

BIAK MORPHOSYNTAX

Thesis submitted by

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
1DU INC	first person dual inclusive
1DU EXCL	first person dual exclusive
1PL	first person plural
1SG	first person singular
2	second person
2DU	second person dual
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
3	third person
3DU	third person dual
3SG	third person singular
3PL	third person plural
3PCL	third person paucal
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AGR	agreement
AN	animate
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
COP	copula
CP	consonantal pattern
DC	deictic centre
DEF	definite
DET	determiner
DIR	directional
DIST	distance
EXCL	exclusive
EXIST	existential
FOC	focus
GIV	givenness
H	head
INAN	inanimate
INCL	inclusive
INFL	inflectional
INTR	intransitive
IObj	indirect object
LINK	linker
LOC	locative
M	modifier
MKR	marker
MOTION	motion marker
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
NUM	numeral
OBJ	object
PASS	passive

P	preposition
PL	plural
PP	prepositional phrase
POSS	possessive
PRED	predicate
PREF	prefix
Q	question
QUEST	question marker
QUEST PART	question particle
REL	relativizer
SG	singular
SUB	subject
TOPIC	topic marker
TRANS	transitive
V	verb
Vblzr	verbalizer
VP	vocal pattern

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

The Biak language belongs to the West New Guinea subgroup of the Austronesian language family and is spoken in West Papua (formerly known as Irian Jaya), Indonesia, in the northern part of the Geelvink Bay. It has around 50,000 to 70,000 speakers, which makes it the language with the largest number of speakers in West Papua.

Although Biak is the language that has the largest number of speakers in West Papua, there has not been much research done on the Biak language. Three recent works (Steinhauer (1985 and 2005), Mofu (2005), and Van den Heuvel (2006)) have provided descriptions of the Biak language.

This thesis will investigate the morpho-syntax of the Biak language in an effort to present formal grounds on which the structure of words, phrases and clauses can be identified.

The thesis will describe morphological typology, morphological processes such as derivational and inflectional paradigms, basic constituent order, compounding and denominalization, relative clauses, and predicate nominal constructions of the Biak language.

1.2. Aims

The overall aim of the study is to provide a general description of the morpho-syntax of the Biak Language in as clear and explicit manner as possible so that there are formal grounds in which grammatical categories such as nouns and verbs, and differences in word order in nominal and verbal clauses can be distinguished.

It is expected that this study will contribute to research on the language itself and the development of linguistic theory.

1.3. Data

The spoken data treated in this thesis were collected during 2004 – 2005 in Saba village (East Biak), Orwer Village (East Biak), Biak Town, Samber (South Biak) and Sopen (West Biak). With the help of my father, Henoeh Mofu and my mother, Bernece Mofu, I was able to get recordings of various speakers of the Biak language from different dialectal regions in Biak especially Saba-Wadibu (East Biak), Mandori (Numfor island), Swandiwe (West Biak), Sorndiweri (Korido), Mandender (West Biak), Samber (South Biak), Korem (North Biak), Manduser (East Biak), and Nyampun – Orwer (East Biak). All recordings were made in Biak during 2004 – 2005. The first recorded tapes were sent to Oxford in November 2004. The second set of recorded tapes and written documents were sent in November 2005. I did all the transcriptions of the recorded texts in Oxford from January to July 2006.

All the transcribed texts were, then, sent to Biak for proofreading by informants. My father and my mother coordinated the proofreading of the transcribed texts during

July to October 2006. All the proofread texts and their corrections were sent back to me in Oxford in November 2006.

All the data in this thesis are based on primary data. However, I also used elicitations to test hypothesis and to complete paradigms.

The data that I collected comprise spoken and written data. Spoken data were recorded on cassette tapes, whereas written data were gathered from different sources such as the story of Manarmakeri by Arnold Ap. Both spoken and written data reflect different types of uses (formal and informal), ages (old and young), gender (men and women), and education (educated (finished primary school and above) and uneducated (no formal education at all)).

1.4. Organization of the thesis.

This thesis consists of 7 main chapters (chapter 2-8) followed by a concluding chapter (chapter 9).

Chapter 2 presents demographic and ethnographic information about the Biak language. The chapter contains information about the name of the language, ethnology, demography, genetic affiliation, previous research and the sociolinguistic situation of the Biak language.

Chapter 3 consists of three sections which deal specifically with the morphology of the Biak language. The first section describes the traditional morphological typology and how the Biak language fits into it. The second section discusses the morphological processes of the Biak language where two types of morphological processes, i.e. inflectional and derivational affixes in the Biak language, are presented. The last section will present an analysis of head-marking and dependent-marking in the Biak language.

Chapter 4 discusses grammatical categories found in the Biak language. There are five sections in this chapter. The first two sections will discuss two major grammatical categories found in the Biak language (noun and verb). The remaining sections will discuss some minor categories such as modifiers/adjectives, numerals, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and question words.

Chapter 5 discusses and describes constituent order in the Biak language. The chapter begins with constituent order typology, then, moves to describe the constituent order of main clauses in the Biak language. The chapter also presents each constituent element of main clauses in the language; the verb phrase, the noun phrase, the prepositions, the comparatives, and the question particles and the question words.

Chapter 6 describes noun compounding and denominalization. First, it presents types of noun compounding in the Biak language. Then, it discusses how nouns can be changed into verbs through denominalization.

Chapter 7 discusses 3 different relative clause patterns in the Biak language; Post Nominal Relative Clauses (using relativizer prefix *be-* to relativize subject NP and using no relativizer affixes to relativize non-subject NP); Headless Relative Clauses and Internally Headed Relative Clauses.

The chapter discusses the analysis of the relative clause construction patterns in the recent works on the Biak language such as Steinhauer (2005), Mofu (2005), and Van den Heuvel (2006). Steinhauer and Van den Heuvel, for instance, have described the post nominal and the headless relative clauses in detail. Mofu described only the post nominal relative clauses. In addition, Van den Heuvel mentions the internally headed relative clause in his thesis but did not describe it in detail. The chapter will present and discuss the structure of all 3 types of relative clause with data supporting it.

Chapter 8 presents two kinds of predicate nominal constructions in the Biak language. The two predicate nominal constructions that this chapter discusses are:

- (1) nominal clauses that are formed by determiners prefixed to copular forms (clitics *-ri, -s-*) and to free pronouns.
- (2) copular verbs *-iri* and *is(o)* which are used after agreement forms and which are homophonous with the corresponding pronominal forms.

The chapter argues that the two kinds of nominal predicate constructions can be distinguished syntactically. The chapter shows that similar forms of a clause can be syntactically ambiguous and therefore have two different meanings.

Chapter 9 is a concluding chapter which gives remarks on what has been covered in chapter 1 to 8.

CHAPTER II

DEMOGRAPHIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

2.1. The name of the language

Biak is the name of the language spoken by people who inhabit three big islands in the Biak Numfor regency, namely Biak, Superiori and Numfor. To outsiders, Biak is not only the name of the language but also the name of the people who originally inhabited the Biak islands. Thus, outsiders call Biak people *orang Biak* (Indonesian for ‘people of Biak’). Biak people call their language *wos Byak* (lit: ‘words Biak’) ‘Biak language’ which is distinguished from *wos amber* ‘foreign language’.

Mansoben (2003:3) points out that in the past there were several names for Biak i.e. Schouten Island, Nu(m)for and Wiak. Schouten island was named after Schouten Einladen, the first European from The Netherlands to visit the island in the 17th century. Numfor was the name of Numfor island and the native people who lived in the island. Wiak refers to *Byak*.

The original name of Biak came from the word *byak* which means ‘appear’ (an island which appears in the middle of the ocean). From a distance Biak island looks like a small floating thing/rock in the sea.¹ The word *Byak* was also used by people along the coastal areas of Biak island as a derogatory name for the people who lived in the

¹ Kamma (1978 cited in Mansoben 2003:3) states that the original name of Biak was Warmambo. The name changed after a dispute between two clans (Burdam clan and Mandowen clan). The Burdam clan left Warmambo to live in another island but they still could see Warmambo island appear occasionally on the sea surface. When they saw it appear on the sea surface, they said *byak wer* ‘it appears again’. Later on they used the word *Byak* to name the island.

interior region of Biak island. The derogatory name means the ‘forest people’. The ‘forest people’ were assumed to have no knowledge of maritime, astronomical, and other essential skills to travel and live in other islands.

The name Biak, however, was later accepted as the name for all the people of Biak. According to Mansoben (2003:4), the name was officially used for Biak and its people in 1947 after the formation of *Kankain Karkara Byak* ‘Biak Traditional Customary Council’. In 1959, the Regional Council of Biak Numfor was formed and since that time all the three big islands (Biak, Supriori and Numfor) and the small islands surrounding them were officially named Biak Numfor.

2.2. Ethnology

Kamma and Kooijman (1974 cited in Mansoben 2003:10) reported that in the past the dominant economic activity of the Biak people was trading. The Biak people travelled west to barter with the people of Tidore Kingdom. The valuables used for trade were sea products, antique plates, slaves and tool kits made from iron. The Biak people had the technology to produce tool kits from iron long before the arrival of the European expeditions in the beginning of the 16th century.

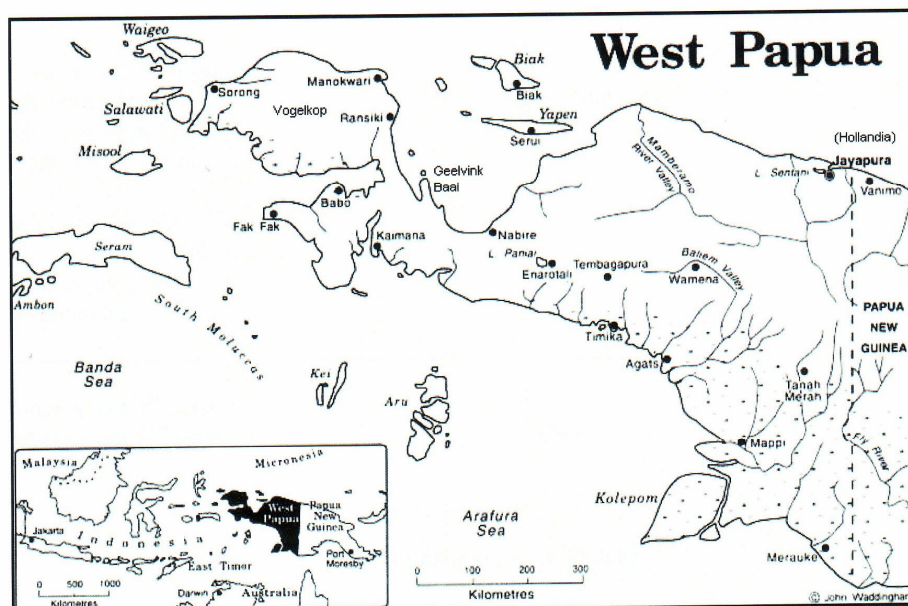
At present the dominant activities of the Biak people are mainly agriculture (food crops) and fishing. Agriculture products and fishing are used to fulfil each household’s daily basic need. At times when the produce of agriculture and fishing is abundant, the products will be shared with relatives and neighbours and some of them are sold in the market.

The activities in the main capital of Biak are similar to other modern towns in Indonesia and in Asia. Thus, there are Biak people who work as government officials, teachers, doctors, lawyers, etc.

2.3. Demography

The Biak language is spoken in West Papua (formerly known as Irian Jaya), Indonesia, in the northern part of the Geelvink Bay (see the map below).

Figure 1. Map of West Papua



Source: <http://www.cs.utexas.edu/users/cline/papua/map.jpg>

Biak Numfor Statistic Office (BPS) (2001 cited in Rumbiak 2002:18) states that the number of Biak people, based on the latest population census in 2001, was 118,810. The total number, however, does not represent the number of the speakers of the language. Fautngil and Rumbrawer (2002) estimate that the number of Biak speakers is around 50,000 to 70,000 speakers, distributed from the North of Papua New Guinea

to Raja Ampat (Bird's Head Peninsula) and Halmahera. The number includes non-Biak speakers who inhabit Biak islands and also live along the north coast of the Bird's Head Peninsula. The non-Biak speakers have their own languages; however, they could communicate in Biak. The number of Biak speakers including both Biak and non-Biak ethnics make Biak the language with the largest number of speakers in West Papua.

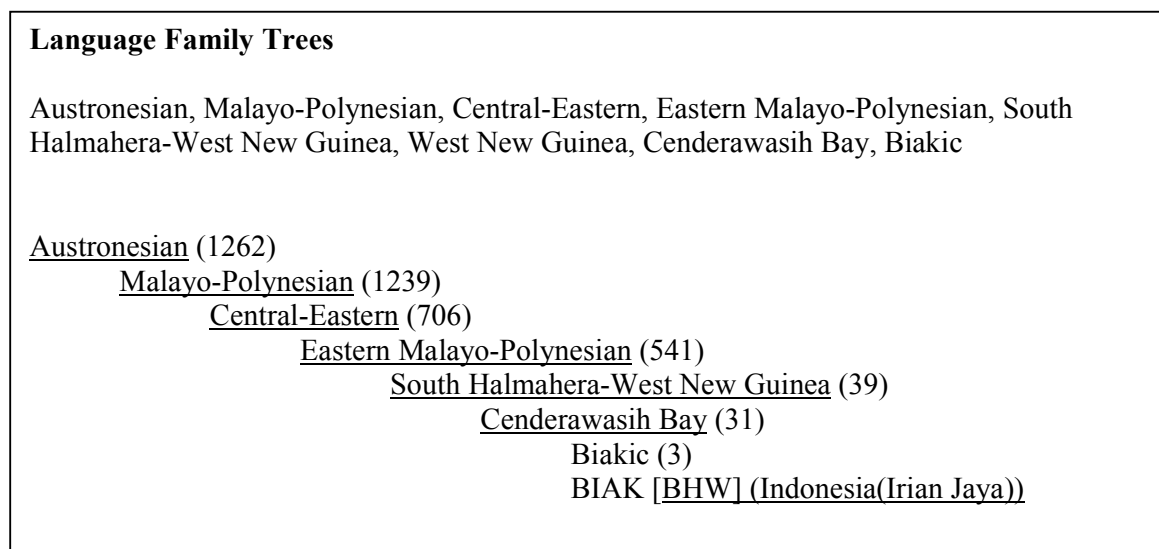
Besides the Biak language, the Biak people and the migrants mostly use Bahasa Indonesia '*Indonesian language*'. Bahasa Indonesia in fact has been taught at school and used as the official language of communication since the early sixties (Steinhauer, 1985: 463).

At present Bahasa Indonesia is used as a language of communication for economic, political, and educational purposes. The use of Bahasa Indonesia has limited the role of the Biak language as a language of communication in the largest part of the region relative to the past. However, we can still hear Biak people speak the language in villages in the countryside or in places which are far from the central town of Biak where economic, political and educational activities take place.

2.4. Genetic Affiliation

Blust (1978 cited in Steinhauer 1985:462) states that Biak belongs to the West New Guinea subgroup of the Austronesian language family. SIL International (2004) presents the language family tree of Biak as follows :

Figure 2. Language Family Tree



2.5. Previous Research

Silzer's (1984) and Voorhove's (1975) bibliographies list a number of previous studies on the Biak language. Based on their records and the review of recent literature on the Biak language, we can conclude that there are two periods of study on the Biak Language. The first period probably began in 1883 with a comparative study of Biak (Numfor dialect) by Gabelentz and A.B. Meyer, whose work was published in German. Their work was followed by other scholars including J.L. Van

Hasselt and F.J.F. Van Hasselt who were very productive during the period of 1868 to 1947. A list of the work done on Biak language from the earlier time (1833) until 1947, taken from Silzer's (1984) and Voorhove's (1975) bibliographies, is presented in table 1, appendix 1.

There was no work on the Biak language during 1947 –1975. Since 1975 Soeparno, an Indonesian lexicographer, continued work on the Biak language. He wrote a bilingual Biak-Indonesian dictionary. Others then continued to work on Biak language from 1975 until recently. This period (1975 – present) is what the writer refers to as the second period of the study on Biak language. The work on Biak language during the second period is listed in table 2, appendix 1.

The references from 1833 to 1947 are not easily accessible at the present time of the writer's study. Thus, the writer could only review the ideas from some of those sources which are cited in Steinhauer (1985).

The three most recent works on the Biak language are Steinhauer (2005), Mofu (2005) and Van den Heuvel (2006). Van den Heuvel's (2006) work appears to be the most comprehensive and detailed description of the Biak language. References will be made to Steinhauer (1985 and 2005), Mofu (2005) and Van den Heuvel (2006)'s work on the grammar of Biak. Some of their data will also be consulted to support the writer's work.

2.6. Sociolinguistic Situation

2.6.1. Multilingualism and language attitudes

The percentage of the people that are monolingual is difficult to estimate.

Biak's history of primary education began in the early twentieth century, so 'even older villagers tend to be conversant in *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language)' (Rutherford, 2003:xi).²

Bahasa Indonesia is the national language of the Republic of Indonesia which grew out of Malay and which is used as the official language in most public institutions such as schools, hospitals, churches and all governmental offices in Biak.

Although Bahasa Indonesia is widely spoken in Biak, there are still some areas which use Biak as a language of everyday communication among members of the Biak community. Places like the district of West Biak, the district of North Biak, the district of East Biak which includes Padaido islands and the district of Supriori are the areas where the use of Biak is still very high. However, the estimated percentage of Biak usage in these areas awaits further investigation.

Most of the Biak people who live in the Biak islands are bilingual. That is, they can speak both Biak and Bahasa Indonesia. Based on the writer's observation, the Biak people have positive attitudes towards their language. They easily switch from Bahasa Indonesia to Biak when they communicate with their relatives or their friends whose native language is not Biak but are able to speak the language. Non-native speakers of Biak who speak Biak are mostly welcomed and respected by the Biak people.

² The number of Biak speakers who have attended school is difficult to estimate at the present time of this study, however, my estimation is that most people below 50 years of age have attended primary school.

In addition the Biak people always express their feelings through songs, dances or jokes in the Biak language.

2.6.2. Contexts of Use and Language Choice

Biak is not only spoken by its native speakers but also spoken by non-native speakers who live in Biak island and outside the island. Biak people from around the age of 20 to 60 always use the Biak language with both native and non-native speakers who are fluent in the language.

The contexts in which the Biak language is used depend on the setting and the environment where the speakers are involved. For example, all cultural ceremonies in the Biak tradition use Biak as the main medium of communication. Most churches in the villages outside Biak town also use Biak as a language to preach and worship in Sunday services.

Fautngil and Rumbrawer (2002: 19-20) report that besides Bahasa Indonesia, Biak is also used in carrying out government administrative work, especially at the village level.

2.6.3. Viability

The question whether Biak children learn the language as their first language depends on the location where the children grow up. It is assumed that in an area such as Biak town and the surrounding villages such as Ambroben, Mokmer, Sorido, Ridge, Yafdas, Insrom, and in every capital town of each sub-district such as Bosnik (East Biak), Korem (North Biak), Wardo (West Biak), Korido (Supriori), Kameri (West Numfor) and Mandori (East Numfor) the children will learn Bahasa Indonesia as their first language because mostly multilingual speakers from other regions in Indonesia inhabit these places.

On the other hand, in remote and isolated areas such as Ampombukor and Swaipak (West Biak), Adibai and Son (East Biak) and the Padaido islands children will learn Biak as their first language because in these areas Biak is commonly used in everyday conversation in all situations. The fact that there is pressure on the young people to learn Bahasa Indonesia from an early age cannot be avoided because it is the language they will use when they first go to school to receive education. Thus, most Biak parents will encourage their children to use the language at home and outside the home.

The frequency of use of Biak by Biak children needs a specific study.

2.6.4. Loan Words

There are very few loan words in Biak. However, because most Biak speakers are bilingual, there are words from Bahasa Indonesia that are borrowed and used in some Biak sentences. Most Bahasa Indonesia words are recognised by Biak speakers as Indonesian words.

Payne (1997:18) states that ‘a vocabulary item from another language can be considered a borrowing only if it is recognised by otherwise monolingual speakers in appropriate native contexts. In other words, a word has been borrowed into another language only when it has become part of the lexical system of that language, as recognised by monolingual speakers’. One such example in Biak is the word *kawin* ‘to marry’, which is a borrowed word from Indonesian language and has been long used as a standard word in Biak.

The lexicon of Biak contains words from other languages which refer to things or concepts that are not found in Biak. For example, the words *Allah* ‘god’, *domba* ‘sheep’, *sapi* ‘cow’, *guru* ‘teacher’ are words that are borrowed from the Indonesian language. Indonesian in turn borrowed *Allah* from Arabic and *guru* from Sanskrit.

2.6.5. Dialects

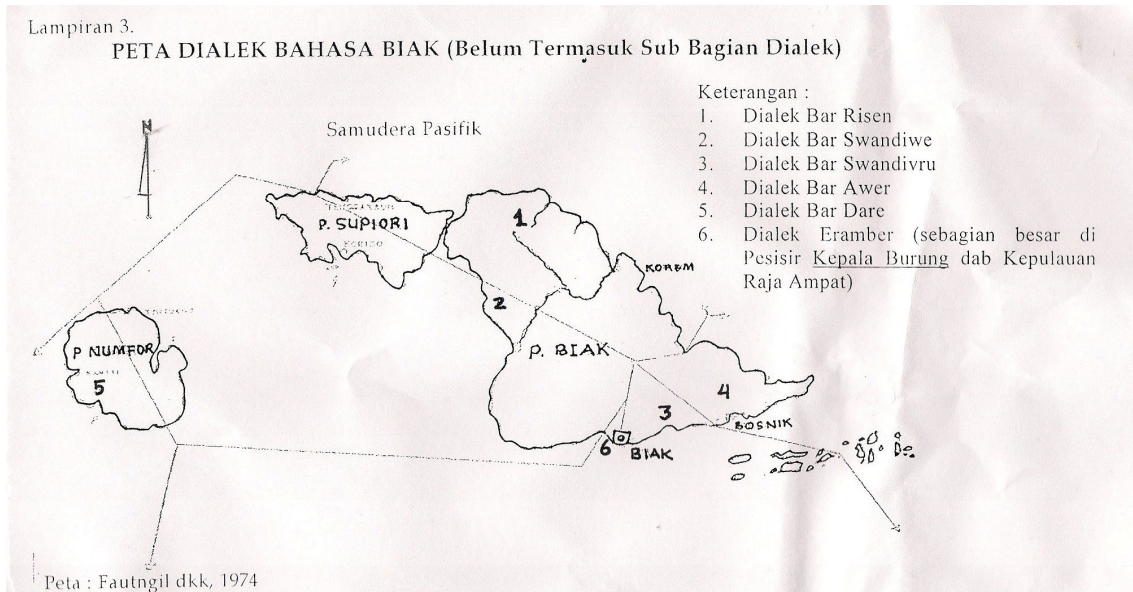
There has not been any specific investigation of the dialects of Biak. Therefore, there are different views and opinions among previous linguists about the number of Biak dialects and their areas of distribution. Kamma (1972:8) mentions that Biak and

Numfor have nine dialect groups and in addition to them three dialect groups along the emigration areas Roon, Dore, and West Waigeo. Steinhauer (1985:464) mentions ten dialects of Biak. However, neither Kamma nor Steinhauer mention any names for the Biak dialects.

SIL International (2004) lists 30 dialects of Biak. The dialects are based on the names of local areas or villages in Biak. The name of the dialects are: Ariom, Bo'o, Dwar, Fairi, Jenures, Korem, Manduser, Mofu, Opiaref, Padoa, Penasifu, Sambei, Sampori, Mokmer, Sor, Sorendidori, Sundei, Wari, Wadibu, Sorido, Bosnik, Korido, Warsa, Wardo, Kamer, Mapia, Miosnum, Rumberpon, Monoarfu, Vogelkop. This listing of different dialects, however, does not specify the linguistic distinctions between the dialects.

Rumbrawer and Fautngil et.al (1994) divide Biak dialects into six dialects based on the six larger geographic areas of Biak: Bar Risen, Bar Swandiwe, Bar Awer, Bar Swandibru, Bar Numfor, and Bar Eramber. Each dialect consists of several subdialects. There are about 17 sub-dialects. The names of the sub-dialects are taken from the names of the villages, which are located in one particular dialect area. For instance, Korem, Soor, Arwam, Dwar, Manwor, and North Supiori speak Bar Risen dialect. The distribution of dialects is presented in the following map (Rumbrawer and Fautngil et.al 1994):

Figure 3. Map of Biak



The map shows the distribution of 6 dialects in Biak: 1. Bar Risen, 2. Bar Swandiwe, 3. Bar Swandibru, 4. Bar Awer, 5. Bar Dare, 6. Bar Eramber

Steinhauer (1985:464) points out that from earlier to the most recent research, the dialectal differences among Biak speakers and in particular ‘the difference beyond the phonological and lexical field’ has not yet been investigated. Therefore, specific research in this area is necessary.

Steinhauer reports that J.L. and F.J.F. Van Hasselt had compared their entries with forms from several other dialects and languages in the area in their dictionary of Numfor of 1947. However, as Steinhauer (1985:463) stated, they do not distinguish between the dialect of Biak and Supriori, but deal with them collectively. Thus, it is difficult to identify whether the dialectal differences extend beyond the phonological and lexical fields (Steinhauer, 1985:463).

In addition, Fautngil and Rumbrawer (2002:18) state that “in certain dialects there are two variations that are recognised. For example, in Bar Swandiwe dialect people recognise /mangganggan/ and /mankankan/ meaning ‘eagle’.” In such a situation, Fautngil and Rumbrawer choose /mangganggan/ to represent the Bar Swandiwe dialect because most people in this dialect area recognize /mangganggan/.

Some examples of the dialect variation of Biak provided by Fautngil and Rumbrawer (2002) are as follows:

(1)	[ʔ]	/ man' an' an /	[manʔʌnʔʌn]	‘eagle’	bar Risen
	[κ]	/mankankan /	[mankʌnκʌn]	‘eagle’	bar Swandiwe
	[g]	/mangganggan /	[mangʌngʌn]	‘eagle’	bar Numfor
(2)	[ʔ]	/ dan' ar /	[danʔʌr]	‘he lies’	bar Risen
	[κ]	/dankar /	[dankʌr]	‘he lies’	bar Swandiwe
	[g]	/danggar/	[dangʌr]	‘he lies’	bar Numfor

Despite the controversies among previous researchers about dialects in Biak, there is agreement among linguists and previous scholars that Biak people speak the same language and could understand each other very well. Kamma (1972:8), for instance, states that ‘although they can be divided into nine dialect groups in Biak Island and three in the emigration areas, the Biak people all speak the same language’. Similarly, Fautngil and Rumbrawer (2002) state that there is no syntactic or morphological difference between any of the Biak dialects. Finally, Mofu’s (2005) findings based on the recording of different dialects show that the morphology and syntax of Biak is similar in all Biak dialects.

CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will present characteristics of the morphology of the Biak language.

The next three sections deal specifically with the morphology of the Biak language.

The first section (section 3.2.) describes morphological typology and how the Biak language fits into it. The second section (section 3.3.) discusses the morphological processes of the Biak language. In this section, inflectional and derivational affixes in the Biak language are presented. The last section (section 3.4) will present an analysis of head-marking and dependent-marking in the Biak language.

3.2. Morphological Typology

The data below show that the Biak language has morphological variation from monomorphemic to polymorphemic with the polymorphemic pattern being the dominant pattern in the language.

3.2.1. Monomorphemic Words

Most nouns and functional words in the Biak language are free morphemes. In these cases, there is a one-to-one correspondence between words and morphemes. The free morphemes are roots that do not need to attach to some other forms. They can be integrated into discourse without having something attached to them. All the words

in (1) except *i-ne* (3SG-this), for instance, can be inserted directly into the discourse without attaching any affix to them.¹

(1)	ras	ine	ras		Jumat		
	ras	i-ne	ras		Jumat		
	day	3SG-this	day		Friday		
	ras	samfur	di	suru	sesr	di	suru
	ras	samfur	di	suru	sesr	di	suru
	day	ten	Num.link	two	plus	Num.link	two
	ro	paik	Oktober				tahun
	ro	paik	Oktober				tahun
	at	month	October <loan/English>				year<loan/Indonesian>
	syaran	di	suru	sesr	di		fyak
	syaran	di	suru	sesr	di		fyak
	thousand	Num.Link	two	plus	Num.Link		four
	oras	ri	war	arwo			babo#
	oras	ri	war	arwo			babo
	hour	at	nine	morning			new

(T2.1)²

‘Today is the twenty second of October, two thousand and four, at nine o’clock early morning’

Similarly, the words *binsar* ‘old woman’, *ro* ‘at’, *mnu* ‘village’, and *sup* ‘land’ in (2) can be inserted directly in to the discourse.

(2)	isoine	binsar	B Mofu	ro	mnu	Nyampun
	i-iso-ine	binsar	B Mofu	ro	mnu	Nyampun
	3SG-be-this.SG	old woman	B Mofu	at	village	Nyampun

¹ The format of examples (1) and (2) will be used as the standard format for all examples in this thesis. The first line of the examples is the Biak orthography. The second line is the morphemic segmentation. The third line is glossing of each morpheme. The fourth line is the translation of the phrase or the clause. The format of all examples in this thesis uses Leipzig glossing conventions.

² This code indicates where the examples come from. T2.1 and T2.3 indicate that the examples are taken from the corpus, which is provided in appendix 3. T2.1 refers to appendix 3, text 2, data number 1. Other codes are *el* = elicitation, *ms* = made up by myself, *pc* = personal communication with informants, and EB, SB, and SOP (specific names of texts where the examples come from. The data from those texts, however, are not provided in appendix 3).

sup	Byaki	bar	Wamurem#	(T2.3)
sup	Byak-i	bar	Wam-urem	
land	Biak-FOC	part	wind-East	

“It is this Mrs B Mofu from Nyampun village (in the) East part of Biak Island”

3.2.2. Polymorphemic Words

Most verbs and some function words in the Biak language consist of more than one morpheme. The word *imbrif* ‘3SG-laugh’ in (3) and *sukobs* ‘3Du-buy’ in (4) are typical examples of verbs in the Biak language. In addition, the possessive pronoun combined with markers of givenness and determiner as illustrated by the word *byansui* ‘POSS-3SG-GIV-3Du-Det (his/her two)’ in (4) is also very common in the Biak language (See chapter 3 section 3.3.1.3).

- (3) *imbrif* (ms)
i - mbrif
3SG-laugh
 ‘s/he, it laughs/laughed’

- (4) Inai **byansui** **sukobs** japan(EB)
 Inai **be- -y- an-sui** **su-kobs** japan
 daughter **POSS-3SG-GIV-Det.DU** **3Du-buy** taro
 ‘Her two daughters bought taro’

Most simple transitive and intransitive verbs in Biak are polymorphemic. Sentences may comprise a single verb. The verb, however, may consist of two or three morphemes. All the words in the example (5-9) correspond to simple sentences or clauses in English.

- (5) **isapi** (ms)
i - sapi
3SG-fall
 ‘s/he, it falls/fell’
- (6) **skombran** (ms)
sko-mbran
3TR-walk
 ‘They walk/walked’
- (7) **yafrar** (ms)
ya-frar
1SG-run
 ‘I run/ran’
- (8) **sudoser** (ms)
su - doser
3DU-beautiful
 ‘The two are beautiful’
- (9) **yaswarau** (ms)
ya – swar - au
1SG-love-2SG
 ‘I love you’

There is also compounding in the Biak language where a number of lexical morphemes are combined to form a single word.³ For example:

- (10) **man** ‘bird’⁴
inem ‘drink’
swan ‘alcohol’
man + inem + swan → manimswan ‘a person who always drinks alcohol/
 a drunkard’.

³ See section (3.3.2.3.) and chapter 6 which give detailed explanation of noun and verbal compounding in the Biak language.

⁴ In the Biak language the word *man* ‘bird’ usually refers to a male person, whereas the word *in* ‘fish’ refers to a female person.

In (10), *manimswan* ‘a person who always drinks alcohol/a drunkard’ is formed by combining three lexical morphemes *man* (person), *inem* (drink), and *swan* (alcohol). Thus, *man* + *inem* + *swan* are compounded together to give → *manimswan*.

3.2.3. Irregular forms

A number of verbs in the Biak language in which the initial consonants of the verbs begin with a bilabial consonant seem to behave differently from other verbs in general in that they appear not to have a subject agreement marker when they are inflected for the second person singular. The assumption here is that the second person subject agreement infix (-w-) has been fused with the initial consonant of the verbs to give a single, unsegmentable morph. Verbs such as *barek* ‘stay’, *bay* ‘dig’, *bores* ‘row’, *farkor* ‘teach’, *fas* ‘write’, *mam* ‘look’, *mun* ‘kill’ are examples of irregular verb forms in the Biak language. When these verbs are inflected for second person singular subject agreement, they appear in their pure root/stem forms without any affixes attached to them.

Observe the following examples.

- (11) **bwors* *fasau* *be* *pam* *iwa*
 b-w-ores *fasau* *be* *pam* *iwa*
 row- -2SG- *quick* *to* *fish net* *that.SG*
 ‘You row quickly to that fish net’

- (12) *bors* *fasau* *be* *pam* *iwa(EB)*
 bores⁵ -w-⁶ *fasau* *be* *pam* *iwa*
 row- -2SG- *quickly* *to* *fish net* *that.SG*
 ‘You row quickly to that fish net’

In (11), the verb *bores* ‘row’ is ill-formed when the second person singular subject agreement infix -w- is inserted immediately after the first consonant. In (12), it is

⁵The last vowel of the Biak verbs in sentence medial position tends to get lost (deleted). However, when the verbs are in sentence final position, the last vowel of the verbs tends to be retained.

⁶ Infix -w- is not realised in (14), however, for glossing purposes, it is glossed here.

well-formed without the second person singular infix. In other words, the verb *bores* ‘row’ in (12) is well-formed in its pure stem form. This irregular verb is inflected according to the Consonantal Pattern type 2 which will be described later in section (3.3.1.1.1.2.).

In addition, it seems that in data (12), the second person singular prefix infix (-w-) is deleted in order to avoid the sequence of two initial bilabial consonants. Data show that two bilabial consonants do not occur in sequence. Van den Heuvel (2006:53) also pointed out that monomorphemic word sequences of bilabials do not occur and that Biak language also avoids bilabial sequences across morpheme boundaries. However, Van den Heuvel noted that cluster *mb* as in *mbo* ‘indeed’ and *imboi* ‘but’ is an exception (Van den Heuvel 2006:55, fn 39).

The fact that the Biak language is dominantly polymorphemic is evidenced by the data which show that words in the language tend to be agglutinating rather than monomorphemic or fusional. Data in examples (5 –9) show the dominant patterns of the Biak language.

The next section will discuss the morphological processes of the Biak language.

3.3. Morphological Processes

In Biak morphology, prefixation is more dominant in inflectional affixation. Infixation only occurs in certain constructions such as verbs to mark second person singular and third person singular subject agreement and to show the copular clitic in the predicate nominal construction. Suffixation occurs in the alienable and inalienable

possessive construction and in the predicate nominal construction. In derivational affixation, prefixation and reduplication are more dominant. Infixation does not occur in derivational affixation.

The next sections will discuss inflectional and derivational affixes in the Biak language.

3.3.1. Inflectional Affixes

This section is divided into four subsections. The first section will discuss inflection on verbal and prepositional predicates. The second section will discuss inflection on demonstratives and directionals. The third section will discuss inflections on possessives. Finally, the fourth section will discuss inflection on nominal predicates.

3.3.1.1. Inflection on Verbal and Prepositional Predicates

Steinhauer (1985:471 and 2005:798) provides three paradigms of prefixes (in some cases infixes) which show morphological variation that may occur in subject agreement. The three paradigms of prefixes are the syllabic sets of prefixes (vocalic), the non-syllabic set of prefixes (non-vocalic) and the mixed set of prefixes.

Steinhauer's paradigms of prefixes, in fact, can be reduced to two main paradigms of affixes. The two paradigms of affixes are the consonantal pattern and the vocal pattern. The vocal pattern contains only prefixes. The consonantal pattern, on the other hand, consists of 2 types of patterns. The first pattern has only prefixes, which

can be attached to verb roots/stems beginning with consonant-vowel (CV) and to verb roots/stems beginning with consonant clusters (CC). The second pattern has prefixes and infixes and can only be attached to the CV initial verb roots/stems.

In order to distinguish which CV initial verb roots/stems use which patterns, the first consonantal pattern will be referred to as the Consonantal Pattern Type 1

(CP Type 1). The second consonantal pattern will be referred to as the Consonantal Pattern Type 2 (CP Type 2). The distinction between the two types of the consonantal patterns will be presented.

Table 1 lists subject agreement affixes for each of the inflectional patterns in the Biak language. The list contains free pronouns and the two sets of patterns of the inflectional paradigm of affixes in the Biak language. The discussion of each of the inflectional patterns will follow.

Table 1. Subject agreement affixes

Pronouns	Free	Agreement Affix		
		CONSONANTAL PATTERN		VOCAL PATTERN
		Type 1 CV-initial stem CC-initial stem prefix	Type 2 CV-initial stem prefix and infix	V-initial stem prefix
1 sg	Aya	ya-	ya-	y-
2sg	Au	wa-	-w-	w-
3sg	i	i-	-y-	d-
1du.incl	ku	ku-	ku-	kuy-
1du .excl	nu	nu-	nu-	nuy-
2du	mu	mu-	mu-	muy-
3du	su	su-	su-	suy-
3pcl	sko	sko-	sko-	sk-
1pl.incl	ko	ko-	ko-	k-
1pl.excl	inko	(i)nko-	(i)nko-	(i)nk-
2pl	mko	mko-	mko-	mk-
3pl.an	si	si-/ s-	si-/s-	s-
3pl.inan	na	na /n-	na-/n-	n-

3.3.1.1.1. The Consonantal Pattern

3.3.1.1.1.1. The Consonantal Pattern Type 1 (CP Type 1)

The form of the pronominal prefixes in the CP Type 1 is very similar to the free pronouns. Table 2 illustrates examples of the CV initial roots/stems while table 3 illustrates examples of the CC initial verb roots/stems.

Tabel 2. The Consonantal Pattern Type 1 (CV initial roots/stems)

Pronouns	Prefix	Roots			
		<i>ba</i>	<i>fukən</i>	<i>kandor</i>	<i>marisen</i>
		‘big’	‘ask’	‘surprise’	‘happy’
1 sg	ya-	ya-ba	ya-fukən	ya-kandor	ya-marisen
2sg	wa-	wa-ba	wa-fukən	wa-kandor	wa-marisen
3sg	i-	i-ba	i-fukən	i-kandor	i-marisen
1du.incl	ku-	ku-ba	ku-fukən	ku-kandor	ku-marisen
1du.excl	nu-	nu-ba	nu-fukən	nu-kandor	nu-marisen
2du	mu-	mu-ba	mu-fukən	mu-kandor	mu-marisen
3du	su-	su-ba	su-fukən	su-kandor	su-marisen
3pcl	sko-	sko-ba	sko-fukən	sko-kandor	sko-marisen
1pl.incl	ko-	ko-ba	ko-fukən	ko-kandor	ko-marisen
1pl.excl	(i)nko-	(i)nko-ba	(i)nko-fukən	(i)nko-kandor	(i)nko-marisen
2pl	mko-	mko-ba	mko-fukən	mko-kandor	mko-marisen
3pl.an	si-	si-ba	si-fukən	si-kandor	si-marisen
3pl.inan	na-	na-ba	na-fukən	na-kandor	na-marisen

Tabel 3. The Consonantal Pattern Type 1 (CC initial roots/stems)

Pronouns	Prefix	Roots			
		<i>fnak</i> 'play'	<i>mbran</i> 'walk'	<i>pdef</i> 'go straight'	<i>swarepen</i> 'remember'
1 sg	ya-	ya-fnak	ya- mbran	ya-pdef	ya-swarepen
2sg	wa-	wa- fnak	wa- mbran	wa- pdef	wa- swarepen
3sg	i-	i- fnak	i- mbran	i- pdef	i-swarepen
1du.incl	ku-	ku- fnak	ku- mbran	ku- pdef	ku-swarepen
1du .excl	nu-	nu- fnak	nu- mbran	nu- pdef	nu-swarepen
2du	mu-	mu- fnak	mu- mbran	mu- pdef	mu-swarepen
3du	su-	su- fnak	su- mbran	su- pdef	su-swarepen
3pcl	sko-	sko- fnak	sko- mbran	sko- pdef	sko-swarepen
1pl.incl	ko-	ko- fnak	ko- mbran	ko- pdef	ko-swarepen
1pl.excl	(i)nko-	(i)nko- fnak	(i)nko- mbran	(i)nko- pdef	(i)nko-swarepen
2pl	mko-	mko- fnak	mko- mbran	mko- pdef	mko-swarepen
3pl.an	si-	si- fnak	si- mbran	si- pdef	si-swarepen
3pl.inan	na-	na-fnak	na-mbran	na- pdef	na-swarepen

3.3.1.1.1.2. The Consonantal Pattern Type 2 (CP Type 2)

The prefixes in the Consonantal Pattern Type 2 are similar to the prefixes of the Consonantal Pattern Type 1. The difference is that Type 2 has infixes for the second person singular and the third person singular. The second person singular infix is *-w-* and the third person singular infix is *-y-*. The second person singular infix (*-w-*) and the third person singular infix (*-y-*) apply to verb roots/stems beginning with consonant-vowel (CV) and not to verb roots/stems beginning with consonant clusters (CC). The infixes are inserted immediately after the first consonant of the root or the stem.

Both the second person singular infix (-w-) and the third person singular infix (-y-) apply to roots or stems beginning with / k, n, r, s, b(β,v)⁷, p, f, m,/. There is, however, an exception for the second person singular infix (-w-) in which the infix is not realised in most relevant verbs. Thus, most verbs that begin with these consonants when inflected for the second person singular infix /-w-/, will retain their pure root/stem forms, as described in section 3.2.3.

In order to give a complete picture of this paradigm, table 4 presents examples of the Consonantal Pattern Type 2. The examples of the infixes are printed in bold.

Table 4. The Consonantal Pattern Type 2 with Infix for the 2nd and 3rd person singular (CV initial roots/stems).

Pronouns	Prefix/ Infix / Zero Affix	Roots				<i>babar</i>
		<i>kaber</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>mam</i>	
		'return'	'be at'	'go'	'see'	'naked'
1 sg	ya-	ya-kaber	ya-ro	ya-ra	ya-mam	ya-baber
2SG	-w- / Ø	k-w-aber	r-w-o	r-w-a	mam	babar
3SG	-y-	k-y-aber	r-y-o	r-y-a	m-y-am	b-y-aber
1 du.incl	ku-	ku-kaber	ku-ro	ku-ra	ku-mam	ku-baber
1 du .excl	nu-	nu-kaber	nu-ro	nu-ra	nu-mam	nu-baber
2 du	mu-	mu-kaber	mu-ro	mu-ra	mu-mam	mu-baber
3 du	su-	su-kaber	su-ro	su-ra	su-mam	su-baber
3 pl	sko-	sko-kaber	sko-ro	sko-ra	sko-mam	sko-baber
1 pl.incl	ko-	ko-kaber	ko-ro	ko-ra	ko-mam	ko-baber
1 pl.excl	(i)nko-	(i)nko-kaber	(i)nko-ro	(i)nko-ra	(i)nko-mam	(i)nko-baber
2 pl	mko-	mko-kaber	mko-ro	mko-ra	mko-mam	mko-baber
3 pl.an	s-	s-kaber	s-ro	s-ra	s-mam	s-baber
3 pl.inan	n-	n-kaber	n-ro	n-ra	n-mam	n-baber

⁷ In past and present Biak language documents, all bilabial fricatives (phonemes /v/ or /β/) were written as /b/. There is no phonemic distinction between bilabial stops and bilabial fricatives. Recent research on Biak such as Steinhauer (1985), Fautngil and Rumbrawer (2000) and Van den Heuvel (2006), however, has used /v/. Since all the data from my corpus used phoneme /b/ instead of /v/ or /β/, I will use /b/ in this research.

For a list of verbs which belong to each consonantal pattern, see appendix 2.

3.3.1.1.2. Vocal Pattern

The vocal pattern applies to roots or stems that begin with a vowel (V). There is vowel deletion in most of the prefixes except for the dual forms. The vowel *u* of all the dual forms is retained and a glide (-y-) is inserted between the prefixes and the roots or the stems. In addition, the third person singular takes prefix /d/ instead of /i/. Observe the examples in table 5.

Table 5. The Vocal Pattern

Pronouns	Prefix	Roots			
		<i>an</i>	<i>enef</i>	<i>ores</i>	<i>uf</i>
		'eat'	'sleep'	'stand'	'hold'
1 sg	y-	y-an	y- enef	y- ores	y- uf
2sg	w-	w-an	w- enef	w- ores	w- uf
3sg	d-	d-an	d- enef	d- ores	d- uf
1du.incl	kuy-	ku-y-an	ku-y- enef	ku-y- ores	ku-y- uf
1du .excl	nuy-	nu-y-an	nu-y- enef	nu-y- ores	nu-y- uf
2du	muy-	mu-y-an	mu-y- enef	mu-y- ores	mu-y- uf
3du	suy-	su-y-an	su-y- enef	su-y- ores	su-y-uf
3pcl	sk-	sk-an	sk- enef	sk- ores	sk- uf
1pl.incl	k-	k-an	k- enef	k- ores	k- uf
1pl.excl	(i)nk-	(i)nk-an	(i)nk- enef	(i)nk- ores	(i)nk- uf
2pl	mk-	mk-an	mk- enef	mk- ores	mk- uf
3pl.an	s-	s-an	s- enef	s- ores	s- uf
3pl.inan	n-	n-an	n- enef	n- ores	n- uf

Although the inflectional patterns have been clearly described, there are still some variations in the inflection of verbal, adjectival and prepositional predicates, which indicate morphological variation for subject agreement in all forms.

The verb *rires* ‘to dry (something) under the sun’, for instance, has variation in the inflectional pattern for the second person singular and the third person singular. The variation is that the verb *rires* ‘to dry (something) under the sun’ can be inflected according to either CP Type 1 or CP Type 2. Observe the examples in (13-16)

- | | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------------|-----------|
| (13) | warirs
wa-rires
2SG-dry (under the sun)
‘you dried clothes (under the sun)’ | sansun
sansun
clothes | CP Type 1 |
| (14) | rwirs
rires- -w-
dry (under the sun) -2SG-
‘you dried clothes (under the sun)’ | sansun
sansun
clothes | CP Type 2 |
| (15) | irirs
i-rires
3SG-dry (under the sun)
‘he dried clothes (under the sun)’ | sansun
sansun
clothes | CP Type 1 |
| (16) | ryirs
rires- -y-
dry (under the sun)- -3SG-
‘he dried clothes (under the sun)’ | sansun
sansun
clothes | CP Type 2 |

Other examples are the variant forms of the third person plural animate and inanimate. The verb *kaber* ‘return’ may take different prefixes for the third person plural inanimate (*na-* or *n-*) as in the sentence *na-kaber* and *n-kaber* ‘they return’.

Similarly the verb *bar* ‘carry something on the shoulder’ has a variant form of the third person plural animate prefixes (*si-* and *s-*) as in the sentence *s-bar aina* and *si-bar aina* ‘they carry the wood’.

According to Steinhauer (1985:471), this variation is partly conditioned by the phonological shape of the stem, but is partly unpredictable (especially for the second and third person singular and the third person plural (animate and inanimate)).

It seems that the choice of the prefixes for certain verbs is determined lexically (Van den Heuvel 2006:158). This is proven by the fact that minimal pairs like the roots *so* ‘throw’ and *so* ‘follow’ take different CP type inflections. See figure 4 below:

Figure 1. Minimal pairs

Pronouns	Agreement Affix	Roots	
		<i>so</i> ‘follow’	<i>so</i> ‘throw’
2SG	wa-, -w-	wa -so	s- w -o
3SG	i-, -y-	i -so	s- y -o
3PL AN	si-, s-	si -so	s -so
3PL INAN	na-, n-	na -so	n -so

In *so* ‘follow’, the inflectional pattern follows the CP type 1, whereas in *so* ‘throw’, the inflectional pattern follows the CP type 2.

3.3.1.2. Inflection on Demonstratives and Directionals

3.3.1.2.1. Demonstratives

Demonstratives are inflected with regard to number, gender and syntactic position.

The demonstrative also indicates whether the entity being pointed out is already known to the hearer or not explicitly so.

The fact that the demonstrative is semantically organized in the form of multi-dimensional sets of oppositions has been observed by Steinhauer who wrote the following preliminary sketch:

“The entity designated may be defined exclusively with regard to the position of the speaker (in marked usage the interpretation “invisible to the hearer” may be appropriate): “this”; this meaning is opposed to the pair “relatively close to the speaker and hearer” vs “relatively remote”; this triple opposition is semantically neutralized in forms that may be qualified as definite articles (1985:475).

Steinhauer (2005: 814) states some important proposals for the formation of Biak demonstratives. According to Steinhauer, demonstratives and directional constructions are combinations of the following formatives:

- (1) The personal pronouns for third person (namely articles in their clause final shape), which indicate number, gender and definiteness of the entity whose location is to be specified.
- (2) Those expressing relative position with respect to the position of the speaker (S): ‘in front of S’ (*-pon*). ‘behind S’ *-pur*); ‘above S’ (*i-yas*), ‘below S’ (*-bab*), or relative position of the speaker and some area of orientation: ‘between S and the sea’ (*-ra*); after *-n-*: *-da*) ‘between S and the inland’ (*re-de*), ‘outside the place where S is’ (*-ri/-di*)⁸;
- (3) Formatives expressing relative distance from the speaker: ‘here (PRX)’ (*-ne*), ‘there (MED)’ (*-i*, clause medially *-ya*), and ‘yonder (DIST)’ (*-wa*). The distance for an entity to be qualified as PRX etc. depends on its volume. A distance of 5 meters would qualify a house as being PRX, but a scorpion as DIST.

⁸ In addition to this list, there are two other formatives which need to be included to the list. Formatives *-rum* ‘inside’ (as in example 21 and page 39) and *bun* ‘in the middle of (the sea)’ (as on page 42).

- (4) Formatives which indicate the direction in which the entity is moving with regard to the position of speech partners, with possible values ‘towards the speaker (VEN)’ (-*ma*), ‘away from the speaker/towards the hearer (AND)’ (-*fá*), and ‘not related to the speech situation (GO)’ (-*ra*). (Steinhauer 2005, 814-815).

The following combinations occur: (1) + (3), (1) + (2) + (3), (1) + (3) + (4). In order to make Steinhauer’s points clear, I provide some examples for each of the proposed combination. The glossing of each morpheme follows the format used in this thesis.

a. (1) + (3);

(17) ine
i-ne
3SG.Det-this
‘this’

(18) iya
i-ya
3SG.Det-that
‘that’

(19) iwa
i-wa
3SG.Det-that .over.there
‘that over there’

b. (1) + (2) + (3);

(20) iponne
i-pon-ne
3SG.Det-front-this
the one (at the) front here

(21) irumwa
i-rum-wa
3SG.Det-inside-that .over.there
the one inside overthere

c. (1) + (3) + (4);

- (22) iyama
i-ya-ma
3SG.Det-that-moving towards me
'that moving towards me'

Steinhauer states that combination of (1) and (3) is obligatory.

Building on Steinhauer's proposal, I suggest two more possible combinations of demonstratives and directionals as follows:

1. (1) + (3) + (4) + (2)
2. (1) + (2) + (3) + (4)

Examples:

1. (1) + (3) + (4) + (2)

- (23) iyamre
i-ya-m-re
3SG.Det-that-moving towards me-landward
'that moving landwards (to where I am)'

2. (1) + (2) + (3) + (4)

- (24) iyaswara
i-yas-wa-ra
3SG.Det-above-that.over.there-moving to there
'that over there above moving to there (remote)'

For simplification, *i-ne* (3SG.DET-this), *i-ya* (3SG.DET-that), and *i-wa* (3SG.DET-that.overthere) will be written as one word with glossing as follows: *ine* (this.SG), *iya* (that.SG), and *iwa* (that.over.there.SG).

