

Prayer

The text below is the first part of a prayer, which follows a sermon by the same person (Demianus Andarek), and is part of a church service in the village Yomdori where I spent my second fieldwork period. It is uttered from the pulpit in a loud and clear voice, and is spoken by heart. Compared to other genres, the prayer is remarkable in the free word order, and in the high number of relative clauses, many of which are headless and in apposition to an NP, as in GDaa. The prayer has been video-recorded and will be placed on the web later this year.

GDaa

Syóm¹ sanandik ve Yahwe Allah Kma inkovedya
syóm s~anan~dik ve Yahwe Allah kma inko-ve=d-ya
homage RED-praise to Yahwe God father 1PL.EX-POS=3SG-SPC

vekain ro nánki² mov vesren ma venapes³ #
ve- kain ro nánki mov ve-sren ma ve-naps
REL- sit LOC heaven placeREL-holy and REL-righteous
'Homage and praise to Yahweh God our Father who lives in heaven, the holy and righteous place.'

GDab

Mansern ro ras nakám vevefnder va
Manseren ro ras na-kám veve- fnder va
Lord LOC day 3PL.INAN- all REL-VBLZ- forget not

vrawur~vrawur bena inko
vrawur~vrawur be- na inko
hand.print~hand.print 2SG.VBLZ- 3PL.INAN 1.PL.EX

ro dunia ine bori⁴ #
ro dunia i-ne bo -ri
LOC world 3SG.SPC-this upside -POS. SG
'Lord, (you) who do not forget us your hand prints in this world.'

¹ According to Van Hasselt (1947:217), the term *syom* in former times specifically referred to the paying of tribute to the Tidorese sultan or the *raja*'s in Waigeo and Salawati.

² Van Hasselt (1947: 163) writes that (at the time of writing) *nàngi* or *nàngè* 'sky, firmament' is 'the Highest power, honoured by Biak and Numforic clans as *Nange* and *Mansren Nange* (Lord *Nange*)', and describes an offering ritual that used to be performed to please this god. Nowadays the word *nánki* is also used for reference to 'heaven', as is the case in the present text.

³ Note that here the relative clause running from *ve* through *napes* follows the NP running from *Yahweh* through *inkovedya*. The relative clause should be analysed as a headless relative clause (cf. 10.3.2), which is in apposition to the NP *Yahweh ...inkovedya*. It is to be expected that appositional relative clauses like the one under discussion here are (generally) extensive, whereas the relative clauses described in 10.3 are (generally) restrictive. For the fact that the appositional clause is not closed off by a determiner, compare footnote 4.

⁴ The word *vra-wur* is a compound of the inalienable *vra* 'arm' and a following *wur* that has not been attested independently, but is also found in the paradigmatically related *wewur* 'foot-print'. As for the text running from *Mansern* through *bori*, the following should be noted: (1) the remarkable place of *va*, which here is not placed in clause-final position, cf. 3.7.5; (2) the relative clause running from *ro ras* through *bori* is in apposition to *Mansern*. The adverbial *ro ras nakám* 'at all days' precedes the relative verb *vevefnder*; (3) the relative clause under discussion is not closed off by a determiner. A possible explanation may be the fact that the relative clause is in apposition to a proper noun, and is therefore definite and specific by definition, cf. section 5.4.

GDad1

Sye Manseren #
 sye Manseren
 'O Lord'

GDad2

Roro mun arwo ine +
 ro mun arwo i-ne
 LOC part morning 3SG.SPC-this

jemaat bedya ... *inkoraryur ro rum vesren*
 jemaat be=d-ya inko- ra-ryur ro rum ve- sren
 parish 2.SG.POS=3SG-SPC 1PL.EX- RED~gather LOC house REL- holy

dam banine ma insama inkosyóm
 dam b=an-i-ne ma insama inko- syóm
 very POS.2SG=GIV-3SG.SPC-this and CONS 1PL.EX- homage

inkosandik Mansern Aw... syówi nkovena ve
 inko- sandik Manseren Aw syówi nko- ve -na ve
 1PL.EX- praise Lord 2SG reverence 1PL.EX- POS -3PL.INAN to

Aw.. snar saswar berkat bedya ve inko #
 Aw snar sa~swar berkat be=d-ya ve inko
 2SG because RED~love blessing 2SG.POS=3SG-SPC to 1PL.EX

'O Lord, at this morning, this parish of yours, we have come together in this very holy place of yours, to bring praise and honour to You Lord, our reverence to you because of your blessing to us.'

