-do n-aw bem nton-a nton-a are jap.*
 3SF 3SF-self 3SF-run from child-CL child-CL thus stay
 She herself ran away from the child and so the child stayed behind.

Note that clitic *-a* must not be confused with object marker *-a* '3SM':

- (250) *De-kum-a de-rir baku beruk ku yet-am be-jun.*
 3PL-smoke-3SM 3PL-put on rack at fire-eye on-top
 They smoked him and put him on the rack over the fireplace.

Clitic *-e*, mainly attached to verbs, indicates that the event went on for a long time, as in:

- (251) *Yet sop-e.*
 fire burn-CL
 The fire burned continually.
- (252) *A-bot kaman ja na a-non det-e maw.*
 3SM-give squash seed for 3SM-child eat-CL finished
 He gave the squash seeds to his child to eat them all up.
- (253) *M-bwar nton nan-o an-jap-e.*
 3SF-say child 2SG-CL 2SG-stay-CL
 She said: Child, you stay here.
- (254) *Aka a-jap-e na a-ret fa de-masek-i.*
 then 3SM-sit-CL for 3SM-eat banana 3PL-all-CL
 Then he sat (on the banana tree) to eat all the bananas.

Clitic *-i* occurs very frequently. In general it emphasises the word it is attached to, as shown in:

- (255) *N-a a-se bari beruk a-ta n-jun-i*
 1SG-father 3SM-fall from rack 3SM-ANA 3SF-above-CL
a-mim in n-daw.
 3SM-till 1SG 3SF-here
 My father has fallen down from the rack and reached me here.
- (256) *Be non fanam ka mer-i aka non-bwanjar per.*
 but 2DU close.by there garden-CL then 2DU-call dog
 But when you are close to the garden then you call the dogs.

Clitic *-i* occurs on all different word classes, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (257) *N-sapat ka men-dot-i m-bwa*
 3SF-force that 3SF-younger-CL 3SF-say
 She forces her younger sister saying:

nan ba-ta-n-da an-bake-a.
 2SG ?-ANA-3SF-ANA 2SG-along-3SM
 'You are the one to go with him (to make love)'.

- (258) *Aka per-i namena tow.*
 then dog-CL come.back bark
 And then the dog came back and barked.

- (259) *A-jow-i n-wandar m-bwa in-te n-wandar-i kutut*
 3SM-have.sex-CL 3SF-shame 3SF-say 1SG-till 1SG-shame-CL because
n-a-y-a nan-i e-jap fum bafujap tu are n-wandar.
 1SG-father-Y-3SM 2SG-CL 1PL-live together place one so 1SG-shame
 He has sex with her all the time. She is ashamed and says: 'As for me, I am so
 ashamed, because you are my very father and we live together at one place, so I
 am ashamed'.

- (260) *N-duwon-a-i maw-i.*
 3SF-pull-3SM-CL finished-CL
 She pulled it (the leaves) all out till nothing was left.

Clitic *-o* attached to the final word of an utterance or to a name as a vocative (see also example (248)) is used when speaker and listener are at some distance from one another and speaking becomes almost calling, as for example in:

- (261) *Nen wor mbano-y-o.*
 mama 1DU 1SG-here-Y-CL
 'Mum and I are here.'

Furthermore, clitic *-o* is used in enumerations of objects or events which can all take *-o*, the first *-o* anticipating that there is more to come, as in the following example:

- (262) *E-tiw menap-o mwan-o kerer-o kotow-o.*
 1PL-taboo catfish-CL fish-CL couscous-CL rat-CL
 Taboo for us is catfish and fish and couscous and rat.

Another use of clitic *-o* meaning 'also' is shown in:

- (263) *N-ton pa n-kete-o pa be nen-kat.*
 1SG-cut already 1SG-divide-CL already but 2PL-fill.bamboo
 I have cut (the pig) and I also divided it so now you fill the bamboo (with pork).
- (264) *Min-ta-ki nton kenep-o sik-i.*
 like-ANA-this child look.around-CL not.possible-CL
 And so the children also looked around (for their parents) but without result.
- (265) *Bwa e-ret aka e-bwam-bur jurur-o.*
 if 1PL-eat then 1PL-head-body.hair fall-CL
 If we (pregnant women) eat (cassowary) then our hair will fall out also.
- (266) *A-un kajup a-bwanjar per-o jan a-kwap-o jan.*
 3SM-go hidden 3SM-call dog-CL not 3SM-voice-CL not
 He goes hiding himself, he also does not call his dogs or use his voice.

Appendix

Kaman ja 'Squash seeds'

The story *Kaman ja* 'Squash seeds' performed by Markus Wabia (about 40 years old) was recorded on digital tape and on video in the village of Saukorem on the north-east coast of the Bird's Head, 16 March 1994.