However, for first and second person singular and non-singular numbers, the glossing will include number and person, e.g. *ske-ine* (3PCL-this), *mu-ine* (2DU-this), *s-ine* (3PL.AN-this), etc.

The next two sections will discuss basic demonstratives and complex demonstratives in the Biak language.

3.3.1.2.1.1. Basic Demonstratives

The demonstrative pronouns consist of a free pronoun cliticised with one of the basic demonstrative elements as shown in table 6.

The basic sets of demonstratives (*ine* ‘this close to speaker’, *iya* ‘that relatively close to hearer and speaker’, *iwa* ‘that far away from speaker and hearer’ and *i* ‘the (neutral)’ can be expressed with no affixation.

Table 6. Basic sets of Demonstratives

Number	Free Pronouns	ine 'this' close to speaker	iya ⁹ 'that' relatively close to hearer (and speaker)	iwa that remote/far away from speaker and hearer	i ¹⁰ 'the' neutral
1 sg	aya	ayaine	- ¹¹	-	-
2sg	au	auine	aluiya	aluiwa	-
3sg	i	ine	iya	iwa	i/ya ¹²
1du.incl	ku	kuine	-	-	-
1du.excl	nu	nuine	-	-	-
2du	mu	muine	muiya	muiwa	-
3du	su	suine	suiya	suiwa	sui/suya
3pcl	sko	skoine	skoiya	skoiswa	scoi/skoya
1pl.incl	ko	koine	-	-	-
1pl.excl	inko	inkoine	-	-	-
2pl	mko	mkoine	mkoiya	mkoiswa	-
3pl.an	si	sine	siya	siwa	si/sya
3pl.inan	na	naine	naiya	naiwa	na

The inflection of demonstratives **ine** 'this' (close to the speaker (and hearer)), **iya** 'that (close to the hearer)', and **iwa** 'that' (remote from the speaker (and the hearer)), take prefixes which are similar to verbal inflections (See section 3.3.1.1).

Example:

- (25) snon suiwa sukaki kaku
 snon su-iwa su-kaki kaku
 man 3DU-that 3DU-high very
 'those two men are very tall'

The combination of second person singular (au-), second person dual (mu-), and second person plural (mko-) with demonstrative **iwa** 'that (remote/far away from speaker (and hearer))' is allowed in Biak. However, they can only be used in certain

⁹ According to Van den Heuvel (2006:333), formatives *-ya /-yi* is used to refer to entities conceived as close to S (and A) but not closer to S than to A.

¹⁰ The form of demonstrative **i** is similar to the third person singular **i**.

¹¹ A hyphen (-) means that the form is not possible.

¹² The demonstrative **ya** 'the' is the sentence medial form. Its variant form **i** is the sentence final form.

contexts. For instance, they can be used when there are many people present at the time of speaking and the speaker would like to get attention of the hearer (second person/persons) who is a bit far away from the speaker. For example:

(26)	auiwa	nido	waso	ke	barek? (pc)
	au-iwa	nido	wa-so	ke	barek- -w-
	2SG-that	FOC	2SG-follow	or	stay - -2SG-
	'you over there, are you coming or staying ?'				

3.3.1.2.1.2. Complex Demonstratives

The basic demonstratives in table 6 can combine with positional, directional and motional markers. The positional and directional markers are *pon* 'front', *pur* 'back/behind', *bab* 'below', *yas* 'above', *re* 'land side', *ra* 'seaside', *bun* 'in the middle (of the sea)', *ri* 'outside', and *rum* 'inside'. The motion markers are *-ma*, *-m-* 'moving towards the speaker', *-fa*, *-f-* 'moving away from the speaker/ towards the hearer', *-ra*, *-r-* 'moving (not related to the speech situation)'.

The combination of demonstratives, positional, motional and directional markers form complex demonstratives.

There is a distinction in morpheme order of complex demonstratives that shows whether an entity is moving or is at rest. When the entity is at rest, the positional or directional formatives are placed before the demonstrative marker.

For example:

- (27) roma iponne ibiser(EB)
 roma i-pon-ne i-biser
 child 3SG-front-this 3SG-hungry
 ‘the child in front (of this house) is hungry’

In (27), the positional marker (relative position with respect to the position of the speaker) is *pon* ‘front’ and it appears infix to the demonstrative word *ine* (this.3SG).

When an entity is moving, the placement of motion markers (or combination of motion and directional markers) will occur after the demonstrative words. For example:

- (28) iyama
 iya-ma
 3SG.that-moving towards me
 ‘that moving towards me’

- (29) iwamrum
 iwa-m-rum
 3SG.that.over there-moving towards me- inside
 ‘that over there moving towards me inside’

The placement of positional markers after demonstrative words is ill-formed as the following examples illustrate:

- (30) *inepon
 ine-pon
 3SG.this-front
 ‘this in front’

- (31) *iwarum
 iwa-rum
 3SG.that-inside
 ‘this inside’

These patterns show that Biak has speaker centred utterances. In complex demonstrative constructions, an entity can move away from the speaker to any direction (close or remote distance) or from any directions towards the speaker. However, the movement of the entity is not allowed from a remote area to the hearer.

The possible combination of demonstratives and motional and directional markers are shown in table 7 below:

Table 7 Possible formation of complex demonstratives with motional markers.

Demonstrative	Motional		
	moving towards the speaker (and hearer)	moving away from the speaker towards the hearer or other target	moving away not towards the speaker or hearer'
ine	ma	fa	ra
iya	ma	fa	-
iwa	ma	-	ra

There are four possible combinations of complex demonstratives:

1. Demonstrative + Positional/Directional markers

Table 8 below shows the combination of demonstrative words and all positional/directional markers. All examples in table 8 mean that the entity is at rest.

Table 8 Basic demonstratives (ine, iya, iwa) in combination with positional markers.

Positional/ Directional	Demonstrative + Directionals			Meaning viewed from the perspective of Speaker
	ne	ya	wa	
pon	iponne	iponya	iponwa	this / that / that.over.there in front
pur	ipurne	ipurya	ipurwa	this / that / that.over.there at the back
bab	ibabne	ibabya	ibabwa	this / that / that.over.there below
yas	iyasne	iyasya	iyaswa	this / that / that.over.there above
re	ireine	ireiya	ireiwa	this / that / that.over.there at the landside
ra	iraine	iraiya	iraiwa	this / that / that.over.there at the seaside
bun	ibunne	ibunya	ibunwa	this / that / that.over.there in the middle of something
ri	irine	iriya	iriwa	this / that / that.over.there outside
rum	irumne	irumya	irumwa	this / that / that.over.there inside of something

2. Demonstrative + Motional markers

Tables 9, 10, and 11 show demonstratives in combination with motion markers; *-ma* ‘moving towards the speaker (and hearer)’, *-fa* ‘moving away from the speaker (towards other target)’, *-ra* ‘moving away not towards the speaker or the hearer but away from both the speaker and the hearer’.

Table 9 Dem + Motion marker *-ma* ‘moving towards the speaker (and hearer)’

Basic demonstratives	Dem + Motion marker - <i>ma</i>	Meaning
ine	ine-ma	this moving towards me
iya	iya-ma	that moving towards me
iwa	iwa-ma	that.over there moving towards me

Table 10 Dem + Motion marker *-fa* ‘moving away from the speaker towards the hearer or other target.

Basic demonstratives	Dem + Motion marker - <i>fa</i>	Meaning
ine	ine-fa	this moving away from me to you’
iya	iyafa	that moving away from me to you’
iwa	*iwa-fa	*that.over.there moving away from me to you’

Table 11 Dem + Motion marker *-ra* ‘moving away not towards the speaker or hearer’

Basic demonstratives	Dem + Motion marker - <i>ra</i>	Meaning
ine	ine-ra	this moving away to over there (Somewhere far away or remote from speaker’s view point)
iya	*iya-ra	that close to you moving away to over there
iwa	iwa-ra	that over there moving to over there

For ungrammatical forms of the complex demonstratives, see the discussion of the ungrammaticality of complex demonstratives that follows table 16.

3. *Demonstrative + Motional + Positional/Directional markers*

The complex demonstratives in tables 9 to 11 can be expanded with the addition of positional or directional markers (see table 8). This results in complex demonstratives indicating that an entity is moving towards the speaker or away from the speaker and in what direction. For example:

- (32) kawasa siyamra
kawasa si-ya-m-ra
people 3PL.AN - that - towards here - seaward
'those people coming here, seawards'

In (32) the placement of motion marker *-m-* and directional marker *-ra* occurs after the demonstrative word *siya* (3PL.AN-that).

Tables 12, 13, and 14 illustrate demonstratives in combination with motion markers (*-m-* 'moving towards the speaker', *-f-* 'moving away from the speaker towards the hearer', *-r-* 'moving away (not related to the speech situation)' and directional markers ('in front of S' (*-pon*), 'behind S' (*-pur*), 'above' (*-yas*), 'below' (*-bab*), or relative to the position of the speaker and some area of orientation: 'between S and the sea' (*-ra*; after *-n*: *-da*) – 'between S and the inland' (*-re/-de*) – 'outside the place where S is' (*-ri/-di*);

Table 12. Dem + Motion marker *-m-* ‘moving towards the speaker (and hearer)’ + Position/Directional marker

Basic demonstratives	Dem + Motion marker <i>-m-</i> + Directional marker <i>-ra</i> .	Meaning
ine	ine-m-ra	this moving seawards towards me
iya	iya-m-ra	that moving seawards towards me
iwa	iwa-m-ra	that over there moving seawards towards me

Table 13 Dem + Motion marker *-f-* ‘moving away (towards other target) from the speaker + Directionals

Basic demonstratives	Dem + Motion marker <i>-f-</i> + Directional marker <i>-pur</i> .	Meaning
ine	ine-f-pur	this moving in your direction backward
iya	iya-f-pur	that moving in your direction backward
iwa	*iwa-f-pur	*that over there moving in your direction backwards

Table 14 Dem + Motion marker *-r-* ‘moving away not towards the speaker or other target’

Basic demonstratives	Dem + Motion marker <i>-r-</i> + Directional marker <i>-pon</i> .	Meaning
ine	ine-r-pon	this moving to over there, frontwards
iya	*iya-r-pon	that moving to over there, frontwards
iwa	iwa-r-pon	that over there moving to over there, frontwards

4. *Demonstrative + Positional/Directional marker and Motional markers.*

Table 15 illustrates complex demonstratives in combination with positional/directional markers and motional markers.

Table 15 Demonstrative + Position markers + Motion adverbs *-ra, -ma, -fa*

Basic demonstratives	Dem + Motion marker <i>-r-</i> + Directional marker <i>-pon.</i>	Meaning
iwa	i-pon-wa-ra	That over there frontward moving to over there
iya	i-yas-ya-fa *i-yas-wa-fa	That above close to you moving in your direction *that above over there moving in your direction
ine	i-rum-ne-ma	this inside moving towards me

All the basic and complex demonstratives can have prefix *an-*(GIV) that indicates whether an entity being pointed out is already known to the hearer or not explicitly so.

Example:

- (33) anine dobe ibiser(EB)
 an-ine d-obe i-biser
 GIV- 3SG.this 3SG-say 3SG-hungry

‘this one here said (that) he is hungry’

cannot combine with motional marker *-ra* because formative *-ya* expresses relative distance between the speaker and the hearer, whereas formative *-ra* indicates movement of an entity which is not related to the speech situation. Secondly, formative *-wa* expresses an entity which is far away/remote from both the speaker and the hearer. Therefore, it cannot combine with formative *-fa* which indicates movement of an entity away from the speaker/towards the hearer.

3.3.1.2.2. Directional Verbs

Directional verbs are formed by inflection of motion and positional verbs *ra* ‘go’ and *ro* ‘be at’. The verbal inflection follows consonantal pattern type 2 (See section 3.3.1.1.1.2). See also section 4.3.1.3.

Steinhauer (2005) introduces two sets of directional verbs. The first set consists of directional verbs formed on the basis of verb roots *ra* and *ro* (mentioned above). The second set consists of directional verbs formed on the basis of the root *-is-* ‘EXIST, be there (on one’s way to/from....)’. With the second verb root “the relative distance from the speaker has to be expressed, resulting in the derived stems *-is-ne* ‘EXIST-PRX’, *-is-ya* ‘EXIST-MED’, and *-is-wa* ‘EXIST-DIST’ (Steinhauer, 2005:817).

In this thesis I argue that the directional verb root *-is-* which Steinhauer (2005) discusses is actually a copular verb *is-*, which is similar to the copular verb *is(o)* and which can be distinguished from the copular clitic *-s-* (See Chapter 8, section 8.3.2.1 and 8.3.2.4).

In the formation of directional verbs, two constructions are notable. First, the demonstrative roots (*ne* ‘this’, *-ya* ‘that’, and *-wa* ‘that over there’) are incorporated into the copular verb construction and appear after the copular verb root *is-* as in *is-ne* ‘be-here’, *-is-ya* ‘be-there’, and *-is-wa* ‘be-over there’. Second, the demonstrative stems (*ine* ‘this’, *iya* ‘that’, and *iwa* ‘that over there’) are incorporated into the copular verb construction and appear after copular clitic *-s-* which is preceded by final determiner marker *i* as in *i-s-ine* ‘here-is/are’, *i-s-iya* ‘there-is/are’, and *i-s-iwa* ‘that.over.there-is/are’. The combination of copular verb *is-* and demonstratives and directionals forms directional verbs.

Therefore, I suggest that there are two kinds of directional verbs formed by combinations of copular forms and demonstratives and directionals. First, as already mentioned above, is the combination of copular verb *is-* and demonstrative and directionals. Example (36) illustrates a directional verb formed on the basis of copular verb *is-* with demonstrative *-ne* which results in derived stem *-isne* ‘be here’.

Directional verb *is-ne* ‘be here’

- (36) *isne*
i-is-ne
 3SG-be-this
 ‘he/she/it is here’

Second is the combination of copular clitic *-s-* with demonstrative and directionals.

Example (37) illustrates a directional verb formed on the basis of copular clitic *-s-* with determiner marker *i-* preceding it and demonstrative *ine* following it. This results in derived stem *isine* ‘here is/are....,here (something) exists’

Directional verb *isine* ‘here is/are....’

- (37) *isine*
i-s-ine
DET.SG-be-this
'Here is him/her/it'

Both directional verbs *isne* and *isine* can be inflected for person, number and gender.

They can take all personal pronouns as subject agreement. Observe (38) and (39):

Copular verb *is-ne* 'be here'

- (38) *Sko-is-ne*
Sko-is-ne
3PCL-be-this
'they are here'

Copular verb *isine* 'here is/are.....'

- (39) *Skoisine*
Skoi-s-ine
3PCL.DET-be-this
'Here are they, 'Here they are'

In (38) directional verb *is-ne* is inflected with third person paucal subject agreement.

In (39) the copular clitic occurs between determiner *skoi* (3PCL.DET) and demonstrative word *ine* 'this'.

Directional verbs formed on the basis of copular verb *is-* and clitic *-s-* can also combine with complex demonstratives as the following examples illustrate:

- (40) *inempur*
i-ne-m-pur
Det.SG-this-towards me-back
'the one (passing) here moving towards my back'

(41) isinempur
 i-s-i-ne-m-pur
 Det.SG-be-Det.SG-this-towards me-back
 ‘the one (passing) here moving towards my back is him’

(42) isnempur
 i-is-ne-m-pur
 3SG-be-this-towards me-back
 ‘He/She/It is moving towards my back’

Table 17 and 18 illustrates a paradigm of directional verbs formed by combination of copular verb *is-* and copular clitic *-s-* with demonstrative marker *-ne* ‘here’.

Table 17. Directional verb *is-ne*

Number	Basic Demonstrative	Verb <i>is-</i> + demonstrative	Meaning
1 sg	ayaine	ayaisne	I am here
2sg	auine	ausne	you are here
3sg	ine	isne	he/she/it is here
1du.incl	kuine	kuisne	the two of us (INCL) are here
1du.excl	nuine	nuisne	the two of us (EXCL) are here
2du	muine	muisne	the two of you are here
3du	suine	suisne	the two of them are here
3pcl	skoine	skoisne	the three (or more) of them are here
1pl.incl	koine	koisne	we (PL.INCL) are here
1pl.excl	inkoine	inkoisne	we (PL.EXCL) are here
2pl	mkoine	mkoisne	you (PL) are here
3pl.an	sine	sisne	they (PL.AN) are here
3pl.inan	naine	naisne	they (PL.INAN) are here

- (44) *Roma* ***byedi*** (EB)
 Roma **be- -y- -di**
 son **POSS- -3SG- Det.SG**
 ‘His son’

As illustrated in (43) and (44), the basic possessive pronoun has two parts. The first part is the possessive verb root *be* which is inflected for number and person of the possessor. The inflection of the possessive verb *be* follows the CP type 2 with infix (-y-) for the third person singular. The second part is the determiner phrase, which marks number and gender (for plural only) of the possessed noun and which closes the possessive pronouns (See chapter 4 section 4.2.1.3 on gender and plurality). There is, however, a deletion of *b-* in the forms with first person singular which seems surprising. There is no clear explanation for this phenomenon. The form will be ill-formed if we try to retain *b-* in its pure root form as the following examples illustrate:

- (45) **Roma* ***ayabedi*** (EB)
 Roma **Aya-be-di**
 son **1SG-POSS- Det.SG**
 ‘My son’

- (46) *Roma* ***ayedi*** (EB)
 Roma **Ay-e-di**
 son **1SG-POSS- Det.SG**
 ‘My son’

In (46) the form is well-formed without *b-*. This phenomenon is different from *b-* deletion which usually occurs in the relativizer prefix *be-* (See 3.3.2.1.1.2). Relativizer prefix *be-* is in free variation with relativizer prefix *e-*. Thus, it is fine to have relativizer prefix *be-* with or without *b-* deletion. Observe examples below:

- (47) kawasa **befur** **rumyansya**
kawasa **be-fur** **rum-ya-n-sya**
people **REL-make** **house-DET.SG-GIV-Det.PL.AN**
“The people who built the house”
- (48) kawasa **efur** **rumyansya**
kawasa **e-fur** **rum-ya-n-sya**
people **REL-make** **house-DET.SG-GIV-Det.PL.AN**
“The people who built the house”

The basic possessive pronouns in the Biak language are presented in table 19.

Table 19. Basic Possessive pronouns

POSSESSOR	POSSESSED NUMBER				
	SINGULAR	DUAL	PAUCAL	PL.AN	PL.INAN
1 sg	ay-e-di/y-e-di	ay-e-su-i/y-e-su-i	ayeskoi/yeskoi	ayesi/yesi	ayena/yena
2sg	be-di	be-su-i	be-sko-i	be-si	be-na
3sg	b-y-e-di	b-y-e-su-i	b-y-e-sko-i	b-y-e-si	b-y-e-na
1du.incl	ku-be-di	ku-be-su-i	ku-be-sko-i	ku-be-si	ku-be-na
1du .excl	nu-be-di	nu-be-su-i	nu-be-sko-i	nu-be-si	nu-be-na
2du	mu-be-di	mu-be-sui	mu-be-sko-i	mu-be-si	mu-be-na
3du	su-be-di	su-be-su-i	su-be-sko-i	su-be-si	su-be-na
3pcl	sco-be-di	sco-be-su-i	sco-be-sko-i	sco-be-si	sco-be-na
1pl. incl	ko-be-di	ko-be-su-i	ko-be-sko-i	ko-be-si	ko-be-na
1pl. excl	nko-be-di	nko-be-su-i	nko-be-sko-i	nko-be-si	nko-be-na
2pl	mko-be-di	mko-be-sui	mko-be-sko-i	mko-be-si	mko-be-na
3pl.an	s-be-di/ s-e-di	s-be-su-i	s-be-sko-i	s-be-si/ s-e-si	s-be-na s-e-na
3pl.inan	n-be-di	n-be-su-i	n-be-sko-i	n-be-si	n-be-na

All the forms in table 19 end with final clause determiner *-i* except the third person plural inanimate. They can also end with clause medial determiner *-ya* (See 3.1.2.1).

In addition, the possessive pronouns can be combined with the marker of givenness *an-* with singular, dual, paucal and plural. Table 20 shows the possessive pronouns in

combination with the marker of givenness *an-* and with the singular, dual, paucal and plural possessed.

Table 20. Possessive pronouns combined with marker of givenness *an* with singular, dual, paucal and plural possessed.

POSSESSOR	POSSESSED NUMBER		
	SINGULAR	DUAL	PAUCAL
1SG	ay-an-i/-ya	ay-an-su-ya/i	ay-an-sko-ya/i
2SG	b-an-i/-ya	b-an-su-ya/i	b-an-sko-ya/i
3SG	b-y-an-i/-ya	b-y-an-su-ya/i	b-y-an-sko-ya/i
1DU.INCL	ku-b-an-i/-ya	ku-b-an-su-ya/i	ku-b-an-sko-ya/i
1DU.EXCL	nu-b-an-i/-ya	nu-b-an-su-ya/i	nu-b-an-sko-ya/i
2DU	mu-b-an-i/ya	mu-b-an-su-ya/i	mu-b-an-sko-ya/i
3DU	su-b-an-i/ya	su-b-an-su-ya/i	su-b-an-sko-ya/i
3PCL	sko-b-an-i/ya	sko-b-an-su-ya/i	sko-b-an-sko-ya/i
1PL.INCL	ko-b-an-i/ya	ko-b-an-su-ya/i	ko-b-an-sko-ya/i
1pl.excl	(i)nko-b-an-i/ya	(i)nko-b-an-su-ya/i	(i)nko-b-an-sko-ya/i
2pl	mko-b-an-i/ya	mko-b-an-su-ya/i	mko-b-an-sko-ya/i
3pl.an	s-an-i/ya	s-an-su-ya/i	s-an-sko-ya/i
3pl.inan	n-b-an-i/ya	n-be-su-ya/i	n-ban-sko-ya/i

POSSESSOR	POSSESSED NUMBER	
	PLURAL ANIMATE	PLURAL INANIMATE
1SG	ay-an-si/-sya	ay-an-na
2SG	b-an-si/-sya	b-an-na
3SG	b-y-an-si/-sya	b-y-an-na
1DU.INCL	ku-b-an-si/-sya	ku-b-an-na
1DU.EXCL	nu-b-an-si/-sya	nu-b-an-na
2DU	mu-b-an-si/sya	mu-b-an-na
3DU	su-b-an-si/sya	su-b-an-na
3PCL	sko-b-an-si/sya	sko-b-an-na
1PL.INCL	ko-b-an-si/sya	ko-b-an-na
1pl.excl	(i)nko-b-an-si/sya	(i)nko-b-an-na
2pl	mko-b-an-si/sya	mko-b-an-na
3pl.an	s-an-si/sya	s-an-na
3pl.inan	n-b-an-si/sya	n-b-an-na ?

3.3.1.3.2. Inflection on Inalienable Possessive Pronouns

Inalienable nouns are distinguished from alienable nouns by the presence of a special possessive marker, which refers to the possessor. Observe examples (49) and (50).

Examples:

- (49) **snari** (el)
 sna-ri
 mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG
 ‘his/her mother’
- (50) Yohanes **swari** (el)
 Yohanes **swa-ri**
 John **wife-POSS.3SG.Det.SG**
 ‘John’s wife’

A simple criterion to distinguish whether a noun is alienable or inalienable is by testing whether the noun in question can be inflected for number and person of the possessor. Thus, if a noun can be inflected for number or person of the possessor and number and gender of the possessed, it is an inalienable noun. On the other hand, if a noun regardless of whether the noun is semantically inalienable or not cannot be inflected for person and number of the possessor and number and gender of the possessed, it is an alienable noun. In other words, alienability is a syntactic distinction, not exactly corresponding to the semantic distinction.¹³

The forms of the inalienable nouns, however, are not regular and tidy especially for the singular possessors (1st, 2nd and 3rd person). This can be seen in nouns referring to body parts where the first and the third person singular possessor often have the same form (see table 21). In addition, some first person singular possessor forms do not

¹³ I thank Mary Dalrymple for her constructive criticism and guidance. This conclusion is the result of our long discussion on Biak alienable and inalienable possessive constructions.

even exist. For instance, there is no first singular possessor form of nouns referring to *wife*, *grandchildren*, and *father in law* (see table 22). There are forms like *kamam* ‘my father’, *awin* ‘my mother’, and *imem* ‘my uncle’ which refer to the first singular possessor (See table 26 for *awin* ‘mother’ and *kamam* ‘father’). These forms always have final determiner *-i*. The forms, however, are used only as vocatives.

Table 21. Singular possessors of body part nouns.

A. Plural Body Parts	Body parts whose actual number is two	Possessor		
		1 st	2 nd	3 rd
	<i>mka-</i> ‘eye’	mkasi	mkamsi	mkasi
	<i>kna-</i> ‘ear’	knasi	knamsi	knasi
	<i>snonis-</i> ‘nose’	snonisi	snonimsi	snonisi
	<i>bra-</i> ‘hand’	brasi	bramsi	brasi
B. Singular parts of whole	Body parts whose actual number is one	Possessor		
		1 st	2 nd	3 rd
	<i>sne-</i> ‘stomach’	sneri	snemri	sneri
	<i>sba-</i> ‘mouth’	sbari	sbamri	sbari
	<i>bru-</i> ‘head’	bruri	brumri	bruri
	<i>kro-</i> ‘bum’	krori	kromri	krori

Table 22. Singular possessors of kinship terms.

Kinship Term	Possessor		
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
<i>kma-</i> ‘father’	kamami	kmami	kmari
<i>sna-</i> ‘mother’	awini	snami	snari
<i>swa-</i> ‘spouse’	-	swami	swari
<i>me-</i> ‘uncle/aunt’	imem	memi	meri
<i>kpu-</i> ‘grand children’	-	kpumi	kpuri
<i>mambanyo-</i> ‘father in law’	-	mambanyomi	mabanyori
<i>imbanyo-</i> ‘mother in law’	-	imbanyomi	imbanyori

In table 21, I divide body part nouns into two groups. Part A represents the body parts for which the actual number of the body parts is two. Most of these body parts form a pair such as *eyes*, *hands*, and *ears*. Part B is the body parts for which the actual number is only one such as *head*, *mouth*, and *stomach*. The reason to divide them is based on morphological distinctions. Suffix *-si* seems to mark the body part nouns for which the actual number is two, whereas suffix *-ri* seems to mark the body part noun for which the actual number is one. In addition, the body part whose actual number is two can also be combined with suffix *-su* which indicate that the number of the possessed is dual (see table 24).

Body parts whose actual number is more than two e.g., *na* ‘teeth’ and *brampin* ‘fingers’ do take suffix *-si*. So we could have *nasi* “my teeth”, *namsi* “your teeth” but not *nasi* “his teeth”. The word *brampin* only takes suffix *-si* for first person singular. For second and third person singular, the alienable possessive construction is used instead. See table 23.

Table 23.

Possessor		Possessed			
		<i>na</i> -‘teeth’		<i>brampin</i> - fingers’	
		singular	dual, pl	singular	dual, pl
sing	1	na-si	-	brampin-si	-
	2	na-m-si	-	brampi-m-si	-
	3	-	nakor bye-si	-	brampin bye-si
dual	1 + 2		nakor ku-be-si		brampin ku-be-si
	1 + 3		nakor nu-be-si		brampin nu-be-si
	2		nakor mu-be-si		brampin mu-be-si
	3		nakor su-be-si		brampin su-be-si
	paucal	3		nakor sko-be-si	
plural	1 + 2		nakor ko-be-si		brampin ko-be-si
	1 + 3		nakor nko-be-si		brampin nko-be-si
	2		nakor mko-be-si		brampin mko-be-si
	3 AN		nakor se-si		brampin se-si
	3INAN				

In table 22 (kinship terms), only the suffixes *-i* and *-ri* are used.

The forms of inalienable nouns with dual, paucal and plural possessors are different from their singular counterparts. Unlike inalienable nouns with singular possessors, the dual, paucal, and plural possessors are realized on the inalienable noun stem by the presence of possessor marking which is similar to the bound pronoun forms of the dual, paucal, and plural pronoun forms (See table 1 section 4.2.4.1).

In addition, all the dual, paucal and plural forms of the inalienable nouns referring to the body parts end with definite marking *-na* (Det.PL.INAN).

Table 24, 25, and 26 presents an overview of the dual, paucal, and plural possessors together with the singular possessors.

Table 24. Overview of singular, dual, paucal and plural possessors of body part nouns for which the actual number of the body part is two.

Possessor		Possessed			
		mka ‘eyes’		kna ‘ear’	
		singular	dual, pl	singular	dual, pl
sing	1	mka-si	mka-s-su/ -si	kna-si	kna-s-su/ -si
	2	mka-m-si	mka-m-su/-si	kna-m-si	kna-m-su/ -si
	3	mka-si	mka-s-su/-si	kna-si	kna-s-su / -si
dual	1 + 2	impossible	ku-mka-s-na	impossible	ku-kna-s-na
	1 + 3		nu-mka-s-na		nu-kna-s-na
	2		mu-mka-s-na		mu-kna-s-na
	3		su-mka-s-na		su-kna-s-na
paucal	3		sko-mka-s-na		sko-kna-s-na
plural	1 + 2		ko-mka-s-na		ko-kna-s-na
	1 + 3		nko-mka-s-na		nko-kna-s-na
	2		mko-mka-s-na		mko-kna-s-na
	3 AN		si-mka-s-na		si-kna-s-na
	3INAN		-		-

Table 25. Overview of singular, dual, paucal and plural possessors of body part nouns for which the actual number of the body parts is only one.

Possessor		Possessed			
		sne- ‘stomach’		sba- ‘mouth’	
		singular	dual, paucal, pl	singular	dual, paucal, pl
sing	1	sneri	impossible	sbari	impossible
	2	snemri		sbamri	
	3	sneri		sbari	
dual	1 + 2	impossible	ku-sne-s-na	impossible	ku-sba-s-na
	1 + 3		nu-sne-s-na		nu-sba-s-na
	2		mu-sne-s-na		mu-sba-s-na
	3		su-sne-s-na		su-sba-s-na
paucal	3		sko-sne-s-na		sko-sba-s-na
plural	1 + 2		ko-sne-s-na		ko-sba-s-na
	1 + 3		nko-sne-s-na		nko-sba-s-na
	2		mko-sne-s-na		mko-sba-s-na
	3 AN		si-sne-s-na		si-sba-s-na
	3INAN		-		-

Table 26. Kinship

Possessor		Possessed			
		sna- ‘mother’		kma ‘father’	
		singular	du,pcl,pl	singular	du,pcl,pl
sing	1	awin-i	awin-su/-sko/*-si ¹⁴	kamam-i	kamam-su/-sko/*-si
	2	sna-m-i	snam-su/-sko/*-si	kmam-i	kmam-su/-sko/*-si
	3	snari	snar-su/-sko/*-si	kmar-i	kmar-su/-sko/*-si
dual	1 + 2		ku-sna-s-su/-sko/-si		ku-kmas-su/-sko/-si
	1 + 3		nu-sna-s-su/-sko/-si		nu-kmas-su/-sko/-si
	2		mu-sna-s-su/-sko/-si		mu-kmam-su/-sko/-si
	3		su-sna-s-su/-sko/-si		su-kmas-su/-sko/-si
paucal	3		sko-sna-s-su/-sko/-si		sko-kmas-su/-sko/-si
plural	1 + 2		ko-sna-s-su/-sko/-si		ko-kmas-su/-sko/-si
	1 + 3		nko-sna-s-su/-sko/-si		nko-kmas-su/-sko/-si
	2		mko-snam-s-su/-sko/-si		mko-kmam-s-su/-sko/-si
	3 AN		si-sna-s-su/-sko/-si		si-kmas-su/-sko/-si
	3INAN				

As described earlier, body parts and kinship terms that do not allow inalienable morphological marking can combine with the alienable possessive pronoun, or if they cannot combine with the possessive pronoun, they have corresponding forms that can do so.

This systematic feature of inalienable nouns can explain the fact that the absence of the first person singular possessor in kinship terms (table 22) can be replaced by the corresponding analytic construction. Thus, *swa yedi* ‘my wife’, *kpu yedi* ‘my grand child’ and *mambanyo yedi* ‘my father in law’ can fill the empty slots in table 22.

Similarly, the empty slots in table 26, for singular possessed noun with a dual, paucal or plural possessor, can be filled with the corresponding analytic constructions. For example:

¹⁴ The plural of the inalienable form of the singular possessor for kinship terms merges with the paucal (irrespective of their real number; three or more than three). However, when the same inalienable noun stem form takes the corresponding alienable construction with a possessive pronoun, it can take paucal or plural and therefore, its number must be differentiated. For example, we may have *sna bye-skoi* ‘his (three) classificatory mothers’ and also *sna byesi* ‘his classificatory mothers’.

(51) kma subedi(EB)
 kma su-be-di
 father 3DU-POSS-Det.SG
 ‘the father of the two of them’

(52) kma mkobedi(EB)
 kma mko-be-di
 father 2PL-POSS-Det.Sg
 ‘your (pl.) father’

In the case of a body part noun, the corresponding form that comprises either the stem of the inalienable paradigm or a compound in which the stem can be recognised such as the ones presented in figure (2) can combine with the alienable possessive pronoun (see also 4.2.1.2.4.2).

Figure 2. Inalienable nouns with their corresponding alienable forms

<i>Stem</i>	<i>Corresponding Form</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
mka-	mkamor	‘eye’
kna-	knaram	‘ear’
snonis-	snonikor	‘nose’
bra-	bramin	‘finger’
sne-	snewar	‘stomach’
bru-	bukor	‘head’

Examples:

(53) mkamor byedya (EB)
 mkamor be- -y- dya
 eye POSS- -3SG- -Det.Sg
 ‘his eyes’

(54) bukor skobena (EB)
 bukor sko-be-na
 head 3pcl-POSS- Det.PL.INAN
 ‘their heads’

In sum, in some cases the inalienable possessive construction is impossible or does not exist at all. However, body parts and kinship terms that do not take inalienable morphological marking can combine with the alienable possessive pronoun or if they cannot combine with the possessive pronoun, they have corresponding forms that can do so.

In addition, bodily fluids such as *kapui* ‘feces’, *sampo* ‘urine’, *doms* ‘sweat’, *mkarui* ‘tears’, all take alienable possessive pronouns and therefore are not counted as inalienable nouns in the Biak language.

3.3.1.4. Inflection on Nominal Predicates

There are two types of predicate nominal constructions in the Biak language. The two types of predicate nominal constructions are:

- (1) copular verbs *-iri* and *is(o)* which are used after agreement forms which are homophonous with the corresponding pronominal forms.
- (2) copular clitics (nominal clauses that are formed by (1) clitic *-ri* suffixed to the third person determiners, and (2) clitic *-s-*, which is inserted between determiners and free pronouns or demonstratives and directional nouns) and (3) free pronoun clitics (nominal clauses that are formed by free pronoun clitics suffixed to plural animate determiner *si*).

3.3.1.4.1. Copular verbs

The copular verbs *iri* and *iso* behave like normal Biak verbs which normally have agreement forms which are homophonous with the corresponding pronominal forms.

The paradigm of copular verb *iri* and *iso* are presented in table 27 and 28 below.

Table 27 **Copular verb *iri*** “to be”

Number	Free Pronouns	Free Pronouns + <i>iri</i>	Meaning
1 sg	aya	aya- iri	It is me
2sg	au	au- irya	It is you
3sg	i	i- iri	It is him
1du.incl	ku	ku- iri	It is the two of us INCL
1du .excl	nu	nu- iri	It is the two of us EXCL
2du	mu	mu- iri	It is the two of you
3du	su	su- iri	It is the two of them
3pcl	sko	sko- iri	It is the three of them
1pl.incl	ko	ko- iri	It is us INCL
1pl.excl	inko	inko- iri	It is us EXCL
2pl	mko	mko- iri	It is you PL
3pl.an	si	si- iri	It is them AN
3pl.inan	na	nai- iri	It is them INAN

Table 28. Copular verb *iso* “to be”

Number	Free Pronouns	Free Pronouns + <i>iso</i>	Meaning
1 sg	aya	aya- iso	I am (the one who)
2sg	au	au- iso	You are (the one who)
3sg	i	i- iso	He/She is (the one who)
1du.incl	ku	ku- iso	We (two) are (the ones who)
1du .excl	nu	nu- iso	We (two) are (the ones who)
2du	mu	mu- iso	You (two) are (the ones who)
3du	su	sui- iso	They (two) are (the ones who)
3pcl	sko	sko- iso	They (three) are (the ones who)
1pl.incl	ko	ko- iso	We are (the ones who)
1pl.excl	inko	inko- iso	We are (the ones who)
2pl	mko	mko- iso	You are (the ones who)
3pl.an	si	si- iso	They are (the ones who)
3pl.inan	na	na- iso	They are (the ones who)

3.3.1.4.2. Copular Clitics

There are three copular clitics in the Biak language. The three copular clitics are *-ri*, *-s-*, and *free pronoun clitics* (*-ku*, *-nu*, *-mu*, *-su*, *-sko*, *-ko*, *-nko*, *-mko*). Each type of copular clitic will be described in detail in section 8.2.1.

A paradigm of copular clitics in the Biak language is shown in table 29. Table 29 presents the paradigm of ‘be a teacher’

Table 29 Copular Clitics paradigm.

Clitics	Number	Free Pronouns	Det + COP.clitic	Meaning
<i>-s-</i>	1 sg	aya	guru ri- s -aya	I am a teacher
	2sg	au	guru ri- s -au	You (SG) are a teacher
<i>-ri</i>	3sg	i	guru ri- ri	He is a teacher
	3du	su	guru sui- ri	The two of them are teachers
	3pcl	sko	guru skoi- ri	The three of them are teachers
	3pl.an	si	guru si- ri	They (PL.AN) are teachers
	3pl.inan	na	rum nai- ri	They (PL.INAN) are houses
Free pronouns	1du.incl	ku	guru si- ku	the two of us (INCL) are teachers
	1du .excl	nu	guru si- nu	the two of us (EXCL) are teachers
	1pl.incl	ko	guru si- ko	We (PL.INCL) are teachers
	1pl.excl	inko	guru si- nko	We (PL.EXCL) are teachers
	2du	mu	guru si- mu	You (DU) are teachers
	2pl	mko	guru si- mko	You (PL) are teachers

This paradigm is different from Steinhauer’s (2005) and Van den Heuvel’s (2006) paradigm of predicate nominal constructions. The difference between my approach and their approaches will be discussed in chapter 8.

3.3.2. Derivational Affixes

Derivational processes in the Biak language are prefixation, reduplication, compounding and suffixation. Derivational affixes apply to verb and noun roots. They also sometimes apply to certain functional words.

3.3.2.1. Prefixation

The most productive derivational prefix in the Biak language is prefix *be*. Other productive prefixes are prefix *babe-* and prefix *far-*. Some prefixes which are not productive in the Biak language, are prefix *fa-*, prefix *ba-*, prefix *ma-* or *m-*, and prefix *bebe-* or *ebe-*. Discussion of each prefix is presented below.

3.3.2.1.1. Prefix *be-*

There are six homophonous forms of *be* in the Biak language. The word *be* when used as a verb has three different meanings ‘to give’, ‘to possess/possessive verb’, and as an auxiliary verb which means ‘to be about to’. As a prefix, *be* has three different functions; (1) to verbalize, (2) to relativize and (3) to be combined with loan words (verbs) from Bahasa Indonesia and also certain verb roots in the Biak language which obligatorily need prefix *be*.

3.3.2.1.1.1. Prefix *be* as verbalizer

As a verbalizer prefix *be* changes a noun into a verb. The meaning of the verbalizer *be-* + noun (N) is ‘being N’ or ‘becoming N’. The word *abdares* ‘hut’ in (55), for instance, when preceded by the verbalizer prefix *be-* means ‘to protect’ or ‘to accommodate’. Similarly, the word *ikak* ‘snake’ in (56), when preceded by the verbalizer *be-* means ‘to be dangerous/ to become dangerous’. In this position the verbalizer prefix *be-* is inflected for number, person and gender according to the CP type 1.

- (55) *yabeabdares* *be* *romawa* *nansi* (pc)
ya-be-abdares *be* *romawa* *an-si*
1SG-Verbal-hut for child GIV-Det.PL.AN
‘I protect/accomodate the children’ Lit: ‘I become the hut for the children’

- (56) *skobeikak* *be* *romawa* *nansi* (pc)
sko-be-ikak *be* *romawa* *an-si*
3pcl-Verbal-snake to child GIV-Det.PL.AN
‘They are dangerous for the children’ Lit: ‘They become snakes for the children’

In addition, prefix *be-* can combine with numerals and quantifiers. The meaning of the prefix *be-* plus numeral is ‘become one’, ‘become two’, etc. For instance:

- (57) **mubeoser** *kwarja* *mumasasor* *awer* (EB)
mu-be-oser *kwar-ja* *mu-masasor* *awer*
2DU-be-one *already-so* *2DU-angry (at each other)* *not*
‘You’ve become one, so don’t upset each other’

3.3.2.1.1.2. Prefix *be-* as relativizer

As a relativizer prefix *be-* functions to change a verb or a clause into a noun modifier. In (58) the relativizer *be-* functions as a relativizer which changes the verb root *ba* ‘to be big’ to a modifier of the head noun *rum* ‘house’. Similarly, in (59) the relativizer *be* changes the verb *doser* ‘to be beautiful’ to a modifier of the head noun *bin* ‘woman’.

(58) *ba* ‘to be big’

Rum **beba** ani (el)
 Rum **be-ba** an-i
 House **REL- big** GIV-Det.SG
 ‘the big house’ or ‘the house which is big’

(59) *doser* ‘to be beautiful’

Bin **bedoser** ani (el)
 Bin **be-doser** an-i
 Woman **REL- beautiful** GIV-Det.SG
 ‘the beautiful woman’

In (60) and (61), the relativizer *be-* changes a clause into a relative clause (See chapter 8 for discussion of relative clauses). The syntactic position of the prefix *be-* is similar to the prefix *be-* as a modifier in (58) and (59).

(60) *Amber berama ro mandobindi snori Suharto* (EB)
 Amber **be-rama ro mandobin-di** sno-ri Suharto
 stranger **REL-come on yesterday-** name- Suharto
Det.SG POSS.3SG.Det.SG
 ‘The stranger who came yesterday’s name is Suharto’

- (61) Roi **befandun** **kakuya** isoine (EB)
 Roi **be-fandun** **kaku-ya** i-so-ine
 thing **REL-need** **indeed-Det.SG** 3SG-be-this.SG
 ‘The thing that you really need is this’.

However, unlike verbalizer *be-* in (3.3.2.1.1.1) which can be inflected for number, person, and gender, the relativizer *be-* cannot be inflected for number, person and gender. In other words, it cannot take subject agreement. Compare the verb root *ba* ‘to be big’ in examples (62), (63), and (64). The verb root *ba* ‘to be big’ in (62) takes subject agreement and is inflected for number and person. However, when it is preceded by the prefix *be-* as in (63), it cannot take subject agreement. The typical relativizer *be* is illustrated in (64).

- (62) *Rum* *ani* ***iba*** (EB)
 Rum an-i **i-ba**
 House GIV-Det.SG **3SG-big**
 ‘The house is big’

- (63) **Rum* *ani* ***ibeba***
 Rum an-i **i-be-ba**
 House GIV-Det.SG **3SG-REL-big**
 ‘The house is big’ / ‘The house which is big’

- (64) *Rum* ***beba*** *ani* (EB)
 Rum **be-ba** an-i
 House **REL-big** GIV-Det.SG
 ‘The big house’ / ‘The house which is big’

3.3.2.1.1.3 Prefix *be* in combination with loan words from Bahasa Indonesia and certain verb roots in the Biak language.

Most loan verbs from *Bahasa Indonesia* need prefix *be-* in order to be integrated into a discourse. In (65), the verb *ukur* ‘to measure’ (loan verb from *Bahasa Indonesia*)¹⁵ takes prefix *be*.

(65)	Mkobeukur	rum	anya	kakaki	byedi	(EB)
	Mko-be-ukur	rum	an-ya	kakaki	be-y- -di	
	2PL-be-measure <loan>	house	GIV-Det.SG	height	POSS -3SG- Det.SG	

‘You measure the height of the house’

Prefix *be-* is also used in combination with a small number of verb roots/stems in the Biak language which cannot be directly inflected for subject agreement. For these verbs, the combination with prefix *be* is obligatory. Certain verb roots such as: *fnder* ‘to forget’, *fasis* ‘be quiet’, *pro* ‘be deaf/forgetful’, *ababen* ‘be slow/careful’, *par* ‘be injured/injury’, *saneso* ‘be sad’, *kawan* ‘be long’ obligatorily need the prefix *be-* when they are used in a discourse.

In order to identify whether a given word is a root or not, we could observe the corresponding reduplicated form of the root. In (66), the corresponding reduplicated forms of the roots *fnder* ‘to forget’, *fasis* ‘be quiet’, *par* ‘be injured/injury’, and *kawan* ‘be long’ shows that these words are roots of the corresponding reduplicated forms and that *befnder* ‘to forget’, *befasis* ‘to be quiet’, *bekawan* ‘to be long’ are not roots.

¹⁵ Both nouns and verbs in Bahasa Indonesia can become verbs in Biak by attaching prefix *be-*. See more data in (T1.2) and (T5.66) in appendix 3.

(66)	roots	reduplicated forms
	fnder ‘forget’	farander ’forgetful’
	fasis ‘be quiet’	fasasis ‘silence’
	par ‘injured’	parpar ‘injured at different parts of the body’
	kawan ‘be long’	kawanwan ‘making/postpone something for a long time’

The verb roots which are preceded by the prefix *be* will be inflected for person and number according to the CP Type 2. The verb root *fnder* ‘to forget’, for instance, is ill-formed in sentence (67) when it is not preceded by the prefix *be-*. However, it is well formed in sentence (68) because it is preceded by the prefix *be-*.

Examples:

(67)	<i>*Yafnder</i>	<i>snonsnon</i>	<i>byani</i>
	ya-fnder	snonsnon	be-y--an-i
	1SG-forget	name	POSS-3SG-GIV-Det. SG
	‘I forgot his name’		

(68)	<i>Yabefnder</i>	<i>snonsnon</i>	<i>byani(EB)</i>
	ya- be -fnder	snonsnon	be-y--an-i
	1SG-forget	name	POSS-3SG-GIV-Det.SG
	‘I forgot his name’		

The inflection of the above verbs follows the CP type 2.

3.3.2.1.2. Prefix *babe-*

Prefix *babe-* is productive in the Biak language. It forms nouns from nouns. Such nouns are generally of an abstract nature. The form *babe-* means ‘matters having to do with [base]’. The literal meaning of the prefix *babe-* is ‘things about’. In general the meaning of the abstract nouns which are formed as a result of combination with prefix *babe* can be predicted from the noun base. For instance:

- (69) **agama** (loan word) ‘religion’ (N) **babeagama** ‘matters having to do with religion’
- kandera** ‘suffer’ (N) **babekandera** ‘matters having to do with suffering’

In the data I found one example where prefix *babe-* can attach to a number. When it attaches to a number, it means ‘a group which consists of [base]’. For example:

- (70) **oser** ‘one’ (N) **babeoser** ‘unity/things about being one or unity’

In many cases prefix *babe-* attaches to reduplicated nouns, such as *farkor* ‘to teach’ which is reduplicated as *farkarkor* ‘lesson’. The reduplicated form, then, takes prefix *babe-* as follows:

- (71) *farkarkor* ‘lesson’ → *babefarkarkor* ‘matters having to do with lessons’.

The following examples (72-74) show how the verb root *aben* ‘to give birth’ changes into a noun through a reduplication process (See 3.3.2.4) and then the reduplicated form is prefixed with *babe-*.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------|
| (72) | <i>Maria</i> | daben | <i>Yesusi</i> | (EB) |
| | Maria | d-aben | Yesus-i | |
| | Mary | 3SG-give birth | Jesus-Det.SG (FOC) | |
| | ‘Mary had the baby Jesus’ | | | |

Reduplicated form *ababen* ‘birth’

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|
| (73) | Yesus | ababen | byedi | byejadi |
| | Yesus | ababen | be- -y-d-i | be-y--jadi |
| | Jesus | birth | POSS--3SG-Det.SG | be-3SG-occur<loan> |

ro paik Desember (EB)
 ro paik Desember
 in month December
 ‘The birth of Jesus happened in December’ Lit: Jesus’ birth occurred in December

Prefix babe- + *ababen* (reduplicated form) → *babeababen* ‘things about birth’

(74) **Babeababen** Yesus ifur dosam
babe-ababen Yesus i-fur dosam
the things about-birth Jesus 3SG-make angry

raja Herodesi (EB)
 raja Herodes-i
 king Herod-Det.SG (FOC)
 ‘The things about the birth of Jesus made King Herod angry’

Other nouns that follow the similar process are presented in figure 3.

Figure. 3 Prefix babe + reduplicated nouns

Roots	Reduplication	Prefix babe + reduplicated form
<i>for</i> ‘to catch’ (V)	<i>farfor</i> catching (N)	<i>babefarfor</i> ‘matters having to do with arrest/catching’ (N)
<i>masi</i> ‘to bathe’	<i>masasi</i> ‘a process of swimming in the river as part of recreational activities’ (N/V)	<i>babemasasi</i> ‘matters having to do with swimming in the river’ (N)
<i>pyos</i> ‘erase/make clean’	<i>payasyos</i> ‘a process of cleaning’ (N)	<i>babepayasyos</i> ‘matters having to do with cleaning/erasing something’ (N)
<i>rama</i> ‘to come’ (V)	<i>raramuma</i> ‘coming’ (N)	<i>baberraramuma</i> ‘matters having to do with coming’ (N)
<i>kbok</i> ‘to rise/get up’ (V)	<i>kabakbok</i> ‘the rise’ (N)	<i>babekabakbok</i> ‘matters having to do with the rise’ (N)
<i>karem</i> ‘to answer’ (V)	<i>kankarem</i> ‘answer’ (N)	<i>babekankarem</i> ‘matters having to do with the answer’ (N)

3.3.2.1.3. Prefix *bebe-* /*ebe-*

Prefix *bebe-* or *ebe-* is added to cardinal numbers to form ordinals.

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|--------------|------|
| (75) | rum | bebesamfurya | ryo | bariwa | (EB) |
| | rum | bebe-samfur-ya | ro -y- | bar-iwa | |
| | house | bebe -ten-Det.SG | be at-3SG | part-that.SG | |
| | 'The tenth house is in that part' | | | | |

Prefix *bebe-* or *ebe-* can also form the interrogative ordinal *bebefis* / *ebefis* 'how many'.

In addition, prefix *bebe-* / *ebe-* can alter a sentence into a passive sentence. However, there is a restriction on forming passives. Data show that passives in the Biak language only apply to the third person singular or the third person plural animate and inanimate. In other words, passives require their subjects to be third person singular or third person plural animate or inanimate. Thus, other subjects such as third person dual and paucal or first person and second person singular, dual and plural do not exist in passive constructions.

Any subject other than the third person singular or the third person plural animate and inanimate will make the sentence ungrammatical. Observe example (76) and (77):

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|-----|----|----------|-----------|
| (76) | Skobob | aya | be | amber | si |
| | Sko-bob | aya | be | amber | si |
| | 3PCL-sell | 1SG | to | stranger | Det.PL.AN |
| | 'They sold me to the strangers' | | | | |

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------------|----|----------|-----------|
| (77) | * | yebebob | be | amber | si |
| | | y-ebe-bob | be | amber | si |
| | | 1SG-PASSIVE-sell | to | stranger | Det.PL.AN |
| | | 'I was sold to the strangers' | | | |

In the following examples, sentence (78) is in the active voice with the verb *bob* ‘to sell’ inflected for the first person singular. In (79), the passive voice is marked by the prefix *ebe* which precedes the verb *bob* ‘to sell’.