GDah1

Manseren + roro minggu swáf anine +
 Manseren ro minggu swáf an-i-ne
 Lord LOC week distance GIV-3SG.SPC-this

roro fararur inkovena eser~eser #
 ro f~ara-rur inko- ve =na eser~eser
 LOC RED~make 1PL.EX- POS =3PL.INAN.SPC one~one
 'Lord, during this (past) week, in the work of each one of us.'

GDah2

Nkosmai berkat ro na ...
 nko- smai berkat ro na
 1PL.EX- acquire bless LOC 3PL.INAN

nra muma ro Mansern Aw #
 n- ra mu -ma ro Manseren Aw
 3.PL.INAN- go PATH-to.here LOC Lord 2SG
 'We have received blessings in it, they (i.e. these blessings) all come from you Lord.'

GDaj

Sehingga *insandya mankundaw rwowr rirya*
 sehingga insandya mankund=aw r<w>owr ri-i-rya
 so.that recently self=2SG <2SG>hear GEN.SG-3SG.PRED-ANAPH

kada, inkofúr pengucapan syukur
 kada inko-fúr pengucapan syukur
 suppose.that 1PL.EX-make pronouncing thank.God

ma inkosyóm inkosandik Mansern Aw #
 ma inko- syóm inko- sandik Manseren Aw
 and 1PL.EX- homage 1PL.EX- praise Lord 2SG
 'So that as you may have heard Yourself, we have given thanks and brought homage and praise to You Lord.'

GDam

Snar inkáw inko vo
 snar ink^u- aw inko vo
 because 1PL.EX-arrange 1.PL.EX SIM

inkosmai roio ro dunia ine va #
 inko- smai ro=yo ro dunia ine va
 1PL.EX- acquire LOC=nonSP.SG LOC world 3SG.SPC-this not
 'Because we arrange ourselves but do not acquire anything in this world.'

GDan

Vape nakáme Mansern buk muma ve kawasa
 vape nakám Manseren buk mu-ma ve kawasa
 but 3PL.INAN-all Lord 2SG.give PATH-to.here to people

bena inko #
 be=na inko
 2SG.POS=3PL.INAN.SPC 1PL.EX
 'But everything (that we have) is your gift to us your people (litt: all you give to us our people).'

GDao1

Ra dirya Manseren+ roro insandya nkomnaf ve
 ra di-rya Manseren ro insandya nko-mnaf ve
 along place-ANAPH Lord LOC just 1PL.EX-hear as

wós vesren dam banna #
 wós ve- sren dam b=an-na
 word REL- holy very 2SG.POS.GIV-3PL.INAN.SPC
 'Likewise, Lord, in what we have just heard as your very holy words.'

GDao1

Mansern snonkaku véwós vo
 Manseren snonkaku ve-^uwós vo
 Lord human.being REL- speak SIM

nkosun roro ras papups ine
 nko- sun ro ras pa~pups i-ne
 1PL.EX- enter LOC day RED~last 3SG.SPC-this

kukr aski roro jemaat banine #
 kukr aski ro jemaat b=an-i-ne
 with safety LOC parish POS.2SG=GIV-3SG.SPC-this
 'O Lord, we bring homage and praise to you, because in this (past) week, we have entered this last day,
 with safety in this parish of yours.'

GDaz

Manseren minggu vebabo ine ... nkorir k~ap~aper⁵
 Manseren minggu ve- babo ine nko- rir k-ap~apr
 Lord week REL- new 3SG.SPC-this 1PL.EX- let.loose RED~fold

i mufa ... mám wark warga jemaatbesine
 i mufa mám wark warga jemaat be=s-i -ne
 3SG PATH-to.there 2SG.see guard member church 2SG.POS=3PL.AN-SPC-this

rándak roro swan ira isofroro sup ine
 rándak ro swan i -ra isofro sup i-ne
 beginning LOC sea 3SG -sea until land 3SG.SPC-this
 'Lord, this new week, we let loose of it while it is folded (and hand it over) towards you, look after these
 church members of yours, from the sea seawards up till this land here.'

⁵ The use of epenthetic *e* in non-prepausal position is remarkable. It might be a reflection of an old formula initiated by the Dutch who used *e* in the spelling, and probably also in pronunciation when reading aloud (cf. the spelling of *e* in Van Hasselt, and the New Testament of 1990).