Notational conventions are as follows. Underlined text is Saukorem dialect, bold text is Indonesian. Loans from Numforese are indicated with (NF), but not all entries have been checked against the Numforese vocabulary. Semivowel insertion between vowels is indicated with Y. First lines present the original text in italics, second lines the analysis in morphemes, third lines the free English translation. The speech rate changes in the course of the story. When in the original text syllables are swallowed and morphemes cannot be recognised anymore, an extra line is added in italics below the original text as if it were pronounced in careful speech. Vowels or 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 followed the actual pronunciation of /d/ as [d] or as [r]. Likewise I followed the pronunciation of word-initial /n/ before bilabials as [m] and of /b/ in the deictic elements (*a*)*bata* and *bani* where /b/ can be pronounced as [w]. Duration of pauses between utterances is indicated in seconds between square brackets on the first line. For the convenience of the author's administration, utterances are numbered according to the sound files as they were stored for analysis in the computer.

- (1) *Nton fi-ti n-nap dor-i.* [3.3]
 woman CLF-other 3SF-husband 3DU-CL
 (Once upon a time) there was a woman and her husband.
- (2) *Do-jap ba-ku jan ba-ku sor mbwan.* [4.6]
 3DU-live ?-in house ?-in mountain hinterland
 They lived in a house deep in the mountains.
- (3) *Do-jap min-ta-(a)re n-nap a-ut.* [3.0]
 3DU-live like-ANA-so 3SF-husband 3SM-dead
 And so they lived till her husband died.
- (4) *N-nap a-ut n-ta-ki.* [0.6]
 3SF-husband 3SM-dead 3SF-ANA-this
 Her husband died. Like this.
- (5) *N-tar baum de-na na de-y-ar-o* [1.5]
 3SF-possess relatives 3PL-come for 3PL-Y-cry-CL
 Her relatives came to cry and
- (6) *de-snep-o.* [1.2]
 3PL-feast.for.dead-CL
 to join the party for the dead.
- (7) *De-top bit-o* [0.6]
 3PL-fence.off stone-CL
 They fenced off the grave with stones

- (8) *ma biasa ba-ku sor mbwam-i.* [1.4]
that usually ?-in mountain hinterland-CL
that can usually be found deep in the mountains.
- (9) *Ah.* [2.0]
Eh.
- (10) *Mamir ma ut a-ta biasa de-kum.* [2.0]
person REL dead 3SM-ANA usually 3PL-smoke
The people who are dead they usually smoked.
- (11) *De-kum-e maw* [0.0]
3PL-smoke-CL finished
They smoked them completely and
- (12) *e-rir ba-ku beruk,* [1.6]
3PL-put ?-on rack.over.fireplace
put them on the rack over the fireplace,
- (13) *beruk ku yet-am be-jun min-taw.* [4.0]
rack.over.fireplace at fire-eye LOC-top like-ANA
on top of the rack right over the fireplace, like that.
- (14) *Jadi mamir a-ta a-jap ba-ku yet-am be-jun,*
so person 3SM-ANA 3SM-stay ?-at fire-eye LOC-top
So that man stayed above the fire,
a-kon ba-ku yet-am be-jun a-ta-ka, [0.0]
3SM-sleep ?-at fire-eye LOC-top 3SM-ANA-there
he was lying there right above the fire,
- (15) *a-ja(p)-yep pu-pa.* [1.0]
3SM-sit-dry far.away-already
he was dried up long since.
- (16) *Men nton ba-ta n-nap-a,* [2.1]
3SF child ?-ANA 3SF-husband-3SM
She, that woman's husband,
- (17) *n-nap a-ta-ka a-wandek.* [0.0]
3SF-husband 3SM-ANA-there 3SM-ill
her husband was ill.
- (18) *De-kum-a de-rir ba-ku beruk ku yet-am be-jun.* [3.0]
3PL-smoke-3SM 3PL-put ?-on rack at fire-eye LOC-top
They smoked him and put him on the rack over the fireplace.
- (19) *Dera deyana deyar ataka*
der-ma de-na-na de-y-ar a-ta-ka
3PL-who 3PL-come-for 3PL-Y-cry 3SM-ANA-there
Those who had come to cry

- deyaw mawema.* [1.5]
de-y-aw maw-bem-a
 3PL-Y-return finished-from-3SM
 had all gone home.
- (20) *O misim ba-ni,* [0.0]
 oh woman ?-FOC
 Oh, that woman,
- (21) *m-beraw minton non narono,* [2.5]
 3SF-with child small very.small
 she with her very small child,
- (22) *demtaw,* [1.0]
 like.that
 like that,
- (23) *nton-e n-non a-ta bak-e,* [5.3]
 child-CL 3SF-child 3SM-that new-CL
 that newborn little girl of hers,
- (24) *Ba-ni do-ro do-jap ku jan a-ta-ka.* [1.5]
 ?-FOC 3DU-alone 3DU-stay in house 3SM-ANA-there
 those two stayed alone in that house.
- (25) *N-kuri yet ka n-nap-a ma de-kum-a*
 3SF-light fire that 3SF-husband-3SM who 3PL-smoke-3SM
 She made fire for her husband whom they had smoked
ku beruk be-jun a-ta-ka. [2.1]
 on rack LOC-top 3SM-ANA-there
 on the rack over the fireplace.
- (26) *N-kuri yet ka terus* [0.8]
 3SF-light fire that all.the.time
 She made fire all the time
- (27) *n-nap-a a-ta a-ja(p)-yep,* [1.7]
 3SF-husband-3SM 3SM-ANA 3SM-sit-dry
 so that her husband dried up,
- (28) *ainkranik.* [3.0]
a-inkran-?
 3SM-dry.flesh-really
 he was really dry.
- (29) *Min-ta-ki put-i* [3.1]
 like-ANA-this day-CL
 And so, one day
- (30) *n-un na m-ba njep.* [3.5]
 3SF-go for 3SF-split firewood
 she went to cut firewood.