(78) Yabob japan anna kwar (EB)
 Ya-bob japan an-na kwar

1Sg-sell taro GIV-Det.PL.INAN already
 ‘I have sold the taros already’

(79) japan anna **nebob** kwar (EB)
 japan an-na **n-ebe-bob** kwar
 taro GIV-Det.PL.INAN **3PL.INAN -PASSIVE-sell** already
 ‘The taros have been sold already’

3.3.2.1.4. Prefix *ma-*

Prefix *ma* changes the category of a verb root into a noun. Nouns with prefix *ma-* have verbal bases. They refer to the actions expressed by the corresponding transitive verb. For example:

(80) **mun** ‘to kill’ → **mamun** ‘killing’
mam ‘to see’ → **mamam** ‘vision / eye sight’
nuk ‘to knock’ → **manuk** ‘ hitting with a hammer’

Prefix *ma-* is not productive in the Biak language.

3.3.2.1.5. Prefix *fa-*

Prefix *fa-* has a causative function. It alters the verb roots and forms a kind of causative meaning compared to the meaning of its base root/stem.

- (81) **an** ‘to eat’ → **fan** ‘to feed’
snai ‘be light’ → **fasnai** ‘to light/ to explain’
sren ‘be clean’ → **fasren** ‘to clean something/someone’

Prefix *fa-* could also change verbs into nouns:

- (82) **fnobek** ‘to care’ → **fafnobek** ‘care’
frowes ‘to tease’ → **fafrowes** ‘teasing’
far ‘to tell’ → **fafyar** ‘story’
fnab ‘to cook’ → **fafnab** ‘cooking’

Similar to prefix *ma-*, prefix *fa-* is not productive.

3.3.2.1.6. Prefix *far-*

Prefix *far-* is productive in the Biak language. It alters verb roots and forms a kind of reciprocal and iterative meaning compared to the meaning of the word without *far*. It also alters verb roots into nouns. Observe tables 30 – 32 below:

Table 30. Prefix *far-* signifies reciprocity.

Verb root	Prefix <i>far-</i> + verb root
srow ‘to meet’	farsrow ‘meet each other’
buk ‘to marry’	farbuk ‘marry each other’
fnak ‘to play’	farfnak ‘play fun games together’
far ‘to tell’	farfyar ‘have conversation’

Table 31. Prefix *far-* signifies iterativity.

Verb root	Prefix <i>far-</i> + verb root/reduplicated verb root
brasn ‘fall’	farbrasn ‘repeatedly fall and get up again’
inem ‘drink’	farinem ‘be a drunkard’
msawk ‘torn’	farmsawk-sawk ‘torn at many/different places’
kar ‘break’	farkarar ‘break at many places’
rik ‘blood’, ‘bleed’	farikrike ‘covered with blood all over’
dok ‘wet’	fardokdok ‘wet all over’
sapi ‘fall’	farsapi ‘fall everywhere’

Table 32. Prefix *far-* changes Verbs into Nouns.

Verb	Prefix <i>far-</i> + verb root/reduplicated verb root
sbawer ‘to spill’	farsbawer ‘richness’, ‘things left over’
ser ‘fill’	farsarser ‘offering’, ‘donation’
kor ‘count’	farkarkor ‘lesson’

3.3.2.1.7. Prefix *k-*

Prefix *k-* derives from the verb *buk* ‘to give’. When it is attached to a process verb, it means *use something/things for* + the verb base. In (83), the verb *sikbarapn* ‘3PL-use (them) to roast’ consists of the base verb *barapn* ‘to roast’ which is preceded by the prefix *k-* and inflected for the third person plural.

(88) mkokboke
 mko-kbok-**E**
 2PL-wake up-**E**
 ‘You wake up’

(89) snon anya iwano romawa kasun byani
 snon an-ya i-wan-**O** romawa kasun be -y- ani
 man GIV-Det.SG 3SG-stab-**O** child small POSS-SG-DET
 ‘the man stabbed his small child’

In (88), suffix *-e* indicates that the sentence/the utterance is completed, whereas in (89), suffix *-o* indicates that the sentence/the utterance is not completed and that there are more things to say or to add.

3.3.2.3. Compounding

3.3.2.3.1. Compound Nouns

Compound nouns are formed by a combination of a noun root with a noun or a verb root. The result is a compound noun. There are many nouns in the Biak language formed by this process. Their forms are not limited. However, four words that are frequently found in the texts are *man* ‘bird’ usually used to refer to male things, *in* ‘fish’ usually used for female things, *ai* ‘tree wood’ and *ro* ‘things (neutral)’ referring to animate and inanimate things.

Example:

(90) *me* ‘uncle’ + *bin* ‘woman’ → *mebin* ‘aunt’

rifio ‘brother in law’ + *bin* ‘woman’ → *rifiobin* ‘sister in law’

man ‘bird’ + *sren* ‘clean’ → *mansren* ‘the Lord/God’

man ‘bird’ + *be* ‘Rel’ + *mafu* ‘dream’ → *manbemafu* ‘tarot reader’

ro ‘things’ + *be* ‘Rel’ + *an* ‘eat’ → *robeyan* ‘food’

ro ‘things’ + *mamun* ‘killing’ → *romamun* ‘gun’ or ‘weapon’

ai ‘wood’ + *kun* ‘cook’ → *aikun* ‘fire’

More discussion on compound nouns is given in chapter 6 section 6.2.

3.3.2.3.2. Verbal Compound and verbal suffixes

Biak is rich in verbal compounds. The verbal compounds are formed by a combination of a verbal root and a verbal adjunct. Some examples are given in (91).

(91) *mam* ‘see’ + *wark* ‘block something’ → *mamwark* ‘to control’

mam ‘see’ + *babir* ‘recognize’ → *mambabir* ‘to recognize by seeing’

mbran ‘walk’ + *uk* ‘cut’ → *mbranuk* ‘to take a short cut/ a short way’

kofen ‘say’ + *badir* ‘show’ → *kofenbadir* ‘to inform’, ‘to tell’

3.3.2.4. Reduplication

Nouns and verbs in the Biak language can be reduplicated. The forms of the reduplication in Biak, however, vary greatly. This section only gives some examples.

A full analysis of reduplication will need a specific investigation.

Reduplication can change the category of a verb into a noun. It can also change the concept expressed by a verb. Figure (4) below illustrates some examples of the reduplicated forms.

Figure 4 Verb reduplication

<i>Verb roots/stems</i>	<i>Nouns (the reduplicated forms)</i>
<i>farbuk</i> ‘marry’	<i>farbakbuk</i> ‘marriage’
<i>farkor</i> ‘teach’	<i>farkarkor</i> ‘lesson’
<i>faduru</i> ‘take care of’	<i>fadaduru</i> ‘maintenance’
<i>sewar</i> ‘look for/seek’	<i>sasewar</i> ‘livelihood’
<i>kobes</i> ‘buy’	<i>kabkobes</i> ‘shopping things’
<i>kofen</i> ‘say’	<i>kafkofen</i> ‘things that are said’
<i>frur</i> ‘build/make’	<i>fararur</i> ‘work’
<i>pyum</i> ‘good’	<i>payamyum</i> ‘kindness’
<i>marisen</i> ‘glad’	<i>marasrisen</i> ‘happiness’
<i>sambrauw</i> ‘strong’	<i>samambrauw</i> ‘strength’
<i>biser</i> ‘hungry’	<i>basbiser</i> ‘hunger’
<i>snai</i> ‘light/shiny’	<i>sananai</i> ‘a light’
<i>mar</i> ‘dead’	<i>mar-mar</i> ‘death’
<i>msor</i> ‘angry’	<i>masasor</i> ‘anger’
<i>kenem</i> ‘alive’	<i>kankenem</i> ‘live’
<i>duf</i> ‘sick’	<i>dafduf</i> ‘illness’

Most of the reduplicated forms can be used nominally as in example (92). In (92), the word *payamyum* ‘kindness’ which is reduplicated from the verb *pyum* ‘to be kind’ functions like other typical nouns and can be used nominally in a clause.

(92)	payamyum	ayena		napankar
	payamyum	ay-e-na		na-pankar
	kindness	1SG-POSS-Det.PL.INAN		3PL.INAN-break
	masasor		sena	(EB)
	masasor		s-e-na	
	anger		3PL.AN-POSS-Det.PL.INAN	
	Lit: ‘my kindness broke their anger’ → ‘My kindness won their sympathy’			

Reduplicated verbs, when used as a predicate, have a reciprocal meaning. Compare sentence 93 and sentence 94 with the verb *msor* ‘angry’ below:

(93)	skomsor	(ms)
	sko-msor	
	3pcl-angry	
	They (the three of them) are angry	
(94)	skomasasor	(ms)
	sko-masasor	
	3pcl-angry at each other	
	The three of them are angry at each other	

3.4. Head/dependent marking

The head of a phrase under most definitions is the element that determines the category of its phrase. In fact, it determines the syntactic function of the whole phrase. Thus, most linguists agree that the head is the word which governs; or subcategorises for or otherwise determines the possibility of occurrence of the other words (Nichols 1986:57).

Nichols (1986), provides an extensive discussion of head and dependent marking showing that syntactic relations may be marked on the head of a constituent or on the dependent.

According to Payne, English is an example of a language which is predominantly a dependent marking language, whereas other languages such as Farsi (Indo-Iranian, Iran) are typical head marking languages. The following examples from Payne (1997:31) illustrate English as a predominantly dependent marking language and Farsi as a typical head marking language.

(95) John's book

(96) Zhon kitab- é
 John book-POSS
 'John's book'

In (95) the possessor is marked but the head noun is not marked to indicate that it is possessed. In (96) the head noun is marked to indicate that it is possessed. Thus, (95) is an example of a dependent marking language and (96) is an example of a head-marking language.

Nichols (1986:57-58) adds that the function of the morphology of government, agreement, cross-reference, etc is to identify these syntactic relations by appropriately marking either the head or the dependent.

3.4.1. Head/Dependent marking in Biak

Biak data show that most noun phrases must be marked with respect to number. For the plural, both number and gender are obligatorily marked. For this purpose, demonstratives/determiners are used. The demonstrative marks the end of a noun phrase and specifies the features of its head. The neutral demonstratives *i* (Det.SG), *sui* (Det.DU), *skoi* (Det.PCL), *si* (Det.PL.AN), and *na* (Det.PL.INAN) and their sentence medial variants *ya* (Det.SG), *suya* (Det.DU), *skoya* (Det.PCL), *sya* (Det.PL.AN), *na* (Det.PL.INAN) have the highest text frequency.

Example:

- (97) rum suya suba
 rum su-ya su-ba
 house 3Du-Det 3Du-big
 ‘The two houses are big’

In the Biak language, the head noun is rarely marked except for the irregular possessive marking on the inalienable possessive construction where the head noun is marked to indicate that it is possessed.

Example (98) below illustrates this phenomenon.

- (98) Yohanes **kmari** irmomn si (el)
 Yohanes **kma-ri** i-irmomn 3PL.AN
 John **father-POSS.3SG.Det.SG** 3SG-angry them
 John’s father was cross with them’

In (98), the noun *kma* ‘father’ is followed by *ri* (a third singular possessive marker). The possessive marker *ri* marks the head noun *kma* ‘father’ to indicate that it is possessed. The forms of the possessive markers in the inalienable possessive construction are anomalous (see inalienable nouns in chapter 4 section 4.2.1.2).

In the regular possessive noun phrase construction, the head noun of the possessive noun phrase is not marked to indicate that it is possessed. It is the possessive determiner that is placed after the head noun that indicates that the head noun phrase is possessed. As described earlier, the number of the head noun phrase is marked on the demonstrative/determiner of the possessive phrase, which at the same time closes the whole noun phrase. See example (99).

(99)	Rum	byedya	(el)
	Rum	be-y-dya	
	House	POSS -3SG-DET.SG	
	‘his house’		

In (99), the head noun *rum* ‘house’ of the noun phrase *rum byedya* ‘his house’ is not marked to indicate that it is possessed. The possessor construction is marked by the possessive phrase *byedya* which consists of the possessive marker *be* which is inflected for the third person singular. The third person singular is marked by infix *-y-* which clearly indicates the person and the number of the possessor. The inflection of the possessive marker *be* in (99) follows the CP type 2 verbal inflection pattern. Finally, the demonstrative *dya* marks the number of the possessed and closes the noun phrase. This example shows that the number marking of the possessed noun is marked on the dependent of the noun phrase.

There is no marking on the overt possessor of the head noun phrase. This applies to both alienable and inalienable possessive constructions. Observe the following examples:

(102)	Bon	bekaki	(el)
	Bon	be-kaki	
	Mountain	REL- be high	
	‘high mountain’		

In (102) prefix *be* marks the verb *kaki* ‘be high’ as dependent of the head noun *bon* ‘mountain’. Although the prefix *be* functions as a relativizer to mark the phrase or the clause as the dependent of the head noun phrase, it does not specify the gender/number/person of the head (See section 3.3.2.1.1.2 on prefix *be* as relativizer).

According to Payne (1997:31), head-marking languages are common throughout the Americas, Africa, Asia, Siberia, and in the Middle East. Dependent-marking languages are less common, and are found primarily in Europe, though some Amerindian languages are dependent-marking. However, languages will tend to follow one pattern or other across various phrase types, i.e., noun phrases, verb phrases, and adpositional phrases.

For the Biak language, it seems that there is a mixture of head and dependent marking. In the noun phrase construction, there are two types of marking. The first is the marking on the dependent of the noun phrase, for instance, the morphological marking (the possessive marking, the relativizer prefix *be*, the markers of head noun phrase on demonstratives such as *i, sui, skoi, etc*) all occur on the dependent of the head noun. The second is the marking on the head noun. This applies to the inalienable possessive construction where the head noun is marked for number and person.

In the verb phrase construction, the marking occurs on the head verb. Head marking applies to all verbal predicate inflections. The inflection marks the verb as the head of verbal predicate construction.

Observe the following examples:

- (103) roma nanya **kyor** brampin byesi (EB)
 roma an-ya **kor -y-** brampin be-y-si
 child GIV-DET.SG **cut -3SG** fingers POSS-3SG-Det.PL.AN
 ‘The child cut his fingers’

In (103), *kyor* is the head of the verbal predicate. It is inflected for the third person singular which refers to *roma nanya* ‘the child’ (the overt subject of the sentence). The inflected verb may or may not appear with an overt subject. Thus, the sentence in (103) can be rewritten without the overt subject as in (104) below (See also section 4.2.4.1, examples 58 - 59 and their explanations).

- (104) **kyor** brampin byesi (el)
 kor -y- brampin be-y-si
 cut -3SG fingers POSS-3SG-Det.PL.AN
 ‘he cuts his fingers’

Evidence that the verb is the head of the verbal predicate in the Biak language is that all verbs are inflected for number and person of the subject.

However, when the verbs are preceded by a relativizer prefix *be*, then they become dependent of a head noun which precedes the verbs. Observe example (105):

- (105) kawasa **befur** **rumyansya**
 kawasa **be-fur** **rum-ya-n-sya**
 people **REL-make** **house-DET.SG-GIV-Det.PL.AN**

sibiser (EB)
si-biser
3PL.AN-hungry
'the people who built the house are hungry'

In (105) the prefix *be* marks the relative clause as the dependent of the head noun. The presence of the relativizer prefix *be* marks the verb phrase or the verb clause as the dependent of a head noun phrase. In this condition, the relativizer prefix *be* is not inflected for number and person of the subject.

Based on the analysis of head and dependent marking in Biak, it may be concluded that Biak has both head and dependent marking. Head marking mostly occurs in the verb phrase and the inalienable possessive construction. Dependent marking mostly occurs in noun phrases which includes relative clauses, possessive pronouns and demonstratives.

CHAPTER IV

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses grammatical categories found in the Biak language. The first two sections (section 4.2. and section 4.3) will discuss two major grammatical categories found in the Biak language - noun and verb. The remaining sections will discuss some minor categories; modifiers/adjectives (section 4.4.), numerals (section 4.5), adverbs (section 4.6.), prepositions (section 4.7.), conjunctions (section 4.8.) and question words (section 4.9.). For the two major categories, the distributional and the structural properties needed to define and characterize them will be given.

4.2. Nouns

Nouns are the head of a noun phrase. A noun phrase has at least a noun, which can be followed by modifiers.

The category of nouns in Biak is defined mainly by syntactic criteria. Noun phrases may function as subject or object in a clause, or more generally, as head of an argument of a predicate. In the example (1) *roma* is the head of the noun phrase *roma ansya*.

(1)	Roma	<i>ansya</i>	<i>sibur</i>	<i>be</i>
	Roma	an-sya	si-bur	be
	Boy	GIV-Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-leave	to

<i>rum</i>	<i>sena</i>	(EB)
rum	s-e-na	
house	3PL.AN – POSS – Det. PL.INAN	
‘The boys went home’		

(c). Verbs need subject agreement.

This is obligatory. This also applies to imperative sentences. For example:

(7)	yambran	be	mnu (el)
	ya-mbran	be	mnu
	1SG-walk	to	village
	'I walked to the village'		

(8)	*mbran	be	mnu
	mbran	be	mnu
	walk	to	village
	walked to the village		

Imperative:

(9)	wambran !	(ms)
	wa-mbran	
	2SG-walk	
	'You walk !' or 'Walk !'	

(10)	*mbran !
	mbran
	walk
	'Walk !'

(d). Nouns cannot take subject agreement or function as a predicate. For example:

(11)	*iabdares
	i-abdares
	3SG-hut/house
	's/he/it houses'

(e) Only nouns can have determiners. For example:

(12)	rum	ani(EB)
	rum	an-i
	house	GIV- Det.SG
	'the house'	

(13) **wai** **ansui(EB)**
 wai **an-sui**
 canoe **GIV- Det.DU**
 ‘the two canoes’

(14) **swaruser** **na(EB)**
 swaruser **na**
 thought **Det.PL.INAN**
 ‘the thoughts’

(f). Verbs cannot have determiners. For example:

(15) ***frar** **ani**
 frar **an-i**
 run **GIV-Det.SG**
 ‘the run’

(16) ***msor¹** **ani**
 msor **an-i**
 angry **GIV- Det.SG**
 ‘the angry’

Additional criteria distinguishing nouns from verbs is given in section 4.3.

4.2.1. Type of Nouns

Biak has proper names, alienable and inalienable nouns, and animate and inanimate nouns.

¹ In (16) *msor* ‘be angry’ is a verb.

4.2.1.1. Proper Names

Payne (1997:39) states that proper names are nouns that are used to address and identify particular persons or culturally significant personages or places. Proper names do not usually appear with articles, modifiers, possessors, relative clauses or other devices that make nouns more identifiable. In the Biak language, however, certain proper nouns can be combined with the marker of givenness, or with determiners (-ya/ -i). Below are some examples:

- (17) Rumbiak bero Parai **ani**
 Rumbiak be-ro Parai **an-i**
 < family name> REL-PREP <name of village> **GIV-Det.SG**

imar ro mandobin mandirai (EB)
 i-mar ro mandobin mandira-i
 3SG-die at yesterday afternoon-Det.SG
 ‘Rumbiak who lives in Parai died yesterday afternoon’

- (18) Guru **Rumerei** befarkor romawa ansi (EB)
 Guru **Rumere-i** be-farkor romawa an-si
 Teacher < family name>-Det.SG (FOC) REL-teach child GIV-3PL.AN
 ‘The teacher, Mr. Rumere, who teaches the children’

- (19) **Opiaref** **ansi** srama kwar (EB)
 Opiaref an-si
 <name of a GIV-Det.PL.AN ² s-rama kwar
 village> (FOC) 3PL.AN-come already
 ‘The group of people from Opiaref have come’

Determiners that are attached to proper nouns indicate that the nouns are focused.

See example (18) and (19) above.

² This third plural animate determiner marker is used to refer to people.

4.2.1.2. Alienable and Inalienable Nouns

Alienable possessive pronouns and inalienable nouns have been described in chapter 3, section 3.3.1.3. This section will describe how possessors are expressed in the noun phrase, agreement between nouns and their possessors, agreement between possessors and the possessed nouns, and the distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns.

4.2.1.2.1. How are possessors expressed in the noun phrases?

Alienable possessive pronouns are mostly found in adnominal position. Example (20) is a typical model of a possessive pronoun in adnominal position. The possessor in the noun phrase is usually expressed with a possessive pronoun that follows the head noun phrase as in (20). This applies to all alienable nouns.

(20)	rum	byedya	(el)
	rum	be-y-dya	
	house	POSS-3SG-Det.SG	
	'his house'		

The possessor of inalienable nouns, on the other hand, is attached to the head noun in the form of suffixes for singular possessors or prefixes and suffixes for dual, paucal and plural possessors. See examples below:

(21)	kmari	(el)
	kma-ri	
	father-POSS.3SG.Det.SG	
	'his father'	

- (22) **sikmassi** (el)
si-kma-s-si
3PL.AN-father-POSS-Det.PL.AN
 ‘their fathers’

4.2.1.2.2. Agreement between nouns with their possessors.

Agreement between nouns and their possessors only applies to inalienable nouns.

Observe the example below:

- (23) Inai binkbor ya **snari**
 inai bin-kbor ya **sna-ri**
 girl woman-young Det.SG **mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG**
- snonsnon byedi Inggini# (T3.10)
 snonsnon be- -y- -di Inggini
 name POSS- - 3SG- -Det.SG Inggini

“The young woman’s mother’s name is Inggini”

The suffix –ri in the possessed noun word *snari* “her mother” clearly shows it agrees with its possessor *Inai binkbor ya* “The young woman”. The agreement is marked by the third singular determiner (3SG) marker in the glossing of the suffix –ri.

4.2.1.2.3. Agreement between possessors with possessed nouns.

Agreement between possessors and possessed nouns is clearly marked in plural nouns. Below is an example of the agreement involving the possessor of an inanimate noun.

- (24) Yawi Nusyado imarisen kaku snar myam japan, ifen
 Yawi Nusyado i-marisen kaku snar mam- -y- japan, ifen
 Yawi Nusyado 3SG-happy very because see- -3Sg- taro, tuber

ma	bakdi	byanna	nasur	pyum (T4.6)
ma	bakdi	be- -y- an-na	na-sur	pyum
and	pumpkin	POSS- -3SG- GIV- Det.PL.INAN	3PL.INAN-grow	good

“Yawi Nusyado was very happy because he saw his taro, tuber, and pumpkins grew well”

In (24), the plural possessive determiner marker agrees with the possessed nouns *japan* ‘taro’, *ifen* ‘tuber’, and *bakdi* ‘pumpkin’.

4.2.1.2.4. Distinction between alienable and inalienable possession.

4.2.1.2.4.1. Similar Characteristics

It seems that although the two types of constructions (alienable and inalienable) are different, with the former being analytical and the latter being synthetic, they display similar grammatical properties of a typical Biak possessive construction.

Examples:

(25)	Yohanes	bruri	(el)
	Yohanes	bru-ri	
	John	head- POSS.3SG.DET.SG	
	‘John’s head’		

(26)	Yohanes	rum	byedya	(el)
	Yohanes	rum	be- -y- -dya	
	John	house	POSS- 3SG- DET.SG	
	‘John’s house’			

Both types of possessive constructions show information about person and number of their possessors and information about number and gender of the possessed (see data 25 and 26, in which the possessive constructions are highlighted in bold).

One similar characteristic of the two types of constructions is that the inalienable possessed noun stem in (25) and the alienable possessive pronominal in (26) are inflected for person and number of the possessor. In addition, they both have determiner/definite marking which marks number and gender of the possessed and at the same time closes the whole possessive construction.

In addition, possessive pronominals appear in the same position as determiners.

Examples:

(27)	roma	suya	sumbrif	(el)
	roma	suya	su-mbrif	
	child	Det.DU	3DU-laugh	
	'the two children laughed'			

(28)	roma	byesuya	
	roma	be- -y- sua	
	child	POSS-SG-Det.DU	
	'her two children'		

(29)	roma	byesuya	sumbrif	(el)
	roma	be- -y- sua	su-mbrif	
	child	POSS-SG-Det.DU	3DU-laugh	
	'her two children laughed'			

Therefore, I conclude that the possessive pronominals in Biak are also determiners because they occupy the same phrase structural position as determiners.

4.2.1.2.4.2. Contrasts

I suggest that inalienability in the Biak language is a syntactic distinction not exactly corresponding to the semantic distinction. The following data will show how the distinction is made.

(30) kmari (el)
 kma-ri
 father – POSS.3SG.Det.SG
 ‘his father’

(31) kma byedya (el)
 kma be- -y- dya
 father POSS -3SG- Det.SG
 ‘his father’

Example (30) and (31) show that although *kma* ‘father’ is an inalienable noun, its type of possession is determined by its possessive construction. Thus, in (30) the type of possession for *kma* ‘father’ is inalienable, whereas in (31) the type of possession for *kma* ‘father’ is alienable.³

There will also be no problem when the inalienable noun *kmari* becomes the possessor of an alienable noun with an alienable possessive pronominal as in the following example:

(32) kmari sansun byedi (el)
 kma-ri sansun be- -y- di
 father- shirt POSS- -3SG- Det.SG
 POSS.3SG.Det.SG
 ‘his father’s clothes’

In addition, the combination (as illustrated in 33 below) is also allowed.

(33) kmari byedi (el)
 kma-ri be- -y- di
 father- POSS- -3SG- Det.SG
 POSS.3SG.Det.SG
 ‘his father’s ‘ or ‘the thing belonging to his father’

³ Semantically there is no perceived difference between (30) and (31). The fact that inalienable nouns could have an alienable possessive construction as in (31) is an interesting phenomenon of the Biak language.

However, a problem will arise when we try to combine the inalienable possessive word *kmari* ‘his father’ and the alienable possessive pronominal *byedi* ‘his’ with the meaning ‘his father’ as in (34).

(34)	*kmari	byedi
	kma-ri	be- -y- di
	father-POSS.3SG.Det.SG	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG
	‘his father’	

The problem with (34) is that it has two third-person singular possessors following the inalienable noun *kma* ‘father’. Both possessors have third singular determiner. This fact shows that Biak does not allow the occurrence of two similar determiners in a sequence.

Based on the above analysis, some conclusions can be made:

First, despite the differences between alienable and inalienable possessions in Biak, the two types of possession display similar characteristics in functional properties of the possessive construction.

Second, there is a systematic feature of the inalienable nouns in Biak where they have corresponding forms that behave as alienable nouns. Based on the fact that inalienable nouns can take an alienable possessive pronominal, I have therefore suggested that if an inalienable noun can take an alienable possessive pronominal, then the inalienable noun is considered as behaving as an alienable noun.

Third, I suggest that inalienability in the Biak language is a syntactic distinction not exactly corresponding to the semantic distinction

4.2.1.2.5. When the possessor is a full noun, where does it usually come with respect to the possessed noun?

If the possessor is an overt full noun phrase, the possessor will precede the possessed noun and the possessive pronominal. See example (35) below:

(35) Meser ya ido Yawi Nusyado rya syewar
 meser ya ido Yawi Nusyado ra- -y- sewar- -y-
 dawn Det.SG FOC Yawi Nusyado move- -3SG- search- -3SG-

randip an ya weur byena insama
randip an ya weur be- -y -na insama
pig GIV Det.SG footprint POSS- 3SG- Det.PL.INAN so

iyau usr i Fama myam randip weur
 i-yau usr i Fama mam- -y- randip weur
 3SG-chase follow 3SG But see- -3SG- pig foot print

no ba boi weur snonkaku monda (T2.14)
 no ba boi weur snonkaku monda
 any not but footprint human being only

“At dawn Yawi Nusyado went to search for the pig’s footprints in order that he could follow it but he did not see any pig’s footprints but only human’s footprints”.

4.2.1.3. Gender (animate and inanimate nouns) and Plurality

Biak shows an interesting phenomenon in its gender system. F.J.F Van Hasselt (cited in Steinhauer 1985:468) had observed this phenomenon and was the first to propose a general rule for Biak (Numfor dialect). He states a general rule for animate and inanimate nouns in Biak as follows: “all humans and animals belong to the class of animate nouns which take the affixes /si/ or /s/ and all inanimate objects belong to the class of inanimate nouns which take the affixes /na/ or /n/.” Steinhauer, then, revised

the general rule as follows: “nouns referring to human beings or animals do indeed require /si/ or its variant, but so do nouns referring to most low-growing plants, citrus fruits (in contrast to other fruits), grass, sea-anemones, breasts, money, intestines and stars”(ibid. p.468). In addition, nouns referring to valuable materials and alcoholic drinks also count as animate nouns.⁴ In (36), *pipi* ‘money’ takes /s/ as its plural marker instead of /na/ or /n/ .

(36)	Sun	pipisya	ro	Bank	Mandiri(EB)
	s-un	pipi-sya	ro	Bank	Mandiri
	3PL.AN-take	money-Det.PL.AN	from	bank	Mandiri
	‘They took the money from Mandiri Bank’				

In addition J.L. and F.J.F Van Hasselt, according to Steinhauer (1985:468), seem to imply in their dictionary that there may be some vestiges or rudiments of a feminine-masculine-neuter gender distinction. Thus, they remark that compounds beginning with *in* and *man* often refer to women and men respectively and also with female or male qualities. They suggest that a feminine/female element was seen in *in* ‘fish’ and a masculine is seen in *man* ‘bird’. The ‘neuter’ is found in *ai* ‘tree wood’. Steinhauer argues that these observations only apply to a small number of compounds and they are only relevant on the level of word formation. The opposition, however, “does not have any consequences for the morphosyntactic phenomena” (Steinhauer, *ibid.* p. 468).

Steinhauer’s argument is valid, and this is indicated by evidence that compounds that begin with *in* and *man* which refer to women and men respectively and compounds that begin with *ai* ‘tree wood’ and *ro* ‘thing’ which refer to ‘neuter’ or sometimes

⁴ The history of the classification of animate and inanimate nouns may require specific research.

inanimate things, take the same person and number agreement marker in their singular form. Observe their similarities in the following examples:

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|------|
| (37) | Mansar
Mansar
old man
'This old man is | ine
ine
this.SG
very sick' | iduf
i-duf
3SG-be sick | kaku
kaku
very | (EB) |
| (38) | Insar
Insar
old woman
'This old woman is not sick' | ine
ine
this.SG
not | iduf
i-duf
3SG-be sick | ba
ba
not | (EB) |
| (39) | Robesam
Ro-be-sam ⁵
Thing-Rel-Hot
'This ginger is very hot' | ine
ine
this.SG
very hot' | isam
i-sam
3SG-be hot | kaku
kaku
very | (EB) |
| (40) | aibon
ai-bon
wood-fruit
'That fruit tree is already ripe' | iwa
iwa
that.SG
already | imarm
i-marm
3SG-ripe | kwar
kwar
already | (EB) |

Examples (37) to (40) indicate that despite feminine-masculine-neuter gender distinction, nouns cannot be distinguished from one another in their morphosyntactic properties.

Steinhauer observes that a gender distinction in Biak is only made in the plural. The fact that the gender distinction is only found the plural is one of the unique characteristics of the Biak language.

There is no plural marking on nouns. The plural is marked on the verb, the demonstrative, and the possessive. The selection of the free plural pronoun, the plural

⁵ The word *robosam* is a relative phrase/clause; however, it has been lexicalized as the name of *ginger*.

markers and the agreement marker on the verb is obligatorily dependent on the gender of nouns. Animate nouns have /si/ or /s/ affixes. Inanimate nouns have /na/ or /n/ affixes. The following examples illustrate the free plural pronouns, the marker of plurality on demonstratives and determiners and the plural agreement marker on the verbs.

a. Free Pronouns

Animate

- (41) **si** befaduru kawasa sine (EB)
si be-faduru kawasa sine
3PL.AN REL-take care people PL.AN.this
 ‘They are the ones who take care of these people’

Inanimate

- (42) Skobansren **na** baim (EB)
 sko-ban-sren **na** baim
 3pcl-wash-clean **3PL.INAN** not yet
 ‘They haven’t washed them (dishes) yet’

b. Marker of Plurality

Animate

- (43) Sikram pipisya ro Bank Mandiri (EB)
 si-kram pipi-sya ro Bank Mandiri
 3PL.AN-keep money-Det.PL.AN at bank Mandiri
 ‘They deposit the money in Mandiri Bank’

- (44) Man sine sidufe (EB)
 Man sine si-duf-e
 Bird **this.PL.AN** 3PL.AN-sick-E
 ‘These birds are sick’

Inanimate

- (45) Mkun **baryam nane** be bande (EB)
Mk-un **baryam nane** be bande
2PL-take **sago** this.PL.INAN to landward
'You take these sagos landward'

c. Agreement Marker on the Verb

Animate

- (46) Inai mkun ansya **sidisen** mazmur ma douw (EB)
inai mkun an-sya **si-disen** mazmur ma douw
girl little GIV-Det.PL.AN **3PL.AN-sing** hymns and songs of praise
'The little girls sang hymns and song of praise'

Inanimate

- (47) Farkarkor nane **nsamswen** kaku (EB)
Farkarkor nane **n-samswen** kaku
Lesson this.PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-difficult very
'These lessons are very difficult'

4.2.2. Noun Number

4.2.2.1. Number marking

There is no morphological distinction between singular and plural nouns in Biak.

Formally, count nouns cannot be distinguished from mass nouns. In other words, there is no number marking on the head noun. Semantically count nouns and mass nouns can appear with plural marking on determiners, demonstratives, verbs and prepositional predicates. The plural markers are the affixes /na/ or /n/ for inanimate nouns and the affixes /si/ or /s/ for animate nouns (See section 4.2.1.3).

4.2.2.1.1. Countable Nouns

All nouns are countable. Both count and mass nouns can take singular and plural agreement marking. Singular and plural marking appears in demonstrative and verb phrases.

Count nouns:

- (48) Rum **ine** **iwawa** (EB)
Rum **ine** **i-wawa**
house **this.SG** **3SG-shake**
'this house is shaking'

- (49) Rum **nane** **nawawa** (EB)
Rum **nane** **na-wawa**
house this.PL.INAN **3PL.INAN-shake**
'these houses are shaking'

- (50) Bin **ine** **idoser** kaku(EB)
Bin **ine** **i-doser** kaku
woman **this.SG** **3SG-beautiful** very
'this lady is very beautiful'

- (51) Bin **sine** **sidoser** kaku(EB)
Bin **sine** **si-doser** kaku
woman **this.PL.AN** **3PL.AN-beautiful** very
'these ladies are very beautiful'

Mass nouns:

- (52) War **ine** **irike** (EB)
war **ine** **i-rik-e**
water **this.SG** **3SG-blood (red)-E**
'this water is red'

(53)	War	nane	na-rike(EB)
	war	nane	na-rik-e
	water	this.PL.INAN	3PL.INAN-blood (red)-E
	‘these waters are red’		

The difference between (52) and (53) is in the quantity of the mass noun. In (52) it means water in a small amount, which is provided or which exists in a specific place or specific area. In (53) the plural means that water is provided in separate places i.e. several containers but the containers are located in the same area.

It is very rare to find nouns that are singular or plural, although some words which refer to a pair or a group do exist. Examples of these words are given in (54).

(54)	keret	‘clan’	can have singular and plural markers on determiners, verbs.
	kawasa	‘people’	can have singular and plural marker
	aiwan	‘animals’	must be plural
	imbeswa	‘husband and wife’	cannot have singular.
	mambekma	‘father and child’	Only duals, paucal and plurals.
	imbesna	‘mother and child’	

The presence of the plural marker means that there are many couples or many people. However, when people are separated into three, four, or five couples, then, the paucal marker will be used.

4.2.3. The structure of the Noun

It can be concluded that the noun is not marked for number and gender except in the inalienable possessive noun phrase construction. The structure of the noun word in Biak is illustrated in (55).

(55) STEM-(POSS)

The structure in (55) shows that an inalienably possessed noun consists of a stem plus an optional possessive marker. The pattern is illustrated in (56).

(56)	Ruth	kmari	dor	si (EB)
	Ruth	kma-ri	d-or	3PL.AN
	Ruth	father-POSS.3SG.Det.SG	3SG-call	them
	Ruth's father called them'			

In (56) the noun *kmari* 'his father' consists of the stem *kma* 'father' and the third singular possessive marker *ri* 'POSS.3SG.Det.SG' (See chapter 3 section 3.4 for detailed description of the marking on the head noun).

4.2.4. Pronouns

The forms of the free and the bound pronouns are very similar except for the third person singular which has two variant forms /i/ and /d/. The form and the function of

the free and the bound pronouns will be described in section (4.2.4.1) on personal pronouns.

The combination of free pronouns with demonstratives, possessives, reflexives, and certain words results in different kinds of pronouns such as demonstrative pronouns, reflexive pronouns, possessive pronouns, partitive pronouns, indefinite pronouns, pronominal determiners, etc.

The next section (section 4.2.4.1.) will discuss personal pronouns and is then followed by discussions of reflexive pronouns (4.2.4.2), demonstrative pronouns (4.2.4.3), possessive pronouns (4.2.4.4), indefinite pronouns (4.2.4.5), partitive pronouns (4.2.4.6), pronominal determiners (4.2.4.7) and finally interrogative pronouns (4.2.4.8).

4.2.4.1. Personal Pronouns

In order to facilitate the discussion of the free and bound personal pronouns, a complete list of free and bound personal pronouns is given again in table 1.

Table 1. Pronouns: Free and bound

Pronouns	Free	Bound		
		CONSONANTAL PATTERN		VOCAL PATTERN
		Type 1 CV-initial stem CC-initial stem Prefix	Type 2 CV-initial stem Prefix and Infix	V-initial stem Prefix
1 sg	aya	ya-	ya-	y-
2sg	au	wa-	-w-	w-
3sg	i	i-	-y-	d-
1du.incl	ku	ku-	ku-	kuy-
1du .excl	nu	nu-	nu-	nuy-
2du	mu	mu-	mu-	muy-
3du	su	su-	su-	suy-
3pcl	sko ⁶	sko-	sko-	sk-
1pl.incl	ko	ko-	ko-	k-
1pl.excl	inko	(i)nko-	(i)nko-	(i)nk-
2pl	mko	mko-	mko-	mk-
3pl.an	si	si-/ s-	si-/ s-	s-
3pl.inan	na	na /n-	na /n-	n-

The personal pronouns of the Biak language show several characteristics. First, they indicate person and number. As shown in the table, the first and second person has singular, dual, and plural forms. Similarly, the third person has singular, dual and plural forms as well as a paucal form, which in certain contexts may also be used to refer to more than three individuals.

Surprisingly, data below show that a noun modified by the number “10” can agree with a paucal determiner. More research on the range of uses of the paucal is needed.

⁶ In most contexts the paucal number (*sko*) refers to three. However, in certain contexts it can refer to a few (three and more than three, e.g. three to six or so) or to a small group that is part of a much larger one.

(57)	Ikak	mgun	ri	samfuru	Yomga
	ikak	mgun	ri	samfur-u	yomga
	snake	little	Num.link	ten-U	Yomga

ikapar	anskoya	(T7.99)
i-kapar	an-skoya	
3SG-give birth	GIV-Det.3PCL	
	‘The ten little snakes that Yomga gave birth to’	

In addition, the Biak language has an inclusive and exclusive distinction within the category of the first person.

Second, the pronouns mark a gender distinction between animate and inanimate nouns. This gender distinction, as has been explained in section (4.2.1.3), is only found in the plural.

Third, the bound pronouns, which function as verb-agreement, follow a regular pattern of inflection as shown in table 1 (See chapter 3 section 3.3.1.1 for description of the inflectional pattern in the Biak language).

Unlike English where the person marking on verbs agrees with an independently expressed subject of the verb, the person marking on verbs in the Biak language may or may not co-occur with an independently expressed subject. In (58) the person marking /d-/ co-occurs with the subject *Yawi Nusyado*. In (59) it does not co-occur with the overt subject.

- (58) Yawi Nusyado **dom** yaf ya ro
 Yawi Nusyado **d-om** yaf ya ro
 <name of a person> **3SG-clear the forest** garden Det.SG at
- urek bero mnu Sopen bande ya Bori (T2.3)
 urek be-ro mnu Sopen bande ya bo-ri
 hill Rel-at village Sopen landward Det.SG top-3SG.POSS
 ‘Yawi Nusyado cleared the garden land at a hill which was located landward of Sopen village’

- (59) **dom** yaf an ya ra ibro (T2.4)
 d-om yaf an ya ra i-bro
 3SG-clear (the forest) garden GIV Det.SG until 3SG-finish
 ‘he cleared the garden land until it finished/it was completed’

The free pronoun is rarely used as an overt subject, a situation that is very different from nouns in general. In other words, the distribution of the free pronouns is more restricted than that of nouns. However, the free pronouns may appear as complement of a predicate or a preposition. In (60), *aya* ‘1SG’ is the complement of the preposition *be*. In (61), *aya* ‘1SG’ is the complement of the predicate clause *skomun*.

- (60) buki be **aya** (ms)
 buk-i be **aya**
 2SG.give-3SG to **1SG**
 ‘give it to me’

- (61) skomun **aya** ro bosen (ms)
 sko-mun **aya** ro bosen
 3pcl-hit **1SG** at beach
 ‘They hit me on the beach’

Free pronouns also may attach to directional verbs and copular verbs in predicate nominal constructions and in cleft constructions (See section 3.3.1.2.2 and section 8.1.1).

Other uses of free pronouns are: as one-word sentences and as topics in relative phrase or clause constructions. Some examples are as follows:

1. as one-word sentences; Observe the following conversation.

A.

(62)	Mansei	befur	rum	ine ?	(el)
	Mansei	be-fur	rum	ine ?	
	Who	Rel-make	house	this.SG ?	
	'Who built this house ?'				

B.

(63)	aya			(el)
	aya			
	1SG			
	'I did' Lit: 'me' (It's me who built the house)			

2. as topics in cleft constructions;

(64)	si	bekarau	sansun	nane	(ms)
	si	be-karau	sansun	nane	
	3PL.AN	Rel-steal	clothes	this.PL.INAN	
	'They are the ones who stole these clothes'				

See chapter 8 for the description of relative constructions in the Biak language.

4.2.4.2. Reflexive Pronouns

According to Schachter (1985:27), reflexive pronouns are pronouns which are interpreted as coreferential with another nominal, usually the subject, of the sentence or clause in which they occur. To serve this purpose, the Biak language has two words: *mankun* ‘self’ for male and *binkun* ‘self’ for female. However the word *mankun* is frequently used for both male and female.

The reflexive pronouns are built up from the word *mankun* or *binkun* ‘self’ and an enclitic pronoun as shown in table 2.

Table 2. Reflexive pronouns

1sg	mankund/binkund-aya	(I) myself
2sg	mankund/binkund-aw	(you) yourself
3sg	mankund/binkund-i	(he/she/it) him/her/itself
1du.incl	mankun/binkun-ku	(we two) ourselves
1du.excl	mankun/binkun-nu	(we two) ourselves
2du	mankun/binkun-mu	(you two) yourselves
3du	mankun/binkun-su	(they two) themselves
3pcl	mankun/binkun-sko	(they three) themselves
1pl.incl	mankun/binkun-ko	(we) ourselves / those who belong to our selves
1pl.excl	mankun/binkun-inko	(we) ourselves / those who belong to our selves
2pl	mankun/binkun-mko	(you) yourselves / those who belong to your selves
3pl.an	mankun/binkun-si/-sya	(they) themselves / those who belong to their selves
3pl.inan	mankun/binkun-na	(they) themselves / those who belong to their selves

The use of *binkun* is not as productive as *mankun*. Specific research is needed to find out the frequency and context of its use.

An example of the reflexive pronoun *mankun* is given in (65).

- (65) rofyor no Yawi Nusyado kyain ker ro **mankundi** (T2.33)
 rofyor no Yawi Nusyado kain- -y- ker ro **mankund-i**
 time other Yawi Nusyado sit-3SG continuously at **self-3SG**
 ‘other times Yawi Nusyado sits alone by himself’

In (65) *mankundi* is coreferential with the subject agreement infix *-y-* in *kyain* and with Yawi Nusyado. We can also use reflexive pronouns as an object of a verb. For instance:

- (66) ikanow mankundi
 i-kanow mankund-i
 3Sg - raise self-3SG
 ‘He raised himself’, ‘He voted for himself’

- (67) mkomam mankunmko
 mko-mam mankun-mko
 2PL-see self-2PL
 ‘You look at yourselves’

4.2.4.3. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns have the same form as demonstrative determiners. An example of demonstrative determiner is given in ‘her two children (68):

- (68) **fafyar ine** ryandak ro mnu Saba (SB)
fafyar ine randak- -y- ro mnu Saba
story this.SG begin--3SG- from village Saba
 ‘this story began from Saba village’

The possessive pronouns are mostly found in adnominal position as illustrated in (72).

- (72) Rum **byedya** (el)
 Rum **be-y-dya**
 House **POSS-3SG-DET.SG**
 ‘his house’

If there is an overt possessor, the overt possessor will precede the possessed noun and the possessive pronoun. See example (130) below:

- (73) **Yohanes** Rum **byedya** (el)
Yohanes Rum **be-y-dya**
John House **POSS-3SG-DET.SG**
 ‘John’s house’

However, they may also function pronominally as in the following example:

- (74) **byesuya** sufnak kaker ro mnubabo (EB)
be- -y- -suya su-fnak kaker ro mnu-babo
POSS-3SG-Det.DU 3DU-play still in village-new
 ‘his two (children) are still playing in the new village’

4.2.4.5 Indefinite Pronouns

The words *oso/oser/ eser* ‘one’ and *sino* ‘some’ and *nono* ‘some’ can be used to express indefinite pronouns in the Biak language. Indefinite pronouns can also be formed by combination of personal pronouns with demonstrative *-ya*. The form of this combination is similar to the form of the demonstrative pronouns in table 6 section 3.3.1.2 of chapter 3. The distinction between the indefinite pronouns and the demonstrative pronouns, however, is recognised by the placement of stress. In the indefinite pronouns, the main stress is on the last syllable, whereas on the

demonstrative pronouns the main stress is on the first syllable. Table 3 lists indefinite pronouns of the Biak language.

Table 3. Indefinite pronouns

SG	oso/oser/eser 'one'	iya 'one' / (the) other'
DU	-	suya 'some two persons' / (the) other two'
PCL	skono 'another person of the few'	skoya 'some few persons' / (the) other few'
PL.AN	sino 'some' / 'other'	siya 'some' / 'others'
PL.INAN	nono 'some'	naya 'some; / 'other'

An example of the use of the indefinite pronouns is given in (75).

(75) Ina byeskoya iya snori
 Ina be- -y- skoya iya sno-ri
 daughter POSS- -3SG- one name-POSS.3SG.Det.SG
 Det.PCL

Binwani/ iya snori Inandei/
 Binwan-i iya sno-ri Inande-i
 Binwan-Det.SG one name-POSS.3SG.Det.SG Inande-Det.Sg (FOC)
 (FOC)

iya snori Inggumi kako (T1.9)
 iya sno-ri Inggumi-i kako
 one name-POSS.3SG.Det.SG Inggumi-Det.SG (FOC) also
 'Her three daughters, one called Binwan, another called Inande and another one also called Inggumi'

4.2.4.6. Partitive Pronouns

The noun *min* means part of something or part of a group (member of the same group). When it is combined with dual and paucal free pronouns and closed by a determiner, it functions as a partitive pronoun. The free pronouns select the total group, while the determiner phrase selects the number of entities that are selected from this total group. Table 4 presents possible combinations of the noun *min* with the free pronouns and the determiner phrase.

Table 4. Combinations of free pronouns followed by *min*

	Free pron	min	Determiner	Meaning
1DU.INCL	ku	min	ya/di ⁸	one of the two of us
1DU.EXCL	nu	min	ya/di	one of the two of us
2DU	mu	min	ya/di	one of the two of you
3DU	su	min	ya/di	one of the two of them
3PCL	sko	min	ya/di	one of the three of them
	sko	min	suya/i	two of the three of them
1PL.INCL (EXCL)	((i)n)ko	min	ya/di	one of us
	((i)n)ko	min	suya/i	two of us
	((i)n)ko	min	skoya/i	three of us
	((i)n)ko	min	sya/si	some of us
2PL	mko	min	ya/di	one of you
	mko	min	suya/i	two of you
	mko	min	skoya/i	three of you
	mko	min	sya/si	some of you

An example of the partitive nouns is given in (76).

- (76) **inkominsya** sra kwar (EB)
inko-min-sya s-ra kwar
1PL.INCL-member of same group- 3PL.AN-go already
Det.PL.AN
 'some of us have left' / 'some of us left already'

⁸ Steinhauer (2005:810) lists clause medial *-(d)ya* and clause final *-(d)i* in the possessive pronoun constructions. The partitive pronoun, however, does not use clause medial *-(d)ya*, instead it uses clause medial *-ya* and clause final *-(d)i* in its construction.

4.2.4.7. Pronominal Determiners

The indefinite pronouns *iya*, *suya*, *skoya*, and *siya* (See table 3), when combined with the marker of givenness **an-** will form pronominal determiners. Table 5 lists the basic pronominal determiners.

Table 5. Basic Pronominal determiners

3SG	an-ya	'he/she/it'
3DU	an-su-ya	'the two'
3pcl	an-sko-ya	'the three'
3PL.AN	an-s-ya	'the many'
3PL.INAN	an-na	'the many'

Most of the pronominal determiners appear in adnominal position. Example (77) illustrates this position.

- (77) **insar** **anya** dobo (SB)
 insar **an-ya** d-obo
 old woman **GIV-Det.SG** 3SG-say
 'The old woman said'

However, it is normal for the pronominal determiners to occur pronominally as shown in (78).

- (78) **ansuya** sunan kwar ke ? (EB)
 an-suya su-nan kwar ke ?
 GIV- Det.DU 3Du-eat already Quest.
 'Have the two eaten?' / 'Have the two had their meal?'

The pronominal determiners are also built up from the marker of givenness **an-** followed by demonstratives/determiners and sometimes positional or directional markers. See section 3.3.1.2.2.

4.3. Verbs

Biak verbs are characterized by a combination of morphological and syntactic properties. The characteristics of the Biak verbs are as follows:

First, Biak verbs are distinguished from nouns in that verbs are the only words that can take inflectional marking for subject agreement. Inflectional marking for number and person of the subject is based on the inflectional patterns described in chapter 3 section 3.3.1.1.

Second, verbs function as the head of a verbal predicate. In the following sentence, *ikofen* is the head of the verbal predicate:

- (82) Barya Inggumi **ikofen** inai byansuya (T1.19)
 barya Inggumi **i-kofen** inai be-y- -an-suya
 Therefore Inggumi **3SG-say** daughter POSS-3SG-GIV-Det.DU

‘So Inggumi told her two daughters’

The inflected verb may or may not combine with an overt subject-NP: in (83) there is an overt subject (Yawi Nusyado <name of a person>), whereas in (84) there is none (See also examples (58) and (59) with their explanations on section 4.2.41).

- (83) **Yawi Nusyado** myam nyan ani (el)
 Yawi Nusyado mam -y- nyan an-i
 Yawi Nusyado see- -3SG- road GIV-Det.SG
 ‘Yawi Nusyado saw the road’

- (84) **myam** kako kawasa bero mnu ya (T2.26)
mam- -y- kako kawasa be-ro mnu ya
see- -3SG- also people Rel-be at village Det.SG
 ‘He saw also the people who lived in the village’

Second, only verbs can have the relativizer *be*. Verbs with the relativizer prefix *be* are not inflected for person and number of the subject (See detailed discussion of the relativizer *be* in chapter 3 section 3.3.2.1.1.2 and also chapter 7).

- (85) mansar binsar **bemar** **fyoro** **kwar** sisya kako(MAN)
 mansar binsar **be-mar** **fyoro** **kwar** s-isya kako
 old man old woman **Rel-die** **long** **already** 3PL.AN- be also
 (there)
 ‘‘The old men and women who already died long ago were there

Third, verbs can be prefixed with causative markers *ma-*, *fa-*, *k-* and *mer-*. In the following examples, the verb *an* ‘to eat’ has its original form in (86) where it is inflected for the third person singular. In (87), the verb *an* ‘to eat’ has a causative prefix *fa-* which changes its meaning into ‘to cause to eat’.

- (86) romawa mkun ya **dan** fas (EB)
 romawa mkun ya **d-an** fas
 child small Det.SG **3SG-eat** rice
 ‘‘the small child eats rice’’

- (87) **yafan** romawa mkun ani (EB)
ya-f-an romawa mkun an-i
1SG-cause-eat child small GIV-Det.SG
 ‘‘I feed the small child’’

Finally, verbs can be reduplicated according to certain patterns which are only used for verbs. Reduplication changes verbs into nouns, or into verbs with durative,

iterative, or some other lexicalised meaning. An example of reduplication is presented in (88).

- (88) sukain **sufafyar** **fafyar** bero refo Bebabo (EB)
 su-kain **su-fafyar** **fafyar** be-ro refo be-babo
 3Du-sit **3Du-tell each other** **story** Rel- at bible Rel-new
 ‘They talked about a story from the New Testament’

In this example, *fafyar* is the reduplicated form of *far* ‘tell a story’. The reduplicated form can be used as a noun and can also be used as a verb. In (88), the first *fafyar* is used as a verb, the second as a noun. The forms and the functions of verb reduplication are presented in chapter 3 section 3.3.2.4.

4.3.1. Verb classes

This section presents some verb classes that can be distinguished. The classifications are made only on a semantic basis. There is no morphosyntactic distinction between classes of verbs except the auxiliary verb *be* which will be discussed in section 4.3.1.4.

4.3.1.1. Weather Verbs

All weather verbs are always inflected for a third singular subject. When the verbs occur with an overt subject, the overt subject is usually the word *sup* ‘land, area, environment’. Thus, the following examples are typical weather verb expressions:

(89) sup ya **pyampan** (EB)
 sup ya **pampan -y-**
 land, area, environment Det.SG **dark- -3SG-**
 ‘It’s dark’ Lit: ‘The land is dark’

(90) sup ya **imyun** (EB)
 sup ya **i-myun**
 land, area, environment Det.SG **3SG-rain**
 ‘It rains’ Lit: The land/area is raining’

Other specific words like *mekem* ‘rain’ and *rep* ‘dark clouds’ can also be used with the verb ‘*myun*’ ‘to rain’.

(91) mekm ya **imyun** ro ras-ras (EB)
 mekm ya **i-myun** ro ras-ras
 rain Det.SG **3-rain** at,in days
 ‘It rains everyday’ Lit: The rain rains everyday’

Weather verbs can occur with or without overt subjects.

(92) **imyun** ro mandobin mandirai (EB)
i-myun ro mandobin mandira-i
3SG-rain at,in yesterday afternoon-Det.SG
 ‘It rained yesterday afternoon’

Other weather verbs, which are derived from nouns, are prefixed with the verbalizer *be* (See chapter 3 section 3.3.2.1.1.1).

The nouns that take the verbalizer *be* are *wam* ‘wind’, *karadu* ‘thunder’, *meser* ‘dawn’ and *isnai muryas* ‘dawn’. These verbs are inflected according to the consonantal pattern type 2.

(93) sup ya **byewame** (EB)
 sup ya **be- -y- wam-E**
 land,area Det.SG **become- -3SG- wind-E**
 ‘It’s windy’ Lit: The land is windy’

4.3.1.2. Bodily function

Some forms of the verbs and nouns in this group are based on the same root. Words like *rik* ‘blood’, *bayorem* ‘vomit’, *sampo* ‘urine’, *kapu* ‘faeces’, *doms* ‘sweat’, *marbyas* ‘sneeze’, *aninf* ‘expectorate’ can function as nouns and verbs. As verbs, they are inflected for number and person of the subject. Interestingly, these verbs which are also used as nouns do not need verbalizer prefix *be* as other normal nouns do. Observe the following examples:

(94) mansar ya **idoms** fafaya (el)
 mansar ya **i-doms** fafaya
 old man Det.SG **3SG-sweat** very
 ‘The old man sweated very much’

(95) **doms** byena nafur fa
 doms be- -y- na na-fur fa
 doms POSS-3SG-Det.PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-make until

sansun byena nadok kame (el)
 sansun be- -y-na na-dok kam-e
 cloth POSS-3SG- Det.PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-wet all-E
 ‘His sweat made all his clothes wet’

There are also other forms in this group, which are not necessarily based on the same root. Some examples are words like *ses* ‘to cough’, *kanes* ‘to cry’, and *enef* ‘to sleep’. These verbs take the same inflection as the above verbs.

4.3.1.3. Motion and Position verbs

The Biak language has a sophisticated system of verbs, prepositions, adjuncts, affixes and clitics to refer to the position of objects and to the fact that they are moving or to

the directions in which they are moving. The two basic verbs of motion and position in Biak are *ra* ‘go’ and *ro* ‘be at’. *Ra* is a motion verb that shows movement of the referent of the subject, whereas *ro* is a positional verb which indicates that the referent of the subject is located at a particular place. See section 3.3.1.2.2).

As a motion verb *ra* ‘move’ has an affected participant (the person or thing that moves) and is usually not followed by a nominal complement. The verb *ra* is usually followed by a prepositional phrase, or by an adverb that consists of a host with a cluster of deictic and directional clitics. An example of a sentence in which *ra* is followed by a preposition is given in sentence (96) below. The other examples illustrate the use of *ra* followed by deictic and directional particles. Sentence (97) illustrates the use of *ra* in combination with the directional *ma* ‘towards S’, which gives the meaning ‘come’. Sentence (98) shows *ra* in combination with an adverb introduced by *mu* ‘toward a location/an area’ and *nda* ‘seaward’,

(96) Bin sya sra be bosen (EB)
 Bin s-ya s-ra
 Woman Det.PL.AN 3PL.AN-go to beach
 'the women went to the beach'

(97) Awini rya ma kwar (EB)
 Awini ra -y- ma
 Mother go-3SG- towards S already
 'Mother has come'

(98) **sura** munda susewar in (EB)
su-ra mu- nda su-sewar in
3Du-go DIR.MOVE-seaward 3Du-look for fish
 'The two go to the sea to catch fish'

4.3.2. Verb Structure

The following is a brief overview of the structure of the verb in the Biak language.

We first present the basic structure of the verb in Biak. We then discuss the structure of the causative verb and finally, the structure of the auxiliary verb *be*.

The most basic structure of Biak verbs consists of a root preceded by an obligatory subject agreement marker (See verbal inflection in section 3.3.1.1). The basic structure is illustrated in (102).

(102) AGREEMENT-ROOT

Example:

- (103) *Isapi* (el)
i - sapi
3SG-fall
's/he, it falls/fell'

The causative verb word has either a simple structure or a complex structure as illustrated in (104) and (106).

Simple causative structure:

(104) AGREEMENT-CAUSATIVE-ROOT

Example:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| (105) | yafan
ya-f-an
1SG-cause-eat
“I feed the small child” | romawa
romawa
child | mkun
mkun
small | ani (EB)
an-i
GIV-Det.SG |
|-------|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|

See also section 3.3.2.15.

Complex causative structure:

(106) **AGREEMENT-CAUSATIVE ROOT+ ROOT**

Example:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--|
| (107) | wun
w-un
2SG-take | foro
foro
fire | ma
ma
towards S | kokikun
ko-ki-kun
1PL.INC-give-cook |
|-------|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--|

randip ine (SB)

randip ine

pig this.SG

‘you take the fire here (so) we can use it to cook this pig’

See section 3.3.2.1.7.

The structure of the auxiliary verb *be* is illustrated in (108).

(108) **AGREEMENT-AUX *be* + AGREEMENT-ROOT**

4.4. Adjectives

The Biak language does have a separate group of adjectives. Their number however, is very small. Table 6 illustrates some of Biak adjectives (See also section 5.5.4).

Table 6 Adjectives

Adjectives	Meaning
<i>kasun/mkun</i>	small/little
<i>kbor</i>	Young/adolescent
<i>manggun</i>	honoured
<i>kwar</i>	old
<i>babo</i>	young
<i>mas</i>	ripe/cooked
<i>masen</i>	salt/salty
<i>kamur</i>	unripe

Most adjectival notions are expressed by verbs (see table 7 below), which can be used attributively in a relative clause introduced by relativizer prefix *be* (See chapter 3 section 3.3.2.1.1.2).

Table 7. Biak Verbs expressing adjectival notions

Verbs	Meaning
<i>ba</i>	'big'
<i>babo</i>	'new'
<i>biser</i>	'hungry'
<i>bye</i>	'alive'
<i>doser</i>	'beautiful'
<i>efasis</i>	'quiet'
<i>kasun</i>	'small'
<i>knampu</i>	'short'
<i>kpor</i>	'thick'
<i>kwan</i>	'long'
<i>kwar</i>	'old'
<i>mar</i>	'dead'
<i>marisen</i>	'glad'
<i>marnden</i>	'sweet'
<i>mbrai</i>	young'
<i>mbrouw</i>	'thirsty'
<i>mkak</i>	'afraid'
<i>msor</i>	'angry'
<i>paisem</i>	'black'
<i>pampan</i>	'dark'

- (110) Roma anya **i-fnak** way ani (SB)
 roma an-ya **i-fnak** way an-i
 child GIV-Det.SG **3SG-play** canoe GIV-Det.SG

‘The child played with the canoe’

- (111) **yamsor** bin ani (el)
ya-msor bin an-i
1SG-angry woman GIV-Det.SG
 ‘I am angry with the woman’ (The woman made me angry)

Examples (110) & (111) give evidence that the verb *msor* ‘be angry’ which is similar to an English adjective should not be categorised differently from the verb *fnak* ‘to play’ because both verbs take subject agreement and they both function as predicate of a clause or a sentence. The two verbs can also be used attributively in a relative clause by the introduction of the relativizer prefix *be* as in the following examples:

- (112) Roma **befnak** way ani (EB)
 roma **be-fnak** way an-i
 child **Rel-play** canoe GIV-Det.SG

‘The child who played the canoe’

- (113) bin **bemsor** ani (el)
 bin **be-msor** an-i
 woman **Rel-angry** GIV-Det.SG
 ‘the woman who is angry’ (the angry woman)

As stated earlier, there is a very small number of adjectives that behave differently from verbs (see table 6).

These words behave differently from verbs in that they can modify a noun without an intervening relativizer *be*. Compare the modification of *roma* 'child' by the verbal *ba* 'big' in (114) with its modification by *kasun* 'small' in (115).

(114)	roma	beba	(EB)
	roma	be-ba	
	child	Rel-big	
	'big child'		

(115)	roma	mkun	(EB)
	roma	mkun	
	child	small	
	'small child'		

Other examples illustrating adjectives modifying nouns without intervening relativizer *be* are given in (116) and (117).

(116)	inkora	be	mnu	kwari	(EB)
	inko-ra	be	mnu	kwari-i	
	1PL-go	to	village	old-Det.SG	
	'We're going to the old village'				

(117)	dan	srai	mas	(EB)
	d-an	srai	mas	
	3SG-eat	coconut	ripe	
	'He ate ripe coconut'			

4.5. Numerals

Biak has cardinal numbers ranging from one to nine thousand nine hundred and ninety nine. The Biak cardinal numbers are presented in the following table.

- (119) man ri samfur(EB)
 bird num link ten
 ‘ten birds’
- (120) rum samfur seser eser (EB)
 house ten plus one
 ‘eleven houses’

The numerals “two” to “nine” require the particle /ri/ to connect them with the (preceding) nouns (for “one” and “ten”, /ri/ is not obligatory).

To form ordinal numbers, the prefix *bebe-* is used. Observe example (178):

- (121) Inja yafawar fawar **bebesuruya** wer (T1.1)
 Inja ya-fawar fawar **bebe-suru-ya** wer
 So 1SG-tell story **ORDINAL-two-Det** again
 ‘So I tell the second story as well’

4.6. Adverbs

The Biak language has adverbs, which form a separate class. Adverbs are distinguished from nouns and verbs in that they cannot be inflected, nor can they function as head of a noun phrase or verb phrase. Adverbs modify predicates or whole clauses; some can modify noun phrases. Table 8 lists some Biak adverbs.

Table 9 Adverbs

Form	Meaning	Position
ker	continually	between the verb and the object
fasau	quickly	vary between before or after the object
kwar	already	vary between before or after the object
fawas	slowly	after the verb
nari	later, then	before the verb
imbude	perhaps	before the verb
kaku	very, really, true,	after the verb
monda	only	after the verb
awer	show prohibition	between the verb and the object
wer	again	after the verb
ba	not (negative adverbs)	at the end of verb phrase
kako	also	at the end of verb phrase

The following examples illustrate variation in the position of some of the adverbs in table 8 above.

- (122) myun **ker** bin ani (EB)
mun- -y- **ker** bin an-i
hit- -3SG- **continually** woman Giv-Det.SG
‘He hits the woman continuously’
- (123) mkun robebor nane **fasau** (EB)
mk-un ro-be-bor nane **fasau**
2PL-take thing - Rel-many this.PL.INAN **quickly**
‘You take these things quickly’
- (124) mkun **fasau** robebor nane (EB)
mk-un **fasau** ro-be-bor nane
2PL-take **quickly** thing-Rel-many this.PL.INAN
‘You take these things quickly’
- (125) ifur rum anya **kwar** (EB)
i-fur rum an-ya **kwar**
3SG-build house Giv-Det.SG **already**
‘He has built the house’
- (126) ifur **kwar** rum ani (EB)
i-fur **kwar** rum an-i
3SG-build **already** house Giv-Det.SG
‘He has built the house’

(127) mkombran **fawas** be rum (EB)
 mko-mbran **fawas** be rum
 2PL-walk **slowly** to house
 ‘You walk slowly to the house’

(128) **nari** waso kmami be Jayapura (EB)
nari wa-so kma-mi be Jayapura
later 2SG- father- to Jayapura
 follow POSS.2SG.Det.SG
 ‘You’ll follow your father to Jayapura later’

(129) byuk pipi be aya **ba** (EB)
 buk- -y- pipi be aya **ba**
 give- -3SG money to 1SG **not**
 ‘He does not give me (any) money’

All the above examples have one adverb for each of the examples, however, it is possible to have more than one adverb in a single sentence. Observe the following examples:

(130) mkombran **fawas** **awer** snar ori
 mko-mbran **fawas** **not** snar ori
 2PL-walk **slowly** **not** because sun

syun **kwar**
 sun -y- **kwar**
 enter- -3SG- **already**
 ‘Don’t walk slowly because the sun had already set’ (Lit: the sun already went below the sea”)

(131) **imbude** dobe **nari** kosrow ko
imbude d-obe **nari** ko-srow ko
perhaps 3Sg-say **later** 1PL.INCL-meet 1PL.INCL

wer **ba**
wer **ba**
again **not**

‘Perhaps, he thought we would not meet each other again’

4.7. Preposition

Biak has only the three prepositions: *be* ‘to’; *ro* ‘at, in, on’ and *ra* ‘alongside’. These three words are sometimes used as verbs (See section 4.3.1.3 on the motion and position verbs). However, in their use as prepositions, they are not inflected for subject agreement. Some examples of the prepositions are given below:

(132) skombran **be** rumfarkor (EB)
 sko-mbran **be** rumfarkor
 3pcl-walk **to** school
 ‘They walk to school’

(133) subark **ro** mnu ine (EB)
 su-barek **ro** mnu ine
 3Du-stay **in** village this.SG
 ‘The two stay in this village’

(134) bin anya das **ra** bar bedonk ine (EB)
 bin an-ya d-as **ra** bar be-donk ine
 woman Giv- 3SG- **along** part/side Rel-deep this.SG
 Det.SG swim
 ‘The woman swam along this deep side’

4.8. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used to conjoin two similar constituents of the same grammatical type. For instance, they can connect two noun phrases or two clauses. Table 10 below lists several conjunctions in the Biak language.

Table 10 Conjunctions

Form	Meaning	Conjoin
ma	‘and’	NP, clause
bo ¹⁰	‘while’, ‘and’	clause
kuker ¹¹	‘with’,	NP, clause
ra	‘until’, ‘in order to’	clause
imboi, boi	‘but’	clause
imbape, bape	‘but’	clause
insamaido, insamande	‘in order that	clause
inja	‘so’, ‘therefore’	clause
kukro	‘because’	clause

Some examples of conjunction are presented in (135), (136) and (137)

(135) snon **ma** bin sra kame (EB)
 snon **ma** bin s-ra kame
 man **and** woman 3PL.AN-go all
 ‘Men and women all go’

(136) skombran **bo** skodisen dow ine (EB)
 sko-mbran **bo** sko-disen dow ine
 3pcl-walk **and** 3pcl-sing song this.SG
 ‘They walked and sang this song’

(137) iba **boi** syamrab ba (EB)
 i-ba **boi** samrab- -y- ba
 3SG-be big **but** be strong- -3SG- not
 ‘He is big but he is not strong’

¹⁰ The difference between *bo* and *ma* is that *bo* cannot conjoin noun phrases. It only conjoins verb phrases and clauses.

¹¹ *Kuker* and *bo* can be placed at the beginning of a sentence, however, *ma* cannot appear in initial position of a sentence.

4.9. Question Words

4.9.1. Polar Question markers

Generally, polar questions in the Biak language are expressed by uttering the last word of the sentence with a sudden and strong pitch that drops immediately after. This indicates a neutral question in a context when the speaker expects a yes-no answer from the addressee. Alternatively, the speaker might have had some previous information and wants to be reassured that the information s/he has is correct.

For example:

(138)	Mkora	be	Biak ? (el)
	mko-ra	be	Biak ?
	3PL-go	to	Biak ?
	‘Are you going to Biak?’		

Another way of forming a polar question is by attaching the specific question marker *ke* at the end of a sentence. This specific marker is always pronounced with rising intonation. The question is uttered when the speaker needs approval or agreement from the addressee. Thus, the answer for the question can be either positive or negative.

Example:

(139)	ya-so	mko	ke ? (el)
	ya-so	mko	ke ?
	1SG-follow	2PL	Quest
	‘Can I go with you ?’ Lit: ‘Can I follow you ?’		

4.9.2. Content Question words

As described in section 4.2.4.8, two common question suffixes in Biak are *sai* and *sei*.

The former can be combined with either animate or inanimate referents. The latter can only be used with *man*, which denotes male qualities, and with *bin* or *in* which denote female qualities. The combination of the question words *sai* and *sei* with animate and inanimate referents are presented in the table below:

Table 11 Content questions

Form	Meaning
Mansei	‘who’ (for man)
Binsei	‘who’ (for woman)
Rosai	‘who’ (for other referents), ‘what’
Mobsai	‘where’, ‘which place’
minsai	‘which one’ (to ask for choices)
rassai	‘when’, ‘what day’
rosai befnai, ¹² sai bewar	why

The question words in table 10 are always located at the beginning of the interrogative sentence.

Examples:

¹² There is no specific question word for *why* in Biak. *Rosai befnai* is a relative clause which is composed of *ro-sai be-fnai* ‘things-what Rel-cause’. Similarly, *sai bewar* is composed of *sai be-war* ‘what Rel-cause’

- (140) **mansei** befur rum ine ?(EB)
mansei be-fur rum ine ?
who Rel-build house this ?
‘Who built this house?’ Lit: ‘who, who built this house?’

- (141) **Rosai** kan ro rasine ?(EB)
Rosai k-an ro ras-ine ?
What 1PL.INCL-eat at day-this ?
‘What do we eat today ?’

If we question out of a subordinate clause, then, the question word will appear at the beginning of the sentence before the matrix clause. Examples:

- (142) **mansei** kyara befur rum ine ?(EB)
mansei kara- -y- be-fur rum ine ?
who think- -3SG- Rel-build house this ?
‘Who did he think built this house?’.

- (143) **Rosai** kobe kan ro rasine ?(EB)
Rosai ko-be k-an ro ras-ine ?
What 1PL.INCL-be about to 1PL.INCL-eat at day-this ?
‘What do we want to eat today?’

In addition, subject and non subject questions headed by *mansei/binsei* ‘who’ and *rosai* ‘what’ always require a relative clause. The distinction between subject and non-subject questions has to do with the use of the relativizer prefix *be-*. When *mansei/binsei* and *rosai* are used to question a non subject, they do not require a relativizer *be-*. However, when they are used to question a subject, the relativizer prefix *be-* is obligatory (See also chapter 5 section 5.5.4.2). This construction is exactly the same as with general relative clause patterns described in chapter 7. Observe the two examples below:

- (144) **mansei** bemuni? (el)
mansei be -mun -i?
who Rel- -hit –3SG?
‘who hit him ?’
- (145) **mansei** myuni? (el)
mansei mun- -y- -i?
who hit- -SG- FOC
‘who did he hit ?’

Certain content question phrases in the Biak language always appear at the end of the interrogative sentence. Question words such as *rariso* ‘how’, *roiso* ‘where’, and *ribeso* ‘how much’ always appear at the end of the interrogative sentence. *Roiso*, *rariso*, and *ribeso* are built up from the combination of prepositional verb *ro*, motion verb *-ra* and motional marker *-r-* (see p.44), numeral linker *ri* and relative marker *be-* and the question word (*i*)*so*.

Examples:

- (146) Wafur i **rariso ?** (el)
wa-fur i **ra-r-iso ?**
2SG-make 3SG **move-MOTION-Quest?**
‘How do you make it ?’
- (147) mkosmai in **ribeso ?** (el)
mko-smai in **ri-be-so ?**
2PL-catch fish **NUM.Link-Rel-Quest?**
‘How many fish did you catch ?’
- (148) Ben sya **sroiso ?** (el)
ben sine **s-ro-iso ?**
plate this.PL.AN **3PL.INAN-be.at-Quest?**
‘Where are the plates ?’
- (149) **skoroiso?** (el)
sko-ro-iso?
3PCL -be.at-Quest?
‘Where are the three of them?’

In (148) and (149), the question word *roiso* ‘where’ is inflected for subject agreement.

See also section 5.8.2.

CHAPTER V

CONSTITUENT ORDER

5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses and describes constituent order in the Biak language. The second section (section 5.2) will present constituent order in main clauses of the Biak language. The remaining sections will present the constituent order of each element of the main clauses in the Biak language; the verb phrase (5.3), the noun phrase (5.4), the prepositional phrase (5.5), comparatives (5.6), and question particles and question words (5.7). Finally, section (5.8) gives a summary of constituent order in the Biak language.

5.2. Constituent Order in main clauses

Two questions to be answered in this section are:

1. What is the neutral order of free elements in the Biak language?
2. Are there any variations in the constituent structure of the Biak language?

5.2.1. The neutral order of free elements in the main clauses of Biak

The normal or standard order of constituents in a Biak clause is **subject + predicate**. In a transitive verbal clause the normal order is **subject + predicate + object**. In a ditransitive verbal clause the order is **subject + predicate + direct object + indirect object**. Nominal clauses have two different constituent orders. First, the constituent

order for nominal clauses with verb *is(o)* 'be' follows the normal constituent order of Biak clauses, **subject + predicate + object**. Second, the constituent order for nominal clauses with verb *iri* 'be' and the derived stems formed on the basis of clitic *-s-* is **subject + object + predicate** (see 5.2.1.4. ex. 16).

Except for nominal clauses with verb *iri* 'be', subject, predicate and object are identified by their positions in the sentence. The subject always precedes the predicate and the object. The predicate is always inflected for number, person, and gender (for plurals only) of its subject.

One important thing to note is that subject and object are not marked for case. In other words, there is no morphological marking to indicate the function of subject and object in a sentence.

In the absence of an overt subject, the inflectional marking on the verb can provide information about grammatical properties of the subject. Observe the following examples:

(1)	Susan	dor	romawasya (EB)
	Susan	d-or	romawa-sya
	Susan	3SG-call	child-Det.PL.AN
	'Susan called the children'		

(2)	dor	romawasya(EB)
	d-or	romawa-sya
	3SG-call	child-Det.PL.AN
	'She called the children'	

In the case of object function in transitive and ditransitive verbal clauses, there is no inflectional marking on the verb to indicate information about grammatical features of

the object. Moreover, the object function is determined by its position/its order in the sentence and it cannot be omitted. See transitive and ditransitive verbal clause in 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.3.

In the case of nominal clause constructions, copular verb *iri* and derived stems formed on the basis of clitic *-s-* have inflectional marking on the verb which indicates information about grammatical features of the object. In the absence of an overt object, the inflectional marking on the verb can provide information about grammatical properties of the object. Observe the following examples:

(3)	<i>inai</i>	<i>subesi</i>	<i>sisine</i>
	<i>inai</i>	<i>su-be-si</i>	<i>si-s-ine</i>
	daughter	3Du-POSS-3.PLN.Det	3PL.AN.DET-be-this
	'here are their (DU) daughters'		

(4)	<i>sisine</i>
	<i>si-s-ine</i>
	3.PL.AN.DET-be-this
	'Here are they'

(See also 8.3.2.4).

In the following examples, prototypical P (patient) arguments appear in bold type. There are many constituent types that function like the P (patient) argument in terms of order. These appear in italic type. They are not *prototypical* P arguments. Nevertheless, they share at least the formal property of clause position with P arguments. Some of these constituents' types are illustrated for each of the constituent orders exemplified below:

5.2.1.1. Transitive Verbal clause

In a transitive sentence, the subject precedes the predicate. The object always appears after the transitive verb.

For example:

- (5) Bin anya ifur **rum** **ani** (ms)
 Bin an-ya i-fur **rum** **an-i**
 woman GIV-Det.SG 3SG-make **house** **GIV-Det.SG**
S **V** **O**
 ‘The woman built the house’

The sentence will be ill-formed if the order of the subject, the predicate and the object of the sentence is changed.

For example:

- (6) *ifur bin anya **rum** **ani**
 i-fur bin an-ya **rum** **an-i**
 3SG-make woman GIV-Det.SG **house** **GIV-Det.SG**
 ‘The woman built the house’

- (7) *ifur **rum** **ani** bin anya
 i-fur **rum** **an-i** bin an-ya
 3SG-make **house** **GIV-Det.SG** woman GIV-Det.SG
 ‘The woman built the house’

- (8) * bin anya **rum** **ani** ifur
 bin an-ya **rum** **an-i** i-fur
 woman GIV-Det.SG **house** **GIV-Det.SG** 3SG-make
 ‘The woman built the house’

- (9) ***rum** **ani** bin anya ifur
rum **an-i** bin an-ya i-fur
house **GIV-Det.SG** woman GIV-Det.SG 3SG-make
 ‘The woman built the house’

5.2.1.2. Intransitive verbal clause

The order of the overt subject and predicate in an intransitive sentence is the same as the order of subject and predicate in the transitive clause where the overt subject always precedes the predicate.

For example:

(10)	Susan	imbran	be	rumfarkor(EB)
	Susan	i-mbran	be	rumfarkor
	Susan	3SG-walk	to	school
	S	V		
	'Susan walks to school'			

(11)	way	anya	imsar	ro	swan(EB)
	way	an-ya	i-msar	ro	swan
	boat	GIV-Det.SG	3SG-sink	at	sea
	S		V		
	'The boat sank in the sea'				

5.2.1.3. Ditransitive verbal clause

The order of subject and predicate in a ditransitive sentence is the same as the transitive and intransitive verbs.

In the ditransitive verbal clause, the direct object always precedes the indirect one. In addition, the prepositional phrase, which contains the indirect object NP, is obligatory.

For example:

- (12) Hannah byuk robean be makey siwa (EB)
 Hannah b- -uk -y- robean be makey siwa
 Hannah give food to dog that.PL.AN
S V O P
 ‘Hannah gave food to those dogs’

If the indirect object appears before the direct object, the clause will be ill-formed.

Observe the example below:

- (13) *Hannah byuk be makey siwa robean
 Hannah b- -uk -y- be makey siwa robean
 Hannah give to Dog that.PL.AN food
 ‘Hannah gave food to those dogs’

- (14) *Hannah byuk makey siwa robean
 Hannah b- -uk -y- makey siwa robean
 Hannah give dog that.PL.AN food
 ‘Hannah gave food to those dogs’

5.2.1.4. Nominal Clauses

Nominal clauses have two different constituent orders. First, the constituent order for nominal clauses with verb *is(o)* ‘be’ follows the normal constituent order of Biak clauses, **subject + predicate + object**.

- (15) keret byedya **iso** Rumbewas
 keret be- -y- dya **i-iso** Rumbewas
 clan POSS- 3SG-Det.SG 3SG-**be** Rumbewas
S V O
 ‘His/her clan is Rumbewas’

5.3. Are there variations?

Although the Biak language is mostly an SVO or AVP type language, there are some variations in the order of clause constituents. One of them is nominal clause constructions (as has been described in 5.2.1.4). Another different constituent order which is different from normal constituent order of verbal clauses and nominal clauses is internally headed relative clauses.

The internally headed relative clauses use an **SOV** pattern. Although the SOV pattern is very rare in the Biak language, it does exist in the language. In the corpus I found only two examples of internally headed relative clauses. See examples below:

- (21) skokon doyo [roma anskoi [mob] skenf ro] ya (T1.43)
 sko-kon- ro-O roma an-skoi mob sk-enef- ro ya
 3pcl-sit at-o young man GIV-Det.PCL place 3pcl-sleep at Det
 [S [O] V]
 “they sat at the place where the three young man slept”
- (22) [roma anskoi [mob] skenf ro] ya idok
 roma an-skoi mob sk-enef- ro ya i-dok
 young man GIV-Det.PCL place 3pcl-sleep at Det 3SG-wet
 [S [O] V]
 “the place where the three young man slept was wet”

See chapter 7 for a detailed description of relative constructions in the Biak language.

5.4. Verb Phrase

As explained in (4.3.1.4.), auxiliary verb *BE* ‘be about to, want’ syntactically behaves differently from other verbs in that it is always followed directly by another inflected verb, which is the main verb of a clause or a sentence. The position of the auxiliary verb *be* is always before the main verb and if there is an overt subject, the auxiliary

verb *be* will follow the overt subject and will precede the main verb. Observe examples (23) and (24).

(23)	ibe		dan		ropum (EB)
	i-be		d-an		ropum
	3sg-want, be about to		3Sg-eat		betelnut
	AUX		V		O
	'he wants to chew betelnut'				

(24)	Susan	ibe		dan	ropum (EB)
	Susan	i-be		d-an	ropum
	Susan	3SG-want, be about to		3Sg-eat	betelnut
	S	AUX		V	O
	'Susan wants to chew betelnut'				

Any adverbs that occur in a verb phrase that contains an auxiliary verb and a main verb always appear before or after the verb phrase, never between the auxiliary verb and the main verb. For example:

(25)	Yason	ibe		imbran	fasau(EB)
	Yason	i-be		i-mbran	fasau
	Yason	3SG-want, be about to		3SG-walk	quickly
	S	AUX		V	Adv
	'Yason wants to walk quickly'				

(26)	*Yason	ibe		fasau	imbran
	Yason	i-be		fasau	i-mbran
	Yason	3SG-want, be about to		quickly	3SG-walk
	'Yason wants to walk quickly'				

The position of adverbs in a clause is very much dependent on the characteristics of each individual adverb (See chapter 4 section 4.6. table 9). Some adverbs can appear before or after the verb phrase. Some can only appear at the beginning of a sentence or at the end of a sentence. However, there are some adverbs that can appear in both

positions. The following examples illustrate the position of adverbs in different places in the main clause.

5.4.1. Sentence initial adverbs

The adverb *nari* 'later' indicates that there are things to do in the future.

The position of *nari* can precede the subject of a sentence or come after the overt subject and before the verb phrase. For example:

(27) **nari** bin anya dun japan nane
nari bin an-ya d-un japan nane
later woman GIV-Det.SG 3SG-take taro this.PL.INAN
Adv S V O

be Wardo (EB)
 be Wardo
 to Wardo

'the woman will take these taros to Wardo'

(28) bin anya **nari** dun japan nane
 bin an-ya **nari** d-un japan nane
 woman GIV-Det.SG **later** 3SG-take taro this.PL.INAN
S Adv V O

be Wardo (EB)
 be Wardo
 bo Wardo

'the woman will take these taros to Wardo'

(29) **nari** dun japan nane be Wardo
nari d-un japan na-ne be (EB)
later 3SG-take taro this.PL.INAN be Wardo
Adv V O P
 to

's/he will take these taros to Wardo'

(30) *dun **nari** japan nane be Wardo
 d-un **nari** japan nane be Wardo
 3SG-take **later** taro this.PL.INAN to Wardo
 ‘S/he will take these taros to Wardo’

(31) *dun japan nane be Wardo **nari**
 d-un japan na-ne be Wardo **nari**
 3SG-take taro this.PL.INAN to Wardo **later**
 ‘S/he will take these taros to Wardo’

5.4.2. Sentence final adverbs

The word *kwar* indicates that things have been already completed / done. The literal translation of *kwar* is ‘old’ or ‘past’. The position of ‘kwar’ is after the verb or at the end of the verb phrase. For example

(32) Bin anya **imbran** **kwar** be rumfarkor(EB)
 Bin an-ya i-mbran kwar be rumfarkor
 woman GIV-Det.SG 3SG-walk already to school
 S **V** **Adv**
 ‘the woman has walked to school’

(33) Bin anya **imbran** be rumfarkor **kwar**
 Bin an-ya i-mbran be rumfarkor **kwar**
 woman GIV-Det.SG 3SG-walk to school **already**
 S **V** **P** **Adv**
 ‘the woman has walked to school’

(34) * **Kwar** bin anya imbran be rumfarkor
 kwar bin an-ya i-mbran be rumfarkor
 already woman GIV-Det.SG 3SG-walk to school
 ‘the woman has walked to school’

(35) *bin anya kwar imbran be rumfarkor
 bin an-ya kwar imbran be rumfarkor
 woman GIV-Det.SG already 3SG-walk to school
 ‘the woman has walked to school’

5.4.3. Sentence initial and final adverbs

Time adverbs can be placed sentence initially and sentence finally. The time adverb may precede or may follow the predicate of a clause. When it precedes a verb phrase, it does not need a preposition. However, when it follows a verb phrase, then it obligatorily needs a preposition. Examples (36) to (40) illustrate some sentences without an overt subject.

- (36) **mandobindya** skombrane (EB)
mandobin-dya sko-mbran-e
yesterday-Det.SG 3pcl-walk-e
Adv **V**
 ‘the three walked yesterday’
- (37) skombran **ro** **mandobindi** (EB)
 sko-mbran **ro** **mandobin-di**
 3pcl-walk **at** **yesterday-Det.SG**
V **P** **Adv**
 ‘the three walked yesterday’
- (38) *skora **ro** **mandobindya** be rumfarkor
 sko-ra **ro** **mandobin-dya** be rumfarkor
 3pcl-go **at** **yesterday-Det.SG** to school
 ‘they went to school yesterday’
- (39) skora be rumfarkor **ro** **mandobindi** (EB)
 sko-ra be rumfarkor **ro** **mandobin-di**
 3pcl-go to school **at** **yesterday-Det.SG**
V **P** **P** **Adv**
 ‘they went to school yesterday’
- (40) **mandobindya** skora be rumfarkor (EB)
mandobin-dya sko-ra be rumfarkor
yesterday-Det.SG 3pcl-go to school
Adv **V** **P**
 ‘they went to school yesterday’

(50) paik oser (Sb)
 month one
 N NUM
 ‘one month’

(51) fawar bebe-suru (Sb)
 story ORDINAL-two
 N **ORDINAL.PREF-NUM**
 ‘the second story’

5.5.3. Possessors

The possessive pronoun takes the position of a determiner. Thus, it always follows the head noun in the possessive noun phrase construction. In (52), *byedya* ‘his’ (‘POSS.Verb-3SG-Det.SG’) follows *rum* ‘house’.

(52) rum **byedya (EB)**
 rum **be-y-dya**
 house **POSS -3SG-DET.SG**
 N **POSS**
 ‘his house’

If the possessor is an overt full noun phrase, the possessor will precede the possessed noun and the possessive pronouns (See chapter 4 section 4.2.4.4 for possessive pronoun constructions). See example (53) below:

(53) **Yohanes** rum byedya(EB)
Yohanes rum be-y-dya
John house POSS-3SG-DET.SG
(POSS) N **POSS**
 ‘John’s house’

In the inalienable possessive construction, the overt possessor will precede the possessed noun (See discussion of the inalienable possessive construction in chapter 4 section 4.2.1.2). Sentence (54) – (56) illustrate the inalienable possessive construction.

Singular Possessor

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|-----------|--------|
| (54) | Yohanes kmari | irmomn | si(EB) |
| | Yohanes kma-ri | i-rmomn | 3PL.AN |
| | John father-POSS.3SG.Det.SG | 3SG-angry | them |
| | (POSS) N-POSS.DET | | |
| | ‘John’s father was cross with them’ | | |

Dual, Paucal and Plural Possessor

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|----------------|--|
| (55) | simkasna | napraf | |
| | si-mka-s-na | na-praf | |
| | 3.PL.AN-eye-POSS-3.PL.INAN | 3PL.INAN-blind | |
| | POSS – N – POSS.INFIX-DET | | |
| | ‘their (PL) eyes are blind’ | | |
| (56) | sumkasna | napraf | |
| | su-mka-s-na | na-praf | |
| | 3.DU-eye-POSS-3.PL.INAN | 3PL.INAN-blind | |
| | POSS – N – POSS.INFIX-DET | | |
| | ‘Their (DU) eyes are blind’ | | |

5.5.4. Adjectives

Noun modifiers or adjectives always follow the head noun. The noun modifier or the adjective with relative marker or without relative marker always appears after the head noun.

For example:

- (57) kapal **beba** (el)
kapal **be-ba**
ship **Rel-big**
N **Rel-V**
‘big ship’
- (58) inai **mkun** (el)
inai **mkun**
girl **small**
N **A**
‘small girl’
- (59) roma **babo** (el)
roma **babo**
boy **young**
N **A**
‘young boy’

5.5.5. Relative Clause

The relative clause always follows the head noun.

Example:

- (60) bin **bemsor** **ani** (el)
bin **be-msor** **an-i**
woman **Rel-angry** **GIV-Det.SG**
N **Rel-V** **(DET)**
S V
‘the woman who is angry ’ (the angry woman)
- (61) Roma **befnak** way **ani** (el)
roma **be-fnak** way **an-i**
child **Rel-play** canoe **GIV-Det.SG**
N **Rel-V** **(Det)**
S V
‘The child who played with the canoe’

It is common to relativize on non-subjects in the Biak language. However, in this construction the relativizer *be-* is not used. The head noun appears before the relative clause. Observe the following examples:

(62) **way** romawa ya ifnak **ani** (el)
way romawa ya i-fnak **an-i**
canoe child Det.SG 3SG-play **GIV-Det.SG**
N N Rel DET
O S V
 ‘The canoe that the child played with’

(63) **rosai** **wakofen** **ya** na yaso monda (EB)
rosai **wa-kofen** **ya** na ya-so monda
what **2SG-say** **Det.SG** will 1SG-follow only
N Rel DET
O V
 ‘the things that you said, I will just follow’

More on relative clause construction patterns are in chapter 7.

5.5.6. Noun Modifiers

Although naturally the modifier always follows the head nouns, there is also variation in the noun modifiers where the noun modifiers may precede or follow the head noun.

The noun pre-modifiers are mostly found in compound nouns for body parts of plants or animals (See chapter 6 section 6.2.1.1.2). Some examples are illustrated in (64) to (66).

(64) in bukor (ms)
 fish head
M H
 ‘fish head’

- | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------------|
| (65) | imbyef
banana
M
'banana fruit' | bon (ms)
fruit
H |
| (66) | srai
coconut
M
'coconut tree' Lit: 'coconut stem' | knam (ms)
stem
H |

The noun post-modifier, on the other hand, can be any noun that modifies the head noun. Some examples of the noun post-modifier are given in (67) to (69).

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (67) | myos
island
H
'rock island' | karui (ms)
rock
M |
| (68) | rum
house
H
'man's house' | snon (ms)
man
M |
| (69) | roma
child
H
'foreign people's child' | amber (ms)
foreign people
M |

More on the noun modifiers are in chapter 6 section 6.1.

5.6. Prepositions

The Biak language uses prepositions to mark the semantic relation between the NP complement and the main predicate. The preposition always follows the main verb and precedes the NP complement.

In the Biak language the standard is a noun phrase, the comparative marker is the word *syadi* ‘more’ and the quality is normally expressed through adjectival verbs (See chapter 4 section 4.4).

The order of the comparative construction is as follows:

(73) QUALITY + MARKER + STANDARD

Below are some examples of the comparative construction in the Biak language:

(74)	Hannah		iba		syadi		Heleni (ms)
	Hannah		i-ba		syadi		Helen-i
	Hannah		3SG-big		more		Helen-FOC
			QUALITY		MARKER		STANDARD
	‘Hannah is bigger than Helen’						

(75)	way	ine	ikwan	syadi	way	iwa (ms)
	way	ine	i-kwan	syadi	way	iwa
	canoe	this.SG	3SG-long	more	canoe	that.SG
			QUALITY	MARKER	STANDARD	
	‘this canoe is longer than that canoe’					

In (74) and (75), *Hannah* (name of a person) and *way ine* ‘this boat’ are objects of comparison: that is, they are the items whose size is being compared to that of a mentioned standard. In (74), Helen is the standard, whereas in (75) *way ine* ‘that canoe’ is the standard.

The comparative word *syadi* ‘more’ can also be used as a verb. Observe the example in (76):

(76)	isyadi	romawa	sya	kame (pc)
	i-syadi	romawa	s-ya	kam-e
	3SG-more	child	3PL.AN-Det	all - E
	'He is more (brighter) than all the children'			

In (76), the quality being compared is not explicitly stated in the sentence. The meaning of the quality is derived from the context.

In addition, the comparative word *syadi* 'more' can also be used as a verb-phrase adverb. When it is used as an adverb, it means 'over'. For example:

(77)	denf	syadi (ms)
	d-enf	syadi
	3SG-sleep	more
	'He overslept'	

(78)	ifrar	syadi (ms)
	i-frar	syadi
	3SG-run	more
	'He ran further (than the targeted area)'	

5.8. Question particles and question words

5.8.1. Question Particles

Question particles and question words are discussed in section (3.8). This section will exemplify their positions with respect to other clause elements.

Generally, attaching the question marker *ke* at the end of a sentence forms a polar question in the Biak language. Therefore, the position of the question particle *ke* is always at the end of a sentence or a clause.

For example:

(79)	yaso	mko	ke ? (EB)
	ya-so	mko	ke ?
	1SG-follow	2PL	Quest
	S		Q
	'Can I go with you ?' Lit: 'Can I follow you ?'		

(80)	*ke	yaso	mko ?
	ke	ya-so	mko ?
	Quest	1SG-follow	2PL
	'Can I go with you ?'		

(81)	kombran	ke ? (ms)
	ko-mbran	ke ?
	1PL-walk	Quest.Part
	S	Q
	'Do we walk ?'	

(82)	* ke	kombran ?
	ke	ko-mbran ?
	Quest.Part	1PL-walk
	'Do we walk ?'	

In an embedded question, particle *ke* stays at the same place.

(83)	Sifukn	na	kombran	ke
	Si-fuken	na	ko-mbran	ke
	3PL.AN-ask	will	1PL-walk	Quest
	S			Q
	'They asked whether we would walk'			

5.8.2. Question Words

The question words which end with *sai* and *sei* always take initial position in a sentence or a clause, whereas the question words which end with *fis* and *so*, always take the final position in a sentence or in a clause (See section 4.9.2 on the construction of the question words).

Examples (84) to (86) illustrate questions words that take the initial position of a sentence.

Questioning Subject:

- (84) **mansei** bemun romawa ya ro arwo ine?(EB)
mansei be-mun romawa ya ro arwo ine?
who Rel- hit child Det in,at,on morning this?
Q Rel-V
 ‘who hit the child this morning?’

Questioning Object:

- (85) **mansei** myun ro arwo ine?(EB)
mansei mun- -y- ro arwo ine?
who hit -3SG- in, at, on morning this?
Q S
 ‘whom did s/he hit this morning?’

- (86) **rosai** kan ro rasine?(EB)
rosai k-an ro ras-ine?
what 1PL.INCL-eat at day-this?
Q S
 ‘What do we eat today?’

In embedded questions, the question words *mansei* and *rosai* are placed in the subordinate clause. For instance:

(87) Ifukn **rosai** kan ro rasine ?(EB)
 I-fukn **rosai** k-an ro ras-ine ?
 3SG-ask **what** 1PL.INCL-eat at day-this ?
S **Q** **S**
 ‘He asked what we eat today’

(88) ifukn **mansei** bemun romawa nani
 i-fukn **mansei** be-mun romawa an-i
 3SG-ask **who** Rel- hit child GIV-Det.SG
S **Q** **Rel-V**
 ‘He asked who hit the child’

Examples (89) to (91) illustrate question words that appear in final position in a sentence or a clause.²

(89) Wafur i **rariso ?** (EB)
 wa-fur i **ra-r-iso ?**
 2SG-make 3SG **move-MOTION-Quest?**
S **Q**
 ‘How do you make it ?’

(90) mkosmai in **ribeso ?** (EB)
 mko-smai in **ri-be-so ?**
 2PL-catch fish **Num.Link-Rel-Quest?**
S **Q**
 ‘How many fish did you catch ?’

(91) In sine **sbefis?** (EB)
 in si-ne **s-be-fis?**
 fish 3PL.AN-this **3PL.AN-vblzr-Quest**
S **Q**
 ‘how much are these fish ?’

Question word *fis* ‘how much’ in (91) is preceded by verbalizer prefix *be-* (see 3.3.2.1.1.1) and forms a question word. The inflection is similar to *roiso* in page 144 example 148 and 149.

² Specific research is necessary to check the possible order of Biak question words.

5.9. Summary

Based on the analysis of the data, some conclusions can be made. The conclusions are summarized in the following grammatical sketch of the Biak language. Some notes on Greenberg's implicational universals will be stated.

1. Main Clauses

- The basic constituent order (the normal standard order) of the Biak language is SV in intransitive clauses (ex. 92), and SVO (AVP) in transitive clauses (ex. 93).

(92)	Susan	imbran	be	rumfarkor(EB)
	Susan	i-mbran	be	rumfarkor
	Susan	3SG-walk	to	school
	S	V		
	'Susan walks to school'			

(93)	Bin	anya	ifur	rum	ani (ms)
	Bin	an-ya	i-fur	rum	an-i
	woman	GIV-Det.SG	3SG-make	house	GIV-Det.SG
	S		V	O	
	'The woman built the house'				

The structure of the main clause is

S → (Adv) NP (Adv) PREDICATE

(94)	Adv	NP (Subj)	Adv	VP			
	Nari	bin	anya	fyor	imbran	bepon	baime
	Nari	bin	an-ya	fyor	i-mbran	be-pon	baime
	then	woman	GIV-Det.SG	before	3SG-walk	Rel-front	not yet
	'Shortly before the woman walked first '						

Verbal predicates use this structure:

PREDICATE → V (NP) (PP)
 OBJ IOBJ

Indirect objects and other obliques (marked by prepositions) typically occur after subject (agent), verb phrase and direct object.

(95)	S	V	NP (Obj)	PP (IObj)	
	Hannah	byuk	robean	be	makey siwa (EB)
	Hannah	b- -uk -y-	robean	be	makey siwa
	Hannah	give	food	to	dog that.PL.AN
	'Hannah gave food to those dogs'				

Nominal *is(o)* use this structure : PREDICATE → V NP

(96)		V	NP
	keret	byedya	iso Rumbewas
	keret	be- -y- dya	i-iso Rumbewas
	clan	POSS- 3SG-Det.SG	3SG-be Rumbewas

'His/her clan is Rumbewas'

Nominal clitics *-ri* use a different structure:

PRED → NP V

(97)		NP	V	(EB)
	mansar	Mofu	<i>guru</i>	riri
	mansar	Mofu	<i>guru</i>	ri-ri
	elder	Mofu	<i>teacher</i>	Det.SG-be
	'Mr Mofu is a teacher'			

Nominal clitic *-s-* use this structure:

PRED → NP-V-DET

(98)		NP -V-DET	
	Roma	skoya	skoisine
	Roma	sko-ya	skoi-s-ine
	Child	3PCL-Det	3PCL.DET-be-this
	'Here are the three children'		

2. The order of question words varies between SENTENCE INITIAL and SENTENCE FINAL depending on the question words.

Questioning Subject:

- (99) **mansei** bemun romawa ya ro arwo ine ?(EB)
mansei be-mun romawa ya ro arwo ine ?
who Rel- hit child Det in,at,on morning this ?
Q Rel-V
 'who hit the child this morning ?'

Questioning Object:

- (100) **mansei** myun ro arwo ine ?(EB)
mansei mun- -y- ro arwo ine ?
who hit -3SG- in, at, on morning this ?
Q S
 'whom did s/he hit this morning ?'

- (101) Wafur i **rariso** ?(EB)
 wa-fur i **ra-r-so** ?
 2SG-make 3SG **move-MOTION-Quest** ?
S Q
 'How do you make it ?'

Greenberg's Universal 1: Biak is consistent with universal 1. In a declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object.

2. Phrases

1. Prepositional phrases

PP → P (NP)

(102)		P	NP	(EB)
	nkora	be	Ampombukor	
	nko-ra	be	Ampombukor	
	1PL-go	to	<name of village>	
	'we went to Ampombukor'			

(103)		P	NP	
	nubark	ro	rum	ine (EB)
	nu-barek	ro	rum	ine
	1Du-stay	in, at, on	house	this.SG
	'The two of us stay in this house'			

2. Noun Phrases

2.1. Modifiers

NP → N (Adj) (S) DET
REL

Modifiers such as determiners, numerals and relative clauses follow their head nouns.

(104)	inai	mkun	(el)
	inai	mkun	
	girl	small	
	'small girl'		

(105)	bin	bemsor	ani	(el)
	bin	be-msor	an-i	
	woman	Rel-angry	GIV-Det.SG	
	'the woman who is angry' (the angry woman)			

2.2. Possessive Constructions

Biak has two types of possessive constructions. The first type is alienable possessive constructions.

NP → (NP) N POSS
 POSS

The place of the possessor (i.e. possessive pronominal) is after the possessed item.

- (110) rum **byedya (EB)**
 rum **be-y-dya**
 house **POSS -3SG-DET.SG**
 N **POSS**
 ‘his house’

When the possessor is a full NP it will be placed before the possessed item and the possessive pronominal.

- (111) **Yohanes** rum byedya(EB)
 Yohanes rum be-y-dya
 John house POSS-3SG-DET.SG
 (POSS) N **POSS**
 ‘John’s house’

The second type is inalienable possessive constructions. There are two different constructions for inalienable possession. The first type is an inalienable possessive construction for singular possessors. The singular possessors have suffix *-ri* or *-si* at the end of a possessed item.

NP → (NP) N-POSS.Suffix (Singular)
POSS

(NP) Prefix-N-Suffix (Dual, Paucal, Plural)
POSS

- (112) **kmari**
kma-ri
father-POSS.3SG.Det.SG
'his father'

When an overt possessor is present, it will be placed before the possessed item.

- (113) **Yohanes kmari**
Yohanes kma-ri
John father-POSS.3SG.Det.SG
'John's father'

The second type of inalienable possessive construction is inalienable possessive constructions for plural possessors. The plural possessors have prefix and suffix that attach to a possessed item.

- (114) **simkasna** napraf
si-mka-s-na na-praf
3.PL.AN-eye-POSS-3.PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-blind
'Their eyes are blind'

- (115) roma nansya **simkasna** napraf
roma An-sya **si-mka-s-na** na-praf
child GIV-Det **3.PL.AN-eye-POSS-3.PL.INAN** 3PL.INAN-blind
'The children's eyes are blind'

Greenberg's universal: Biak is consistent with universal 2. It mostly uses prepositions and the genitive always follows the governing noun.

3. Verb Phrases

PRED → AUX PRED

The order of inflected auxiliaries is AUX – VERB.