- (31) *M-bwar: 'Nton nan-o an-jap-e.* [5.9]
 3SF-say child 2SG-CL 2SG-stay-CL
 She said: 'Child, you stay here.
- (32) *Nton nan an-jap,* [2.2]
 child 2SG 2SG-stay
 Child, you stay,
- (33) *be n-un m-ba njep na wor'.* [0.9]
 but 1SG-go 1SG-split firewood for 1DU
 but I go to cut firewood for us two'.
- (34) *O minton ba-ni umbrut-on min-taw* [1.0]
 oh child ?-FOC baby-very.small like-ANA
 Oh, that child was still a baby, so
- (35) *jap.* [0.7]
 stay
 it stayed behind.
- (36) *E nen ba-ni n-tek arwar ne(k)-mek.* [1.0]
 eh mother ?-FOC 3SF-go.down stairs down-there
 Eh, mother went down the stairs.
- (37) *N-un na n-si njep,* [2.1]
 3SF-go for 3SF-cut firewood
 She went to cut firewood,
- (38) *n-si njep maw-i.* [3.0]
 3SF-cut firewood finished-CL
 she cut firewood till it was enough.
- (39) *Mamir ma n-nap-a ma* [0.0]
 person REL 3SF-husband-3SM REL
 The man whom, her husband whom
- (40) *n-nap-a de-kum a-ta-ka* [0.0]
 3SF-husband-3SM 3PL-smoke 3SM-ANA-there
 her husband whom they had smoked
- (41) *a-tek bari beruk-a n-jun na* [1.1]
 3SM-go.down from rack-CL 3SF-top for
 he came down from the rack above to
- (42) *a-na na a-mim minton ni,* [4.0]
 3SM-come for 3SM-arrive child FOC
 reach the child,
- (43) *a-mim minton ba-ni* [0.8]
 3SM-arrive child ?-FOC
 he reached that child and

- (44) *a-tapret kaman ja.* [2.3]
3SM-roast squash seed
roasted the seeds of squash.
- (45) *Kaman ja a-ta-ka a-bot na a-tapret ku yet.* [1.7]
squash seed 3SM-ANA-there 3SM-take for 3SM-roast in fire
He took those squash seeds and roasted them in the fire.
- (46) *A-tapret ku yet a-ta-k(a),* [1.3]
3SM-roast in fire 3SM-ANA-there
He roasted them in that fire,
- (47) *a-ta-k(a) ku a-bwir a-ta-ki a-bot na minton ni* [1.3]
3SM-ANA-there in 3SM-tooth 3SM-ANA-here 3SM-give for child FOC
cracked them between his teeth and gave them to the child.
- (48) *A-bot na a-non ba-ta det.* [1.8]
3SM-give for 3SM-child ?-ANA eat
He gave them to his child to eat.
- (49) *A-bot kaman ja na a-non det-e maw.* [1.2]
3SM-give squash seed for 3SM-child eat-CL finished
He gave the squash seeds to his child to eat them all up.
- (50) *A-robun a-bwir a-ta-ki* [1.0]
3SM-pull.out 3SM-tooth 3SM-ANA-this
He pulled out his teeth
- (51) *na a-kaw a-ku a-non a-ta kamtar.* [1.7]
for 3SM-plant 3SM-in 3SM-child 3SM-ANA skull
in order to plant them into the jaw of his child.
- (52) *O minton wa-ni yen-i m-berek fer pa.* [1.8]
oh child ?-FOC mother-CL 3SF-return again already
Oh, the child's mother came already back again.
- (53) *N-dokwa njep-a sonon.* [1.1]
3SF-bring firewood-CL plenty
She brought plenty of firewood.
- (54) *M-berek fer m-fo arwar-a-i* [1.4]
3SF-return again 3SF-go.up stairs-CL-CL
She had come back again and went up the stairs
- (55) *n-dafrak njep-a ut.* [2.9]
3SF-throw firewood-CL stay
and threw down the firewood.
- (56) *Nton wa-ni bwar pan:* [0.9]
child ?-FOC say already
The left behind child already said:

- (57) *'Nen-a,* [2.4]
mother-VOC
'Mum,
- (58) *n-a a-se bari beruk a-ta n-jun-i* [2.6]
1SG-father 3SM-go.to from rack 3SM-ANA 3SF-top-CL
my father has fallen down from above the rack
- (59) *a-mim in n-daw,* [2.2]
3SM-arrive 1SG 3SF-here
and reached me here,
- (60) *a-tapret kaman ja na a-bot na n-det'.* [3.0]
3SM-roast squash seeds for 3SM-give for 1SG-eat
he roasted squash seeds that he gave me to eat'.
- (61) *Nton ba-ni yen yen m-bwar:* [0.6]
child ?-FOC mother mother 3SF-say
The child's mother said:
- (62) *'Ah,* [1.8]
'Ah,
- (63) *anbwarewari n-ka.* [2.8]
an-bwar-bar-i
2SG-say-thing-CL 3SF-that
you're talking (nonsense).
- (64) *An-a a-ta a-ut pa,* [1.3]
2SG-father 3SM-ANA 3SM-dead already
Your father is already dead,
- (65) *e-kum a-ja(p)-yep pa.* [0.0]
1PL-smoke 3SM-sit-dry already
we have smoked him and he is already dry.
- (66) *An-bwar-bar n-ka'.* [1.4]
2SG-say-thing 3SF-that
You're talking (nonsense)'.
- (67) *Nton bwar: 'Jan,* [1.7]
child say no
The child said: 'No,
- (68) *n-a a-kwen deke(k)-non na a-mim in,* [1.3]
1SG-father 3SM-fall a.while.ago-little for 3SM-arrive 1SG
a little while ago my father fell down in order to reach me,
- (69) *a-tapret kaman ja na a-bot na n-det'.* [5.4]
3SM-roast squash seed for 3SM-give for 1SG-eat
he roasted squash seeds for me to eat'.

- (70) *Nton yen n-faji n-faji.* [0.0]
 child mother 3SF-contradict 3SF-contradict
 The mother contradicted the child.
- (71) *Nton bwar:* [0.5]
 child say
 The child said:
- (72) *'Ma an-(w)ot jan-a ma an-(w)ot ma an-(w)ot*
 REL 2SG-see not-CL REL 2SG-see REL 2SG-see
 'That you don't you see, you don't see
n-a a-bwir-a jan-a'. [1.1]
 1SG-father 3SM-tooth-3SM not-CL
 my father's teeth'.
- (73) *Ba-ni m-fo a-jun-a n-sukwen a-ku n-(d)eken-a,* [1.3]
 ?-FOC 3SF-go.up 3SM-top-3SM 3SF-see 3SM-in 3SF-open-3SM
 She went up to him and looked inside, she opened him,
- (74) *nto-a ma de-kum-a wa ma a-ut ku beruk a-ta,*
 child-3SM who 3PL-smoke-3SM already who 3SM-dead on rack 3SM-ANA
 the man whom they had already smoked, who was dead on that rack,
n-(d)eken-a a-bwir min-ta-ki kaman ba-ta ja ... [0.7]
 3SF-open-3SM 3SM-tooth like-ANA-this squash ?-ANA seed
 she opened his jaw, like that, that squash seeds ...
- (75) *e ...* [1.7]
 eh ...
- (76) *Kak a-ku a-bwir.* [2.0]
 pulp 3SM-in 3SM-tooth
 There is pulp between his teeth.
- (77) *Ba-ni m-bwar: 'Seka,* [1.5]
 ?-FOC 3SF-say ow
 She said: 'Oh,
- (78) *are nto-a wa-ni a-kwem na a-bot* [0.0]
 so child-3SM ?-FOC 3SM-fall for 3SM-give
 so the man fell down to give
- (79) *kaman ja na a-non det pu-pa-i are o-bi-min-te?* [1.6]
 squash seed for 3SM-child eat far.away-already-CL so 1DU-VBL-like-Q
 squash seeds to his child to eat long since, so what are we to do?"
- (80) *M-forom ba(r) fon-o jan.* [2.0]
 3SF-think thing much-CL not
 She didn't think long.
- (81) *N-deka ren mar-(d)ukwa,* [0.0]
 3SF-hold just cloth-carry
 She just held the carry-cloth,

- (82) *mambruk-(d)ukwa*, [2.0]
bark.cloth-carry
the bark carry-cloth,
- (83) *n-deka nton ba-ni m-bep* [1.9]
3SF-hold child ?-FOC 3SF-carry.in.cloth
she held the child, carried it in the cloth
- (84) *m-bi-ankar pa:* [2.4]
3SF-VBL-lie(NF) already
and lied:
- (85) *'An-na na o-y-aw si-ye ra-e*, [1.0]
2SG-come for 1DU-Y-run to-outside first-CL
'Come on, we first go outside (to pee),
- (86) *nton an-na m-bep an na o-y-aw si-ye'*. [3.6]
child 2SG-come 1SG-carry.in.cloth 2SG for 1DU-Y-run to-outside
come child, I carry you outside (to pee)'.
- (87) *Do-tek ka ne(k)-mek arwar mek do-y-aw*, [2.8]
3DU-down that down-there stairs there 3DU-Y-run
They went down the stairs and ran,
- (88) *do-y-aw si m-binon der.* [4.4]
3DU-Y-run to 3SF-brother 3PL
they ran to her brothers.
- (89) *O bar-a n-jun a-jap.* [0.9]
oh thing-3SM 3SF-top 3SM-stay
Oh, he up there stayed behind.
- (90) *O bar na-mek musom pa-y-a*, [1.6]
oh thing come-there abandoned already-Y-CL
Oh, everything there was abandoned,
- (91) *jan-o musom.* [1.7]
house-CL abandoned
the house was also abandoned.
- (92) *De-kijaka ru-ru-ru-ru-ru a-bat a-ro a-ku*
3PL-hear ru-ru-ru-ru-ru 3SM-bang 3SM-self 3SM-on
ter-a pa. [2.7]
floor-CL already
They hear 'ru-ru-ru-ru-ru', he banged himself down onto the floor.
- (93) *A-bat a-ro ku ter min-ta-ki.* [0.9]
3SM-bang 3SM-self on floor like-ANA-this
He banged himself on the floor, like this.
- (94) *Ba-nek-mek arwar a-se.* [2.0]
?-down-there stairs 3SM-go.to
He went down the stairs.