(116)	Susan	ibe	dan	ropum (EB)
	Susan	i-be	d-an	ropum
	Susan	3SG-want, be about to	3Sg-eat	betelnut
	S	AUX	V	O
	'Susan wants to chew betelnut'			

Universal 16: The fact that inflected auxiliary precedes main verb in Biak is consistent with observations by Greenberg (1963) for languages of the VO type.

4. Comparatives

The order of comparative constituent is QUALITY (ADJ) – MARKER – STANDARD.

(117)	Hannah	iba	syadi	Heleni (ms)
	Hannah	i-ba	syadi	Helen-i
	Hannah	3SG-big	more	Helen-FOC
		QUALITY	MARKER	STANDARD
	'Hannah is bigger than Helen'			

This order ADJ – MARKER – STANDARD is consistent with Greenberg's observation for languages of the VO type.

CHAPTER VI

NOUN COMPOUNDING AND DENOMINALIZATION

6.1. Introduction

In chapter 3 and 4, some of the important aspects of the structure and features of nouns and noun phrases such as number, article/determiner, demonstratives, and class (gender) have been described in detail. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss compounding and denominalization in the Biak language.

6.2. Compounding

A compound is a word formed from two or more units that are themselves words. In the Biak language, most compound nouns are spelt as single words. Figure 1 shows examples of two compound noun words.

Figure 1

Compound Noun		Individual words	Compound Meaning
mambesak	man”bird” ¹	be-sak “Rel-burn/light”	the bird of paradise
inkbor	in “fish” ²	kbor “adolescent”	an adolescent girl

However, not all compounds are written as single words: some are written as two separate words. For example:

¹man ”bird” usually associates with male qualities (See chapter 4 section 4.2.1.3).

² in “fish” usually associates with female qualities (See chapter 4 section 4.2.1.3).

Figure 2

Compound Noun	Individual words		Compound meaning
sna kasun	sna “mother”	kasun “small”	aunt (mother’s younger sister)
srar kasun	srar “sibling of the opposite sex”	kasun “small”	younger brother/sister of the opposite sexes

Like any other noun, compound words may be modified by determiners, adjectives, possessives, numerals, etc. In (1) the compound word *mebin* ‘aunt’ is modified by determiner *ansuya* ‘GIV. DET.DU’.

- (1)
- | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------|
| mebin | ansuya | subiser |
| me-bin | an-suya | su-biser |
| uncle-female | GIV-Det.DU | 3DU-hungry |
- ‘The two aunts are hungry’

Compound words may serve as subject or object of a verb. Observe the following examples:

- (2)
- | | | | |
|----------|---------------|----|---------|
| dun | robean | be | mnu |
| d-un | ro-be-an | be | mnu |
| 3SG-take | thing-rel-eat | to | village |
- ‘he took the food to the village’

- (3)
- | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----|
| inawer | rya | ma | ba |
| in-awer | ra- -y- | ma | ba |
| fish-deaf | go- -3SG- | towards S | not |
- ‘The deaf woman does not come here’

In (2) the compound noun *robean* ‘food’ serves as object/complement of the verb *-un* ‘take’. In (3) the compound noun *inawer* ‘deaf woman’ serves as subject of the verb.

A compound noun is different from a sequence of an adjective and a noun, because of the way the meanings of the part combine to make the meaning of the whole.

Compare:

(4)	Rumu	rum	mngun	sifur	doyo	Msirn bo	ya/
	Rum-u	rum	mngun	si-fur	ro-O	Msirn-bo	ya
	house-U	house	small	3PL.AN-build	at-O	Msirn-top	Det.SG

rum	ine	kawasasya	sibor	siryur	doi# (T1.7)
rum	ine	kawasa-sya	si-bor	si-ryur	ro-i
house	this	people-Det.PL.AN-	3PL.AN-many	3PL.AN-gather	at-3SG

‘at the small house they built on top of Msirn <name of a mountain> this house, many people live in it’

In (4) *rum mngun* “small house” (Noun-plus-adjective) is both *house and small*.

However, in (1) *bin* ‘female’ changes *me* ‘uncle’ into ‘aunt’.

Compound words contrast with words built up by the use of affixes. For example:

(5)	Inja	bebebabara	anine	robaido	befara	anine
	inja	be-be-bara	an-ine	robaido	be-fara	an-ine
	so	Rel-have-scabies	GIV-this.SG	or	Rel-steer	GIV-this.SG

daksewar	nyan	wer#	(T4.21)
d-ak-sewar	nyan	wer	
3SG-also-search	way	again	

“so the one with scabies or the one that steers (the canoe) also (wants to) find ways (of teasing his friend)”

In (5) *be-be-babara* (*Rel-have-scabies*, *be-fara* (*Rel-steer*) would not usually be counted as compound words because their first elements (*be-*) are prefixes and cannot stand on their own as single words.

There seems to be no contrast between subjects of verbs and non-subjects of verbs in noun verb compounding. The data shows that the ways in which the meanings of the noun compound words are arrived at from the meaning of their parts are rather erratic and unpredictable. For instance, in figure (3) we have the compound words *manfarkor* ‘teacher’ and *romafarkor* ‘student’. Although the first two noun words appear before the verb *farkor* ‘to teach’, their meanings are different. The first compound word *manfarkor* means *a person who teaches (a lesson)*. The second word *romafarkor* has the opposite meaning (*a person who receives the lesson/the teaching*).

Figure 3.

Compound Noun	Individual words		Compound meaning
	Noun	Verb	
manfarkor	man “bird”	farkor “to teach”	<i>teacher</i> (a person who teaches)
romafarkor	roma “child”	farkor “to teach”	<i>student, pupil</i> (a person who is taught)
rumfarkor	rum “house”	farkor “to teach”	<i>school</i> (a place where teaching takes place)

Similarly, figure (4) includes the compound words *robean* ‘food’ where *ro* “thing” forms a compound with the verb *be-an* ‘Rel-eat’ and *robeark* “stinky insect” where *ro* forms a compound with *be-ark* ‘Rel-bite’. We can see that these compounds are not formed in the same way. The first compound word means *a thing that can be*

eaten and not *a thing that eats*. The second compound word means *a thing that bites* and not *a thing that is bitten*.

Figure 4.

Compound Noun	Individual words	Compound meaning	
	Noun	Rel + verb	
manbefor	man "bird"	be-for "Rel-hunt"	<i>bird of paradise</i> (a hunted bird)
mambesak	man "bird"	be-sak "Rel-burn/light"	<i>Yellow bird of paradise</i> (a special bird that shines)
mambemafu	man "bird"	be-mafu "Rel-dream"	<i>tarot reader</i> (a person who sees things in dreams)
benbefan	ben "pig"	be-fan "Rel-feed"	<i>domesticated pig</i> (pig which is raised by people)
rumbeduf	rum "house"	be-duf "Rel-sick"	<i>hospital</i> (a house for sick people)
rumbepyar	rum "house"	be-pyar "Rel-float"	<i>floating house</i> (a house that is built on the sea side near the beach)
robean	ro "thing"	be-an "Rel-eat"	<i>food</i> (thing to be eaten)
robeark	ro "thing"	be-ark "Rel-bite"	<i>stinky insect</i> (thing that bites)
robefrar	ro "thing"	be-frar "Rel-run"	<i>mouse</i> (thing that runs)
roberok	ro "thing"	be-rok "Rel-produce sound"	<i>drum</i> (thing that makes sound)
robena	ro "thing"	be-na "Rel-have"	<i>treasure</i> (treasured materials)
robesar	ro "thing"	be-sar "Rel-sharp"	<i>weapon. Sword</i> (thing that is sharp)
robower	ro "thing"	be-sower "Rel-wear (shoes)"	<i>slipper, shoes</i> (thing be worn)
rofan	ro "thing"	fan "feed"	<i>dog</i> (domesticated animal)

The question is why the words in figure 3 and 4 and more compounding data in the next sections are classified as compound nouns. They may look like left headed NPs with metaphorical meanings. For example:

- (6) sna kasun
 sna kasun
 mother small
 ‘aunt’

There are several reasons why the words such as *sna kasun* ‘aunt’ in (6) are compound words. First, the sequence *sna kasun* has an idiosyncratic meaning which refers only to mother’s younger sister.

Second, we cannot get other modifiers between the noun and adjective. For example:

- (7)*
- | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|------|--------------|
| sna | bepduk | kaku | kasun |
| sna | be-pduk | kaku | kasun |
| mother | Rel-beautiful | very | small |
- ‘a very beautiful aunt’
- (8)
- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|------|
| sna | kasun | bepduk | kaku |
| sna | kasun | be-pduk | kaku |
| mother | small | Rel-beautiful | very |
- ‘a very beautiful aunt’

Third, we cannot modify only one word. For example:

- (9)*
- | | | |
|--------|---------------|--------------|
| sna | [kasun | kaku] |
| sna | kasun | kaku |
| mother | small | very |
- ‘a very young aunt’
- (10)
- | | | |
|--------|--------|------|
| [sna | kasun] | kaku |
| sna | kasun | kaku |
| mother | small | very |
- ‘a real aunt’

In the example (9), we cannot modify only a part of the compound words. The words *kasun kaku* ‘very young’ cannot modify *sna* ‘mother’ to mean ‘a very young aunt’. However, in (10) the word *kaku* ‘very’ can modify *sna kasun* ‘aunt’ which means ‘a real aunt’ = ‘mother’s younger sister not cousin’.

The next sections will present types of noun compounding in the Biak language.

6.2.1. Types of Noun Compounding

There are four types of noun compounding patterns in the Biak language. The four types of noun compounding patterns are:

1. Noun + Noun
2. Noun + Verb
3. Noun + Adjective
4. Noun + Directional Nouns

6.2.1.1. Noun + Noun Compounding

There are two types of Noun + Noun compounding patterns. The first pattern is one in which the head noun precedes the modifier. The second pattern is one in which the modifier precedes the head noun. The two types of noun-noun compounding patterns are very productive in the Biak language.

6.2.1.1.1. Head Noun precedes Modifier

The modifiers of the head noun always follow the head noun in this pattern. This is the typical position for all noun modifiers in the Biak language. Table 1 illustrates examples of noun-noun compounding where the head nouns are followed by noun modifiers.

Table 1. Head Noun followed by noun modifier

Compound Noun	Individual words		Compound Meaning
	Head	Modifier	
mambanio	man”bird”	banio “parents in law”	father in law
imbanio	in “fish”	banio “parents in law”	mother in law
mambekin	man”bird”	bekin “children in law”	son in law
imbekin	in “fish”	bekin “children in law”	daughter in law
inkabom	in “fish	kabom “widow”	widow
inkbor	in “fish”	kbor “adolescent”	adolescent girl
inawer	in “fish”	awer “deaf”	deaf woman
insup	in “fish”	sup “forest”	inland girl
inamber	in “fish”	amber “foreign”	foreign girl/ woman
snonkbor	snon “male”	kbor “adolescent”	adolescent boy
swansrai	swan “alcoholic drink”	srai “coconut”	coconut beverage
myos karui	myos “island”	karui “rock”	rock island
rum snon	rum “house”	snon “male”	men’s house
rumsasar	rum “house”	sasar “mistake”	prison, jail
rumawak	rum “house”	awak “orphan”	orphan’s house
randip sup/ ben sup	randip “pig”	sup “forest”	wild pig

Unlike the noun-noun compounding data in table 1 in which head and modifier can be clearly distinguished by their positions, the head noun and the modifier in table 2 and 3 are a bit difficult to determine. There are two problems here. First, it is not clear which heads the compound noun. Second, the meaning of the compound noun is opposite to the first word of the compound noun in that the sex of the first noun word is changed from male into female or vice versa. However, we could propose that the modifier of the head noun is the second word, and the first word is the head noun. In this context, the modifiers change not only the meaning of the head nouns but also the gender of the head nouns (from male into female). See some of the examples in table 2.

Table 2

Compound Noun	Individual words		Compound meaning
	NOUN	NOUN	
mebin	me “uncle”	bin “woman”	aunt
rifiobin	rifio “brother in law”	bin “woman”	sister in law
mambesarar	man “male”	be-srar “Rel-siblings of the opposite sex”	a woman’s brother
imbesrar	in “female”	be-srar “Rel-siblings of the opposite sex”	a man’s sister

In addition, two nouns can be juxtaposed to form a compound where the words are separated by the relative marker *be* in Biak (corresponding to conjunction *and* in English). Again, if there is a head noun, it is difficult to predict which the head noun is and which the modifying noun is. Examples in table 3 below illustrate the phenomenon.

Table 3

Compound Noun	Individual words		Compound meaning
	NOUN	Rel + NOUN	
mambekma	man “bird”	be-kma “Rel-father”	father and his child/children
imbesna	in “fish”	be-sna “Rel-mother”	mother and her child/children
imbeswa	in “fish”	be-swa “Rel-spouse”	husband and wife
mambekanaek	man “bird”	be-kanaek “Rel-siblings”	younger brother and elder brother
imbekanaek	in “fish”	be-kanaek “Rel-siblings”	younger sister and elder sister
mambekpu	man “bird”	be-kpu “Rel-grand child”	grandfather and grandchild/grandchildren
imbekpu	in “bird”	be-kpu “Rel-grand child”	grandmother and grandchild/grandchildren

However, using the same approach that we apply to table 2 we could analyze the modifier of the head noun as the second word, and the first word as the head noun. In this context, the head noun is the first word and the second word provides the meaning of the whole compound word (it indicates that the first mentioned family member is with other members of the family).

6.2.1.1.2. Modifier precedes Head Noun

Unlike modifiers that follow the head noun in the Biak language, noun modifiers for body parts of plants, fish and animals exhibit the opposite word order. In this type of noun-noun compounding for the body parts of plant, fish and animal the noun modifier precedes the head noun. This form, however, is productive in the Biak language. Table 4 and table 5 illustrate some of the examples.

Table 4. Plants

Compound Noun	Individual words		Compound meaning
	Modifier	Head	
aibon	ai “wood”	bon “fruit”	fruit
aiknam	ai “wood”	knam “stem”	tree
airam	ai “wood”	ram “leaf”	leaf
srai bon	srai “coconut”	bon “fruit”	coconut fruit
srai knam	srai “coconut”	knam “stem”	coconut tree
srai ram	srai “coconut”	ram “leaf”	coconut leaf
away bon	away “mango”	bon “fruit”	mango fruit
away knam	away “mango	knam “stem”	mango tree
away ram	away “mango	ram “leaf”	mango leaf
imbyef bon	imbyef “banana”	bon “fruit”	banana fruit
imbyef knam	imbyef “banana”	knam “stem”	banana tree
imbyef ram	imbyef “banana”	ram “leaf”	banana leaf
inasem bon	inasem “rose-apple”	bon “fruit”	rose-apple fruit
inasem knam	inasem “rose-apple”	knam “stem”	rose-apple tree
inasem ram	inasem “rose-apple”	ram “leaf”	rose-apple leaf
durian bon	durian “durian”	bon “fruit”	durian fruit
durian knam	durian “durian”	knam “stem”	durian tree
durian ram	durian “durian”	ram “leaf”	durian leaf
bakdi bon	bakdi “pumpkin”	bon “fruit”	pumpkin fruit
bakdi knam	bakdi “pumpkin”	knam “stem”	pumpkin stem
bakdi ram	bakdi “pumpkin”	ram “leaf”	pumpkin leaf
rambutan bon	rambutan ”rambutan”	bon “fruit”	rambutan fruit
rambutan knam	rambutan ”rambutan”	knam “stem”	rambutan tree
rambutan ram	rambutan ”rambutan”	ram “leaf”	rambutan leaf
ransyo ram	ransyo ‘sweet potato”	ram “leaf”	sweet potatoleaf

Table 5. Fish and Animal

Compound Noun	Individual words		Compound meaning
	Modifier	Head	
in bukor	in "fish"	bukor "head"	fish head
in kraf	in "fish"	kraf "meat"	fish meat
in kor	in "fish"	kor "bone"	fish bone
in snewar	in "fish"	snewar "intestines"	fish intestines
in purai	in "fish"	purai "tail"	fish tail
ben bukor	ben "pig"	bukor "head"	pig head
ben kraf	ben "pig"	kraf "meat"	pig meat
ben kor	ben "pig"	kor "bone"	pig bone
ben snewar	ben "pig"	snewar "intestines"	pig intestines
ben purai	ben "pig"	purai "tail"	pig tail
mankoko bukor	mankoko "chicken"	bukor "head"	chicken head
mankoko kraf	mankoko "chicken"	kraf "meat"	chicken meat
mankoko kor	mankoko "chicken"	kor "bone"	chicken bone
mankoko purai	mankoko "chicken"	purai "tail"	chicken tail
mankoko pnor	mankoko "chicken"	pnor "egg"	chicken egg
fasmor	fas "rice"	mor "grain"	rice grain
susmor	sus "breast"	mor "kernel"	nipple
suspamber	sus "breast"	pamber "edge"	nipple
snoman	snon "male"	man "bird"	male

6.2.1.2. Noun + Verb Compounding

There are two types of Noun + Verb compounding:

1. Noun followed by verb
2. Noun followed by Relative marker *be* and verb

The two types of Noun + Verb compounding patterns are very common and productive in the Biak language.

The following two tables (table 6 and 7) show the two productive types of Noun + Verb compounding.

Table 6. Noun followed by Verb

Compound Noun	Individual words		Compound meaning
	Noun	Verb	
mambri	man “bird”	bri “to seize”	hero
manfakwak	man “bird”	fakwak “to take care”	leader
manfarkor	man “bird”	farkor “to teach”	teacher
manfyan	man “bird”	fan “feed”	male servant
mansren	man “bird”	sren “clean”	God/Holy man
manwen	man “bird”	wen “ghost”	ghost, devil
imbokia	in “fish”	bokia “being the co-wife”	co-wife
infyan	in “fish”	fan “feed”	female servant
aikun	ai “wood”	kun “burn”	firewood
aimamun	ai “wood”	mamun ³ “to kill”	magic wood
aimyas	ai “wood”	myas “dried”	dried coconut leaves
aipokem	ai “wood”	pokem “decay”	carcass, carrion
aiwan	ai “wood”	wan “stab”	animals
romafarkor	roma “child”	farkor “to teach”	student, pupil
rumfarkor	rum “house”	farkor “to teach”	school
rofanfan	ro “thing”	fanfan ⁴ “feed”	animals/animal farm
rokaker	ro “thing”	kaker ⁵ “plant	plants
romamun	ro “thing”	mamun “to kill”	weapon
roaninem	ro “thing”	aninem “drink”	mug/cup

³ Reduplicated word from *mun* “to kill”

⁴ Reduplicated word from *fan* “to feed”

⁵ Reduplicated word from *ker* “to plant”

Table 7. Noun followed by relative marker *be* and verb

Compound Noun	Individual words		Compound meaning
	Noun	Rel + verb	
manbefor	man”bird”	be-for “Rel-hunt”	bird of paradise
mambemafu	man”bird”	be-mafu “Rel-dream”	tarot reader
mambesak	man”bird”	be-sak “Rel-burn/light”	bird of paradise
rumbeduf	rum “house”	be-duf “Rel-sick”	hospital
rumbekwan	rum “house”	be-kwan “Rel-long”	long house
rumbepyar	rum “house”	be-pyar “Rel-float”	floating house
rumbewas	rum “house”	be-was “Rel-block	a house that has several blocks/borders
robean	ro “thing”	be-an “Rel-eat”	food
robeark	ro “thing”	be-ark “Rel-bite”	stinky insect
robefrar	ro “thing”	be-frar “Rel-run”	mouse
roberok	ro “thing”	be-rok “Rel-produce sound”	drum
robena	ro “thing”	be-na “Rel-have”	treasure
robesar	ro “thing”	be-sar “Rel-sharp”	weapon. sword
robesower	ro “thing”	be-sower “Rel-wear (shoes)”	slipper, shoes
robсна	ro “thing”	be-сна “Rel-light”	lamp
aibemun	ai “wood”	be-mun “Rel-hit/kill”	mashed potato
naek eba	naek “siblings of the same sexes”	e-ba “Rel-big” ⁶	elder brother/sister of the same sex
srar eba	srar “sibling of the opposite sex”	e-ba “Rel-big”	elder brother/sister of the opposite sex
kma eba	kma “father”	e-ba “Rel-big”	uncle (father’s elder brother)
sna eba	sna “mother”	e-ba “Rel-big”	aunt (mother’s elder sister)

⁶ The word *e-ba* ‘big’ is a variant form of *be-ba*. The *b-* deletion in the relativizer prefix *be-* is common in the Biak language. See (3.3.2.1.1.2) and (3.3.1.3) example 45 and 46 with their explanations.

6.2.1.3. Noun + Adjective Compounding

The head noun + Adjective compound behaves like the Noun + Verb compound in that the adjective follows the head noun. Table 8 illustrate some of the examples of Noun + Adjective compounding.

Table 8. Noun + Adjective compounding.

Compound Noun	Individual words		Compound meaning
	Noun	Adjective	
kma kasun	kma “father”	kasun “small”	uncle (father’s young brother)
bin amber	bin “woman”	amber “stranger”	foreign woman
binfun	bin “woman”	fun “respected”	respected woman
manfun	man “bird”	fun “respected”	respected man
romkun	ro “thing”	mkun “small”	child
inaimkun	inai “girl”	mkun “small”	little girl
naek kasun	naek “siblings of the same sexes”	kasun “small”	younger brother/sister of the same sex
sna kasun	sna “mother”	kasun “small”	aunt (mother’s younger sister)
srar kasun	srar “sibling of the opposite sex”	kasun “small”	youngerbrother/sister of the opposite sexes

6.2.1.4. Noun + Directional Nouns

Some nouns when combined with directional nouns form a noun + directional noun compound. Table 9 shows some noun + directional noun compounds.

Table 9. Noun + Directional Nouns

Compound Noun	Individual words		Compound meaning
	Noun	Directional Nouns	
rumbab	rum “house”	bab “below”	a space below the house
rubarpon	rum “house”	bar-pon “part-front”	front part of the house
wambarek	wam “wind”	barek “west”	west wind
wambrauw	wam “wind”	sambrauw “strong”	typhoon
wampasi	wam “wind”	pasi “low tide”	very low tide season
wamurem	wam “wind”	murem “East”	East wind
wamiresi	wam “wind”	samiresi “South”	South wind
wambrur	wam “wind”	brur “Forest”	North wind
barpur	bar “part”	pur “back”	back part
barpon	bar “part”	pon “front”	front part
banda	bar “part”	nda “seaward”	seaward part
bandi	bar “part”	ndi “outward”	outward part
bande	bar “part”	nde “landward”	landward part
bandum	bar “part”	ndum “inward”	inward part
bar raku	bar “part”	raku “true”	right
bar rasar	bar “part”	rasar “wrong”	left

6.3. Denominalization

In the Biak language it is common to take a noun, N, and form a verb that means “become N”. In Chapter 3 Section 3.3.2.1.1.1, the prefix *be-* when applied to a noun changes the noun into a verb. The meaning of the verbalizer *be-* + noun (N) is ‘being N’ or ‘becoming N’. The word *umur* ‘age’ in (11) , for instance, when preceded by the verbalizer prefix *be-* means ‘to be at the age of’

(11)	Snonsnon	ayediso/	Demianus Baransano/
	name	ay-e-di-iso	Demianus Baransano
	name	1SG-POSS-DET-BE	Demianus Baransano

yabeumur	tahun	samfur di fik sesr di wonem#
ya-be-umur	tahun	samfur-di-fik- sesr- di- wonem
1SG-be-age <loan>	year <loan>	ten-Num.Link-Seven-plus-Num.Link- six

boi	yarandak	fawar	bebesuru	inewer	ma	beyo
boi	ya-randak	fawar	bebe-suru	ine-wer	ma	be-o
but	1SG-begin	story	rel-two	this-again	here	to - O

romawa	ye	befarkor	do	Amerika	iwa#	(T1.2)
romawa	y-e	be-farkor	ro	Amerika	iwa	
young man	1SG-POSS	Rel-study	at	America	that	

’My name is Demianus Baransano/ I am seventy six years old but I will tell the second story as well for my young man who is studying in America’

Some of the data show that prefix *be-* can make a possessive verb from a noun.

Observe examples (12). The word *mnor* ‘mucus’ in (12), for instance, when preceded by the verbalizer prefix *be-* means ‘to have a mucus/snotty nose’

(12) Inja **bebemnor** anine dakkoryae
 inja **be-be-mnor** an-ine d-ak-koryaye
 so **Rel-vblzr-mucus** GIV-this.SG 3SG-also-tease

befara anine bo dobe “naeko ras ine
 be-fara an-ine bo d-obe “naek-O ras ine
 Rel-steer GIV-this.SG and 3SG-say “brother-O day this.SG

daresya iba kaku inja komindi
 dares-ya i-ba kaku inja ko-min-di
 sun heat-Det.SG 3SG-big very so 1PL.INCL-member of the same group-Det.SG

imakro ipokfa isnauwi baberi# (T4.7)
 i-makr-o i-pok-fa i-snauw-i ba-beri
 3SG-itchy-O 3SG-able-to 3SG-scratch-3SG not-at all

“So **the one who had a snotty nose** also teased the one who steered (the canoe) and said “brother, today the sun heat is very high so (if) one of us is itchy, he should not scratch himself at all”

In addition, prefix *be-* can combine with numerals and quantifiers. The meaning of the prefix *be-* plus numeral is ‘to become one’, ‘to become two’, etc. In this position the verbalizer prefix *be-* is inflected for number, person and gender according to the CP type 1. Observe example (13).

(13) **Mgobekyor** **skobekyorja** na mgobuk sko# (T1.35)
 Mgo-be-kyor **sko-be-kyor-ja** na mgo-buk sko
 2PL-be-three **3pcl-be-three-so** will 2PL-marry 3pcl

“**You are three, they are three, so you’ll marry them**”

Moreover, in the Biak language, subject agreement prefixes when attached to a noun, form a verb that refers to performing whatever activity is usually associated with that noun. The following examples show how the three noun words; *fawar* “story”, *armaker* “scabies”, and *wor* “traditional song” function as noun and verbs in the sentences below:

→ **fawar “story” (NOUN)**

Subj.Agr + fawar “to tell a story” (VERB)

- (14) Inja **yafawar** **fawar** bebesuruya wer # (T1.1)
 Inja **ya-fawar** **fawar** bebe-suru-ya wer
 So **1SG-tell** **story** ORDINAL-two-Det again

‘So I **tell** the second **story** as well’

→ **armaker “scabies” NOUN**

EXAMPLE:

- (15) Yawi Nusyado baken byeja ifo **armaker** isof
 Yawi Nusyado baken be- -y- dya i-fo **armaker** isof
 Yawi Nusyado body POSS- -3SG- Det.SG 3SG- full **scabies** until

kawasa kam bero mnu Sopen beba ma kasun
 kawasa kam be-ro mnu Sopen be-ba ma kasun
 people all Rel-at village Sopen Rel-big and small

- sor i be mansar Manarmak’rdi (T2.35)
 s-or i be mansar Man-armakr-di
 3PL.AN-call 3SG as old man man-scabies-Det.SG

“Yawi Nusyado’s body was full of **scabies** that all the people who lived in Sopen village, old and young, called him the old scabby man”

→ Subj.Agr + armaker “to have scabies” (VERB)

EXAMPLE:

(16)	Fyoro-fyoro	mura	Yawi Nusyado	myam	faduru	baken
	fyoro-fyoro	mura	Yawi Nusyado	mam- -y-	faduru	baken
	long time-long time	thus	Yawi Nusyado	see -3SG-	take care	body
	byeja	ba	isof	darmaker		(T2.34)
	be- -y- dya	ba	isof	d-armaker		
	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG	not	until	3SG-scabies		

“Thus for a long time Yawi Nusyado did not take care of his body until he **had scabies**”

→ wor ”traditional song” (NOUN)

EXAMPLE:

(17)	ras	an	ya	ryama		wor	an	ya
	ras	an	ya	ra- -y- ma		wor	an	ya
	day	GIV	Det.SG	move- -3SG- towards here		song	GIV	Det.SG
	imbran	bo	kawasa	bero	mnu	na	kam	sfanjur
	i-mbran	bo	kawasa	be-ro	mnu	na	kam	s-fanjur
	3SG-walk	and	people	Rel-at	village	Det.PL.AN	all	3PL.AN-gather
	fa	sakso		wor	i			(T2.118)
	fa	s-ak-so		wor	i			
	to	3PL.AN-also-follow		song	Det.SG			

“The day arrived, **the feast** started and the people who (came) from all the villages gathered to take part in **the feast**”

→ Subj.Agr + wor “to sing the traditional song” (VERB)

EXAMPLE:

(18)	Insoraki	ma	romawa	byedi		Manarbew
	Insoraki	ma	romawa	be- -y- di		Manarbew
	Insoraki	and	child	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG		Manarbew

sukain	ro	barpon	kaku	fa	sumam	snon
su-kain	ro	bar-pon	kaku	fa	su-mam	snon
3DU-sit	at	side-front	very	for	3DU-see	man

bewor		ma	bekin	sireb		ma	insama
be-wor		ma	be-kin	sireb		ma	insama
Rel-sing traditional song	and	Rel- hold	traditional	drum	and	so	

Manarbew	myam	babir	kma	byedi	(T2.119)
Manarbew	mam- -y-	babir	kma	be- -y- di	
Manarbew	see- -3SG-	recognise	father	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG	

“Insoraki and his son Manarbew sat at the very front in order to see the men **who sang traditional songs** and hit the traditional drum; and thus, Manarbew (would) recognise his father”

6.4. Conclusion

The Biak language has four types of noun compounding patterns:

1. Noun + Noun
2. Noun + Verb
3. Noun + Adjective
4. Noun + Directional Noun

The first type (N + N) has two patterns:

1. *H M (Head precedes Modifier)*

Most of Biak noun phrases and noun compounding follow this pattern.

Examples:

(19) inkbor
in-kbor
fish-adolescent
‘an adolescent girl’

- (20) mambesar
man-be-srar
bird-Rel-siblings of the opposite sex
'a woman's brother'

2. *MH (Modifier precedes Head)*

This pattern mostly applies to noun modifiers for body parts of plants, fish and animal. Examples:

- (21) aibon
ai-bon
wood-fruit
'fruits'

- (22) in bukor
in bukor
fish head
'fish head'

The second pattern (N + V) has two types:

1. *N + Verb*

Examples:

- (23) mambri
man - bri
bird - seize
'hero'

- (24) manfarkor
man-farkor
bird-teach
'teacher'

2. *N + Rel + Verb*

- (25) mambesak
man-be-sak
bird-Rel-burn/light
'a yellow bird of paradise'

The third pattern (N + Adj) has the same pattern as N + Verb.

Example:

- (26) bin amber
bin-amber
woman - foreign
'foreign woman'

Finally, the fourth pattern (N + Directional Noun) has the same pattern as the second and the third pattern where head of compound precedes modifier.

Example:

- (27) rumbab
rum-bab
house-below
'a space below the house'

In sum, denominalization is a common and productive process in forming a verb from a noun in the Biak language. There are two processes in forming verbs from nouns.

First is by attaching verbalizer prefix *be-* to a noun. The meaning of the verbalizer *be-* + Noun is 'being N' or 'becoming N'.

Second is by attaching subject agreement to a noun. The meaning usually refers to whatever activity is usually associated with that noun.

CHAPTER VII

RELATIVE CLAUSES

7.1. Introduction

Three recent works on the Biak language (Steinhauer (2005), Mofu (2005) and Van den Heuvel (2006)) have described relative clause constructions of the language. Two postnominal relative clauses i.e., relative clause relativizing subject and relative clause relativizing object were described in Steinhauer (2005), Mofu (2005), and Van den Heuvel (2006). Headless relative clauses were described in Steinhauer (2005) and Van den Heuvel (2006). Mofu and Steinhauer's descriptions are very short and contain only a few examples. Van den Heuvel (2006), on the other hand, presents more data and more detailed descriptions.

Although Steinhauer (2005), Mofu (2005), and Van den Heuvel (2006) have described the relative clause constructions of the Biak language, there are several problems that have not been solved and that require further investigation. Two of the problems are: (1) no one has drawn formal distinctions between the three types of relative clauses; and (2) the question of whether Biak has internally headed relative clauses has not been researched yet. Van den Heuvel (2006) in his points for further research in the Biak language recommends future research on internally headed relative clauses. According to Van den Heuvel, "Examples like *berkat Mansern v<y>uk =na* 'blessing Lord <3SG> give=3PL.INAN.SPC → 'The blessing that the

Lord gives', seem to indicate that Biak has internally headed relative clauses, which is uncommon from a universal point of view" (Van den Heuvel, 2006:423).

In addition, the occurrence of determiners following the head noun of relative clauses and determiners that appear at the end of relative clauses and the fact that they may be absent have not been described in previous works.

This chapter will address the above issues and will describe the structure of all the three types of relative clause patterns found in the Biak language; Post Nominal Relative Clauses (using relativizer prefix *be-* to relativize subject NP and using no relativizer affixes to relativize non-subject NP); Headless Relative Clauses, and Internally Headed Relative Clauses. In addition, which grammatical relations can be relativised will also be explored.

The Chapter is divided into three sections. The first section introduces the characteristics of Biak relative clauses. The second section discusses types of relative clauses in the Biak language, and finally, the third section provides a conclusion.

7.2. Characteristics of Biak Relative Clauses

Since relative clauses are noun modifiers, we would assume that they would be in the same position as other modifiers of nouns such as descriptive adjectives, possessives, demonstratives and determiners, numerals, etc.

In the Biak language, the relative clause modifies a head noun and usually follows the head noun. Most relative clause constructions display typical characteristics of a noun phrase in which the demonstrative/determiner dependent of the head noun phrases is marked to indicate person, number, and gender of the head noun phrase.

The following are examples of a plain clause and a relative clause:

A plain clause

- (1) *snon* *manggunsui* *suyenf* *ro yar ya*
 snon *manggun-sui* *su-enef* *ro yar ya*
 man *handsome-Det.3Du* *3DU-sleep* *at mattress Det.Sg*

“The two handsome men slept on the mattress”

Example (1) is a plain clause. It has two noun phrases *snon manggun sui* “the two handsome men” and *yar ya* “the mattress”. The determiner *sui* specifies that the head noun *snon manggun* “handsome man” is third person dual. Similarly, the determiner *ya* specifies that the head noun *yar* “mattress” is a singular noun.

The same morphosyntactic relations between the head noun and determiners of the two NPs above also apply to the relative clauses. Observe the following data :

A relative clause

(2) [snon manggunsui [beyenf ro yar ya] an-suya]
 snon manggun-sui be-enef ro yar ya an-suya
 man handsome-Det.3Du Rel-sleep at mattress Det.SG GIV-Det.3Du

subiser
 su-biser
 3DU-be hungry

“The two handsome men who slept on the mattress were hungry”

Example (2) is a typical Biak relative clause with the relativizer prefix *be-* (See also chapter 3 section 3.3.2.1.1.2). In (2), the head noun of the relative clause is *snon manggunsui* “the two handsome men”. The relative clause is *beyenf ro yar ya* “who slept on the mattress”. The verb of the main clause is *subiser* “were hungry”. Similar to example (1), in (2) the determiner *ansuya* “GIV-Det.3DU (the two)” ends the nominal phrase and specifies the person and number of the head noun of the relative clause. The determiner *ansui* specifies that the head noun of the relative clause is a third person dual.

In addition, example (3) illustrates the agreement facts between the head noun of the relative clause with the determiner closing the whole NP.

(3) Mananarmakrdi imsor [kawasa [beso
 Mananarmakr-di i-msor kawasa be-so
 Manarmakeri 3SG-angry people Rel-follow

asuser ba] sya] ma isu wai
 asuser ba sya ma i-su wai
 obedient not Det.PL.AN and 3SG-push canoe

byani fa ibe dayun ibur pdef (T2.169)
 be- -y- an- i fa i-be d-ayun i-bur pdef
 POSS- -3SG- GIV- Det.SG to 3SG-be about 3SG-sail 3SG-leave straight

“Manarmakeri got angry (with) his people who did not obey (his message) and pushed his canoe to leave (them) straight away”

In example (3) the gender of the head noun *kawasa* ‘people’ is animate. Thus, the determiner that closes the whole NP agrees with the gender of the head noun phrase. This agreement is marked by *-sya* (Det.PL.AN).

There are, however, variations in the presence or the absence of determiners in the Biak relative clause constructions. Details of the variations are discussed in section 7.7. of this chapter.

7.3. Structure of the relative clause

Biak allows NPreI to be coded with a gap. See the examples below.

(4)	snon	manggunsui	[beyenf	ro	yarya]	an-suya	subiser
	snon	manggun-sui	be-enef	ro	yar-ya	an-suya	su-biser
	man	handsome-Det.3Du	Rel-sleep	at	mattress-Det	GIV-Det.3Du	3DU-be hungry

“The two handsome men who slept at the mattress were hungry”

In (4), the head noun phrase *snon manggun sui* ‘the two handsome men’ is the subject of the main clause verb *-biser* ‘be hungry’. It is also the subject of the relative clause verb *-enf* ‘to sleep’.

The clause in (4) can be considered to be a reduction of the following abstract structure:

(5) snon manggunsui be- [snon manggunsui su]yenf
 snon manggun-sui be- [snon manggun-sui su-]enef
 man handsome-Det.3Du Rel- [man handsome-Det.3Du 3DU-]sleep
HEAD NOUN **NP rel**

ro yar ya] an-suya subiser
 ro yar ya] an-suya su-biser
 at mattress Det.Sg] GIV-Det.3Du 3DU-be hungry
 “The two handsome men who slept at the mattress were hungry”

Similarly, the clause in (6) is the reduction of the abstract structure in (7). Observe (6) and (7):

(6) mob [suyenf ro] na nasyor#
 mob su-enf ro na na-syor
 place 3Du-sleep at Det. PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-dry
 “the places that they slept at were dry”

(7) **HEAD NOUN** **NP rel**
mob [suyenf ro **mob**] na nasyor#
 mob [su-enf ro **mob**] na na-syor
 place [3Du-sleep at **place**] Det. PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-dry
 “the places that they slept at were dry”

In (6), the subject of the relative clause is not coreferential with the head noun *mob* ‘place’. In fact, the head noun is the object of the relative clause *suyenf ro* ‘the two sleep at’. The determiner *na* (Det.3PL.INAN) is outside the relative clause to specify the properties of the noun *mob* ‘place’ that the relative clause *suyenf ro* modifies and to close the whole noun phrase from the head noun *mob* ‘place’ through to *na*.

In (8), the head noun is the object of the verb *-fur* ‘to build’. The whole NP from *rum mngun* to *Msirn bo ya* is the subject of the verb *ba* ‘to be big’

(8) rum mngun [sifur doyo Msirn bo] ya iba
 rum mngun si-fur ro-O Msirn-bo ya i-ba
 house small 3PL.AN-build at-O Msirn-top Det.SG 3SG-be big
 ‘the small house that they built on top of Msirn <name of a mountain> is big.

Data (8) is the reduction of the abstract structure in (9) below:

(9) **rum mngun** [sifur **rum mngun ya**] doyo Msirn bo]
 rum mngun si-fur rum mngun Ya ro-O Msirn-bo
 house small 3PL.AN-build house small Det.SG at-O Msirn-top
HEAD NOUN NP rel

ya iba
 Ya i-ba
 Det.SG 3SG-be big
 ‘the small house that they built on top of Msirn <name of a mountain> is big

Data (8), however, will be ill-formed if we put a resumptive pronoun after the verb.

Observe example (10):

(10) * rum mngun [sifur i] doyo Msirn bo ya iba
 rum mngun si-fur i ro-O Msirn-bo ya i-ba
 house small 3PL.AN-build 3SG at-O Msirn-top Det.SG 3SG-be big
 ‘the small house that they built on top of Msirn <name of a mountain> is big.

Although the NPrel is left out in the surface structure of clauses as in (4), (6) and (8), the hearer is still able to identify the grammatical properties of this invisible noun phrase within the relative clause. This is because of the presence of the final determiner/demonstrative in the noun phrase that specifies the grammatical properties of the invisible noun phrase.

According to Payne (1997), the gap strategy works for languages that have a fairly fixed constituent order, i.e., those for which grammatical relations are expressed via the position of the core nominals in a clause. In such languages the missing argument

is very obvious. In the case of the Biak language, the missing argument is obvious because the position of the core nominals in the clause could express grammatical relations. In addition, the pronominal determiner that usually closes the whole NP in any relative clause construction in the Biak language could specify the grammatical features of the missing NP within the bracketed clause. The determiner provides information about number, person, and gender of the head noun.

7.4. Types of Relative Clauses in the Biak language

Typologically, relative clauses in the Biak language can be classified or grouped by (1) the position of the clause with respect to the head noun; (2) which grammatical relations can be relativized.

7.4.1. The position of the clause with respect to the head noun

In terms of the position of the relative clause with respect to the head noun, the Biak language has 3 different relative clause patterns:

1. Post Nominal Relative Clauses;
2. Headless Relative Clauses;
3. Internally Headed Relative Clauses.

7.4.1.1. Post Nominal Relative Clauses

The post nominal relative clause is the most common and productive type of relative clause in the Biak language. In this type of relative clause, the position of the relative clause is after the head noun phrase.

There are two types of post nominal relative clauses. The first type is the post nominal relative clause introduced by the relativizer prefix *be-*. The relativizer prefix *be-* sets off the restricting clause as a relative clause. This type of relative clause is called a subject relative clause in Van den Heuvel (2006:379) in which he argued that the subject of the relative clause is coreferential with the whole NP and that is made explicit by the co-indexation markers on the relativizer and the determiner. Thus, there is a determiner or a demonstrative at the end of the nominal phrase and the demonstrative or the determiner closes the whole nominal phrase and specifies the person, number and gender of the head noun of the relative clause. Examples (2) and (3) are typical examples of this type of relative clause.

The second type of post nominal relative clause is the post nominal relative clause without relativizer prefix *be-*. In this type of relative clause, the position of the relative clause is after the head noun but the relativizer prefix *be-* is not used. The post nominal relative clause without relativizer prefix *be-* is used to relativize non subject NP. Van den Heuvel (2006) calls this type object relative clause (See Van den Heuvel, 2006: 380).

The formal distinctions between the two types of the post nominal relative clauses are shown in table 1:

- (12) *mob* [suyenf ro] na nasyor# (T1.45)
mob su-enf ro na na-syor
 place 3Du-sleep at Det. PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-dry
 “the places that they slept were dry”

In example (12), the noun *mob* ‘place’ is the object of the preposition *ro* ‘at’ in the relative clause and the subject of the verb *nasyor* “to dry” of the main clause. The relative clause *suyenf ro* ‘the two sleep at’ modifies the noun *mob* ‘place’. The verb *enf* ‘to sleep’, which comes after the noun *mob* ‘place’, is inflected or shows agreement with the subject of the verb of the relative clause. This is a common characteristic of the post nominal relative clause without the relativizer prefix *be-*.

In contrast to example (12), the head noun of the post-nominal relative clause without relativizer prefix *be-* cannot be omitted, even if the specific reference is clear. For example:

- (13) * [suyenf ro] na nasyor#
 su-enf ro na na-syor
 3Du-sleep at Det. PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-dry
 “they slept at were dry”

Despite these differences, there are also some similarities between the two types of post nominal relative clause. The similarities are found in the position of the head nouns which always precede the relative clauses and the determiners/demonstratives that close both types of relative clauses. Observe the following examples:

- (14) Ndo [awak ansi] [beyenfro rumya] [nsi#] (T1.59)
 Ndo awak an-s-i be-yenf-ro rum-ya an-si
 Thus orphan GIV-3PL.AN-FOC Rel-sleep-at house-3Det.SG GIV-Det.PL.AN
 ‘Thus, the orphans who lived at the house’

(15) ro diya sikun [in [mansar Mananarmak'rdi myun
 Ro diya si-kun in mansar Mananarmakr'di mun- -y-
 at place.that 3PL.AN- fish old Manarmakeri kill- -3SG-
 cook man

ro Sorido] an ya] fa san pres i (T2.77)
 ro Sorido an ya fa s-an press i
 at Sorido GIV Det.SG to 3PL.AN-eat the whole 3SG
 "At that place they cooked the fish that the old Manarmakeri caught in Sorido (and)
 they ate all of it"

Example (14) is a relative clause with the relativizer prefix *be-*, relativizing a subject NP. Example (15) is a relative clause without relativizer prefix *be-*, relativizing a non-subject NP. The first similarity between the two constructions is that in (14) and (15) both head nouns precede the relative clauses. Secondly, the determiners of both relative clauses in (14) and (15) follow the relative clause and specify the person, number, and gender of the noun/noun phrase that the relative clause modifies. Thus, in example (14) we have the determiner *ansi* (GIV.DET.3PL.AN) that specifies that the noun phrase *awak ansi* 'the orphans' is a third plural animate noun. Similarly, in example (15) we have the determiner *an ya* (GIV.DET.SG) that specifies that the noun *in* 'fish' is a singular noun.

7.4.1.2. Headless Relative Clauses

Headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify (Payne, 1997: 328).

Headless relative clauses have the same form and the same properties as the post-nominal relative clause relativizing subject NP. The only distinction is that the headless relative clause does not modify any noun, but simply stands on its own as a noun phrase. Observe example (16):

(16) Inja [era¹ be yaf] sya kame sfasos
 inja e-ra be yaf sya kam-e s-fasos
 so Rel-move to garden Det.PL.AN all-e 3PL.AN-prepare

fa sibur be swan be rum anenf sena
 fa si-bur be swan be rum anenf s-e-na
 for 3PL.AN- to sea to home sleeping 3PL.AN-POSS-Det.PL.INAN
 leave

oser-oser. (T7.22)
 oser-oser
 One-one

‘So the ones that went to the gardens all prepared to go to the sea to their home one by one’

According to Payne (1997: 328) if the relativizer reflects some properties of the NPrel within the restricting clause (e.g., humanness, grammatical relation in the restricting clause, etc.), then it can be termed a relative pronoun.

In the case of the Biak language, the relativizer *be-* does not reflect any properties of the NPrel within the restricting clause but it is the determiner or the demonstrative which follows a relative clause and which closes a relative clause that reflects the properties of the NPrel, whether the NPrel functions as subject or object of the relative clause.²

¹ Sometimes phoneme *b* of the relativizer prefix *be-* is omitted. Thus, we just have prefix *e-* instead of the full form of prefix *be-*.

² Determiners may or may not occur at the end of a relative clause. See section 7.7.

Example:

(17) rasya nido snon anskoine [[bena rawn] ya]
 ras-ya ido snon an-skoine be-na rawn ya
 day-Det.SG when man GIV-this.TR Rel-have front Det.SG

bruri byor boi [[bena] [[benarmn] ya]
 bru-ri byor boi be-na be-narmn ya
 head-POSS.3SG.Det.SG bald but Rel-have Rel-bail³ Det.SG

byemnore ma [[befara] ya] byebabara# (T4.4)
 be-y--mnore ma be-fara ya be-y--babara
 have- -3SG- snotty ma Rel-steer Det.SG have- -3SG- scabies

“One day these three men, the one who was (at) the front (of the canoe), his head was bald but the one who had the bucket had snotty nose and the one who steered (the canoe) had scabies”

In (17), determiner *ya* (Det.SG) specifies the morphosyntactic properties of each NPrel in *bena rawn* ‘the one at the front’, *benarm* ‘the one who bailed water out of the canoe’, and *befara* ‘the one who steer the canoe’.

7.4.1.3. Internally Headed Relative Clauses

Internally headed relative clauses occur in the Biak language when an overt subject is placed before the head noun of a post nominal relative clause relativizing a non subject NP. The position of the overt subject that precedes the object of the relative clause changes the pattern of the clause into SOV which is unusual in the Biak language, which usually has SVO pattern. In the corpus I found only two examples of internally headed relative clauses. Observe data (18) and (19).

³ This is a bail, which is usually used to empty the seawater inside the canoe. The water may come from little holes at the bottom of the canoe or from the seawater that splashed into the canoe.

(18) romawa snon kabor an ya
 romawa snon kabor an ya
 child male adolescent GIV Det.SG

byair fais [manswar an ya [ro [ibe ifrur]
 bair- -y- fais manswar an ya ro i-be i-frur
 watch- 3SG- quietly cassowary bird GIV Det.SG thing 3SG-want 3SG-do

ya] (T2.37)
 Ya
 Det.SG

“the adolescent boy stood up (and) quietly watched the thing that the cassowary wanted to do”

(19) skokon doyo [roma anskoi [mob [skenf ro] ya] (T1.43)
 sko-kon- ro-O roma an-skoi mob sk-enef- ro ya
 3pcl-sit at-o young man GIV-Det.PCL place 3pcl-sleep at Det
 “they sat at the place where the three young men slept”

In (18), the NP *ro* ‘thing’ is the object of the verb *i-frur* ‘3SG-do’ and it is located between the subject NP (*manswar anya* ‘the cassowary bird’) and the verbs *i-be* ‘3SG-want’ and *i-frur* ‘3SG-do’. Thus, the whole clause *manswar anya ibe ifrur* ‘the cassowary bird wanted to do’ modifies the object NP *ro* ‘thing’. The determiner *ya* ‘Det.SG’ closes the whole noun phrase.

Similarly, in (19), the NP *mob* ‘place’ is the object of the preposition *ro* ‘at’ and it is located between the subject NP (*roma anskoi* ‘the three young men’) and the verbs *s-kenf* ‘3PL.AN-sleep’. Thus, the whole clause of *roma anskoi skenf ro* ‘the three young men slept at’ modifies the object NP *mob* ‘place’. The determiner *ya* ‘Det.SG’ closes the whole noun phrase.

The position of the overt subject that precedes the object of the Relative clause in (18) and (19) changes the clause pattern into SOV, which is weird and unusual in the Biak Language, which usually has an SVO pattern. This weird subject position is the

key characteristic of an internally headed relative clause in the Biak language. Using the same data in (18) and (19), we can change the SOV pattern into a standard order where the subject of the relative clause predicate precedes the predicate. The result is a normal post nominal relative clause relativizing a non-subject NP as in (20) and (21).

“(20) romawa snon kabor an ya
 romawa snon kabor an ya
 child male adolescent GIV Det.SG

byair fais ro [manswar an ya ibe ifrur]
 bair- -y- fais ro [manswar an ya i-be i-frur]
 watch- 3SG- quietly thing [cassowary bird GIV Det.SG 3SG-want 3SG-do]]

ya
 ya
 Det.SG

“the adolescent boy stood up (and) quietly watched the thing that the cassowary wanted to do”

(21) skokon doyo mob [roma anskoi skenf ro] ya
 sko-kon- ro-O mob roma an-skoi sk-enef- ro ya
 3pcl-sit at-o place young man GIV-Det.PCL 3pcl-sleep at Det
 “they sat at the place where the three young man slept”

The structure of internally headed relative clauses in the Biak language can now be explained. An internally headed relative clause occurs when a subject NP of a relative clause relativizing object or non subject NP is placed before the head noun of the relative clause.

This phenomenon, however, is uncommon from a universal point of view. Generally, languages that are uniformly verb final or that have free word order are likely to have internally headed relative clauses. However, the Biak language has an SVO pattern.

Thus, the question whether Biak provides counterevidence to the universal point of view is subject to a further investigation.

Interestingly, Van den Heuvel (2006) also has two internally headed relative clause examples. In his thesis, Van den Heuvel (2006) stated: “The corpus contains only a few examples of object relative clauses that are accompanied by full-NP ‘subject’. In those cases, the full-NP subject is placed before the head noun....” (Van den Heuvel, 2006:381). Two examples from Van den Heuvel (2006:381) are presented in (22) and (23) below:

(22) Mansern berkat vyuk nairi
 manseren berkat v<y>uk na-i-ri
 lord bless <3SG>give 3PL.INAN-PRED-ANAPH
 ‘They are blessings that the Lord gives’

(23) Talitha surat fyarem ve awnisine
 Talitha surat f<y>arem ve aw=n=is-i-ne
 Talitha Letter <3SG>send to 2SG=SEP=3SG.PRED-SPC-this
 ‘This is the letter that Talitha has sent to you’

Data (22) and (23) are clearly examples of internally headed relative clauses in the Biak language.

It is also interesting that although Van den Heuvel (2006) did not discuss this type of relative clause specifically in his thesis, he came up with the same argument that I had for changing an internally headed relative clause into a normal relative clause relativizing object or non subject NP. See my descriptions for data (20) to (21). In his thesis, Van den Heuvel (2006) states: “In elicitation, however, the placement of the full-NP subject in between the object noun and the verb of the relative clause, was also considered acceptable, as in *berkat mansern vyukna* ‘the blessing that the Lord

gave’, which differs minimally from *Mansern berkat vyukna*” (Van den Heuvel, 2006:381)

This argument confirms my proposal that an internal headed relative clause can be altered into a normal relative clause relativizing object or non-subject NP by changing its subject position as I have shown in (20) and (21).

There are lots of examples of non-internally-headed relative clause with full NP subjects in the corpus of this thesis. Three examples below illustrate some of them:

(24) Ro [insanja Mananarmak’rdi myam] ani koreri irya
 Ro insanja Manarmakeri mam- -y- an-i koreri i-rya
 thing just now Manarmakeri See- -3SG- GIV-Det.SG heaven 3SG-be
 “The thing that Manarmakeri just saw was the heaven”

(25) Sumnaf nyan [korben ya ikofn be su] na nja
 su-mnaf nyan korben ya i-kofn be su Det.PL.INAN so
 3DU-listen way dragon Det.SG 3SG-say to 3DU
 ‘The two listened to the way the dragon explained to them so’

(26) [ikak mgun ri samfuru [Yomga ikapar] anskoya]
 ikak mgun ri samfur-U Yomga i-kapar an-skoya
 snake small Num.link ten - U Yomga 3SG-give birth GIV-
 Det.Paucal

iya iri.
 iya i-ri
 one 3SG-be

‘The ten little snakes that Yomga gave birth to, it was one of them’

Another question for further research is whether the type of ordering involved in the ‘internally headed’ type is paralleled elsewhere in the Biak language.

7.5. Which grammatical relations can be relativized?

Biak permits relativization on all points of the Keenan-Comrie Accessibility Hierarchy (See Keenan and Comrie 1977).

The Biak language allows relativization on subject, object, object of preposition, oblique, genitive and object of comparison. The following examples show relativization on all points of Keenan-Comrie's hierarchy:

1. RC relativizing Subject NP.

(27)	Yawi Nusyado	kyarem	bo	dobe	“yamnaf	warwor	ma
	Yawi Nusyado	karem- -y-	bo	d-obe	“ya-mnaf	warwor	ma
	Yawi Nusyado	answer- -3SG	and	3SG-say	“1SG-hear	song	and
baras	[befo	kuker	raryab]				(T2.24)
baras	be-fo	kuker	raryab				
shout	Rel-full	with	delight				

“Yawi Nusyado answered and said: “I heard the song and the shout which were full of delight”

2. RC relativizing Object NP.

(28)	Ro	diya	Yawi Nusyado	iso	ma	ifrur	ro
	ro	diya	yawi Nusyado	i-so	ma	i-frur	ro
	at	place.that	Yawi Nusyado	3SG-follow	and	3SG-do	thing
[mnggarm	ya	Ikofn]	na				(T2.21)
mnggarm	ya	i-kofn	na				
voice	Det.SG	3Sg-tell	Det.PL.INAN				

“At that place Yawi Nusyado followed and did the things the voice said”

3. RC relativizing Oblique NP / Object of Preposition.

- (29) ifrar sasar ra mob [Manarmakrdi dof ro] ya (T2.50)
 i-frar sasar ra mob Manarmakrdi d-of ro ya
 3SG-run mistake towards place Manarmakrdi 3SG-hide at Det.SG

“ He mistakenly ran towards the place where Mananarmakrdi was hiding at”

- (30) mansar Mananarmak’rdi byors ibur mnu Mokmeri
 mansar Mananarmakrdi bors- -y- i-bur mnu Mokmer-i
 old man Manarmakeri row- -3SG- 3SG-leave village Mokmer-FOC

ma ibur yob Meokbundi mob [ikyar
 ma i-bur yob Meokbundi mob i-kyar
 and 3SG-leave to Wundi island place 3SG-believe

- na ismai koreri ro] ras oso (T2.81)
 na i-smai koreri ro ras oso
 will 3SG-find heaven at day one

“The old Manarmakeri left Mokmer village and went to Wundi island the place he believed he would find the heaven one day”

4. RC relativizing Modifier.

- (31) “Yafawi na mob [yambran] ya ba” (T2.19)
 “Ya-fawi na mob ya-mbran ya ba
 “1SG-know later place 1SG-walk Det.SG not

“I don’t know where (the place that) I will go “

5. RC relativizing Genitive.

- (32) yawasya snonkaku anya buku byedi
 ya-wasya snonkaku an-i buku be- -y- di
 1SG-read man GIV-Det.SG book POSS- -3SG-

‘ I read the man’s book’

(33) snonkaku [buku bye yawasya] anya
 snonkaku buku be- -y- ya-wasya an-i
 man book POSS- -3SG- 1SG-read GIV-Det.SG

‘The man whose book I read’

6. RC relativizing Object of Comparison.

(34) Bill ikaki syadi snonkaku ani
 Bil i-kaki syadi snonkaku an-i
 Bill 3SG-tall more man GIV-Det.SG

‘Bill is taller than the man’

(35) snonkaku [Bill ikaki syadi i] anya
 snonkaku Bil i-kaki syadi i an-ya
 man Bill 3SG-tall more 3SG GIV-Det.SG

‘The man that Bill is taller than’

In addition to Keenan-Comrie’s hierarchy, the Biak language also allows relativization on object in subordinate clause, object in embedded subordinate clause, object in serial verbs constructions, and temporal adjunct modifiers. Observe the following examples:

7. RC relativizing Object in Subordinate Clause.

(36) Sampari ifuken Mananarmak’rdi [rosai [imarisen
 Sampari i-fuken Mananarmakrdi rosai i-marisen
 Sampari 3SG-question Manarmakeri what 3SG-like

kaku] ya], bo dap pres [roi [bebor]
 kaku ya bo d-ap press roi be-bor
 very Det.SG and 3SG-mention all thing Rel-many

[kyara [na Mananarmak’rdi da imarisen] na,
 kara- -y- na Mananarmakrdi da i-marisen na
 think- -3SG- will Manarmakeri perhaps 3SG-like Det.PL.INAN

bape	Mananarmak'rdi	kyarm	oso	ba	(T2.98)
bape	Mananarmakrdi	karm- -y-	oso	ba	
but	Manarmakeri	answer- -3SG-	one	not	

“Sampari questioned Manarmakeri what he really liked, and he said all of the many things he thought Manarmakeri would like to have”, but Manarmakeri did not respond any of them”

8. RC relativizing Object in embedded Subordinate Clause.

(37)	Mananarmak'rdi	ikofen	myaren	bo	dobe	“[ro
	Mananarmakrdi	i-kofen	myaren	bo	d-obe	“ro
	Manarmakeri	3SG-tell	carefully	and	3SG-say	“thing

[yamarisen	fa	yobe	buk	be	aya]
[ya-marisen	fa	y-obe	buk- -w-	be	aya]
[3SG-like	for	1SG-say	give- -2SG-	to	1SG]

isoine,	koreri	syeben”	(T2.100)
i-so-ine	koreri	seben- -y-	
3SG-follow-this	heaven	open- -3SG-	

“Manarmakeri told (him) carefully and said “the thing that I like you to give me is this – the heaven is open”

9. RC relativizing Object in Serial Verb Construction.

(38)	Rarirya	fafisu	ine	imaws
	ra –ri-rya	fafisu	ine	i-maws
	move-Det.SG-be	opportunity	this.SG	3SG-appropriate

be	korben	ya	fa	byuk	beusru	farbuk
be	korben	ya	fa	buk- -3sg-	be-usr-u	farbuk
for	dragon	Det.SG	for	give- -3SG-	Rel-follow-U	marriage

sube	[byark	kyara	ker	do	ras
su-be	[bark- -y-	kara- -3sg-	ker	ro	ras
3DU-POSS	[lie- -3SG-	think- -3SG	continuously	at	day

nayafa]	nani.	(T7.48)
naya-fa]	na-ni	
that.PL.AN-towards there]	Det.PL.INAN-FOC	

‘Thus, this time was right for the dragon to arrange their marriage that he kept thinking about continuously in the past’

10. RC relativizing Temporal Adjunct Modifier.

(39) Nggorya kwar boi dow nane nggofarem
 nggo-rya kwar boi dow nane nggo-farem
 1PL.INCL-be already however song this.PL.INAN 1PL.INCL-send

na be au insamande ras nayama
 na be au insamande ras naya-ma
 3PL.INAN to 2SG so that day that.PL.INAN over there - towards here

mgorama kofarsrow ko ra
 mgo-ra-ma ko-farsrow ko ra
 2PL-move-towards here 1PL.INCL-meet each other 1PL.INCL such as

rob mun mandira [nggodisn] ine. (T6.6)
 rob mun mandira nggo-disn ine
 evening part afternoon 1PL.INCL-sing this.SG

“Only us were (there), however, we send these songs to you so that (in the) future (lit: in the days to come) you came here (and) we (could) meet each other just like (the time) we were singing this evening”.

7.6. Combination of Relative Clauses

Biak allows combinations of relative clauses. The form, however, looks like relative clauses within relative clauses. The combination could go in any order and with any type of relative clauses. The relative clauses may begin with relative clauses relativizing the subject and have within it one or two more relative clauses.

The combination of relative clauses forms two types of relative clauses; stacked relative clauses and nested relative clauses. Stacked relative clauses are illustrated in (40) and (41).

Stacked Relative Clauses

(40)	sfor		manswar	ya	kuker	[inai
	s-for		manswar	ya	kuker	inai
	3PL.AN-catch		cassowary	Det.SG	with	girl
						NPi[Head noun
inkabor	mnggun	[bepyum	kaku]	[myam]		ani]
in-kabor	mnggun	be-pyum	kaku	mam -y-		an-i
woman-	small	Rel-beautiful	very	see- -3SG-		GIV-Det.SG
adolescent						
		RC[reli-verb		RC[SMj-verb]	Determiner]NPi

“they catch the cassowary with his very beautiful young girl that he had seen”

(41)	Rarirya	ro	faryan	anya	[way	[ebor]	[esasar
	rarirya	ro	faryan	An-ya	Way	e-bor	e-sasar
	so	at	trip	GIV-DET.SG	canoe	Rel-many	Rel-move out
					NPi[Head noun	RC[reli-verb	RC[reli
ro	mnu	Sopni]	fa	[efaryan	be	sup	Yapn
ro	mnu	Sopen-i	fa	e-faryan	be	sup	Yapen
at	village	Sopen-FOC	for	rel-travel	to	island	Yapen
				RC[reli-verb			

iyafre]		na]	kaem
iya-f-re		na	kaem
overthere-towards-landward		Det.PL.INAN	all
]		Determiner]NPi	

oso	iswaru	bin	ine	ba	beri.
oso	i-swar-u	bin	ine	ba	beri
one	3SG-love	women	this.SG	not	indeed

“So in the trip, all the many canoes that sail away from Sopen village and which travelled to Yapen island, none of them loved (had a sympathy for) this woman”

Nested relative clauses are illustrated in (42) and (43) :

Nested Relative Clauses

(42)	[Nyan	[bero	mnu	[erande
	nyan	be-ro	mnu	e-ra-nde
	road	Rel-be at	village	Rel-move-landward
	NPi [Head noun	RC[reli-verb	NPj[Head Noun	RC[relj-verb

ro	yaf	fa	[rya	munde	munda	ro]	ya]
ro	yaf	fa	ra- -y-	mu-nde	mu-nda	ro	ya
at	garden	for	move- -3SG-	DIR-landward	DIR-seaward	at	Det.SG
]		RC[SMk-verb]	Determiner]NPi

snori		Serbiser.
sno-ri		Serbiser
Name-POSS.3SG.DET.SG		Serbiser

‘The road in the village that faced the garden where she went back and forth (Lit: landward and seaward) was called Serbiser’

(43) Rarirya korben anya dek fa
 ra-ri-rya korben an-ya d-ek fa
 Move-Det.SG-be dragon GIV-Det.SG 3SG-climb for

pyark	bakn	byeja		ro	aiknam	beyors
park- -y-	bakn	be- -y- -dya		ro	ai-knam	be-ors
circle- -3SG-	body	POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG		at	wood-trunk	Rel-stand
					NPi[Head Noun	RC[reli-verb

ro	nyan	andir	efanam	bam bamu	seke	ma
ro	nyan	andir	e-fanam	bam-bam-u	s-ek-e	ma
at	road	side	Rel-be near	incline-incline-u	3PL.AN-climb-e	and
	NPj[Head Noun		RC[relj-verb	NPk[Head Noun	RC[SMl-verb	

sado	ro i	imbo	insape	iwaf
s-ado	ro i	imbo	insape	i-waf
3PL.AN-descend	at Det.SG	then	after that	3SG-wait for
SMl-verb] Determiner]NPk			

imbekpu		nansui.
in-be-kpu		an-sui
woman-rel-grand mother		GIV-Det.3DU

‘So the dragon climbed up to circle his body around a tree trunk that stood beside the road which was closer to the incline where they (usually) climbed up and went down from and then he waited for the two, the grandmother and the grand daughter’

7.7. The presence or absence of determiners in Relative Clause

Data from the corpus reveal the following variations:

1. Determiners may be present or absent after a head noun of a relative clause;
2. Determiners may be present or absent at the end of a relative clause;

3. Determiners occur as dependent of the head noun of an outer relative clause in stacked relative clauses.
4. Determiners occur as a dependent of the head noun of an inner relative clause, or the head noun of an outer relative clause in nested relative clauses, or head nouns of the outer and the inner relative clause in nested relative clauses.

7.7.1. The presence or the absence of a determiner after a head noun of a relative clause.

1. The presence of a determiner after a head noun.

Data (2) is repeated in (44) to show an example in which a determiner follows immediately after a head noun.

(44) [snon manggun sui [beyenf ro yarya] an-suya]
 snon manggun sui be-enef ro yar-ya an-suya
 man handsome Det.3Du Rel-sleep at mattress-Det.SG GIV-Det.3Du

subiser
 su-biser
 3DU-be hungry

“The two handsome men who slept on the mattress were hungry”

In this example determiner *sui* (Det.3Du) immediately follows the head noun *snon manggun* ‘handsome man’.

In (45), determiner *i* that follows the head noun *Badu Rumbekwan* (name of a person) is a focus marker that makes the head noun the focus of the sentence. More examples could be found in (55), (56), and (57).

(45)	Badu	Rumbekwani	[eyors	ine]	boi	kebetulan	ryo
	Badu	Rumbekwan-i	e-ores	ine	boi	kebetulan	ro- -y-
	Badu	Rumbekwan-	Rel-	this.SG	and	by	be at- -
		Det.SG.FOC	stand			accident	3SG-

Jayapura	mumfe
Jayapura	mu-m-fe
Jayapura	DIR-towards here-downward

“Badu Rumbekwan is the one standing here and by accident he came from Jayapura to here”

2. *The absence of a determiner after a head noun.*

There are countless examples of relative clauses that have no determiners that appear immediately after the head noun. Typical examples:

(46)	ibur	monda	snar	[ikak	[beba]	ya]
	i-bur	monda	snar	ikak	be-ba	ya
	3SG-leave	only	because	snake	Rel-big	Det.SG

isya	byarek	warek	i
i-s-ya	barek- -y-	warek	i
3SG-be-there	lie- -3SG-	block (over)	3SG

“He just left because a big snake was lying over it”

(47)	[ro	[wafur	ro	diyan]	na]	na	fas
	ro	wa-fur	ro	diya	na	na	fas
	thing	2SG-do	at	that place	DET.PL.INAN	will	2SG-write

kabr	na	ma	surato	ma	sama
kabr	na	ma	surat-o	ma	sama
back	DET.PL.INAN	towards here	letter-O	towards here	so that

yakmarisn	bo	yawasya	na	boi	yor	fa	sama
y-ak-marisen	bo	ya-wasya	na	boi	y-or	fa	sama
1SG-also-happy	and	1SG-read	3PL.INAN	but	1SG-request	for	so

kamus	kero	ro	[wakofn	na]	anna
kamus	ker-o	ro	wa-kofn	na	an-na
dictionary	little	thing	2SG-say	3PL.INAN	GIV-DET.PL.INAN

<i>bepesan</i>	ro	inggris	anya	e...	australia
be-pesan	ro	Inggris	an-ya	e...	Australia
2SG-vblzr-message	at	England	GIV-DET.SG	Whoops..	Australia

nanya	<i>bekirimo</i>	esero	ro	diwama
an-ya	be-kirim-o	eser-o	ro	diwa-ma
GIV-DET.SG	2SG.vblzr-send-O	One-O	at	that place over there.towards here

‘The thing you do there, you will re-write them, a letter to (me) here so I will also be happy and read them but I request that (a) small dictionary that you talked about, you ordered it in England mmm... (in) Australia, you send one from there to here’

In *ikak beba ya* ‘the big snake’ example (46), there is no determiner that follows the head noun *ikak* (snake). Similarly, in *ro wafur ro diyanna* ‘the thing that you did there’ example (47), the determiner is absent after the head noun *ro* ‘thing’.

7.7.2. The presence or the absence of a determiner at the end of a relative clause.

The presence of determiners in a relative clause construction is optional. In the corpus I found examples of RC ending without determiners. Observe (48), (49), and (50):

(48)	Wawos	[wos	[ero	Samber]]
	w-awos	wos	e-ro	Samber
	2SG-speak	language	Rel-be at	Samber

‘You speak Samber dialect! (Lit: You speak the language from Samber)’

(49)	Yawi Nusyado	ibur	kuker	[swaruser	[bera	mura
	Yawi Nusyado	i-bur	kuker	swaruser	be-ra	mu-ra
	Yawi Nusyado	3Sg-leave	with	thought	Rel-move	DIR-towards there

ker	be	[koreri	[myam	kwar	ro	abyab	ani]
ker	be	koreri	mam- -y-	kwar	ro	abyab	an-i
continuously	to	heaven	see- -3SG-	already	at	cave	GIV-Det.SG

‘Yawi Nusyado went home with thoughts that continuously directed (him) to the heaven he ‘d already seen in the cave’

(50)	swaruser	byena		nawayan		kam	be	
	swaruser	be- -y- na		na-wayan		kam	be	
	thought	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.INAN		3PL.INAN-wander		all	to	
	[koreri	[befo	kuker	marafrif	baras	raryab	[bemnai	ba]
	koreri	be-fo	kuker	marafrif	baras	raryab	be-mnai	ba
	heaven	Rel-full	with	laugh	shout	delight	Rel-finish	not

“his thoughts/mind all wandered to heaven, heaven that is full of laughs, shouts and delight that do not end”

Data in (48), (49), and (50) show that there is no determiner at the end of the relative clause. Data (49) and (50) contains forms of relative clauses nested inside relative clauses. Other examples of this type of relative clause are provided in section (7.7.3).

However, when a relative clause has a determiner that closes a whole noun phrase, then, the determiner specifies the person, number, and gender of the head noun of the relative clause as example (51) below illustrates (see also examples (2 and 3):

(51)	<i>akhirnya</i>		a	[<i>suku</i>	[ero	Irian]	anna]	
	akhir-nya		a	suku	e-ro	Irian	an-na	
	end-3SG.POSS.DET.SG	mmm	tribe	Rel-be at	Irian	GIV-DET.PL.INAN		
	nabor	kurwe	<i>skaran</i>	<i>suku</i>	ri	suru	suro	i
	na-bor	kurwe	sekarang	suku	ri	suru	su-ro	i
	3PL.INAN-be many	although	now	tribe	Det.SG	two	3DU-be at	3SG

rya
rya
So

‘so in the end mmm although the tribes in Irian (West Papua) were many, now there are two tribes in it’

In (51), determiner *anna* closes the relative clause and specifies that the head noun *suku* (tribe) is a plural inanimate noun.

The relative clauses in the following two examples show that both relative clauses (one that ends without a determiner and the other one that ends with a determiner) are grammatical.

(52) Mananarmak'rdi ryop [ikak [beyarek sayaryur]
 Mananarmakr-di rop- -y- ikak be-arek sayaryur⁴
 Mananarmakeri throw- -3SG- snake Rel- bite painfully

sya] fa sfakak Manarbew i mura
 sya fa s-fa-kak Manarbew i mura
 Det.PL.AN to 3PL.AN- cause-afraid Manarbew 3SG thus

Manarbew imgak bo ryanda dek ro wai
 Manarbew i-mgak bo ra- -y- nda d-ek ro wai
 Manarbew 3SG-afraid and move- -3SG- seaward 3SG- get in at canoe

“Manarmakeri threw the poisonous snakes to frighten Manarbew, thus, Manarbew was afraid and went seaward to get into the boat”

(53) Randak ya ro diya [ikak [beyarek sayaryur]]
 randak ya ro diya ikak be-arek sayaryur
 early Det.SG at that.place snake Rel-bite painfully

sro Numfori isof babo ine
 s-ro Numfor-i isof babo ine
 3PL.AN-at Numfor-FOC until recent this.SG

“Beginning from that time the poisonous snakes were in Numfor until today”

The question is why there is a determiner in *ikak beyarek sayaryur sya* ‘the poisonous snakes’ in (52) but in (53) the same relative clause does not have a determiner; *ikak beyarek sayaryur* ‘the poisonous snakes’. In elicitation, however, it is possible to have a determiner in the relative clause in (53) as example (54) shows:

(54) Randak ya ro diya [ikak [beyarek sayaryur] sya]
 randak ya ro diya ikak be-arek sayaryur sya
 early Det.SG at that.place snake Rel-bite painfully Det.PL.AN

⁴ Reduplicated form of *syur* ‘painful’.

sro	Numfori	isof	babo	ine
s-ro	Numfor-i	isof	babo	ine
3PL.AN-at	Numfor-FOC	until	recent	this.SG

“Beginning from that time the poisonous snakes were in Numfor until today”

I found that when a free pronoun is focused in a relative clause construction, then, the relative clause would have a determiner at the end of the relative clause. The determiner shows that the free pronoun is focused. Observe examples (55 – 58). Free pronouns and their determiners are highlighted in bold.

(55) **Skoi** [bero myos] **skoya**.
skoi be-ro myos **skoya**
3PCL.DET Rel-be at island **3PCL.DET**

‘They are the ones who are at the island’

(56) insamaido mgokain do andiriya fa nari mgoi
insama-ido mgo-kain ro andir-iyfa nari mgo-i
so that 2PL-sit at side-that.SG for will 2PL-FOC

[na kobeharap	fano bisa mgoi	[ebeatur	sup
na ko-be-harap	fa-o bisa mgo-i	e-be-atur	sup
will 1PL.EXCL-vblzr-hope	For-O can 2PL-FOC	Rel-vblzr-manage	land

anine]	mgoya]	ido insamaido	bisa mgofur	<i>himbauan</i>
an-ine	mgo-ya	ido insamaido	bisa mgo-fur	<i>himbauan</i>
GIV-this.SG	2PL.FOC	if so that	can 2PL-do	appeal

‘So if you live outside there and you will be the one that manage this land, you can make an appeal’

(57) ro diya isik wai Karures [beba] ya
ro diya i-sik wai Karures be-ba ya
at place.that 3Sg-make canoe Karures rel-big Det.SG

wer, ryos	pum i randa	ipyar	ma i
wer ros- -y-	pum i ra-nda	i-pyar	ma i
again kick- -3SG-	push 3SG DIR-seaward	3SG-float	and Det.SG.FOC

[Mananarmak'rdi	myam	ma	imarisen]	ya
Mananarmakr	mam- -y-	ma	i-marisen	ya
Manarmakeri	see- -3SG-	and	3SG-happy	Det.SG

“At that time, he made a big *Karures* canoe again, he pushed it seaward, it floated and it was the one that Manarmakeri chose and favored”

(58)	imbo	<i>meman</i>	aya	[ebe knam	mob	ya]	nya
	imbo	memang	aya	e-be knam	mob	ya	ya
	Yes	certainly	1SG	Rel-become tree	place	DET.SG	1SG.DET

‘Yes, I am the one that has (Lit:becomes source of) that place’

7.7.3. The presence of determiner in stacked and nested relative clauses.

(1) *Determiner appears for head noun of an outer relative clause.*

In (59), there are two noun phrases that contain relative clauses. The first noun phrase is *rosai imarisen kaku ya* ‘what he really wanted’, the end of which is marked by determiner *-ya*. This is a typical non-subject relative clause in the Biak language. The second noun phrase *roi bebor* through *imarisen na*, the end of which is marked by determiner *na*, contains several relative clauses. In this noun phrase there are stacked/iterated relative clauses. Interestingly, determiner *na* that closes the whole noun phrase appears at the end of the final relative clause and specifies the morphosyntactic properties of the head noun of the outer relative clause *roi bebor* ‘the many things’. The determiner *na* shows that *roi bebor* is a plural inanimate noun.

(59)	Sampari	ifuken	Mananarmak'rdi	[rosai	[imarisen
	Sampari	i-fuken	Mananarmakr	rosai	i-marisen
	Sampari	3SG-question	Manarmakeri	what	3SG-like
	NPi Subj	SMi-verb	NPj Obj	NPk[Head Noun	RC[SMj -verb

kaku] ya],	bo	dap	pres	[roi	[bebor]
kaku ya	bo	d-ap	press	roi	be-bor
very Det.SG	and	3SG-mention	all	thing	Rel-many
] Determiner] NP <i>k</i>		SMi-verb		NP] Head Noun	RC] rel <i>-verb</i>

[kyara	na	[Mananarmak'rdi	da	imarisen]	na],
kara- -y-	na	Mananarmakr <i>rdi</i>	da	i-marisen	na
think- -	will	Manarmakeri	perhaps	3SG-like	Det.PL.INAN
3SG-					
RC] SMi-verb		NPj		SMj-verb] Determiner] NP <i>i</i>

bape	Mananarmak'rdi	kyarm	oso	ba
bape	Mananarmakr <i>rdi</i>	karm- -y-	oso	ba
but	Manarmakeri	answer- -3SG-	one	not

“Sampari asked Manarmakeri what he really liked and mentioned all of the many things he thought Manarmakeri would like to have, but Manarmakeri did not respond to any of them”

Examples (60), (61), and (62) below provide more data on the determiners that appear with head nouns modified by multiple relative clauses.

(60) *Pemilu* ine imnai kwar ja e mgak**bebantu**
 pemilu ine i-mnai kwar ja e mg-ak-be-bantu
 Pemilu this.SG 3Sg-stop already so mm 2PL-also-vblzr-assist

[marisn	[beba]	[komarisn]	ine]
marisn	be-ba	ko-marisn	ine
happiness	Rel-be big	1PL.EXCL-be happy	this.SG
NPi] Head noun	RC] rel <i>-verb</i>	RC] SMj-verb] Determiner] NP <i>i</i>

harus	u	kobe	kosmai
harus	u	ko-be	ko-smai
must	U	1PL.EXCL-want	1PL.EXCL-get

‘This general election finished already so you also (need to) help this big happy thing that we desire, we must have it’

(61) sfor manswar ya kuker [inai
 s-for manswar ya kuker inai
 3PL.AN-catch cassowary Det.SG with girl
 NP*i*]Head noun

inkabor	mnggun	[bepyum	kaku]	[myam]	ani]
in-kabor	mnggun	be-pyum	kaku	mam -y-	an-i
woman-adolescent	small	Rel-beautiful	very	see- -3SG-	GIV-Det.SG
		RC] rel <i>-verb</i>		RC] SMj-verb] Determiner] NP <i>i</i>

“they catch the cassowary with his very beautiful young girl that he had seen”

(62)	Rarirya	ro	faryan	anya	[way	[ebor]	[esasar	
	rarirya	ro	faryan	An-ya	Way	e-bor	e-sasar	
	so	at	trip	GIV-DET.SG	canoe	Rel-many	Rel-move out	
					NPi[Head noun	RC[reli-verb	RC[reli	
	ro	mnu	Sopni]	fa	[efaryan	be	sup	Yapn
	ro	mnu	Sopen-i	fa	e-faryan	be	sup	Yapen
	at	village	Sopen-FOC	for	rel-travel	to	island	Yapen
					RC[reli-verb			
	iyafre]		na]		kaem			
	iya-f-re		na		kaem			
	that-towards-landward		Det.PL.INAN		all			
]		Determiner]		NPi			
	oso	iswaru		bin	ine	ba	beri.	
	oso	i-swar-u		bin	ine	ba	beri	
	one	3SG-love		women	this.SG	not	indeed	

“So in the trip, all the many canoes that sail away from Sopen village and which travelled to Yapen island, none of them loved (had a sympathy for) this woman”

(2) Determiner appears for head noun of an inner relative clause in a nested relative clause.

In (63), the noun phrase *aiknam beyors* through *sado ro i*, the end of which is marked by determiner *i* contains several relative clauses. This noun phrase also has relative clauses nested inside relative clauses. However, the determiner *i* which appears at the end of the final relative clause and closes the whole noun phrase does not specify the morphosyntactic properties of the head noun of the outer relative clause *aiknam beyors* ‘a tree stem that stood’. In fact, it specifies the head noun *bambamu* ‘incline’ of the inner relative clause *seke ma sado ro* ‘they climbed up and went down at’ and specifies that *bambam* is a singular noun.

(63) Rarirya korben anya dek fa
 ra-ri-rya korben an-ya d-ek fa
 Move-Det.SG-be dragon GIV-Det.SG 3SG-climb for

pyark bakn byeja ro aiknam beyors
 park- -y- bakn be- -y- -dya ro ai-knam be-ors
 circle- -3SG- body POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG at wood-trunk Rel-stand
 NP_i[Head Noun RC[reli-verb

ro nyan andir [efanam bam bamu] [seke ma
 ro nyan andir e-fanam bam-bam-u s-ek-e ma
 at road side Rel-be near incline-incline-u 3PL.AN-climb-e and
 NP_j[Head Noun RC[reli-verb NP_k[Head Noun RC[SML-verb

sado ro] i imbo insape iwaf
 s-ado ro i imbo insape i-waf
 3PL.AN-descend at Det.SG then after that 3SG-wait for
 SML-verb] Determiner]NP_k

imbekpu nansui.
 in-be-kpu an-sui
 woman-rel-grand mother GIV-Det.3DU

‘So the dragon climbed up to circle his body around a tree trunk that stood beside the road which was closer to the incline where they (usually) climbed up and went down from and then he waited for the two, the grandmother and the grand daughter’

In elicitation, however, it is possible to have a determiner for the head noun of outer relative clause. See example (65) of the next section.

(3) Determiner appears for head noun of an outer relative clause in a nested relative clause.

(64) [Nyan [bero mnu [erande
 nyan be-ro mnu e-ra-nde
 road Rel-be at village Rel-move-landward
 NP_i [Head noun RC[reli-verb NP_j[Head Noun RC[reli-verb

ro yaf fa [rya munde munda ro] ya]
 ro yaf fa ra- -y- mu-nde mu-nda ro ya
 at garden for move- -3SG- DIR-landward DIR-seaward at Det.SG
] RC[SML-verb] Determiner]NP_i

iwaf	imbekpu	nansui.
i-waf	in-be-kpu	an-sui
3SG-wait for	woman-rel-grand mother	GIV-Det.3DU

‘So the dragon climbed up to circle his body around a tree trunk that stood beside the road which was closer to the incline where they (usually) climbed up and went down from and then he waited for the two, the grandmother and the grand daughter’

In (65), there are two determiners which appear at the end of the whole noun phrase from *aknam beyors* through to *sado ro*. The first determiner is determiner *i* which has already been explained in 7.7.3 section 2, example (63) above. The second determiner is determiner *anya*. Determiner *anya* closes the whole noun phrase from *aiknam beyors* through to *ro i* and specifies the morphosyntactic properties of head noun *aiknam* ‘tree trunk’ of the outer relative clause.

7.8. Conclusion

Biak relative clauses display similar characteristics of a noun phrase including a simple modifier. The demonstrative/determiner dependent of a head noun is marked to indicate person, number, and gender of the head noun phrase as in simple modification, and the demonstrative/determiner always follows the head noun.

There are, however, variations of the presence or the absence of determiners in the Biak relative clause constructions. Data from the corpus reveal the following variations:

1. Determiners may be present or absent after a head noun of a relative clause;
2. Determiners may be present or absent at the end of a relative clause;
3. Determiners occur as dependent of the head noun of an outer relative clause in stacked relative clauses.

4. Determiners occur as a dependent of the head noun of an inner relative clause, or the head noun of an outer relative clause in nested relative clauses, or head nouns of the outer and the inner relative clause in nested relative clauses.

Using typological parameters, the chapter could group Biak relative clauses into 3 types:

1. Post Nominal Relative Clauses (1. using relativizer prefix *be-* to relativize subject NP and 2. using no relativizer affixes to relativize non-subject NP);
2. Headless Relative Clauses and;
3. Internally Headed Relative Clauses

The formal distinction between relative clauses relativizing subject with relativizer prefix *be-* and relative clause relativizing non-subject NP without relativizer prefix *be-* is summarized in the following chart:

Post Nominal RC with Rel Prefix <i>be-</i>	Post Nominal RC without Rel Prefix <i>be-</i>
1. Relativize SUBJ NP.	1. Relativize Non SUBJ NP.
2. Has no inflection on the verb of the RC.	2. Has inflection on the verb of the RC.
3. Headless relative clause (The presence of the head noun of the RC is optional).	3. Headed relative clause (The presence of the head noun of the RC is obligatory).

The Biak language has internally headed relative clauses. Internally headed relative clauses occur in the Biak language when an overt subject is placed before a head noun of a post nominal relative clause relativizing object or non-subject NP. The position of the overt subject that precedes the object of the Relative clause changes the clause

pattern into SOV, which is unusual in the Biak Language which usually has SVO pattern.

An internally headed relative clause can be changed into a normal relative clause relativizing a non subject NP by placing the NP subject in between the object head noun and the verb of the relative clause.

Biak allows NPrel to be coded with a gap. Biak relative clauses also have a determiner that explicitly references the grammatical properties of the NPrel by its position and its form which comes at the end of a noun phrase and closes the whole NP.

Biak permits relativization on all parts of Keenan-Comrie's hierarchy. It allows relativization on subject, object, object of preposition, oblique, genitive and object of comparison. In addition, it also allows relativization on object in subordinate clause, object in embedded subordinate clause, object in serial verbs constructions, and temporal adjunct modifiers.

Finally, Biak allows stacked and nested relative clauses.

CHAPTER VIII

PREDICATE NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

8. 1. Introduction

This chapter presents two kinds of predicate nominal constructions in the Biak language. The two kinds of predicate nominal constructions that the chapter discusses are:

(1) copular clitics (clitic *-ri*, *-s-*, and free pronoun clitics).

(2) copular verbs *-iri* and *is(o)*

The chapter argues that the two kinds of predicate nominal constructions can be distinguished syntactically. The aim of this chapter is to show how the two different constructions can be distinguished.

8.1.1. Recent research on Predicate Nominal Constructions.

Two recent analyses of the inflectional paradigm of the predicate nominal constructions in the Biak language were proposed by Steinhauer (2005) and Van den Heuvel (2006).

Steinhauer provides a very brief description of the predicate nominal construction, stating that:

“Nominal clauses have a nominal predicate which is formed by a nominal stem plus two clitics, the clause-final form of the article (with *-ri-di* for the singular, however), plus a copula which is formally identical to the free pronoun forms (with *s* preceding the 1s and 2s forms, and with *-(i)ri* for the third person),(Steinhauer, 2005:804)”.

Table 1 shows Steinhauer’s (2005: 804) paradigm for ‘I am a teacher’ – ‘they are teachers’, etc. Steinhauer adds the third person form for ‘it is a house’ in order to provide an instance of an inanimate noun.

Table 1 Inflection on Nominal Predicates (e.g. ‘be a teacher’)

Person	SG	DU	TR	PL
1IN		kuru-si-ku		kuru-si-ko
1EX	kuru-ri-saya	kuru-si-nu		kuru-si-nko
2	kuru-ri-saw	kuru-si-mu		kuru-si-mko
3AN	kuru-ri-ri	kuru-sui-ri-	kuru-skoi-ri	kuru-si-ri
3INAN	rum di-ri	rum-sui-ri-	rum-skoi-ri	rum-na-iri

Steinhauer’s paradigm in table 1 is arranged in a way that can show the differences in the expression of number with a third and non-third person subject of the equation.

Two examples from Steinhauer below show how the forms in table 1 can be preceded by a noun phrase. Observe Steinhauer’s (2005: 804-5) data in the following examples.¹

(1) bin sui-wa kuru sui ri
 woman 3d.DEF-DIST teacher 3d.DEF 3.COP
 ‘Those two women are teachers.’

(2) mov na-ya rum na iri
 place 3p.INAN.DEF-MED house 3d.INAN.DEF 3.COP
 ‘Those spots are houses.’

¹ The glossing in example (1) and (2) follows Steinhauer’s glossing conventions, which are different from my glossing in this thesis.

According to Steinhauer, “the copula can also be used after independent personal pronouns and after noun phrases, which are already definite, such as an inalienable noun or a noun followed by a possessive pronoun, e.g. *aya-iri* ‘it’s me’, *i-ri* ‘it’s him/her’, *mam-i-s-aw* ‘you (SG) are my father’, *rum b-e-di-ri* ‘it is your house’ (*ibid*, p.804).

In addition, Steinhauer suggests two more equative constructions. The first pattern is juxtaposition which is less frequent and perhaps restricted to constructions involving a name such as *sno-ri Vien* ‘her name is Vien’, *aya Hein-i* ‘I am Hein’. The second pattern uses copula *iso*. Steinhauer argues that this kind of copula is used to emphasize equation and is typical of cleft sentences, in which case it is followed by a relative clause. Example (3) is from Steinhauer’s data (*ibid*. p. 805).

- (3) snon i-wa i-so ve-duf-i
 man 3s.DEF-DIST COP-EMPH REF-ill-3s.DEF
 ‘that man over there is the one who is ill.’

Steinhauer’s description is correct but it is incomplete.

Van den Heuvel (2006) presents a slightly different analysis. In his thesis, Van den Heuvel (2006) argues that “all nominal clauses based on *is* follow the pattern (NP) + pron + predicative pronouns (*is-i* + pron). In this pattern, an NP is followed by a pronoun *i*, which again is followed by the predicator *is-i*.” (Van den Heuvel 2006:306).

In order to get a better understanding of the two types of predicate nominal constructions that this chapter aims to describe, the next sections will begin with my analysis and then move on to discuss Van den Heuvel's analysis in section 8.4 of this chapter.

Both Steinhauer (2005) and Van den Heuvel (2006), although they do not specifically discuss the distinction between the copular clitics and the copular verbs, have sufficient data that could reflect the two types of predicate nominal construction that this thesis discusses.

My approach follows on from Steinhauer (2005). The difference between my work and Steinhauer's is in the division of copular clitics and free pronoun clitics. Steinhauer states that a nominal predicate is formed by a nominal stem plus two clitics; (1) the clause final form of the article (with *-ri*, *-di* for the singular) plus (2) a copula which is formally identical to the free pronoun form (with *s* preceding first and second person singular forms), and with *-(i)ri* for the third person. Data in this research, however, suggests that the *s* preceding first and second person singular forms is copular clitic *-s-*. Clitic *-s-* not only precedes the first and the second person singular forms but it also precedes demonstratives and directional verbs (See section 3.3.1.2.2). Thus, the first and the second person singular forms are not copulas as Steinhauer suggests. Data in this thesis suggests that the free pronouns that function as a copula are the free pronoun clitics suffixed to plural animate determiners.

Based on the above arguments, I propose a new paradigm of copular clitics in the Biak language as shown in table 2. Table 2 below presents the paradigm of 'be a teacher'

Table 2 **Copular Clitics paradigm.**

Clitics	Number	Free Pronouns	Det + COP.clitic	Meaning
-s-	1 sg	aya	guru ri- s -aya	I am a teacher
	2sg	au	guru ri- s -au	You (SG) are a teacher
-ri	3sg	i	guru ri- ri	He is a teacher
	3du	su	guru sui- ri	The two of them are teachers
	3pcl	sko	guru skoi- ri	The three of them are teachers
	3pl.an	si	guru si- ri	They (PL.AN) are teachers
	3pl.inan	na	rum nai- ri	They (PL.INAN) are houses
Free pronouns	1du.incl	ku	guru si- ku	the two of us (INCL) are teachers
	1du .excl	nu	guru si- nu	the two of us (EXCL) are teachers
	1pl.incl	ko	guru si- ko	We (PL.INCL) are teachers
	1pl.excl	inko	guru si- nko	We (PL.EXCL) are teachers
	2du	mu	guru si- mu	You (DU) are teachers
	2pl	mko	guru si- mko	You (PL) are teachers

In this thesis I argue that copular clitics are different from copular verbs. The copular verbs are (1) copular verb *iri* and (2) copular verb *iso*. The paradigm of copular verb *iri* and *iso* are presented in table 3 and 4 below.

Table 3 **Copular verb *iri*** “to be”

Number	Free Pronouns	Free Pronouns + <i>iri</i>	Meaning
1 sg	aya	aya- iri	It is me
2sg	au	au- irya	It is you
3sg	i	i- iri	It is him
1du.incl	ku	ku- iri	It is the two of us INCL
1du .excl	nu	nu- iri	It is the two of us EXCL
2du	mu	mu- iri	It is the two of you
3du	su	su- iri	It is the two of them
3pcl	sko	sko- iri	It is the three of them
1pl.incl	ko	ko- iri	It is us INCL
1pl.excl	inko	inko- iri	It is us EXCL
2pl	mko	mko- iri	It is you PL
3pl.an	si	si- iri	It is them AN
3pl.inan	na	nai- iri	It is them INAN

Table 4. Copular verb *iso* “to be”

Number	Free Pronouns	Free Pronouns + iso	Meaning
1 sg	aya	aya- iso	I am (the one who)
2sg	au	au- iso	You are (the one who)
3sg	i	i- iso	He/She is (the one who)
1du.incl	ku	ku- iso	We (two) are (the ones who)
1du .excl	nu	nu- iso	We (two) are (the ones who)
2du	mu	mu- iso	You (two) are (the ones who)
3du	su	sui- iso	They (two) are (the ones who)
3pcl	sko	sko- iso	They (three) are (the ones who)
1pl.incl	ko	ko- iso	We are (the ones who)
1pl.excl	inko	inko- iso	We are (the ones who)
2pl	mko	mko- iso	You are (the ones who)
3pl.an	si	si- iso	They are (the ones who)
3pl.inan	na	na- iso	They are (the ones who)

The next sections will present the two types of predicate nominal constructions and discuss the contrast between them.

8.2. Two Types of Predicate Nominal Constructions

In this thesis I argue that there are two types of predicate nominal constructions in the Biak language. The two types of predicate nominal constructions are:

- (1) copular clitics (nominal clauses that are formed by (1) clitic *-ri* suffixed to the third person determiners, and (2) clitic *-s-*, which is inserted between determiners and free pronouns or demonstratives and directional nouns) and (3) free pronoun clitics (nominal clauses that are formed by free pronoun clitics suffixed to plural animate determiner *si*).

- (2) copular verbs *-iri* and *is(o)* which are used after agreement forms which are

homophonous with the corresponding pronominal forms.

8.2.1 Copular Clitics

There are three types of copular clitics in the Biak language. The three copular clitics are *-ri*, *-s-*, and free pronoun clitics *-ku*, *-nu*, *-mu*, *-su*, *-sko*, *-ko*, *-nko*, *-mko*. Each type of copular clitic will be described in the following sections.

8.2.1.1. Clitic *-ri*

Clitic *-ri* is attached as a suffix of the third person determiners (see examples 4, 5, 6, and 7).

(4) Guru **ri**
Guru ri **-ri**
Guru Det.SG **-be**
“He/She is a teacher”

(5) guru **sui**
guru sui-**ri**
teacher Det.3DU-**be**
“the two are teachers”

(6) guru **skoi**
guru skoi-**ri**
teacher Det. 3pcl-**be**
“the three are teachers”

(7) guru **si**
guru si-**ri**
teacher Det.PL.AN **-be**
“They are teachers”

In examples (4) to (7), clitic *-ri* is attached to the determiners of the third person singular (4), the third person dual (5), the third person paucal/paucal (6), and the third person animate plural (7).

8.2.1. Clitic *-s-*

Clitic *-s-* is inserted between determiners and free pronouns or demonstratives and directional nouns.

Clitic *-s-* is always used for the first and the second person singular and is inserted between the third person singular determiner which is associated with the predicate nominal and the first or the second person singular free pronouns (see examples 8 and 9).

(8) guru risaya
guru ri-**s**-aya
teacher Det.SG-**be**-1SG
“I am a teacher”

(9) guru ri-**s**-au
guru ri-**s**-au
teacher Det.SG-**be**-2SG
“you are a teacher”

8.2.1.3. Free Pronoun Clitics

Free pronoun clitics are nominal clauses that are formed by free pronoun clitics suffixed to the plural animate determiner *si*.

In this construction, the free pronouns, particularly first and second person dual and plural (see example (10) to (15)), are suffixed to the plural animate determiner (*si*).

(10) guru **sinu**
guru **si-nu**
teacher Det.PL.AN -**1DU.EXCL**
“We (two) are teachers”

- (11) guru **siku**
guru **si-ku**
teacher Det.PL.AN-**1DU INCL**
‘‘We (two) are teachers’’
- (12) guru **sinko**
guru **si-nko**
teacher Det.PL.AN **-1PL EXCL**
‘‘We are teachers’’
- (13) guru **siko**
guru **si-ko**
teacher Det.PL.AN **-1PL INCL**
‘‘We are teachers’’
- (14) guru **simu**
guru **si-mu**
teacher Det.PL.AN **-2DU**
‘‘You (two) are teachers’’
- (15) guru **simko**
guru **si-mko**
teacher Det.PL.AN **-2PL**
‘‘You are teachers’’

In addition, it is possible to have third dual and paucal. Thus, forms such *si-su* (DET.AN-3DU) and *si-sko* (DET.AN-3PCL) are acceptable. However, plural animate and inanimate forms are not acceptable **si-si* (3PL.DET-AN-3PL.AN), **si-na* (DET.AN-3PL.INAN).

How do we know that *si-* in (10) to (15) is the marker of plural animate determiner and not another form of clitic *-ri* as in (4) to (7) and *-s-* as in (8) to (9) ?

The following data show that we could add a possessive pronominal, which ends with plural determinate marker *-si*, to all predicate nominal clauses in (10) to (15).

Observe the following examples:

- (16) guru byesi
 guru be- -y- -si
 teacher POSS- -3SG- -Det.PL.AN
 “His teachers”
- (17) guru byesinu
 guru be- -y- -si-**nu**
 teacher POSS- -3SG- -Det.PL.AN -**1DU.EXCL**
 “We (two) are his teachers”
- (18) guru byesiku
 guru be- -y- -si-**ku**
 teacher POSS- -3SG- -Det.PL.AN-**1DU INCL**
 “We (two) are his teachers”
- (19) guru mkobesi
 guru mko-be-si
 teacher 2PL-POSS-Det.PL.AN
 “Your (PL) teachers”
- (20) guru mkobesinko
 guru mko-be-si-**nko**
 teacher 2PL-POSS-Det.PL.AN -**1PL EXCL**
 “We are your (PL) teachers”

In examples 17, 18, and 20, the free pronouns (that end the predicate nominal constructions) are suffixed to the possessive pronominals (that end with plural determinate marker *-si*). Therefore, it is possible to form this construction not only with plural animate determiners, but also with possessive determiners.

In addition, we could add clitic *-ri* as a suffix of the plural animate determiners (*si*) of the possessive pronominals in (16) and (19). The result is grammatical as the following examples show:

- (21) guru byesiri
 guru be- -y- -si-**ri**
 teacher POSS- -3SG- -Det.PL.AN – **be**
 “They are his teachers”

- (22) guru mkobesiri
 guru mko-be-si-ri
 teacher 2PL-POSS-Det.PL.AN -be
 “They are your teachers”

The above examples (21) and (22) show that clitic *-ri* occupies the same position as free pronoun clitics in data (17) and (20).

8.2.2. Copular verbs

The copular verbs *iri* and *iso* behave like normal Biak verbs which normally have agreement forms which are homophonous with the corresponding pronominal forms.

8.2.2.1. Copular Verb *iri*

Copular verb *iri* appears in final position in the sentence. It always stays at the end of a clause and closes the whole clause. Observe example 23 and 24:

- (23) snon be-mbraiya **iry**
 snon be-mbrai-ya **i-iry**
 man Rel-young-Det 3SG-be

‘It was the young man’

- (24) Ro insanja mam kwar ani koreri **iry** (T2.29)
 ro insanja mam- -w- kwar an-i koreri **i-iry**
 thing just now see- - already GIV-Det.SG heaven 3SG-**be**
 2SG-

“The thing that you just saw was heaven”

8.2.2.2. Copular Verbs *iso*

The complement of verb *-is(o)* follows it. Observe example (25)

- (25) keret byedya **iso** Rumbyak
keret be- -y- dya **i-iso** Rumbyak
clan POSS- 3SG-Det.SG **3SG-be** Rumbyak

‘His clan was Rumbyak’

Now that I have discussed the two types of the predicate nominal constructions, the next thing to do is to discuss the distinctions that exist between the two types of predicate nominal constructions.

8.3. Contrasts

8.3.1. Copular verbs

8.3.1.1. Copular verb *-iri* Vs copular verb *iso*

As has already been pointed out, the complement of verb *iri* precedes the verb, whereas the complement of *iso* follows it. Observe example 328 and 329:

- (26) snon be-mbraiya **irya**
 snon be-mbrai-ya **i-irya**
 man Rel-young-Det 3SG-be
 O **S-V**

‘It was the young man’

- (27) keret byedya **iso** Rumbyak
keret be- -y- dya **i-iso** Rumbyak
clan POSS- 3SG-Det.SG **3SG-be** Rumbyak
S **V** **O**

‘His clan is Rumbyak’

See also section 8.3.2.4.

8.3.2. Copular clitics

8.3.2.1. Copular clitic *-ri* Vs copular clitic *-s-*

It is not difficult to distinguish the two types of the predicate nominal constructions because they have different forms. First, clitic *-ri* ends a nominal clause as the following example illustrates:

- (28) Inai suiri
Inai sui-**ri**
girl Det.3DU-**be**
“the two are girls”

Clitic *-s-*, on the other hand, is always followed by a pronoun, a demonstrative or directional. It is normally inserted between the determiner and the first or the second person singular free pronouns or demonstrative or directional (see example 29 and 30):

- (29) awak risau
awak ri-**s**-au
orphan Det.SG-**be**-2SG
“you are an orphan”

- (30) isiyama
i-s-iya-ma
Det.SG-be-that-moving towards me
‘that moving towards me is him/her/it’

8.3.2.2. Copular clitic *-ri* Vs copular verb *iri*

There is a problem when we have a form such as *guru suiri* which can either mean ‘the two are teachers’ or ‘it is the teacher (and someone else)’. The problem,

however, can be solved by presenting the nominal clause *guru suiri* in two different constructions (one uses clitic *-ri* and the other uses copular verb *iri*). Thus, in example (31) we apply the first type of the predicate nominal construction in which clitic *-ri* is attached as a suffix of the third person dual determiner whereas in example (32) we use copular verb *-iri* as the verb of the nominal clause that takes the third person dual as its verb agreement. The result is that the nominal clause *guru suiri* now has two different constructions and it has two different meanings.

(31) guru **suir**i****
 guru sui-**ri**
 teacher Det.3DU-**be**
 “the two are teachers”

(32) guru **suir**i****
 guru su-**iri**
 teacher 3DU-**be**
 “It was the teacher (and someone else)”

Data (31) and (32) give evidence about the two types of the predicate nominal constructions of the Biak language and that the two types of constructions can be distinguished.