- (95) *A-sit subwe a-sit subwe a-sit subwe a-sit subwe*
3SM-chase after 3SM-chase after 3SM-chase after 3SM-chase after
a-sit subwe a-bwan: [0.0]
3SM-chase after 3SM-call
He chased and chased and chased after them and called:
- (96) *'U...u...u...!'* [3.1]
'Uhuhu!' (3.75 seconds)
- (97) *Nton wa-ni bwar:* [0.0]
child ?-FOC say
The child said:
- (98) *'Nen wor mbano-y-o'.* [3.0]
mama 1DU here-Y-CL
'Mum and I are here'.
- (99) *Arufriw arufriw arufriw arufriw.* [2.0]
a-dofriw a-dofriw a-dofriw a-dofriw
3SM-flee 3SM-flee 3SM-flee 3SM-flee
He fled and fled and fled.
- (100) *Nton yen ba-ni m-bwar: 'An-bwar ma-n-jir wor jan wa!'* [1.7]
child mama ?-FOC 3SF-say 2SG-say REL-3SF-clear 1DU not EXC
The mother of the child said: 'Don't make clear where we are, eh!'
- (101) *An-ar sajar wor jan wa!* [0.0]
2SG-cry point.out 1DU not EXCL
Don't cry and show where we are, eh!
- (102) *Nari a-ret wor-a.* [2.4]
in.a.while 3SM-eat 1DU-CL
He will eat us.
- (103) *An-ar jan a-bwan-o an-ar jan'.* [1.0]
2SG-cry not 3SM-call-CL 2SG-cry not
Don't cry, if he calls don't cry'.
- (104) *Do-y-aw do-y-aw do-y-aw do-y-aw do-y-aw a-bwan fer:* [0.0]
3DU-Y-run 3DU-Y-run 3DU-Y-run 3DU-Y-run 3DU-Y-run 3SM-call again
They ran and ran and again he called:
- (105) *'Kuhuuu ...'* [2.5]
'Kuhuuu ...' (2.5 seconds)
- (106) *Nton wa-ni bwar:* [0.8]
child ?-FOC say
The child said:
- (107) *'In-yen wor mbano'.* [0.6]
1SG-mother 1DU here
'My mother and I are here'.

- (108) 'Ah n-bwar ka nan pa n-bwar ki an-bwar jan, [0.0]
 ah 1SG-say that you already 1SG-say this 2SG-say not
 'Ah, I already told you, I said don't you say anything,
- (109) an-bwar ma-n-jir wor jan nari a-na
 2SG-say REL-3SF-clear 1DU not in.a.while 3SM-come
 don't make clear where we are, otherwise he will come
 aka a-ret wor. [3.5]
 then 3SM-eat 1DU
 and eat us.
- (110) An-bwar ma-n-jir wor den jan'. [2.3]
 2SG-say REL-3SF-clear 1DU just not
 Just don't make clear where we are'.
- (111) Do-y-aw fer do-y-aw fer do-y-aw fer do-y-aw fer
 3DU-Y-run again 3DU-Y-run again 3DU-Y-run again 3DU-Y-run again
 doyaw fer doyaw fer. [1.7]
 3DU-Y-run again 3DU-Y-run again
 They ran and ran and ran again.
- (112) A-bwan fer pa: [0.5]
 3SM-call again already
 Again he called:
- (113) 'Uhuuu'. [2.2]
 'Uhuuu'. (2 seconds)
- (114) Nton wa-ni bwar: [0.6]
 child ?-FOC say
 The child said:
- (115) 'Nen wor mbano'. [2.4]
 mama 1DU here
 'Mum and I are here'.
- (116) O a-bwan fer aka a-fanam pa. [1.8]
 oh 3SM-call again and.then 3SM-near already
 Oh, he called again and then he was already nearby.
- (117) N-soro ren mar-(d)ukwa, [2.3]
 3SF-take.off just cloth-carry
 She just took off the carry-cloth,
- (118) n-soro mar ka n-da(k)-frak nton aka ut. [1.6]
 3SF-take.off cloth that 3SF-take-throw child then dead
 she took off that cloth and threw the child away and it died.
- (119) Men n-do n-aw bem nton-a [0.0]
 3SF 3SF-self 3SF-run from child-CL
 She herself ran away from the child

- (120) *nton-a are jap.* [1.6]
child-CL thus stay
and so the child stayed behind.
- (121) *A-na na a-mim-i a-ret nton-a,* [1.7]
3SM-come for 3SM-arrive-CL 3SM-eat child-CL
He came and reached the child, he ate the child,
- (122) *a-ret nton-a maw.* [1.3]
3SM-eat child-CL finished
he ate the child up.
- (123) *A-sit subwe-m,* [1.8]
3SM-run after-3SF
He ran after her,
- (124) *a-subwe-m n-aw n-aw n-aw n-aw n-aw n-aw n-aw n-aw*
3SM-after-3SF 3SF-run 3SF-run 3SF-run 3SF-run 3SF-run 3SF-run 3SF-run
n-aw n-aw n-aw. [1.6]
3SF-run 3SF-run 3SF-run
he followed her, she ran ran ran away.
- (125) *Terus* [1.1]
And then
- (126) *n-(w)ot aka ni bwan mamer,* [2.5]
3SF-see then tree hole k.o.tree
she saw a hole in the *mamer* tree,
- (127) *mamer a-ta bwan pa are n-kurem.* [1.8]
k.o.tree 3SM-ANA hole already so 3SF-enter
that *mamer* tree had a hole so she went inside.
- (128) *N-kurem mamer bwan a-ta mum mek.* [3.0]
3SF-enter k.o.tree hole 3SM-ANA deep there
She went inside the deep hole of that *mamer* tree.
- (129) *A-subwe be a-mesem ka n-wanem-i pan.* [0.7]
3SM-follow but 3SM-smell that 3SF-stink-CL already
He followed her, but as he smelled, she already stank.
- (130) *'Ah bar-ka-te ut te n-da-k(i)-e?* [0.6]
ah thing-that-Q stay where 3SF-ANA-here-Q
'Ah, where is that something, is it here?
- (131) *Bar-ka-te de n-da-k(i) to?* [2.0]
thing-that-Q where 3SF-ANA-here still
Where is that something, still here?
- (132) *Bar aw fari jan to de n-da-i'.* [1.6]
thing run able not yet till 3SF-ANA-CL
Something ran and cannot have passed here yet'.

- (133) *Min-ta-ka-i.* [3.2]
like-ANA-that-CL
Like that.
- (134) *A-barko ren yaw bwap* [0.5]
3SM-break.off just eh k.o.rope
He just broke off, eh, a rope
- (135) *nyer kat a-ta-ka.* [0.9]
sharp thorn 3SM-ANA-there
with those sharp thorns.
- (136) *A-kwafrem subwe mamer* [0.0]
3SM-put.into after k.o.tree
He put it into the *mamer* tree
- (137) *bwan a-ta mek.* [0.5]
hole 3SM-ANA there
inside that hole there.
- (138) *A-kwafrem aka deka pa mamir.* [0.5]
3SM-put.into and.then hold already person
He had put it inside and then it hooked onto someone.
- (139) *Bwat kat a-ta* [0.0]
k.o.rotan thorn 3SM-ANA
That rotan rope with thorns
- (140) *dubun a-ku n-wow a-ta pa are.* [2.8]
pull 3SM-at 3SF-body 3SM-ANA already so
pulled already at her body.
- (141) *'Ah mamir n-da pa.* [0.5]
ah person 3SF-ANA already
'Ah, somebody is there.
- (142) *Oh men ma-taw mum-ka'.* [3.1]
oh 3SF REL-ANA deep-that
Oh, deep in there is a woman'.
- (143) *A-rubun ka fer* [0.7]
3SM-pull that again
Meanwhile he pulled again and
- (144) *a-sambret ka m-far a-ta kek.* [1.5]
3SM-lick that 3SF-blood 3SM-ANA all
at the same time he licked all her blood.
- (145) *A-sambret ka a-sambret ka a-sambret ka.* 'Ah!' [1.6]
3SM-lick that 3SM-lick that 3SM-lick that ah
Meanwhile he licked and licked. 'Ah!'

- (146) *A-bwar: 'M-bi-min-te? Ka bisa n-deka*
 3SM-say 1SG-VBL-like-Q that can 1SG-keep
 He said: 'What shall I do? Maybe I keep her
ma-taw mum mek [1.7]
 REL-ANA deep there
 there deep inside and
- (147) *bisa n-dokwa na n-aw a-ye'.* [3.0]
 can 1SG-bring for 3SF-run 3SM-out
 bring (something) to get her out'.
- (148) *A-put bar ka,* [0.9]
 3SM-fill thing that
 He filled (the hole) with things,
- (149) *a-rukwa ni bwa kin umu te-ka* [0.0]
 3SM-bring wood leaf nest.dirt present what-that
 he brought wood and leaves and all kinds of nest dirt
- (150) *te-ka te-ka te-ka te-ka a-put a-put a-put*
 what-that what-that what-that what-that 3SM-fill 3SM-fill 3SM-fill
 he brought there and he kept on filling (the hole)
a-put a-put-e kwaik kaku. [4.6]
 3SM-fill 3SM-fill-CL strong very(NF)
 till it was tight enough.
- (151) *'Do ut jatik-in be n-brek fer na m-bot bak da'.* [2.5]
 alone stay wait-1SG but 1SG-return again to 1SG-take axe first
 'Stay alone and wait for me, but I go back again to fetch an axe first'.
- (152) *A-brek fer a-bot bak.* [2.3]
 3SM-return again 3SM-take axe
 He went back to fetch the axe.
- (153) *A-brek fer a-bot bak a-ta-ka.* [1.1]
 3SM-return again 3SM-take axe 3SM-ANA-there
 He went back again to fetch that axe.
- (154) *Misim ba-ni,* [0.0]
 woman ?-FOC
 That woman,
- (155) *a-nyan ba-ni,* [1.2]
 3SM-wife ?-FOC
 his wife,
- (156) *n-pisen ayaw* [0.0]
 3SF-kick eh
 she kicked, eh,