8.3.2.3. Free pronoun clitics Vs copular verb *iri*

There is evidence that shows that we can construct similar clauses as in (31) and (32) with the first person dual exclusive and inclusive and the second person dual and plural. Observe the following data.

(33) guru **sinu**
 guru si-**nu**
 teacher Det.PL.AN -**1DU. EXCL**
 “We (two) are teachers”

(34) guru **nuri**
 guru **nu-iri**
 teacher 1DU.EXCL-**be**
 “It is the teacher (and me)!”

(35) guru **simko**
 guru **si-mko**
 teacher Det.PL.AN -**2PL**
 “You are teachers”

(36) guru **mkoiri**
 guru **mko-iri**
 teacher 2PL-**be**
 “It is the teacher (and you (pl))!”

Data (33) and (35) represent the first type of predicate nominal construction (using free pronoun clitics), whereas data (34) and (36) represent the second type of the predicate nominal construction (using copular verb *iri*). The data show that the first person dual exclusive and inclusive and the second person dual and plural have different forms for the two predicate nominal constructions.

In addition, free pronoun clitics in (33) and (35) cannot stand on their own as independent clauses. Thus, we cannot have **sinu* or **simko*. However, in (34) and (36) we could have *nuri* and *mkoiri* as independent clauses. The presence of the NP in the copular clitic construction in (33) and (35) is obligatory, whereas in the copular verb the presence of NP is optional.

8.3.2.4. Copular clitic –s- Vs copular verb *is(o)*

The distinction between the copular clitic –s- and copular verb *iso* is that the former does not have a subject agreement marker, whereas the latter has a subject agreement marker on the verb and it can stand on its own as an independent clause.

Data (8) is repeated in (37) to show the construction of copular clitic *-s-* in which clitic *-s-* is inserted between determiners and *free pronouns*.

(37) guru risaya
 guru ri-**s**-aya
 teacher Det.SG-**be**-1SG
 “I am a teacher”

The following data shows clitic *-s-* in combination with possessive pronominal and demonstrative pronoun.

(38) Inai byedisine
 Inai be- -y- -di-**s**-ine
 Girl POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG-**be**-this
 “this is his daughter”

The word *byedisine* in (38) above is uttered as one word instead of two e.g., *byedi sine* or *byedis ine*. In fact, neither of them is acceptable. Biak speakers would say and write the sequence as one word.

There is a formal distinction between a directional verb formed on the basis of copular verb *is-* and copular clitic *-s-*. Copular verb *is-* takes subject agreement just like normal Biak verbs would do. Copular clitic *-s-*, on the other hand, is incorporated into complex demonstrative and directional nouns.

(39)	inai	byedya	isine
	inai	be- -y- -dya	i-s-ine
	daughter	POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG	Det.SG-be-this
	‘here is his/her daughter’		

(40)	inai	byedya	isne
	inai	be- -y- -dya	i-is-ne
	daughter	POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG	3SG-be-this
	‘his/her daughter is here’		

The following data show that the possessive pronominal in (39) can combine with directional verb clitic *-s-* as shown in (41).

- (41) inai byedisine
 inai be- -y- -di-s-ine
 daughter POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG-be-this
 ‘this here is his/her daughter’

However, the possessive pronominal in (40) cannot combine with directional verb *is-* as shown in (42).

- (42) * inai byedisne
 inai be- -y- -di-is-ne
 daughter POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG-be-this
 ‘his/her daughter is here’

Below are some more examples that illustrates copular verb *is-* and copular clitic *-s-* in combination with demonstratives and directionals.

Copular verb:

- (43) iswama
 i-is-wa-ma
 3SG-be-that over there-moving here
 ‘He/She/It is coming from there towards me’ Lit: He/She/It is from there
 moving towards me’

Clitics:

- (44) isiwama
 i-s-iwa-ma
 Det.SG-be-that over there-moving here
 ‘the one over there coming towards me is him’

(45) ayedisiwama
ay-e-di-s-iwa-ma
1.SG-POSS-Det.SG-be-that over there-moving here
'the one over there coming towards me is mine'

(46)* ayediswama
ay-e-di-is-wa-ma
1.SG-POSS-Det.SG-be-that over there-moving here
'Mine is moving from there towards me'

In (45) copular clitic *-s-* is incorporated into complex demonstrative and directional nouns. Here, the possessive pronominal *ayedi* (1SG-POSS-Det.SG) is attached to the directional verb *isiwama* 'the one over there coming towards S'. In this construction, the determiner *i* is replaced by possessive pronominal *ayedi*.

The construction in (46) is ill-formed because the directional verb *iswama* 'be on the way from there towards S' needs a subject agreement marker and not a possessive pronominal.

Some formal differences between copular verb *is-* and copular clitic *-s-* can be drawn as follows:

1. Directional verb *isne* takes subject agreement which is similar to other normal Biak verbs;
2. Directional verb *isine* takes an agreement marker which is similar to subject agreement markers of normal Biak verbs. However, the function of the agreement marker is not as subject of the verb but as object or complement of the verb (see 5.2.1.4).
3. Complement of verb *is-ne* follows it.
4. Complement of verb *isine* precedes it.

The distinction between the copular clitic *-s-* and the copular verb *is(o)* above shows that they are syntactically different.

8.4. Overview of A Different Analysis

As stated earlier in 8.1.1., Van den Heuvel (2006) presents a slightly different analysis. Van den Heuvel argues that all nominal clauses based on *is* use the pattern **(NP) + pron + predicative pronoun (*is-i* + pron)**. In this pattern, an NP is followed by a pronoun *i*, which again is followed by the predicator *is-i*. (Van den Heuvel, 2006:306). Some examples based on Van den Heuvel's analysis are shown in (47) to (50), (See also Van den Heuvel 2006: 299-322).

(47) guru risaya
guru ri – i – **is** - aya
guru GEN.SG - 3SG – **PRED** -1SG
“I am a teacher”

(48) guru riri
guru ri – i – **i** – ri
guru GEN.SG - 3SG – **PRED** -ANAPH
“He is a teacher”

(49) guru sinu
guru si – **i** – nu
guru 3PL.AN - **PRED** -1DU.EX
“We two (excl) are teachers”

(50) guru suiri
guru su – **i** – ri
guru 3DU - **PRED** -ANAPH
“The two of them are teachers”

According to Van den Heuvel, the form *is* and *i* are allomorphs (Van den Heuvel, 2006: 300 and 312). Thus, in (47) to (50) we could see that *is* or *i* is glossed as PRED. They all follow the same pattern; **(NP) + pron + *is* – *i* + pron**.

Generalizing *is* or *i* as predicate or copular form of sentences in (47) to (50) leads to a problem when we have a sentence that has 2 different meanings. Example 49, for instance can either mean ‘the two of them are teachers’ or ‘it’s the teacher (and someone else)’.

By considering *-ri* as a copular clitic and *iri* as a copular verb, we can solve the ambiguity of the sentence in (49) as discussed in section 8.3.2.

The *i* (PRED) in (48), (49), and (50) is not copula *i* nor *is* but it is part of the determiner that always precedes a copular clitic form. The copular clitic forms can be *-ri*, *-s-*, or free pronoun clitics (*nu*, *ku*, *mu*, *mko*, etc).

The argument that *i* is part of the determiner that precedes copular forms confirms Steinhauer’s proposition that:

“The copula can also be used after independent personal pronouns and after noun phrases, which are already definite, such as an inalienable noun or a noun followed by a possessive pronoun, e.g. *aya-iri* ‘it’s me’, *i-ri* ‘it’s him/her’, *mam-i-s-aw* ‘you (SG) are my father’, *rum b-e-di-ri* ‘it is your (SG) house.’ (Steinhauer, 2005:804).

Finally, I would consider the *is* (PRED) in (47) as clitic *-s-*. Clitic *-s-* is distinguished from copular verb *iso* as described in 8.4.

8.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that there are two kinds of nominal predicate constructions in Biak. Data show that the two kinds of constructions can be distinguished syntactically. The distinctions are shown by data that show that a similar form of the third person predicate nominal clause can have two different constructions and therefore two different meanings. In addition, the difference between the constructions is obvious for the first person dual, paucal, and plural and the second person dual and plural.

The data treated in this chapter provides formal grounds on which to base the distinction between verbal clauses and nominal clauses. Nominal clauses that are formed on the basis of copular verb *is(o)* and *iri* have inflections similar to normal Biak verbal inflections. However, nominal clauses formed on the basis of copular clitics have different paradigms and different word orders. This is what indicates the formal distinction between verbal clauses and nominal clauses.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis has provided a general description of the morphology and syntax of the Biak language. In particular, the thesis has described morphological typology, derivational and inflectional paradigms, basic constituent order, compounding and denominalization, relative clauses, and predicate nominal constructions. It has investigated verbal clauses and nominal clauses and found out that they are syntactically different.

The main findings of the thesis are:

- Words in the Biak language are dominantly polymorphemic.
- Inflectional patterns on verbal and prepositional predicates, demonstratives, and possessive pronouns are divided into two patterns: the consonantal pattern and the vocal pattern.
- Gender distinctions (animate and inanimate nouns) are only found in plural.
- Biak has alienable and inalienable nouns. Alienability in Biak is a syntactic distinction, not exactly corresponding to the semantic distinction.
- The basic constituent order is SVO or AVP. Variations occur with predicate nominal (OV). Internally headed relative clauses use SOV pattern when an overt subject is placed before an object head noun of a relative clause. The position of the overt subject that precedes the object of the relative clause changes the clause pattern into SOV, which is unusual in the Biak Language.

Internally headed relative clauses can be changed into a normal relative clause relativizing a non-subject NP by placing the NP subject in between the object head noun and the verb of the relative clause.

- Two kinds of predicate nominal constructions were identified: (1) copular clitics (clitic *-ri*, *-s-*, and free pronoun clitics) and (2) copular verbs *-iri* and *iso*. The two kinds of predicate nominal constructions can be distinguished syntactically.

The thesis consists of 7 main chapters covering demographic and ethnographic information, morphology, grammatical categories, basic constituent order, noun and noun phrase operations, predicate nominal constructions and relative clauses. Below is summary of each chapter.

In chapter 1, I started off by introducing the background of the language, the aims of the study, the methods of data collection and the organization of the thesis.

The aim of chapter two was to provide demographic and ethnographic information about the Biak language. I showed that although Biak has many different dialects, there is no morphological and syntactic distinction among the various dialects of the language.

Chapter 3 discussed the morphology of the Biak language. I began this chapter by showing that the Biak language is mainly a polymorphemic language. Then, I moved on to describe inflectional and derivational affixes. Here, I discussed in detail the inflectional patterns of verbal and prepositional predicates, demonstratives, and

possessive pronouns. In the case of inflection of verbal and prepositional predicates, I have discussed two types of inflectional patterns and proposed that the consonantal pattern was divided into two, which I called consonantal pattern type 1 (CP Type 1) and consonantal pattern type 2 (CP Type 2).

I completed chapter 3 by presenting a discussion of head and dependent marking in the Biak language.

In chapter 4, I described and discussed the grammatical categories of the Biak language. Two main categories, noun and verb, can be distinguished. The evidence that they are different is as follows:

1. Only noun phrases can appear in subject and object position. Verb phrases cannot appear in subject and object position.
2. Verbs obligatorily need subject agreement. Nouns cannot take subject agreement or function as a predicate.
3. Only nouns can have determiners. Verbs cannot take determiners.

Different types of nouns such as proper names, inalienable nouns, animate and inanimate nouns have also been identified. Inalienable nouns mostly refer to body parts and kinship terms. Animate and inanimate nouns can only be distinguished in the plural, as previously discussed by Steinhauer.

Other minor categories such as adjectives, adverbs, numerals, prepositions, conjunctions, and question words have been described. They form classes that can be distinguished from noun and verbs.

Chapter 5 discusses and describes constituent order in the Biak language. The chapter discusses the constituent order of main clauses, especially verbal clauses and nominal clauses of the Biak language. The chapter also presents data and generalizations concerning the major phrase types in the language; the verb phrase, the noun phrase, the prepositional phrases, the comparatives, and question particles and question words.

The chapter has established the basic order of the sentence elements of the Biak language. Biak is predominantly a head-initial language. The main findings of its constituents order are stated below:

The structure of the main clause

S → (Adv) NP (Adv) PREDICATE

Verbal predicates use this structure:

PREDICATE → V (NP) (PP)
 OBJ IOBJ

Nominal verb *is(o)* uses this structure : PRED → V NP

Nominal clitic *-ri* uses a different structure: PRED → NP V

Nominal clitic *-s-* use this structure:

PRED → NP-V-DET

The structure of Phrases

1. Prepositional phrases

PP → P (NP)

2. Noun Phrases

2.1. Modifiers

NP → N (Adj) (S) DET
REL

Object (Non-Subject) Relative Clauses

NP → N S Det
OBJ

Internally Headed Relative clause

NP → S N Det
OBJ

2.2. Possessive Constructions

NP → (NP) N POSS
POSS

NP → (NP) N-POSS.Suffix (Singular)
POSS

(NP) Prefix-N-Suffix (Dual, Paucal, Plural)
POSS

3. Verb Phrases

PRED → AUX PRED

4. Comparatives

The order of comparative constituent is QUALITY (ADJ) – MARKER – STANDARD.

Greenberg implicational universals:

Universal 1: Biak is consistent with universal 1. In a declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object.

Universal 2: Biak is consistent with universal 2. It mostly uses prepositions and the genitive always follows the governing noun.

Universal 16: The fact that inflected auxiliary precedes main verb in Biak is consistent with observations by Greenberg (1963) for languages of the VO type.

This order ADJ – MARKER – STANDARD is consistent with Greenberg's observation for languages of the VO type.

Chapter 6 describes compounding and denominalization in the Biak language. It discusses the structure of compound nouns in the Biak language, why compound nouns are classified as compounds, and how they are different from regular noun words. The chapter, then, moves to discuss denominalization process in the Biak language.

Chapter 7 discusses the structure of 3 different relative clause patterns in the Biak language; Post Nominal Relative Clauses (using relativizer prefix *be-* to relativize subject NP and using no relativizer affixes to relativize non-subject NP); Headless Relative Clauses, and Internally Headed Relative Clauses, with reference to the analysis of relative clause construction patterns in three recent works on the Biak language: Steinhauer (2005), Mofu (2005), and Van den Heuvel (2006). The chapter presents and discusses the structure of all the three types of relative clause with data supporting them.

The chapter concludes that the Biak language has internally headed relative clauses. Internally headed relative clauses occur in the Biak language when an overt subject is placed before a head noun of a post nominal relative clause relativizing a non-subject NP. The position of the overt subject that precedes the object of the relative clause changes the clause pattern into SOV, which is unusual in the Biak language, which usually exhibits SVO patterning. In addition, an internally headed relative clause can be changed into a normal relative clause relativizing a non-subject NP by placing the NP subject in between the object head noun and the verb of the relative clause.

In addition, Biak permits relativization on all parts of Keenan-Comrie's hierarchy. It allows relativization on subject, object, object of preposition, oblique, genitive and object of comparison. It also allows relativization on object in subordinate clause, object in embedded subordinate clause, object in serial verbs constructions, and temporal adjunct modifiers.

Finally, Biak allows stacked and nested relative clauses.

Chapter 8 presents two kinds of predicate nominal constructions in the Biak language.

The two predicate nominal constructions that the chapter discusses are:

1. copular clitics (nominal clauses that are formed by (1) clitic *-ri* suffixed to the third person determiners, and (2) clitic *-s-*, which is inserted between determiners and free pronouns or demonstratives and directional nouns) and (3) free pronoun clitics (nominal clauses that are formed by free pronoun clitics suffixed to plural animate determiner *si*).
2. copular verbs *-iri* and *iso* which are used after agreement forms which are

homophonous with the corresponding pronominal forms.

The chapter argues that the two kinds of nominal predicate constructions can be distinguished syntactically. The chapter first discusses the analysis of two recent works on predicate nominal constructions, then, goes on to discuss the distinction between the two types of predicate nominal constructions. The second section discusses the contrast between the two types of the predicate nominal constructions and finally, the third section presents conclusions that show that the two kinds of constructions can be distinguished syntactically. The distinctions are proven by the data that show that a similar form of the third person predicate nominal clause can have two different constructions and therefore two different meanings.

Finally, the thesis has fulfilled the goal of my study which is to provide a general description of the morphology and syntax of the Biak language.

It is not an easy task to describe a language as accurately as possible. However, as a native speaker of Biak I benefit a lot from my knowledge of the language and I have tried as objectively as possible to present the general description of the morphology and syntax of the language. Thus, the description of the language given in the thesis reflects my own understanding of how the language is used.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 PERIOD OF STUDIES ON BIAK LANGUAGE

Table 1. First Period of Studies on Biak Language (1833-1947)

Year	Investigator	Type of study / kind of data
1833	G. Von Der Gabelentz and A.B. Meyer	Comparative study (Publication written in German)
1862	W. Ottow	Word list
1868	J.L. Van Hasselt	Grammatical Sketch
1874a 1874b	A.B. Meyer	General Notes (in German) Text
1876a 1876b 1878	J.L. Van Hasselt	Grammar Dictionary Bible translation of St Luke (New Testament)
1881		Bible translation of St Matthew (New Testament)
1883 1885	J.L. Van Hasselt and W.L. Jens	Bible translation of St John (New Testament) Bible translation of St. Mark (New Testament)
1885	H. Kern	Comparative study
1902a,b 1905 1932	F.J.F Van Hasselt	Sociolinguistic study Grammar Bible translation
1932	F.W. Hartweg	Biak text (written in German)
1936	F.J.F. Van Hasselt	Sociolinguistic study
1947	J.L. and F.J.F. Van Hasselt	Dictionary

Table 2. Second Period of studies on Biak Language (1975 – 2006)

Year	Investigator	Type of study / kind of data
1975 1977	Soeparno Soeparno	Biak-Indonesian Dictionary Biak-Indonesian Dictionary (Revised Edition)
1978	E. Patz	The case marking and role coding system of Biak Numfor
1985	Hein Steinhauer	Number in Biak: Counterevidence to two alleged language universals.
1988	Christ Fautngil Frans Rumbrawer Bartho Kainakamu	Phonology of Biak (published in Indonesian)
1990	Christ Fautngil Frans Rumbrawer Bartho Kainakamu	Morphology of Biak (published in Indonesian)
1990	Christ Fautngil Frans Rumbrawer Bartho Kainakamu	Syntax of Biak (Published in Indonesian)
2002	Christ Fautngil Frans Rumbrawer Bartho Kainakamu	Grammar of Biak (Published in Indonesian language)
2005	Suriel Mofu	Biak Morphosyntax (M.Phil thesis, Oxford University)
2005	Hein Steinhauer	Biak
2006	Wilco Van den Heuvel	Biak: A description of an Austronesian language of Papua

APPENDIX 2 VERBS GROUPING ACCORDING TO CONSONANTAL AND VOCAL PATTERNS

Consonantal pattern		Vocal Pattern
Type 1	Type 2	
ba <i>big</i> bese <i>separate</i> biser <i>hungry</i> bor <i>many, boastful</i> bri <i>brave</i> brin <i>calm</i> bur <i>go home</i> byaar <i>swollen</i> bye <i>alive</i> byor <i>bald</i> disen <i>sing</i> dok <i>wet</i> doser <i>beautiful</i> duf <i>sick</i> famfadak <i>say abusive words</i> fnab <i>cook (cook sth such as rice)</i> fnak <i>play</i> fo <i>full</i> frar <i>run</i> frowes <i>lie/kidding</i> frur <i>make</i> fuken <i>ask</i> fyak <i>say abusive words</i> fyos <i>crowded, tight</i> kaki <i>high</i> kanaw <i>dip up, take liquid out of a container with a small cup</i> kandor <i>surprise</i> kapar <i>give birth</i> kapok <i>carry so on your back</i> kbok <i>wake up</i> kenem <i>alive, live</i> knampu <i>short</i> kofen <i>say</i>	baber <i>naked</i> babo <i>new</i> banyak <i>pay fine</i> bak <i>pay</i> ban <i>wash, wake some one up</i> bar <i>carry on the shoulder</i> barek <i>stay</i> baws <i>build (a house)</i> bay <i>dig</i> bayorem <i>vomit</i> biis <i>have a fever, sick</i> binkwan <i>far</i> bob <i>sell</i> bores <i>row</i> buk <i>give</i> faduru <i>take care of</i> fadwer <i>replace</i> fan <i>feed</i> fanam <i>near</i> fandun <i>need</i> fara <i>riding the boat</i> farbuk <i>married</i> farem <i>send</i> farkor <i>teach</i> fas <i>write</i> fasna <i>show</i> fasos <i>prepare</i> fawar, faar <i>tell</i> fawi <i>know</i> faya <i>preach</i> for <i>catch</i> kaber <i>return</i> kabnsu <i>smoke, cook sth with smoke</i> kain/kon <i>sit</i> kakor <i>thin</i>	ado <i>get down, descend</i> amkepen <i>hold things with someone's arms</i> an <i>eat</i> aninef <i>spittle, spit</i> ankar <i>lie</i> ansus <i>drink milk from mother's breast</i> ar <i>shout</i> ararer <i>boastful</i> arbor <i>full (because of eating)</i> arek <i>bite</i> aron <i>swim</i> aruf <i>close eyes</i> as <i>swim</i> asyok <i>shovel, spoon</i> ayin <i>disgusting</i> ayun <i>sail</i> ek <i>climb</i> emir <i>lonely</i> enef <i>sleep</i> erer <i>alone</i> inem <i>drink</i> is <i>grind</i> ob <i>bark</i> ob <i>lie prone</i> ok <i>have sex</i> okub <i>fart/flatus</i> ore <i>call</i> oren <i>swallow</i> ores <i>stand, pregnant</i> ubk <i>take water from the river with a bamboo or a container</i> uf <i>hold</i>

<p>kpor <i>thick</i> kun <i>cook (bake/heat sth)</i> kwan <i>long</i> kyar <i>believe</i> mar <i>die</i> marisen <i>like/happy</i> marmer <i>shake</i> may <i>ashamed, shy</i> mbrai <i>young</i> mbran <i>walk</i> mbray <i>ripe/old enough (plants)</i> mbrer <i>put out a fire, extinguished</i> mbrif <i>laugh</i> mbrow <i>thirsty</i> mewer <i>dislike</i> mkak <i>afraid</i> mkok <i>destruct, destroy</i> mnaf <i>listen/understand</i> mobsba <i>pregnant</i> msap <i>tear/torn</i> msar <i>sink</i> mser <i>get drunk</i> msor <i>get angry</i> myaren <i>diligent</i> nanem <i>burnt</i> pdef <i>go straight</i> pnas <i>hard</i> pnunk <i>cold</i> pokem <i>putrid odor, decomposed</i> praf <i>blind</i> prei <i>get healthy/recover from sickness</i> prer <i>beat</i> prim <i>cold</i> pro <i>deaf</i> pyoper <i>white</i> pyum <i>good, kind</i> rik <i>red</i> rires <i>dry things under the sun</i> rmomen <i>angry</i> rob <i>fly</i> ryab <i>delighted</i></p>	<p>kaku <i>true</i> kam <i>make metal object (e.g. knives)</i> kanes <i>cry</i> kankunem <i>bow</i> kapar <i>give birth</i> kapu <i>have a leak</i> kar <i>break/cut</i> kara <i>think</i> karauw <i>steal</i> karem <i>answer</i> karuk <i>cut</i> ker <i>plant</i> kobes <i>buy</i> koor <i>count</i> kor <i>cut/break</i> kun <i>burn, cook</i> mafu <i>dream</i> mam <i>look</i> mamun <i>have a fight / war</i> manan <i>light</i> marbak <i>heavy</i> marbyas <i>sneeze</i> marem <i>fruitful</i> marsyer <i>strangled</i> marur <i>brown</i> masi <i>take a shower</i> mun <i>kill</i> na <i>have</i> nap <i>making trouble</i> nas <i>smell things</i> paisem <i>black</i> pakrek <i>hard</i> pambar <i>turn upside down</i> pame <i>shoot, light sth (matches)</i> pampan <i>dark</i> pampun <i>push</i> pankar <i>break</i> pauk <i>pick (flowers)</i> paw <i>pull sth /fishing</i> ra <i>go</i> rab <i>beat</i> rama <i>come</i> rap <i>burn, bake</i> ro <i>in, at</i></p>	<p>ufepen <i>help to hold things tightly</i> un <i>take</i></p>
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<p> ryur <i>gather</i> saar <i>diarrhoea</i> sam <i>hot</i> sapi <i>fall</i> sar <i>sharp</i> sawn <i>throw sth</i> say <i>boiling</i> ser <i>fill</i> serepen <i>hold tight</i> ses <i>cough</i> siber <i>appear</i> smai <i>get sth, being jailed</i> snai <i>light</i> snarem <i>smell bad</i> so <i>follow</i> sor <i>carry things on the head</i> srow <i>meet</i> su <i>pull</i> suf <i>peel sth, remove the skin</i> sur <i>grow</i> susu <i>move backward</i> swar <i>love</i> swarepen <i>remember</i> syadi <i>more</i> syob <i>leave, depart</i> syom <i>bow, respect</i> syor <i>smoke, inhale</i> waf <i>wait</i> wan <i>request so to do sth, stab someone or sth</i> wan <i>stab someone/sth</i> waren <i>awake</i> wasen <i>remember</i> wuf <i>blow a fire (in the kitchen)</i> yas <i>sharpen sth</i> </p>	<p> rower <i>listen</i> sae <i>exit</i> sambrab <i>strong</i> sampo <i>urinate</i> sarbir <i>crazy</i> sarfer <i>fishing</i> sasar <i>mistake</i> sasus <i>giving milk to the baby</i> sawo <i>crazy</i> sewar <i>look for, seek</i> so <i>throw</i> sofuk <i>cut</i> sun <i>enter</i> sus <i>give mother's milk to a baby</i> </p>	
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APPENDIX 3 BIAK TEXTS

Text 1

MYOS BYAK RANDAKYA
“HISTORY OF BIAK”

Audio Recording:

Narrator : Demianus Baransano

Age : 76

Dialect of Biak: Saba/Wadibu (East Biak)

Data recorded on Tuesday, 12 September 2004 at 4pm

Location : Saba Village, Marao-East Biak

MYOS BYAK RANDAKYA
HISTORY OF BIAK

Myos Byak randakya
Myos Byak Randak-ya
Island Biak Early-Det.SG

‘The beginning of Biak Island’

(1) Inja yafawar fawar bebesuruya wer #¹
Inja ya-fawar fawar bebe-suru-ya wer
So 1SG-tell story ORDINAL-two-Det again

‘So I tell the second story as well’

(2) Snonsnon ayedis/ Demianus Baransano/
name ay-e-di-iso Demianus Baransano
name 1SG-POSS-DET-BE Demianus Baransano

yabe**umur**² **tahun** samfur di fik sesr di wonem#
ya-be-umur tahun samfur-di-fik- sesr- di- wonem
1SG-be-age year ten-Num.Link-Seven-plus-Num.Link- six

boi yarandak fawar bebesuru inewer ma beyo
boi ya-randak fawar bebe-suru ine-wer ma be-o
but 1SG-begin story rel-two this-again here to - O³

romawa ye befarkor do Amerika iwa#
romawa y-e be-farkor ro Amerika iwa
young man 1SG-POSS Rel-study at America that

‘My name is Demianus Baransano/ I am seventy six years old but I will tell the second story as well for my young man who is studying in America’

¹ A pause sign between sentences or utterances.

² The bold and italic word is a loan word from Bahasa Indonesia. I will highlight all the loan words from Bahasa Indonesia in this text with bold and italic fonts.

³ Suffix *-o* or sometimes *-u* are often used in the Biak language. Their functions, however, are not clear. I assume that their functions in the sentence is to mark a pause and also to indicate that the sentence is not finished yet.

- (3) Ro sup bondiwa/ yafarem farfyar ine bei#
 ro sup bondi-iwa ya-farem farfyar ine be-i
 at land outside-that 1SG-send story this to-3SG

‘at foreign land there/ I send this story for him’

- (4) fawarine ryadine#
 fawar-ine ra -y- dine
 story-this go-3SG-this

‘this story goes like this’

- (5) myos Byaki/
 myos Byak-i
 island Biak-FOC⁴

randak kaku iwamyase/ byekeret oser#
 randak kaku iwa-m-yas-E be- -y- keret oser
 beginning very that-towards here-top-E be- -3SG- clan one

‘The Biak island from early times, there was one clan’

- (6) Keret byedi iso Rumbyak#
 keret be- -y- di i-iso Rumbyak
 clan POSS- 3SG-Det.SG 3SG-be Rumbyak

‘its clan was Rumbiak’

- (7) Rumu rum mngun sifur doyo Msirn bo ya/
 rum-u rum mngun si-fur ro-O Msirn-bo ya
 house-U house small 3PL.AN-build at-O Msirn-top Det.SG

rum ine kawasasya sibor siryur do i#
 rum ine kawasa-sya si-bor si-ryur ro i
 house this people-Det.PL.AN- 3PL.AN-many 3PL.AN-gather at 3SG

‘at the small house they built on top of Msirn <name of a mountain> this house, many people live in it’

⁴ Marker *i* in this sentence functions as a FOCUS marker to emphasize the thing being talked about. Other marker is *ine* and *ima*.

(8) inja rasya ido/
 inja ras-ya ido
 so day-one then

binsarya snori iso Inggumiboi#
 binsar-ya sno-ri i-iso Inggumibo-i
 old woman-one name-POSS.3SG.Det.SG 3SG-be Inggumibo-FOC

‘Thus, one day an old woman called Inggumibo’

(9) Ina byeskoya iya snori
 Ina be- -y- skoya iya sno-ri
 daughter POSS- -3SG- Det.PCL one name- POSS.3SG.Det.SG

Binwani/ iya snori Inandei/
 Binwan-i iya sno-ri Inande-i
 Binwan-FOC one name- POSS.3SG.Det.SG Inande-FOC

iya snori Inggumi kako#
 iya sno-ri Inggumi-i kako
 one name- POSS.3SG.Det.SG Inggumi-FOC also

‘Her three daughters, one called Binwan, another called Inande and another one also called Inggumi’

(10) Inai skoine/ skona snonoba#
 Inai skoine sko-na snon-oba
 daughter this.PCL 3PCL-have man - not

‘These three daughters did not have a brother’

(11) Imboi roma snonkbor skoya Manwomri
 Imboi roma snon-kbor skoya Manwomri
 But son man-young Det.TR Manwomri

rokir byeskoi#
 rokir be -y- skoi
 son POSS- -3SG- Det.PCL

‘But the three young men were Manwomri’s three sons’

(12) Manwomri swari Samsonai su
 Manwomri swa-ri Samsonai su
 Manwomri wife-POSS.3SG.DetSG Samsonai 3DU

rokir subeskoi skobeyo kyor#
 rokir su-be-skoi sko-be-o kyor
 son 3Du-POSS-Det.TR 3PCL-be-O three

‘Manwomri’s wife, Samsonai, the two, their children were three’

(13) Anenfi/ Kumesri/ Andobai#
 Anenf-i Kumesr-i Andoba-i
 Anenf-FOC Kumesr-FOC Andoba-FOC

‘Anenf, Kumesr, Andoba’

(14) Roma skoine skosam rao skosrouo randipi#
 Roma skoine sko-sam rao sko-srou-o randip-i
 young man-this.PCL 3PCL-hunt until 3PCL-meet-o pig-Det

‘The three young man hunted until they got a pig’

(15) robarya skunima skobe skokuni
 robar-ya sk-un-i-ma sko-be sko-kun-i
 animal-Det 3PCL-take-3SG-here 3PCL-be about to 3PCL-cook-3SG

boi/ foro fa kokikuniba#
 boi foro fa sko-k-i-kun-i-ba
 but fire for 3PCL-give-3SG-cook-3SG-not

‘The animal, they took it here, they wanted to cook it but there wasn’t any fire to cook it’

(16) Robarye/ roma beba ine Andoba iwano/
 Robarye roma be-ba ine Andoba i-wan-o
 Therefore son Rel-big this Andoba 3SG-ask-O

bedar	byesu		iya	benirbe	Anenf#
bedar	be- -y- su		iya	be-nir-be	Anenf-i
brother	POSS -3SG- Du		one	Rel-name-as	Anenf

‘Therefore this eldest son, Andoba asked one of his two brothers which was called Anenf’

(17)	Dobo	rwafa	mamo	binsar	aniwa	Inggumi/
	d-obo	ra- -w- fa	mam-o	binsar	an-iwa	Inggumi-i
	3SG-say	go -2SG- to	2SG.see-O	old woman	GIV-that	Inggumi

ina	byansiwa		sikabn	apyamo	ido
ina	be- -y- an-s-iwa		si-kaben	apyam-o	ido
daughter	POSS- -3SG-GIV-that.PL.AN		3PL.AN-burn	fire	if

wungeroma			kokikun	randip	anine
w-un-gero-ma			ko-k-i-kun	randip	an-ine
2SG-take-little piece-here			1PL-use-3SG-cook	pig	GIV-this

bo	insape	na	kero	mura	besko#
bo	insape	na	kero	mu-ra	be-sko
and	after that	will	little piece	to-there	to-3PCL

‘He said ‘Go (and) see the old woman, Inggumi, if her daughters make fire, take a little piece (for us) to cook the pig, and then, some (meat) will be given to them’

(18)	Inja	Anenf	rya/	imbran	do	binsar
	Inja	Anenf	ra--y-	i-mbran	ro	binsar
	so	Anenf	go -3SG-	3SG-walk	at	old woman

anya	Inggumi	rum	byani		bori#
an-ya	Inggumi	rum	be-y--an-i		bo-ri
GIV-Det	Inggumi	house	POSS-3SG-GIV-Det.SG		top-Det

‘So Anenf went, he walked at the top of Inggumi’s house’

(19)	Barya	Inggumi	ikofn	inai	byanskoya	bo
	barya	Inggumi	i-kofen	inai	be- -y- -an-skoya	bo
	Therefore	Inggumi	3SG-say	daughter	POSS-3SG-GIV-Det.TRI	and

dobo/	Binwano	mampano	besyosyo	iyasyafa#
d-obo	Binwan-o	mampan-o	be-syosyo	iya- -yas- -fa
3SG-say	Binwan	2SG.look	Rel-crawl	that.SG.-above-there

‘So Inggumi asked her two daughters and said “Binwan. Have a look. Who crawls at the top (of the house roof)?”

(20)	Muraido	Binwani/	susae	randi	sumame#
	Muraido	Binwan-i	su-sae	randi	su-mam-e
	Therefore	Binwan-FOC	3Du-go out	outside	3Du-look

‘Thus, Binwan (and someone else) went outside to have a look’

(21)	Sumamido	romawa	ani	dado	munfes#
	su-mam-ido	romawa	an-i	d-ado	ku-nfes
	3Du-look-when	young man	GIV-Det.SG	3SG-descend	DIR-downward

‘When the two had a look, the young man came down’

(22)	Inja	surandum	sukofn	be	snari
	Inja	su-ra-ndum	su-kofn	be	sna-ri
	so	3Du-move-inward	3Du-say	to	mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

binsar	Inggumi	bo	suyobo/	Awine	snondiri#
binsar	Inggumi	bo	su-yob-o	Awin-e	snon-d-iri
old woman	Inggumi	and	3Du-say	mother	man-3SG-be

‘So they came inside (and) told her mother, Inggumi, and said “Mum it’s a man”

(23)	snon	babo	diri#
	snon	babo	d-iri
	man	young	3SG-be

‘He’s a young man’

(24)	insar	ani	dobo/
	insar	an-i	d-obo
	old woman	GIV-Det	3SG-say

mukofn	bo	syun	mumrum#
mu-kofn	bo	sun-y--	mu-m-rum
2Du-say	and	enter-3SG--	DIR-towards-inside

‘The old woman said “Ask him to come inside!”

(25)	Syun	dandum	kyainus	su	ramnai/
	sun-y--	ra-ndum	kain-y--us	su	ramnai
	enter-3SG--	DIR-inside	sit-3SG--with	3Du	after that

Insar	Inggumi	ifukni	bo	dobe
Insar	Inggumi	i-fuken-i	bo	d-obe
old woman	Inggumi	3SG-ask-3SG	and	3SG-say

sariso	wunkaku	ro	dineni#
sariso	w-un-kaku	ro	dine-i
what	2SG-take-really	at	place.this-FOC

‘He came inside, sat with the two (daughters), then, the old woman, Inggumi asked him and said “what do you really (want) to get from here ? “

(26)	Romawa	ani	doboo/	Insare/
	Romawa	an-i	doboo	Insare
	Young man	GIV-Det.SG	3SG-say	old woman

ingguno	randipyama	iswa	boi	foroma
ink-un-o	randip-ya-ma	i-s-wa	boi	foro-ma
1PL.EXCL-take-O	pig-Det- towards here	3SG-be-there	but	fire-for

nggokkunibararyo/		yun	anumker
nko-k-kun-i-ba-raryo		y-un	anum-ker
1PL.EXCL-give for-cook-3SG-not-therefore		1SG-take	wood-little piece

inema	yobo/	yakyukn	ma	yunda
ine-ma	y-obo	ya-kyukn-	ma	y-un-da
this-here	1SG-say	1SG-make fire	and	1SG-take-there

nggokkun		randip		iwa#
nko-k-kun		randip		iwa
1PL.EXCL-use for-cook		pig		that

‘The young man said “Old woman, we took the pig, it’s there but there isn’t any fire to cook it, so I take this little piece of wood, I thought I could make a fire and take (it) to cook that pig”.

(27)	Do	binsar	ani	ikofni	bo	dobe	indo
	Do	binsar	an-i	i-kofen-i	bo	d-obe	indo
	Then	old woman	GIV-Det.SG	3SG-say-3SG	and	3SG-say	so

befa	wakyukn	do	wepamboksi#
be-fa	wa-kyukn	ro	wepambok-si
2SG.give-to	2.SG-scratch	at	leg-POSS.1SG.Det.PL.AN

‘Then the old woman told him and said “scratch (the little piece of wood) on my legs’

(28)	Barya	bye	anumker	anya	fa	ikyukn
	barya	be-y--	anum-ker	an-ya	fa	i-kyukn
	So	give-3SG-	wood-little piece	GIV-Det	for	3SG-scratch
do	wepamboksi		rao	ipauw	rao	isak/
do	wepambok-si		rao	i-pauw	rao	i-sak/
at	leg-POSS.1SG.Det. PL.AN		until	3SG-smoke	until	3SG-burn

muraido	dun	bo	iswara#
muraido	d- un	bo	i-s-wa-ra
then	3SG-take	and	3SG-be-there-go

‘So he brought the little piece of wood to scratch it on her leg until it smoked and burned, then, he took (it) and went away’

(29)	Rya	skokun	ben	anya	ido/	Insar	ani
	ra-y--	sko-kun	ben	an-ya	ido/	Insar	an-i
	go-3SG	3PCL-cook	pig	GIV-Det	when	old woman	GIV-Det

iwan	inai	byanskoine	ma	skuser#
i-wan	inai	be-y—an-skoine	ma	sk-user
3SG-ask	daughter	POSS-3SG-GIV-this.PCL	to	3PCL-follow

‘When he went to cook the pig meat, the old woman asked her three daughters to follow (him).’

(30)	skuser	bo	ikofn	bo	dobe	mgora	mgomampano/
	sk-user	bo	i-kofn	bo	d-obe	mgo-ra	mgo-mam-pan-O
	3PCL-	and	3SG-tell	and	3SG-say	2PL-go	2PL-see-try
	follow						

romawa	skoiwa#
romawa	sco-iwa
young man	3PCL-Det

‘They followed (him) and she told (them) and said “Go and have a look at the three young man”’

(31)	skobe	yo#
	sk-obe	yo
	3PCL-say	yes

‘The three (daughters) said “Yes”’

(32)	Do	inai	anskoi	skora	skomame	romawa	anskoya
	Do	inai	an-skoi	sco-ra	sco-mam-e	romawa	an-skoya
	When	girl	GIV-Det.TR	3PCL-	3PCL-see-E	young man	GIV-Det.TR
				go			

skobekyor	inai	anskoi	skobekyor#
sco-be-kyor	inai	an-skoi	sco-be-kyor
3PCL-be-three	daughter	GIV- Det.TR	3PCL-be-three

‘When the girls went (there), they saw the young men were three (and) the girls were (also) three’

(33)	Muraido	skokabr	ma	skobo/	insare	snonskoiwa	skobekyor#
	Muraido	sko-kaber	ma	sk-obo	insare	snon-skoiwa	sko-be-kyor
	So	3PCL-	and	3PCL-	old woman	man-	3PCL-be-
		return		say		that.PCL	three

‘So they returned and said “old woman, the men over there were three”

(34)	Insar	ani	Inggumi	do/bo/	besyaido	mgosrouw	sko#
	Insar	an-i	Inggumi	d-obo	besya-ido	mgo-srouw	sko
	Old woman	GIV-Det	Inggumi	3SG-say	if - so	2PL-meet	3PCL

‘The old woman, Inggumi, said “If it is so, you match them”

(35)	Mgobekyor	skobekyorja	na	mgobuk	sko#
	Mgo-be-kyor	sko-be-kyor-ja	na	mgo-buk	sko
	2PL-be-three	3PCL-be-three-so	will	2PL-marry	3PCL

‘You are three, they are three, so you’ll marry them’

(36)	inja	Anenf	dun	bengger	anya	bo	kyabrda#
	inja	Anenf	d-un	bengger	an-ya	bo	kaber- -y- -da
	so	Anenf	3SG-take	pig meat	GIV-Det	and	return- -3SG- -there

‘so Anenf took the pig meat and returned’

(37)	dunda	roro	binsar	ani	Inggumi
	d-un-da	roro	binsar	an-i	Inggumi
	3SG-take-there	at	old woman	GIV-Det	Inggumi

Inai byansrori#
 Inai be- -y- -an-s-ro-ri
 daughter POSS- -3SG- -GIV-3PL.AN-at-Det

’He took it to the old woman, Inggumi’s three daughters’

(38) Ma binsar ani dobo/ nari mgona inai
 Ma binsar an-i d-obo nari mgo-na inai
 and old woman GIVE-Det 3SG-say will 2PL-have daughter

ye skoine#
 y-e sko-ine
 1SG-POSS this.PCL

‘And the old woman said “you’ll have my three daughters”

(39) Boi mgoramuma robaido/ koro nyande ine kaem#
 Boi mgo-ra-mu-ma robaido ko-ro nyande ine kaem
 But 2PL-move-DIR-towards here or 1PL-at road this all

‘However, come here or we stay together along this road’

(40) Romawa anskoya skobe na nggoro diwa#
 Romawa an-skoya sk-obe na nggo-ro diwa
 Young man GIV- Det.TR 3PCL-say will 1PL.EXCL-at place.that

‘The three young men said “we will stay there”.

(41) Mboi inanskoine na skora ido/
 Mboi inai-an-skoine na sko-ra ido
 Mboi girl-GIV-this.PCL will 3PCL-go then

bai inanskoi/ rasyaido romawa anskoya
 bai inai-an-skoi ras-ya-ido romawa- an-skoya
 so girl-GIV-Det.TR day-one-when young man GIV-Det.TR

skobe skora skosam#
 sko-be sko-ra sko-sam
 3PCL-be about to 3PCL-go 3PCL-hunt

‘However, the three girls when they went, so the three girls, one day the three young man went to hunt.

(42)	Andobai	Anenfi	Kumesrsko#
	Andoba-i	Anenf-i	Kumesr-sko
	Andoba-FOC	Anenf-FOC	Kumesr-FOC

‘Andoba , Anenf, Kumeser’

(43)	skofrar	makei	skobansya	boi/
	sko-frar	makei	sko-b- an-sya	boi
	3PCL-run	dog	3PCL-POSS-GIV-Det.PL.AN	but

inanskoi	skorafafa	skekraryasu/
inai- an-skoi	sko-ra-fa	sk-ek-ra-r-yas-u
girls-GIV- Det.PCL	3PCL-go-to	3PCL-climb-DIR-towards-up-U

skokon	doyo	roma	anskoi	mob	skenf	ro	ya
sko-kon-	ro-O	roma	an-skoi	mob	sk-enef-	ro	ya
3PCL-sit	at-o	young man	GIV-Det.TRI	place	3PCL-sleep	at	Det

ido	inaiya/	bepyum	sui	bembraia	suyaido
ido	inai-ya	be-pyum	sui	be-mbraia	suya-ido
when	girl-Det	Rel-beautiful	Det.DU	Rel-young	Det.DU-FOC

sumewer	sukon	do	yaro	bemakekmya	kukro/
su-mewer	su-kon	do	yar-o	be-makekm-ya	kukro
3Du-not like	3Du-sit	at	mattress	Rel-wet-Det	because

snon	beyenf	ro	i	ya	snono/	bepyum	be	skonya	iri#
snon	be-enf-	ro	i	ya	snon-O	be-pyum	be	skoya	i-iri
man	Rel-sleep-	at	3SG	Det	man-o	Rel-good	for	Det.TR	3SG-be

‘They ran their dogs but the three girls went to climb (their house)/ when they sat at the place where the three young man slept, the two beautiful young women did not like to sit at the mattress which was wet (with sweat) because (perhaps) the man who slept at it (the wet mattress) was the handsome man for them’

(44)	Snon	bembraiya	irya	boi	robido/	idar	nja
	snon	be-mbrai-ya	i-r-ya	boi	rob-ido	i-dar	nja
	man	Rel-young-Det	3SG-be-Det	but	night-when	3SG-sweat	so

syayan		warwark	rya/	sayan	byedi
sayan-y--		warwark	rya	sayan	be-y--di
sweat-3SG--		continuously	so	sweat	POSS-3SG-DET

nsun	do	yarya	rao	myandumek#
n-sun	ro	yar-ya	rao	mandumek-y--
3PL.INAN-enter	at	mattress-Det	until	wet-3SG--

‘He was the young man but at night his sweat came out continuously so his sweat poured into the mattress until it was wet’

(45) Boi/ beba ansuineme bakn subena
 Boi be-ba an-su-i-ne-me bakn su-be-na
 But Rel-big GIV-3Du-Det-this-ME body 3Du-POSS-3PL.INAN

nasyor	je/	mob	suyenf	ro-na	nasyor#
na-syor	je	mob	su-enf	ro-na	na-syor
3PL.INAN-dry	so	place	3Du-sleep	at-Det. PL.INAN	3PL.INAN-dry

‘But the two older brothers’ body were dry, so the place they slept were dry.’

(46) Inja inai manggun ansui sukara bo suyobo
 Inja inai manggun an-sui su-kara bo su-obo
 so girls beautiful GIV-Det-Du 3Du-think and 3Du-say

da	snon	manggunya	da	beyenf	ro	snon	manggunsui
da	snon	manggun-ya	da	be-enef	ro	snon	manggun-sui
perhaps	man	handsome-Det	perhaps	Rel-sleep	at	man	handsome-Det.Du

beyenf	ro/	yarya	an-su-i#
be-enef	ro	yar-ya	an-sui
Rel-sleep	at	mattress-Det	GIV-Det.Du

‘So the two beautiful woman thought and said ‘perhaps the handsome man who slept at... the two handsome men who slept at the mattress’

(47) Inja suwarpon yaro/ besnai ma besyor ansui#
 Inja su-warpon yar-o be-snai ma be-syor an-sui
 So 3-Du-compete mattress-o Rel-light and Rel-dry GIV-Det.Du

‘So they competed for the two mattress which were light and dry.’

(48)	Mboi	bine/	bin	bebabar	anine
	Mboi	bin-ine	bin	be-babar	an-ine
	But	woman-this	woman	Rel-scabies	GIV-this

ryafa	kyonuso/	kyon	do	yaro/
ra- -y- - fa	kon- -y- us-o	kon-y--	ro	yar-O
move-3SG- -to	sit- -3SG- -with- O	sit-3SG--	at	mattress

snon	manggun	ani/	Anenf	byedi#
snon	manggun	an-i	Anenf	be-y--di
man	handsome	GIV-Det	Anenf	POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG

‘But this woman, the scabies woman went to sit at the mattress the handsome man, Anenf’s (mattress)’

(49)	Roma	anskoya	skosunmrum/	inai	anskoya
	Roma	an-skoya	sco-sun-mrum	inai	an-skoya
	Young man	GIV-Det.TR	3PCL-enter- inside	girls	GIV-Det.TR

skokon	skomame#
sco-kon	sco-mam-e
3PCL-sit	3PCL-see

‘The three young men went inside, the three girls were sitting and looking’

(50)	Muraido/	Inandei/	Inggumiboi/	sukofn	bo	suyobo/	o.....
	Muraido	Inande-i	Inggumibo-i	su-kofen	bo	su-obo	o...
	Then	Inande-FOC	Inggumibo-FOC	3Du-speak	and	3Du-say	oh...

mbo	Binwan	au	ma	nwaps	babo#
mbo	Binwan	au	ma	napes-w--	ba-bo
but	Binwan	2SG	FOC	perfect-2SG--	not-but

‘Then, Inande, Inggumibo, spoke and said “Ohh, but you Binwan, you’re not perfect”

(51)	snon	manggunyai	buk	yandi#
	snon	manggun-ya-i	buk- -w-	i-an-i
	man	handsome-Det-	marry - -w-	3SG-GIV-Det

“the handsome man, you’ll marry”

(52) Do Binwan dobe mboi insandi mumewr mukon
 Do Binwan d-obe mboi insandi mu-mewer mu-kon-
 Then Binwan 3SG-say but a moment ago 2Du-dislike 2Du-sit

do yarinendi kukru muyobo myandumkri#
 do yar-ine-ndi kukru mu-obo mandumk- -y- -ri
 at mattress-3SG-this-Det because 3Du-say wet-3SG-be

‘Then Binwan said “But a moment ago you did not like to sit on this mattress because you said, it’s wet.”

(53) inja mambekanaek anskoine skobuk inai/ anskoine
 inja mambekanaek an-skoine sko-buk inai an-skoine
 so brothers GIV-this.PCL 3PCL-marry girls- GIV-this.PCL

ma skokaparo/ myos Byak ine#
 ma sko-kapar-o myos Byak ine
 and 3PCL-give birth island Biak this

‘So the three brothers got married with the three girls and they gave birth to the Biak island’

(54) Ma myos Byak ine snonggakuyo skapardoisya
 ma myos Byak ine snonggaku-o s-kapar-ro-i-sya
 and island Biak this people 3PL-give birth-at-3SG-Det.PL.AN

randakya keretya iso rumbiak
 randak-ya keret-ya iso rumbiak
 first-Det clan-Det 3SG-be rumbiak

‘and on this Biak island, the people (who) gave birth on it, the first clan was Rumbiak’

(55) keret ine ryoyu Manurn iwa Msirnboi#
 keret ine ro-y- -U Manurn iwa Msirn-bo-i
 clan this at-3SG-- Manurn there Msirn-top-Det

‘This clan lived at that Manurn, on top of the Msirn.’