- (157) *ma umu kin ma ni bwa kin*
REL present dirt REL wood leaf dirt
all the dirt

ma a-put a-ta-ka n-pisen [0.7]
REL 3SM-fill 3SM-ANA-there 3SF-kick
with which he had filled (the hole) she kicked out
- (158) *kutut kwaik,* [0.8]
with strong
with strength,
- (159) *ni bwa kin a-ta,* [1.0]
wood leaf nest 3SM-ANA
that nest dirt of wood and leaves,
- (160) *n-duwon-a-i maw-i.* [1.2]
3SF-pull-CL-CL finished-CL
she pulled it all out till nothing was left.
- (161) *Men n-sasyar,* [2.4]
3SF 3SF-come.out
She came outside,
- (162) *n-duwon a-ye,* [0.0]
3SF-pull 3SM-out
she pulled (herself) out,
- (163) *n-sasyar-i m-put fer.* [1.8]
3SF-come.out-CL 3SF-fill again
she came outside and filled (the hole) again.
- (164) *M-put mau m-put mau te*
3SF-fill continually 3SF-fill continually till
She filled (the hole) continually till

kwaik kanik ma a-put-a keki. [3.8]
strong like that 3SM-fill-CL earlier
it was as strong as he had filled it before.
- (165) *N-ta-ki n-se n-aw.* [2.6]
3SF-ANA-this 3SF-go.to 3SF-run
And so she went to run away.
- (166) *N-aw n-aw n-aw n-aw n-aw n-aw n-aw.* [1.8]
3SF-run 3SF-run 3SF-run 3SF-run 3SF-run 3SF-run 3SF-run
She ran and ran and ran.
- (167) *Met wa-ni a-na a-rukwa bak aka* [1.1]
3SM ?-FOC 3SM-come 3SM-bring axe then
He, he came and brought that axe along, and then

- (168) *a-kopaw ni.* [1.0]
3SM-split wood
he split the wood.
- (169) *A-kiti a-kiti a-sen mamer a-ta a-sen mau*
3SM-cut 3SM-cut 3SM-chop k.o.tree 3SM-ANA 3SM-chop continually
He cut and cut and chopped the *mamer* tree, he chopped on and on
mau a-sen a-sen a-sen a-sen ni min-ta-are [1.7]
continually 3SM-chop 3SM-chop 3SM-chop 3SM-chop wood like-ANA-so
continually, he chopped and chopped the wood till
- (170) *mamer a-ta bwan bapak min-ta-ki.* [3.7]
k.o.tree 3SM-ANA hole big like-ANA-this
the hole in the *mamer* tree was big like that.
- (171) *A-bwa(na) a-sukwen mamer bwan-a.* [0.8]
3SM-want 3SM-look k.o.tree hole-CL
He wanted to look into the hole in the *mamer* tree.
- (172) 'Baaah?' [2.6]
'What?'
- (173) *Be n-do n-kopaw bar doku be mamir ku jan-e'.* [2.6]
but 1SG-self 1SG-chop thing in.vain but person at not-CL
But I myself chopped things for nothing, there is nobody'.
- (174) *A-sit subwe fer a-subwe ku m-wanem ba-ta terus.* [3.0]
3SM-rush after again 3SM-follow at 3SF-stink ?-ANA continually
He rushed after her again, he followed her stinking smell continually.
- (175) *A-subwe ka mau mau mau.* [1.5]
3SM-follow that continually continually continually
He followed it on and on.
- (176) *Tetate n-aw n-mim m-binon der pa.* [2.1]
now 3SF-run 3SF-arrive 3SF-brother 3PL already
Meanwhile she ran till she had arrived at her brothers'.
- (177) *N-na n-bwar ma-n-jir sabon n-bwar-o:* [1.5]
3SF-come 3SF-say REL-3SF-clear first 3SF-say-CL
She came and explained first, she said:
- (178) 'Nto-a wa-ni, [0.8]
child-3SM ?-FOC
'That man,
- (179) *ba e-kum-a,* [2.0]
? 1PL-smoke-3SM
whom we have smoked,
- (180) *a-i-bijok pa are a-sit-in pa'.* [4.9]
3SM-?-rise.from.dead.as.cannibal already so 3SM-rush.after-1SG already
he has risen from the dead as vampire-cannibal and he is already after me'.

- (181) *N-do n-fo jan.* [2.1]
3SF-self 3SF-go.up house
She herself went up to the house.
- (182) *N-binon de-bwar: 'Ya* [0.0]
3SF-brother 3PL-say well
Her brothers said: 'Well,
- (183) *an-na-na an-fo wasren!'* [3.3]
2SG-come-come 2SG-go.up quickly
come, come on in quickly!'
- (184) *De-bi-mulai de-yew nan.* [1.7]
3PL-VBL-begin 3PL-sharpen bamboo
They began to sharpen bamboos.
- (185) *De-yew nan a-ta-ka wan-kanik yen,* [0.6]
3PL-sharpen bamboo 3SM-ANA-there ?-like needle
They sharpened those bamboos like spikes,
- (186) *be de-kaw de-kaw de-kaw de-kaw de-kaw*
then 3PL-plant 3PL-plant 3PL-plant 3PL-plant 3PL-plant
then they planted and planted them
ku arwar a-ta-ka. [1.5]
in stairs 3SM-ANA-there
in the stairs.
- (187) *De-kaw yen a-ta-ka bari arwar-a nek-a terus* [0.7]
3PL-plant spike 3SM-ANA-there from stairs-CL down-CL completely
They planted those spikes from down the stairs right
- (188) *mim ma n-jun-a.* [2.3]
till at 3SF-top-CL
up to the top.
- (189) *De-kiti arwar a-ta ku fraru.* [1.2]
3PL-chop stairs 3SM-ANA at middle
They chopped the stairs in the middle.
- (190) *De-kiti na jat.* [2.2]
3PL-chop for broken
They chopped it so that it broke.
- (191) *De-kiti jat ku fraru min-ta-ki.* [0.7]
3PL-chop broken at middle like-ANA-this
They chopped it so that it broke in the middle. Like this.
- (192) *De-bwana de-tera-i aka a-y-arok pa.* [2.8]
3PL-want 3PL-frighten-CL then 3SM-Y-turn.up already
They wanted to frighten him and then he already turned up.

- (193) 'Wa n-jam nen n-da-ka, [3.7]
 well 1SG-brother.in.law 2PL 3SF-ANA-that
 'Well, you are my brothers-in-law,
- (194) n-un na nen den-e'. [1.1]
 1SG-go to 2PL just-CL
 I just came to see you'.
- (195) De-bwa: 'A an-na re(n), [3.8]
 3PL-say ah 2SG-come just
 They said: 'Well, just come on in,
- (196) an-na re(n) yek-o e-jatik nan ma-ta-ki'. [1.6]
 2SG-come just 1PL-CL 1PL-wait you REL-ANA-here
 just come on in, we'll wait for you here'.
- (197) A-mim arwar nek-i a-bwa: [0.0]
 3SM-arrive stairs down-CL 3SM-say
 He came to the bottom of the stairs and thought:
- (198) 'N-fo si jan si-jun den-e'. [1.5]
 1SG-go.up to house to-top just-CL
 'I'll just go up to the house'.
- (199) 'A an-fo-fo, [1.0]
 ah 2SG-come.up-up
 'Ah, come on up,
- (200) yek e-jatik an ma-ta-n-jun-ki'. [1.6]
 1PL 1PL-wait 2SG REL-ANA-3SF-top-here
 we wait for you up here'.
- (201) Wabwir a-ta-ka de-tum bor tek n-da-ki [0.0]
 hearth 3SM-ANA-there 3PL-burn lance hot 3SF-ANA-this
 In the fireplace they had heated a lance
- (202) jekeron tek n-da-ki [1.3]
 machete hot 3SF-ANA-this
 and a machete
- (203) tek maw. [1.8]
 hot finished
 till they were hot enough.
- (204) Met a-na a-fo pa, [0.4]
 3SM 3SM-come 3SM-come.up already
 He came already up the stairs,
- (205) bari nek a-na a-fo arwar a-ta. [1.4]
 from down 3SM-come 3SM-come.up stairs 3SM-ANA
 from down he came up the stairs.

- (206) *A-fo mberaka si-jun si-jun si-jun*
 3SM-go.up slow to-top to-top to-top
 He went slowly upwards and upwards
min-ta-ki mim ku arwar fraru-i. [1.1]
 like-ANA-this till at stairs middle-CL
 like this he arrived at the middle of the stairs.
- (207) *Arwar doko kutut a-nek.* [3.1]
 stairs break therefore 3SM-down
 The stairs broke so that it came down.
- (208) *Arwar doko min-ta-ki.* [1.4]
 stairs break like-ANA-this
 So the stairs broke.
- (209) *Met a-kwem,* [0.0]
 3SM 3SM-fall
 He fell,
- (210) *yen ma de-kaw-a nek-i kwar,* [0.0]
 spike that 3PL-plant-CL down-CL stab
 the spikes that they had put down there stabbed,
- (211) *yen kwar-a,* [0.0]
 spike stab-3SM
 the spikes stabbed him,
- (212) *der-o de-wom tambah ku bor-a ma* [0.0]
 3PL-CL 3PL-spear more at lance-CL REL
 they speared at (him) (with) the lance that
- (213) *wor-o ma de-kep-a nuni,* [0.0]
 glow-CL that 3PL-heat-CL earlier
 was glowing, that they had just heated,
- (214) *ma de-rir ku yet-i,* [0.0]
 that 3PL-put in fire-CL
 that they had put into the fire,
- (215) *de-wom tambah a-nek-(m)ek* [0.0]
 3PL-stab more 3SM-down-there
 they stabbed downwards
- (216) *jekron-o de-kwar tambah a-nek-(m)ek* [0.0]
 machete 3PL-stab more 3SM-down-there
 the machete they also stabbed downwards
- (217) *i a-ut* [1.1]
 EXCL 3SM-dead
 and he died

- (218) *fawar ku-ta-ka!*
last at-ANA-there
at last, over there!

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