(56) ma robaboi sibarbor ma/ ssae be swan
 ma robaboi si-barbor ma s-sae be swan
 and but 3PL.AN-do bad things and 3PL.AN-go out to sea

ma	smam	randako	pimami#
ma	s-mam	randak-o	pimam-i
and	3PL.AN-see	first	Sea cucumber-Det

‘However, they did bad things and went out towards the sea and saw sea cucumber for the first time’

(57)	Muraido	sano	pimam	anya	ma/
	Muraido	s-an-o	pimam	an-ya	ma
	so	3PL.AN-eat-O	sea cucumber	GIV-Det	and

simaker	besisye#
si-maker	besisye
3PL.AN-itchy	separately

‘So they ate the sea cucumber and each of them was itchy’

(58)	Nja	srobur	rum	anya	rao/
	Nja	s-ro-bur	rum	an-ya	rao
	So	3PL.AN-die-leave	house	GIV-Det	until

awaksya	semer#
awak-sya	s-emer
orphan-Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-alone

‘So they died and left the house until (only) the orphans who were alone (stayed at the house)’

(59)	Ndo	awak	ansi	beyenfro	rumyansi#
	Ndo	awak	an-s-i	be-yenf-ro	rum-ya-an-si
	Thus	orphan	GIV-3PL.AN-FOC	Rel-sleep-at	house-Det-GIV-Det.PL.AN

‘Thus, the orphans who lived at the house’

(60)	Inja	sori	be	Rumawak#
	Inja	s-or-i	be	Rumawak
	so	3PL.AN-3SG	as	Rumawak

‘So they called it Rumawak clan’

(61)	Do	siyawerma	simakrja/	sor
	Do	si-ya-wer-ma	si-makr-ja	s-or
	Then	3PL.AN-other-again	3PL.AN-itchy-so	3PL.AN-call

si	beyo	Makmaker#
si	be-yo	Makmaker
3PL.AN	as	Makmaker

‘Then, others were also itchy so they called them as Makmaker clan’

(62)	Bedawr	sine	sibur	besisye#
	Bedawr	si-ne	si-bur	besisye
	Rel- remaining	this. PL.AN-	3PL.AN-left	separately

‘(The one) that were remained left separately’

(63)	Siburma	insape/	beburda	bebark	royo/	beyom	mob
	si-bur-ma	insape	be-bur-da	be-bark	ro-o	be-yom	mob
	3PL.AN-leave-here	then	Rel-left-to	Rel-stay	at	Rel-clear	place

bebe masnmasn na	ma	befur	rum	ronansya
be-be-masnmasn na	ma	be-fur	rum	ro-na-an-sya
Rel-become - grass	and	Rel-build	house	at-3PL.INAN-GIV-Det. PL.AN

ido	sker	be	kereto/	Masnandifu#
ido	s-ker	be	keret-o	Masnandifu
	3PL.AN-descend	as	clan-o	Masnandifu

‘‘They came here/ those who left to stay at, who clear the grass field and who build the house on it descended as Masnandifu clan’

(64)	Bebur	da	eberyar	ro	masosnya
	be-bur	da	ebe-ryar	ro	masosn-ya
	Rel-left	there	Rel-go around	at	masosn tree-Det

fwardisya	sker	beyo/	Masosendifu#
fwardi-sya	s-ker	be-O	Masosendifu
stem-Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-descend	as	Masosendifu

‘Those, who left, who went around the trunk of the Masosn tree descended as Masosendifu clan’

(65)	Do	bebur	pdef	murasya	sibur	da/
	Do	be-bur	pdef	mu-ra-s-ya	si-bur	da
	Then	Rel-left	straight	Dir-go-Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-left	there
	sker	be	Wanmari#			
	s-ker	be	Wanma-i			
	3-descend	as	Wanma-FOC			

‘Then, (the one) who went straight there descended as Wanma clan’

(66)	nggukro	bekerbe	Wanma	ine	ido/
	nggukro	be-ker-be	Wanma	ine	ido
	because	Rel-descend-as	Wanma	this	FOC
	kyurpumo	pimami#			
	kurpum-y--O	pimam-I			
	point at-3SG-- O	sea cucumber-Det			

‘because (the one) who descended as Wanma pointed at the sea cucumber’

(67)	ikofno/	bebema	beyobo	dakanya
	i-kofen-o	be-be-ma	be-obo	d-ak-an-ya
	3SG-say-o	Rel-give-here	Rel-say	3SG-also-eat-Det
	bo	do	bo	wan ma#
	bo	d-obo	w-an-ma	
	and	3SG-say	2SG-eat-just	

‘He said/ (the one) who came here to eat and said “just eat”.

(68)	Robarariso	iburda	kyer	be	Wanmari#
	Robarariso	i-bur-da	ker-y--	be	Wanma-i
	Therefore	3SG-left-to	descend-3SG--	as	Wanma-FOC

‘Therefore, he left to descend as Wanma’

(69)	inja	ebe	makmakr	sine	bansibur/
	inja	e-be	makmakr	si-ne	bar-an-si-bur
	so	Rel-become	itchy	3PL.AN.this	part- GIV-Det.PL.AN-leave

sker	be	Makere#
s-ker	be	Maker-e
3PL.AN-descend	as	Maker

‘Thus, part of the ones who became itchy left to descend as Maker clan

(70)	Siya	siburfa	roinoma	san	ba	muraido/
	Si-ya	si-bur-fa	roino-ma	s-an	ba	muraido
	3PL.AN-other	3PL.AN-left- for	things-for	3PL.AN-eat	not	so

sanggandarek
s-an-kandarek
3PL.AN-eat-*kandarek* fruit

‘The others left (but) there were nothing to eat so they ate Kandarek fruit’

(71)	Sorsi	be	Andarek#
	S-or-si	be	Andarek
	3PL.AN-call-3PL.AN	as	Andarek

‘They call them as Andarek’

(72)	fa	sispuri#
	fa	si-spur-i
	for	3PL.AN-back-FOC

‘for they are there’

(73)	Inja	fawar	ine	iswara	kaker#
	Inja	fawar	ine	i-s-wa-ra	kaker
	so	story	this	3SG-be-there-towards	still

‘So the story still continues’

(74)	mboi	mob	ryampon	imnai
	mboi	mob	ra- -y- -m- pon	i-mnai
	but	place	move-3SG- towards here -front	3SG-stop

roya irya#
 ro-ya i-irya
 at-Det 3SG-be

‘But that is where it comes to and end’

(75) Ma insape insamaido Byak koine kokfawiyo/ kokame
 Ma insape insamaido Byak koine ko-k-fawi-o ko-kam-e
 and therefore in order that Biak this.1PL 1PL-give-know 3PL-all

koroiso/ mob oser#
 ko-ro-iso mob oser
 3PL-at-be place one

‘and therefore, We, the Biak people could use (it/ the story) to know that all of us were from one place’

(76) Koroi mob oser boi/ barburo kobur besisyé
 Ko-roi mob oser boi barbur-o ko-bur besisyé
 1PL-at place one but departure-o 1PL-left separate

ine/ Pimam ine byebeyan ma/ sinan
 ine/ Pimam ine bebe-y--an ma/ sinan
 this sea cucumber this PASSIVE-3SG-eat and parents

sine simakrya iso kobur besisyé mano
 sine si-markr-ya iso ko-bur besisyé ma-o
 this.PL.AN 3PL.AN-itchy-Det therefore 1PL-left separate until/and

korama insape kokar besisyé keret
 ko-ra-ma insape ko-kar besisyé keret
 1PL-go-here then 1PL-break separate clan

nanefani#
 nane-fa-I
 this. PL.INAN-this-towards target-Det

‘We lived at one place but the departure, we left each other separately, the sea cucumber was eaten and the parents were itchy, therefore, we left each other separately until we came here and we broke apart the clans’

(77) Inja fawar ine mob ryampon
Inja fawar ine mob ra- -y- -m pon
So story this place move-3SG- -towards here- front

imnai roiri#
i-mnai ro-i-ri
3SG-finish at-3SG-there

‘So the story ends there’

Text 2

FAFYAR BEBA MANARMAK'RDI
“The great story of Manarmakeri”

Text in Biak : Arnold Clemens Ap (the late)
Age: 40
Dialect of Biak: Mandori (Numfor Island)
Date: 1977
Location: Cenderawasih University, Jayapura-West Papua

Audio Recording:
Narrator : Bernece Mofu
Age : 55
Dialect of Biak: Mandori (Numfor Island)
Date : Friday, 22 October 2005 at 09.00am
Location: Nyampun village, East Biak

Introduction by Bernece Mofu⁵:

(1)	ras	ine	ras		Jumat	
	ras	i-ne	ras		Jumat	
	day	3SG-this	day		Friday	
ras	samfur	di	suru	sesr	di	suru
ras	samfur	di	suru	sesr	di	suru
day	ten	Num.link	two	plus	Num.link	two
ro	paik	<i>Oktober</i>			<i>tahun</i>	
ro	paik	October			tahun	
at	month	October <loan/English>			year	
syaran	di	suru	sesr	di	fyak	
syaran	di	suru	sesr	di	fyak	
thousand	Num.Link	two	plus	Num.Link	four	
oras	ri	war	arwo	babo#		
oras	ri	war	arwo	babo		
hour	at	nine	morning	new		

‘Today is the twenty second of October, two thousand and four, at nine o’clock early morning’

(2)	rofyoru	yafafyar	baimé
	ro-fyor-u	ya-fafyar	baim-e
	at-time- U(INDEF)	1SG-tell-	not yet-E (INDEF)

yakofenbadir	manggundaya	snori
ya-kofen-badir	manggund-aya	sno-ri
1SG-mention-reveal	self-1SG	name-1SG.POSS.DET

‘Before I tell the story, I introduce myself’

(3)	isoine	binsar	B Mofu	ro mnu	Nyampun
	i-iso-ine	binsar	B Mofu	ro mnu	Nyampun
	3SG-be-this.SG	old woman	B Mofu	at village	Nyampun

⁵ Bernece Mofu is Arnold Ap’s aunt. She is from Mandori Numfor and lives in Orwer village, East Biak district.

sup Byaki bar Wamurem
 sup Byak-i bar Wam-urem
 land Biak-FOC part wind-East
 “It is this Mrs B Mofu from Nyampun village (in the) East part of Biak Island”

(4) yamarisn kaku yakfafyaru fafyar beba bero
 ya-marisen kaku y-ak-fafyar-u fafyar be-ba be-ro
 1SG-happy very 1SG-also-tell-U(INDEF) story Rel-big Rel-at

sup Papua ine
 sup Papua ine
 land Papua this

‘I am very happy to tell the big story of this Papuan land’

(5) Fafyar ine byeknam kaku ro mnu Sopen
 fafyar i-ne be- -y- knam kaku ro mnu Sopen
 story 3SG-this verbl- -3SG- tree/source very at village Sopen

ro sup Byaki bar Wambarek
 ro sup Byak-i bar Wam-barek
 at land Biak-FOC part wind-West
 “This story is originally from Sopen village, West Biak”

(6) isoine fafyar beba Mananarmakrdi
 i-iso-ine fafyar be-ba Mananarmakrdi
 3SG-be-this.SG story Rel-big Mananarmakrdi
 “This is the big story of Mananarmakeri”

FAFYAR BEBA MANARMAK'RDI⁶

Fafyar be-ba Manarmakrdi
story Rel-big Manarmakeri
“The great story of Manarmakeri”

*Yawi Nusyado bye Manarmak'rdi (Manarmakeri)*⁷

- (1) Yawi Nusyado bye Manarmak'rdi
Yawi Nusyado be- -y- Manarmak'r-di
Yawi Nusyado become- -3SG- Manarmak'r – Det.SG

“Yawi Nusyado became the Manarmakeri”

- (2) Snon oso ro mnu Sopen snori Yawi Nusyado
Snon oso ro mnu Sopen sno-ri Yawi Nusyado
man one at village Sopen name-POSS.3SG.Det.SG Yawi Nusyado

“A man in Sopen village's name was Yawi Nusyado”

- (3) Yawi Nusyado dom yaf ya ro urek bero
Yawi Nusyado d-om yaf ya ro urek be-ro
Yawi Nusyado 3SG-clear the land garden Det.SG at hill Rel-at

mnu Sopen bande ya bori
mnu Sopen ba-nde ya bo-ri
village Sopen side-landward Det.SG top-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

“Yawi Nusyado cleared a garden land at the hill which was located at the top of landward of the Sopen village”

⁶ This story of Manarmakeri was written in Biak by Arnold Clemens Ap and was published in Hans Marthin Thimme: Some Notes on the Myth of Koreri (*IRIAN Vol. VI, 1977*). Except for the linguistic analysis, the transcript spelling of the story remains the same as the original document published in Hans Marthin Thimme: Some Notes on the Myth of Koreri (*IRIAN Vol. VI, 1977*). Each sentence is numbered for the research purposes.

⁷ Manarmakrdi or Manarmakeri is the story of a famous scabies-man in the history of Biak. The name Manarmakrdi or Manarmakeri comes from *man* “bird”, *armaker* “scabies” and *i* “Det.SG” which means “the scabies-man”

(4) dom yaf an ya ra ibro ifrom
 d-om yaf an ya ra i-bro i-from
 3SG-clear the land garden GIV Det.SG until 3SG-complete 3SG-clean

i ma ikun i ra imnai kyer i
 i ma i-kun i ra i-mnai ker- -y- i
 3SG and 3SG-burn 3SG until 3SG-finish plant- -3SG- 3SG

kuker japan , ifen ma bakdi.
 kuker japan, ifen ma bakdi
 with taro, tuber and pumpkin

“He cleared the garden land until it was completed, he cleared it and burnt it, then he planted it with taro, tuber, and pumpkin”

(5) Ro fyor ro kaker na nasur kwar
 ro fyor ro kaker na na-sur kwar
 at time things plant Det.PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-grow already

Yawi Nusyado ifrur ayar ya fa idwark yaf ya
 Yawi Nusyado i-frur ayar ya fa i-dwark yaf ya
 Yawi Nusyado 3SG-make fence Det.SG to 3SG-protect garden Det.SG

insama randip sya san awer rokaker na.
 insama randip sya s-an awer rokaker na
 so pig Det.PL.AN 3PL.AN-eat not plant Det.PL.INAN

“When the plants had grown, Yawi Nusyado made a fence to protect the garden so the pigs would not eat the plants”

(6) Yawi Nusyado imarisen kaku snar myam japan, ifen
 Yawi Nusyado i-marisen kaku snar mam- -y- japan, ifen
 Yawi Nusyado 3SG-happy very because see- -3Sg- taro, tuber

ma bakdi byanna nasur pyum
 ma bakdi be- -y- an-na na-sur pyum
 and pumpkin POSS- -3SG- GIV- Det.PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-grow good

“Yawi Nusyado was very happy because he saw his taro, tuber, and pumpkins grew well”

(7)	Fyoro	ba	Yawi Nusyado	myam	randip	ya	dan
	fyoro	ba	Yawi Nusyado	mam- -y-	randip	ya	d-an
	long	not	Yawi Nusyado	see- -3SG-	pig	Det.SG	3SG-eat

yaf byani
yaf be- -y- an- i
garden POSS- -3SG- GIV- Det.SG

“Not long after Yawi Nusyado saw a pig ate his garden”

(8)	Yawi Nusyado	imbran	syewar	yar	ayar	ya	fama
	Yawi Nusyado	i-mbran	sewar- -y-	yar	ayar	ya	fama
	Yawi Nusyado	3SG-walk	search- -3SG-	around	fence	Det.SG	however

myam	pak	robaido	wongkir	o	ryo	ayar	ya	ba
mam- -y-	pak	robaido	wongkir	o	ro- -y-	ayar	ya	ba
see- -3SG-	space	or	hole	O	at- -3SG-	fence	Det.SG	not

“Yawi Nusyado walked (and) searched around the fence but he did not see any space or hole”

(9)	Ras-ras	randip	ya	dan	ker	yaf	ya
	ras-ras	randip	ya	d-an	ker	yaf	ya
	day-day	pig	Det.SG	3SG-eat	continuously	garden	Det.SG

isof	Yawi Nusyado	fyafayaf	kaku	mura	kyara	fa	ibe
isof	Yawi Nusyado	fafayaf- -y-	kaku	mura	kara- -y-	fa	i-be
until	Yawi Nusyado	bored- -3SG-	very	thus	think- -3SG-	to	3SG-want

isin	randip	ya	fa	myun	i
i-sin	randip	ya	fa	mun- -y-	i
3SG-catch	pig	Det.SG	to	kill- -3SG-	3SG

“Every day the pig ate the garden until Yawi Nusyado got fed up therefore he thought he wanted to catch the pig and kill it”

(10) ro rob ya Yawi Nusyado dun makbak byedi
 ro rob ya Yawi Nusyado d-un makbak be- -y- di
 at night Det.SG Yawi Nusyado 3SG-take spear POSS- -3SG- Det.SG

ma rya isin randip an ya ro yaf
 ma ra- -y- i-sin randip an ya ro yaf
 and move- -3SG- 3SG-search pig GIV Det.SG at garden

andir ya
 andir ya
 side Det.SG

“At one night Yawi Nusyado took his spear and wanted to catch the pig beside the garden”

(11) ro rob ri fandu Yawi Nusyado ryowr randip
 ro rob ri fandu Yawi Nusyado rowr- -y- randip
 at night Det.SG middle Yawi Nusyado hear- -3SG- pig

an ya bye rakrok ro yaf ya dori
 an ya be- -y- rakrok ro yaf ya do-ri
 GIV Det.SG make- -3SG- noise at garden Det.SG inside-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

“In the middle of the night Yawi Nusyado heard the pig make noise inside the garden”

(12) Yawi Nusyado fyaku randip anya ro ayar andir
 Yawi Nusyado faku- -y- randip an-ya ro ayar andir
 Yawi Nusyado peep- -3SG- pig GIV-Det.SG at fence side

ya isof myam pduk kaku i insape syo
 ya isof mam- -y- pduk kaku i insape so- -y-
 Det.SG until see- -3SG- good very 3SG then throw- -3SG-

makbak byani ra kyur ro randip ani
 makbak be- -y- an- i ra kur- -y- ro randip an-i
 spear POSS- -3SG- GIV- Det.SG there stab- -3SG- at pig GIV-Det.SG

“Yawi Nusyado peeped at the pig at the side of the fence till he saw it very well, then, he threw his spear there (towards the pig), (and) it stabbed the pig”

(13)	Bape	rofyor	makbak	ya	kyur	do	randip	an
	bape	ro-fyor	makbak	ya	kur- -y-	ro	randip	an
	but	at-time	spear	Det.SG	stab- -3SG-	at	pig	GIV
	ya	Yawi Nusyado		ikander	kaku	snar	ryowr	
	ya	Yawi Nusyado		i-kander	kaku	snar	rowr- -y-	
	Det.SG	Yawi Nusyado		3SG-surprise	very	because	hear- -3SG-	
	randip	an	ya	dar	ba	boi		
	randip	an	ya	d-ar	ba	boi		
	pig	GIV	Det.SG	3SG-scream	not	but		
	dawos	be	snonggaku		dobe		“yamnai”	
	d-awos	be	snonggaku		d-obe		ya-mnai	
	3SG-speak	as	human being		3SG-say		1SG-finish	

“But when the spear stabbed the pig, Yawi Nusyado was really surprised because he heard the pig did not scream but spoke like human being, it said “I finish””

(14)	Meser	ya	ido	Yawi Nusyado	rya	syewar	
	meser	ya	ido	Yawi Nusyado	ra- -y-	sewar- -y-	
	dawn	Det.SG	FOC	Yawi Nusyado	move- -3SG-	search- -3SG-	
	randip	an	ya	weur	byena	insama	
	randip	an	ya	weur	be- -y -na	insama	
	pig	GIV	Det.SG	footprint	POSS- 3SG- Det.PL.INAN	so	
	iyau	usr	i	fama	myam	randip	weur
	i-yau	usr	i	fama	mam- -y-	randip	weur
	3SG-chase	follow	3SG	but	see- -3SG-	pig	foot print
	no	ba	boi	weur	snonkaku	monda	
	no	ba	boi	weur	snonkaku	monda	
	any	not	but	footprint	human being	only	

“At dawn Yawi Nusyado went to search for the pig’s footprints in order that he could follow it but he did not see any pig’s footprints but only human’s footprints”.

(15) Yawi Nusyado iso monda weur snonkaku ma rik
 Yawi Nusyado i-so monda weur snonkaku ma rik
 Yawi Nusyado 3SG-follow only footprint human being and blood

porm anna isof imbran srof abyab oser
 porm an-na isof i-mbran srof abyab oser
 drop GIV-Det.PL.INAN until 3SG-walk meet/pass cave one

“Yawi Nusyado only followed the human’s footprint and the blood drops until he came to a cave”

(16) Yawi Nusyado myam nyan ya isya ipdef ra
 Yawi Nusyado mam- -y- nyan ya i-s-ya i-pdef ra
 Yawi Nusyado see- -3SG- road Det.SG 3SG-be-that 3SG- straight towards

abyab ya dori, mura kyara fa ibe
 abyab ya do-ri mura kara- -y- fa i-be
 cave Det.SG inside-POSS.3SG.Det.SG thus think- -3SG- to 3SG-want

iso pdef mundum be abyab ya dori
 i-so pdef mu-ndum be abyab ya do-ri
 3SG-follow straight DIR-inward to cave Det.SG inside-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

“Yawi Nusyado saw (that) the road is still going towards inside of the cave therefore he thought (that) he wanted to keep following inward inside the cave”

(17) rofyor imbran ew ri suru kyor mundum
 ro-fyor i-mbran ew ri suru kyor mu-ndum
 at-time 3SG-walk step Num.Link two three DIR-inward

Yawi Nusyado imnaf mnggarm ya ifukn i bo dobe
 Yawi Nusyado i-mnaf mnggarm ya i-fukn i bo d-obe
 Yawi Nusyado 3SG-listen voice Det.SG 3SG-ask 3SG and 3SG-say

“Au ido manseisau, wabe rwa beryo ma rosai
 au ido mansei-s-au wa-be ra- -w- be-ryo ma rosai
 2Sg FOC who-be-2SG 2SG-be about to move- -2SG- to-where and what

swewar ya ?”
 sewar- -w- ya
 search- -2SG- Det.SG

“When he walked two three steps inward, Yawi Nusyado heard the voice asking him and saying “You ! Who are you ? Where are you going ? and What are you looking for ?”

(18) Yawi Nusyado imnai ma dores ma ryowr mnggarm
 Yawi Nusyado i-mnai ma d-ores ma rowr- -y- mnggarm
 Yawi Nusyado 3SG-stop and 3SG-stand and listen- -3SG- voice

an ya ikofen wer bo dobe “Wabe wun
 an ya i-kofen wer bo d-obe “wa-be w-un
 GIV Det.SG 3SG-tell again and 3SG-say “2SG-be about to 2SG-take

makbak baniya, imboi ro fyor kwaber ya
 makbak be- -w- an- iya imboi ro fyor kabere- -w- ya
 spear POSS- -2SG- GIV- that but at time return- -2SG- Det.SG

wasusu kuker dokor bedi, insape wabur”
 wa-susu kuker dokor be- -w- di isape wa-bur
 2SG-move backward with back POSS- -2SG- Det.SG then 2SG-leave

“Yawi Nusyado stopped, stood, and listened (to) the voice (which) spoke again and said “You want to take your spear but when you return, you walk backwards then you (may) leave”

(19) Ro diya Yawi Nusyado dakfukun bo dobe “Yafawi
 ro diya Yawi Nusyado d-ak-fukun bo d-obe “Ya-fawi
 at place.that Yawi Nusyado 3SG-also-ask and 3SG-say “1SG-know

na mob yambran ya ba”
 na mob ya-mbran ya ba
 later place 1SG-walk Det.SG not

“At that place Yawi Nusyado also asked (a question) and said “I don’t know where I will go ?”

(20) Mnggarm an ya ikofen wer bo dobe
 mnggarm an ya i-kofn wer bo d-obe
 voice GIV Det.SG 3SG-tell again and 3SG-say

“waso	ma	wufrur	monda	yakofn	kwar	faro	au,
“wa-so	ma	wa-frur	monda	ya-kofn	kwar	faro	au
“2SG-follow	and	2SG-make/do	only	1SG-tell	already	for	2SG

robaido	na	rwosdis	ma	wasapi”
roba-ido	na	rosdis- -w-	ma	wa-sapi”
not-if	will	slip- -2SG-	and	2Sg-fall

“The voice told (Yawi Nusyado) again and said: “You just follow and do (what) I’ve told you”, if not you will slip and fall”

(21)	Ro	diya	Yawi Nusyado	iso	ma	ifrur	ro
	ro	diya	yawi Nusyado	i-so	ma	i-frur	ro
	at	place.that	Yawi Nusyado	3SG-follow	and	3SG-do	thing

mnggarm	ya	ikofn	na
mnggarm	ya	i-kofn	na
voice	Det.SG	3Sg-tell	Det.PL.INAN

“At that place Yawi Nusyado followed and did the things the voice said”

(22)	Ro	fyor	an	ya	Yawi Nusyado	imnaf	snonkaku
	ro	fyor	an	ya	Yawi Nusyado	i-mnaf	snonkaku
	at	time	GIV	Det.SG	Yawi Nusyado	3Sg-hear	human being

sibor	siwor,	simbrif	ma	sibras	befasnai
si-bor	si-wor	si-mbrif	ma	si-bras	be-fasnai
3PL.AN-many	3PL.AN-sing	3PL.AN-laugh	and	3PL.AN-scream	Rel-show

sisya	siryab	naba	kaku
si-s-ya	si-ryab	na-ba	kaku
3PL.AN-be-that	3PL.AN-delighted	3PL.INAN-big	very

“At the time Yawi Nusyado heard many people sang, laughed and screamed that showed that they were very-very delighted”

(23)	Mnggarm	an	ya	ifukn	wer	“wamnaf	mnggarm
	mnggarm	an	ya	i-fukn	wer	“wa-mnaf	mnggarm
	voice	GIV	Det.SG	3SG-ask	again	“2SG-hear	voice

(27) Yawi Nusyado myam babir kako mansar binsar
 Yawi Nusyado mam- -y- babir kako mansar binsar
 Yawi Nusyado see- -3SG- recognize also old man old woman

bemar fyoro kwar sisya kako bape smam
 be-mar fyoro kwar si-s-ya kako bape s-mam
 Rel-die long time already 3PL.AN-be-that also but 3PL.AN-look

be bebabo kako
 be be-babo kako
 as Rel-young also

“Yawi Nusyado also saw (and) recognized old men and old women who had died a long time before, they were also there but they also looked young”

(28) Yawi Nusyado myam kam na ra imnai mnggarm
 Yawi Nusyado mam- -y- kam na ra i-mnai mnggarm
 Yawi Nusyado see- -3SG- all 3PL.INAN until 3SG-finish voice

an ya ikofen wer bo dobe “ras beja
 an ya i-kofn wer bo d-obe “ras be- -w- -dya
 GIV Det.SG 3SG-tell again and 3SG-say “day POSS- -2SG-Det.SG

ryama baim fa waksun ro dine rarirya na
 ra- -y- ma baim fa w-ak-sun ro dine rarirya
 move- -3Sg- here not for 2SG-also-enter at place.this therefore will

kwaber wer be sup sasor
 kab- -w- wer be sup sasor
 return- -2SG- again to land suffering

“After Yawi Nusyado saw them all the voice told (him) again and said “Your day has not come yet for you to enter this place, therefore, you will return to the land of suffering”

(29) Ro insanja mam kwar ani koreri irya
 ro insanja mam- -w- kwar an-i koreri i-r-ya
 thing just now see- -2SG- already GIV-Det.SG heaven 3SG-be-that

“The thing you just saw was heaven”

(30) wun makbak bani ma
w-un makbak be- -w- an- i ma
2SG-take spear POSS- -2SG- GIV-Det.SG and

rwamura wabur
ra- -w- -mu- ra wa-bur
move- -2SG- DIR- there 2SG-leave

“Take your spear and leave (go home)!”

(31) Yawi Nusyado dun makbak byanya ba bo
Yawi Nusyado d-un makbak be- -y- an- ya ba bo
Yawi Nusyado 3Sg-take spear POSS- -3SG- GIV- Det.SG not but

ibur monda snar ikak beba ya
i-bur monda snar ikak be-ba ya
3SG-leave only because snake Rel-big Det.SG

isya byarek warek i
i-s-ya barek- -y- warek i
3SG-be-there lie- -3SG- block (over) 3SG

“Yawi Nusyado did not take his spear and just left because a big snake was lying over it”

(32) Yawi Nusyado ibur kuker swaruser bera mura
Yawi Nusyado i-bur kuker swaruser be-ra mu-ra
Yawi Nusyado 3Sg-leave with thought Rel-move DIR-towards there

ker be koreri myam kwar ro abyab ani
ker be koreri mam- -y- kwar ro abyab an-i
continuously to heaven see- -3SG- already at cave GIV-Det.SG

“He went home with thoughts that continuously directed (him) to the heaven he’d already seen in the cave”

(33) rofyor no Yawi Nusyado kyain ker ro manggundi
ro-fyor no Yawi Nusyado kain- -y- ker ro manggund-i
at-time other Yawi Nusyado sit- -3SG- continuously at self-3SG

ma swaruser byena nawayan kam be koreri
ma swaruser be- -y- na na-wayan kam be koreri
and thought POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-wander all to heaven

koreri	befo	kuker	marafrif	baras	raryab	bemnai	ba
koreri	be-fo	kuker	marafrif	baras	raryab	be-mnai	ba
heaven	Rel-full	with	laugh	shout	delight	Rel-finish	not

“At other times Yawi Nusyado continuously sat on his own and his thoughts/mind all wandered to heaven, heaven that is full of laughs, shouts and delight that do not end”

(34)	Fyoro-fyoro		mura	Yawi Nusyado	myam	faduru	baken
	fyoro-fyoro		mura	Yawi Nusyado	mam- -y-	faduru	baken
	long time-long time		thus	Yawi Nusyado	see -3SG-	take care	body

byeja		ba	isof	darmaker
be- -y- dya		ba	isof	d-armaker
POSS- -3SG- Det.SG		not	until	3SG-scabies

“Thus for a long time Yawi Nusyado did not take care of his body until he had scabies”

(35)	Yawi Nusyado	baken	byeja		ifo	armaker	isof
	Yawi Nusyado	baken	be- -y- dya		i-fo	armaker	isof
	Yawi Nusyado	body	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG		3SG- full	scabies	until

kawasa	kam	bero	mnu	Sopen	beba	ma	kasun
kawasa	kam	be-ro	mnu	Sopen	be-ba	ma	kasun
people	all	Rel-at	village	Sopen	Rel-big	and	small

sor	i	be	mansar	Manarmak’rdi
s-or	i	be	mansar	Man-armakr-di
3PL.AN-call	3SG	as	old man	man-scabies-Det.SG

“Yawi Nusyado’s body was full of scabies that all the people who lived in Sopen village, old and young, called him as the old scabby man”

Mananarmak’rdi ibur mnu Sopen

Mananarmak’rdi i-bur mnu Sopen
 Manarmakeri 3SG-leave village Sopen

“Manarmak’rdi left Sopen village”

(36) Ro ras oso mananwir bero mnu Sopen
 ro ras oso mananwir be-ro mnu Sopen
 at day one head Rel-at village Sopen

romawa snon kabor byeja dun maryai ma
 romawa snon kabor be- -y- dya d-un maryai ma
 child male adolescent POSS- -3SG- Det.SG 3SG-take bow and

ikoi byesya bo imbran farma
 ikoi be- -y- sya bo i-mbran fa-r-ma
 arrow POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN and 3SG-walk towards there-towards-here

ro swan andir ya
 ro swan andir ya
 at sea side Det.SG

“one day the son of the village chief of Sopen took his bows and arrows and walked around the seaside”

(37) Fyoro ba myam rarpon manswar ya
 Fyoro ba mam- -y- ra-r-pon manswar ya
 long time not see- -3SG- DIR-towards-front cassowary Det.SG

isar kir be yen andir ma imbran be bosen
 i-sar kir be yen andir ma i-mbran be bosen
 3Sg-come out appear to sand side and 3SG-walk to beach

ya bo iwanda romawa snon kabor an ya
 ya bo iwa-nda, romawa snon kabor an ya
 Det.SG top that.SG-seaward child male adolescent GIV Det.SG

byair fais manswar an ya ro ibe ifrur ya
 bair- -y- fais manswar an ya ro i-be i-frur ya
 watch- 3SG- quietly cassowary bird GIV Det.SG thing 3SG-want 3SG-do Det.SG

“Not long, he saw frontward a cassowary came out (from the forest) to the sandy beach and walked seaward to the beach, the adolescent boy stood up (and) quietly watched the thing that the cassowary wanted to do”

(38) Manswar an ya ryanda imbran
 Manswar an ya ra- -y- nda i-mbran
 Cassowary GIV Det.SG move- -3SG- seaward 3SG-walk

syewar kyon ya ramnai kyain ro kyon
 sewar- -y- kyon ya ra-mnai kain- -y- ro kyon
 search- -3SG- pond Det.SG until-finish sit- -3SG- at pond

an ya dori
 an ya do-ri
 GIV Det.SG inside- POSS.3SG.Det.SG

“ The cassowary went seaward, walked (and) searched the pond after that he sat inside the pond”

(39) Manswar an ya kyain fyoro mnggun ramnai
 manswar an ya kain- -y- fyoro mnggun ra-mnai
 Cassowary GIV Det.SG sit- -3SG- long time little until-finish

dores ma imbran be yen andir besyor iwande
 d-ores ma i-mbran be yen andir be-syor iwa-nde
 3SG-stand and 3SG-walk to sand side Rel-dry that.SG-landward

“The cassowary sat a bit longer, then, he stood up and walked to the dry sand landward”

(40) Ryande ro mob esyor ya kyikr baken
 ra- -y- nde ro mob e-syor ya kikr- -y- baken
 move- -3SG- landward at place Rel-dry Det.SG shake- -3SG- body

byeja ma in kasun mawa bero bur
 be- -y- dya ma in kasun mawa be-ro bur
 POSS- -3SG- Det.SG and fish small various small Rel-at feathers

byesa sisapi ro yen ya bori
 be- -y- sya si-sapi ro yen ya bo-ri
 POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN 3PL.AN-fall at sand Det.SG top-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

“He went landward to the dry area, shook his body, and various small fish that were on his feathers fell on to the sand”

(41) fyoro ba binkabor mnggun bepyum ya dores
 fyoro ba bin-kabor mnggun be-pyum ya d-ores
 long time not female-adolescent small Rel-beautiful Det.SG 3SG-stand

kir ro aibur mawa bero yen andir sya
 kir ro aibur mawa be-ro yen andir sya
 appear at plants various small Rel-at sand side Det.PL.AN

ra kyain israi in mawa an sya ma
 ra kain- -y- i-srai in mawa an sya ma
 along there sit- -3SG- 3SG-collect fish various small GIV Det.PL.AN and

iser si ro inawen ya ramnai dek
 i-ser si ro inawen ya ra-mnai d-ek
 3SG-fill 3PL.AN at traditional bag Det.SG until-finish 3SG-climb

raryas kyain ro manswar an ya dokor ya
 ra-r-yas kain -y- ro manswar an ya dokor ya
 DIR-towards-top sit- -3SG- at cassowary bird GIV Det.SG back Det.SG

ma susun kir be sup ya dori
 ma su-sun kir be sup ya do-ri
 and 3DU-enter through to forest Det.SG inside-POSS.3SG-Det.SG

“Not long one young adolescent woman stood at the little plants (which lie along) the beach (then) she sat (and) collect the various little fish and put them in the basket/bag after that she climbed up to sit at the cassowary’s back and the two entered the bush”

(42) Romawa snon kabor an ya sneri ryo
 Romawa snon kabor an ya sne-ri ro- -y-
 child male adolescent GIV Det.SG stomach-POSS.3SG-Det.SG at- -3SG-

inkabor bepyum manswar ya byanya
 in-kabor be-pyum manswar ya be- -y- an- ya
 woman-adolescent Rel-beautiful cassowary Det.SG POSS- -3SG- GIV-Det.SG

mura ibur pdef be mnu ra isan
 mura i-bur pdef be mnu ra i-san
 therefore 3SG-leave straight to village there 3SG-throw

wos be snon bebor bero mnu ya dori
 wos be snon be-bor be-ro mnu ya do-ri
 word to man Rel-many Rel-at village Det.SG inside-POSS.3SG-Det.SG

imfa	meser	ya	sisasyar	kam	fa	ssai
imfa	meser	ya	si-sasyar	kam	fa	s-sai
so	dawn	Det.SG	3PL.AN-go out	all	to	3PL.AN-surround

wark	ma	sfor	manswar	ya	kuker	inai
wark	ma	s-for	manswar	ya	kuker	inai
over	and	3PL.AN-catch	cassowary	Det.SG	with	girl

inkabor		mnggun	bepyum	kaku	myam	ani
in-kabor		mnggun	be-pyum	kaku	mam -y-	an-i
woman-adolescent		small	Rel-beautiful	very	see- -3SG-	GIV-Det.SG

“ The young man’s heart was on the cassowary’s beautiful young woman so he went straight to the village, gave message to many men who lived in the village in order that the next day they all went out to surround and catch the cassowary with his very beautiful young girl that he had seen”

(43)	Meser	an	ya	fyas	snon	bebor	bero
	Meser	an	ya	f-yas	snon	be-bor	be-ro
	dawn	GIV	Det.SG	towards-top	man	Rel-many	Rel-at

mnu	Sopen	sisasyar	fa	ssewar	manswar	ya	ma
mnu	Sopen	si-sasyar	fa	s-sewar	manswar	ya	ma
village	Sopen	3PL.AN-go out	to	3PL.AN-search	cassowary	Det.SG	and

inai	bin	kabor	mnggun	an	ya	ro	sup
inai	bin	kabor	mnggun	an	ya	ro	sup
girl	woman	adolescent	small	GIV	Det.SG	at	forest

ya	dori
ya	do-ri
Det.SG	inside-POSS.3SG-Det.SG

“ At dawn on-wards many men who lived in Sopen village went out to search the cassowary and the young woman inside the forest”

(44)	Sekayam	bo	ssai	warek	imfama	ono
	s-bekayam	bo	s-sai	warek	imfama	ono
	3PL.AN-gather	and	3PL.AN-surround	over	but	any

sipok	fa	sfor	su	ba
si-pok	fa	s-for	su	ba
3PL.AN-be able	to	3PL.AN-catch	3DU	not

“they gathered and surrounded (the cassowary and the girl) but none of them could catch the two (the cassowary and the girl).

(45)	rarirya	bo	sesewar	ker	snar
	rari-r-ya	bo	se-sewar	ker	snar
	like-be-that	and	3PL.AN-search	continuously	because

mananwir	romawa	snon	kabor	byeja	ikofen	kwar	bo
mananwir	romawa	snon	kabor	be- -y- dya	i-kofen	kwar	bo
head	child	man	adolescent	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG	3SG-tell	already	and

dobe	oso	fyor	manswar	ya	ma	inai	bin
d-obe	oso	for- -y-	manswar	ya	ma	inai	bin
3SG-say	one	catch- -3SG-	cassowary	Det.SG	and	girl	woman

kabor	mnggun	bepyum	ya	fa	byuk	i	ido
kabor	mnggun	be-pyum	ya	fa	buk- -y-	i	ido
adolescent	small	Rel-beautiful	Det.SG	for	marry -3SG-	3SG	if

nari	nya	srar	mnggun	byedi	(mananwir
nari	na- -y-	srar	mnggun	be- -y- di	(mananwir
will	have- -3SG-	sibling of opposite sex	small	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG	(head

ya	inai	kasun	barsa	byedi)
ya	inai	kasun	barsa	be- -y- di
Det.SG	girl	small	youngest	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG

“ It was like that and they continuously searched (for the girl) because the son of the village chief had already told them and said that if any one could catch the cassowary and the beautiful young girl for him to marry, he will have his sister (the youngest daughter of the village chief)”

(46)	Manarmakrdi	ryowr	sasewar	ine	mura	imarisen
	Manarmakrdi	rowr- -y-	sasewar	ine	mura	i-marisen
	Manarmakrdi	hear- -3SG-	search	this.SG	thus	3SG-like

daksewar	pyan
d-ak-sewar	pyan
3SG-also-search	help

“Manarmakrdi heard about this search, thus, he was happy to also help searching (the girl)”

(47)	Fama	kawasa	bero	mnu	ya	sikofn	i		
	Fama	kawasa	be-ro	mnu	ya	si-kofn	i		
	but	people	Rel-at	village	Det.SG	3PL.AN-tell	3SG		
	bo	sobe		“siwara		ma	snon	bepduk	ma
	bo	s-obe		“siwa-ra		ma	snon	be-pduk	ma
	and	3PL.AN-say		“that.PL.AN-there		FOC	man	Rel-handsome	and
	besambrab	ya	derer	bape	sefama		sipokba,		insape
	be-sambrab	ya	derer	bape	s-be-fama		si-pok-ba		insape
	Rel-strong	Det.SG	only	but	3PL.AN-do-but		3PL.AN-be able-not		(and) now
	robar	ebe	mansar	bo	ekriwk	ba	au	ya	
	robar	e-be	mansar	bo	e-kriwk	ba	au	ya	
	person	Rel-become	old man	and	Rel-be valuable	not	2SG	that.SG	
	auso	na	befor	manswar	iwara		au	ya ?	
	au-so	na	be-for	manswar	iwa-ra		au	ya?	
	2SG-be one	will	rel-catch	cassowary bird	that.SG-there		2SG	that.SG?	

“ However, the village people told him and said “those over there were the handsome and the strongmen only, but (whatever) they did, they were not able (to catch the girl) and now you, the person who is old and not worthy, are you the one that would catch the cassowary?”

(48)	Mansar	Manarmakrdi		ryowr		monda	
	Mansar	Manarmakrdi		rowr- -y-		monda	
	old man	Manarmakrdi		listen- -3SG-		just	
	wos	sanna			bo	imbran	user
	wos	s-e-an-na			bo	i-mbran	user
	word	3PL.AN-POSS-GIV-Det.PL.INAN			and	3SG-walk	follow
	snon	bebe	nai	besun	be	sup	ya
	snon	be-be	na	be-sun	be	sup	ya
	man	Rel-be about to	will	Rel-enter	to	forest	Det.SG
	dori,		ma	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	ima	
	do-ri		ma	mansar	Mananarmakrdi	i-ma	
	inside-POSS.3SG.Det.SG		and	old man	Mananarmakrdi	3SG-FOC	

bekor	andir	ya	ma	kyainyofek	ro	kris	knam
be-kor	andir	ya	ma	kain- -y- yofek	ro	kris	knam
Rel-cut	side	Det.SG	and	sit- -3SG- hide	at	banyan tree	tree

ya	fuari
ya	fuari
Det.SG	branch-Det.SG

“The old Mananarmakrdi just listened to their words and he followed the men who went to the forest and the old Mananarmakrdi, however, (took a short) cut to that mangrove side and sat (and) hid in the banyan tree branch”

(49)	fyoro	ba	ryowr	mbrus	beba	ya	ryok
	fyoro	ba	rowr- -y-	mbrus	be-ba	ya	rok- -y-
	long time	not	hear- -3SG-	noise	Rel-big	Det.SG	sound- -3SG-

ro	sup	ya	dori
ro	sup	ya	do-ri
at	forest	Det.SG	inside-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

“Not long he heard a big noise coming from inside the forest”

(50)	snon	ansya	ssai	warek	manswar
	snon	an-sya	s-sai	warek	manswar
	man	GIV-Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-surround	over	cassowary bird

an	ya	su	kwar	fama,	manswar	an	ya
an	ya	su	kwar	fama	manswar	an	ya
GIV	Det.SG	3DU	already	but	cassowary bird	GIV	Det.SG

ifrar	kir	ai	warek	an	ya	ma
i-frar	kir	ai	warek	an	ya	ma
3SG-run	through	wood	blockade	GIV	Det.SG	and

ifrar	ra	kor	andir	iwara,	ma
i-frar	ra	kor	andir	iwa-ra	ma
3SG-run	towards	mangrove	side	that.SG-towards	there and

ifrar	sasar	ra	mob	Manarmakrdi	dof
i-frar	sasar	ra	mob	Manarmakrdi	d-of
3SG-run	mistake	towards	place	Manarmakrdi	3SG-hide

ro	ya,	mura	Manarmakr	dores	fasau	ra
ro	ya	mura	Manarmakr	d-ores	fasau	ra
at	Det.SG	thus	Manarmakr	3SG-stand	quickly	very
byuk		ankyon	byeja		syawer	manswar
buk- -y-		ankyon	be- -y- dya		sawer- -y-	manswar
give- -3SG-		stick	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG		hook- -3SG-	cassowary
an	ya	wemin	byesu	isof	isapi,	
an	ya	wemin	be- -y- su	isof	i-sapi,	
GIV	Det.SG	foot	POSS- -3SG- DET.DU	until	3SG-fall,	
ro	diya	Manarmakr	fyor	inai	bin	kabor
ro	diya	Manarmakr	for- -y-	inai	bin	kabor
at	place.that	Manarmakr	catch- -3SG-	girl	woman	adolescent
mnggun	an	ya				
mnggun	an	ya				
small	GIV	Det.SG				

“ The men had already surrounded the cassowary but the cassowary ran through the blockade and ran towards the mangrove side over there and he mistakenly ran towards the place (where) Manarmakeri hid, thus, Manarmakeri stood so quickly, he used his stick to hook the cassowary’s two legs until he fell down, there Manarmakeri caught the young girl”

(51)	Manswar	anya	dun	kawasa	byesya	
	Manswar	an-ya	d-un	kawasa	be- -y- sya	
	Cassowary	GIV-Det.SG	3SG-take	people	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN	

bo	sibur	be	sup	Yapen,	befnai	babo	ine
bo	si-bur	be	sup	Yapen	be-fnai	babo	ine
and	3SG-leave	to	land	Yapen	Rel-cause	recent	this.SG

manswar	ono	sakro		sup	Biak	ba
manswar	ono	s-ak-ro		sup	Biak	ba
cassowary	any	3PL.AN-also-at	land	Biak	not	

“ The cassowary took his people and went to Yapen island, that’s why today no cassowary is (found) in Biak”

(52)	mansar	Mananarmak’r	dun	inai	bin	kabor	mnggun
	mansar	Mananarmakr	d-un	inai	bin	kabor	mnggun
	old man	Mananarmakr	3SG-take	girl	woman	adolescent	small

manswar	ya	byani		ma	ryir	faro
manswar	ya	be- -y- an-i		ma	rir- -y-	faro
cassowary	Det.SG	POSS- -3SG- GIV-Det.SG		and	hand over- -3SG-	for

mananwir	ya	romawa	snon	kabor	byanya
mananwir	ya	romawa	snon	kabor	be- -y- an-ya
village head	Det.SG	child	man	adolescent	POSS- -3SG- GIV-Det.SG

fa	byuk	i
fa	buk- -y-	i
for	marry- -3SG-	3SG

“The old Manarmakeri took the cassowary’s young girl and handed her over to the village chief’s son to marry her”

(53)	Ro	bemnis	ba	faro	Mananarmak’rdi	isoine	mananwir
	ro	be-mnis	ba	faro	Mananarmakrdi	i-iso-ine	mananwir
	thing	Rel-suitable	not	for	Mananarmakrdi	3SG-be-this	village head

ya	romawa	snon	kabor	byani		bye
ya	romawa	snon	kabor	be- -y- an-i		be- -y-
Det.SG	child	man	adolescent	POSS- -3SG- -GIV-Det.SG		do- -3SG-

ra	wos	ikofen	kwar	an	ya	ba,
ra	wos	i-kofen	kwar	an	ya	ba
like	word	3SG-tell	already	GIV	Det.SG	not

boi	randip	ri		byuk	be	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi
boi	randip	ri		buk- -y-	be	mansar	Mananarmakrdi
but	pig	Det.SG		give- -3SG-	to	old man	Mananarmakrdi

mura	Mananarmak’rdi	bye		randip	an	ya	fa
mura	Mananarmakrdi	be- -y-		randip	an	ya	fa
thus	Mananarmakrdi	give- -3SG-		pig	GIV	Det.SG	for

keret	ma	kawasa	byesya		smun	i
keret	ma	kawasa	be- -y- sya		s-mun	i
clan	and	people	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN		3PL.AN-kill	3SG

sikun	i	insama	skan	kam	e
si-kun	i	insama	sk-an	kam	e
3PL.AN-cook	3SG	so	3PAUCAL-eat	all	E

“The thing which was not good/suitable for Manarmakeri was this; the village chief’s son did not do (things) as the words he had said but the pig that he gave to the old Manarmakeri. Thus, Manarmakeri gave the pig for his clan and his people to kill it (and) cook it so they all could eat it”.

(54)	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	kawasa	byansya	sra
	mansar	Mananarmakrdi	kawasa	be- -y- an-sya	s-ra
	old man	Mananarmakrdi	people	POSS- -3SG-GIV-Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-move

sun	aimun,	robeyan	ma	bakdi	ram
s-un	aimun	robeyan	ma	bakdi	ram
3PL.AN-take	fire wood	food	and	pumpkin	leaf

ro	yaf	byani
ro	yaf	be- -y- an-i
at	garden	POSS- -3SG-GIV-Det.SG

“The old Manarmakeri’s people went to take fire wood, food, and pumpkins’s leaves from his garden”

(55)	smun	randip	ani	ma	sbarapn	i
	s-mun	randip	an-i	ma	s-barapn	i
	3PL.AN-kill	pig	GIV-Det.SG	and	3PL.AN-roast	3SG

kuker	robeyan	ma	wei	bebor	sun	kwar
kuker	robeyan	ma	wei	be-bor	s-un	kwar
with	food	and	vegetables	Rel-many	3PL.AN-take	already

ro	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	yaf	byani
ro	mansar	Mananarmakrdi	yaf	be- -y- an-I
at	old man	Mananarmakrdi	garden	POSS- -3SG- GIV-Det.SG

“They killed the pig and roasted it with food and vegetables they had taken from the old Manarmakeri’s garden”

(56)	apen	an	ya	myas	ido	kawasa	ansya
	apen	an	ya	mas- -y-	ido	kawasa	an-sya
	roast	GIV	Det.SG	cook- -3SG-	when	people	GIV-Det.PL.AN

san	pres			robeyan,	wei	ma	randip
s-an	pres			robeyan	wei	ma	randip
3PL-eat	everything (no remaining left)			food	vegetable	and	pig

ker	sya	fa	sibro		bur	mansar	Mananarmak'rdi
ker	sya	fa	si-bro		bur	mansar	Mananarmakrdi
part	Det.PL.AN	for	3PL.AN-gone		leave	old man	Mananarmakrdi

“When the roasted food cooked., the people ate all food, vegetables, and pig meats until they (all) gone from the old Manarmakeri”

(57)	Ro	diya	mansar	Mananarmak'rdi	imsor	kawasa
	Ro	diya	mansar	Mananarmakrdi	i-msor	kawasa
	at	place.that	old man	Mananarmakrdi	3SG-angry	people

byansi			ma	ryir	ibur	mnu	Sopen
be- -y- an-si			ma	rir- -y-	i-bur	mnu	Sopen
POSS- -3SG-GIV-Det.PL.AN			and	leave- -3SG-	3SG-leave	village	Sopen

mnu	iswar,	fama	kawasa	byesya		sesyowi
mnu	i-swar	fama	kawasa	be- -y- sya		s-besyowi
village	3SG-love	but	people	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN		3PL.AN-respect

i	ba
i	ba
3Sg	not

“At that place the old Manarmakeri got angry with his people and he left, he left Sopen, the village that he loved but his people did not love him”

Mananarmak’rdi marandan byedi

Mananarmak’rdi marandan be- -y- di
 Manarmakeri travel POSS- -SG- -Det.SG

*“Manarmakeri’s trip”***Mananarmak’rdi barbur byedi**

Mananarmak’rdi barbur be- -y- di
 Manarmakeri departure POSS- -SG- -Det.SG

“Manarmakeri’s departure”

(58) mansar Mananarmak’rdi iswar kaku mnu byedi
 mansar Mananarmak’rdi i-swar kaku mnu be- -y- di
 old man Manarmakeri 3SG-love very village POSS- -3SG- Det.Sg

Sopen mnu iba ro, ma bo saneraro byedi
 Sopen mnu i-ba ro ma bo saneraro be- -y- di
 Sopen village 3SG-big at, and but heart POSS- -3SG- Det.SG

mob damom ro ma mob iwan randip ya
 mob d-amom ro ma mob i-wan randip ya
 place 3SG-make garden at and place 3SG-stab pig Det.SG

fa ikofen wos “yamnai” mura manggundi dor
 fa i-kofen wos “ya-mnai” mura manggund-i d-or
 to 3SG-tell word “1SG-finish” thus self-3SG 3SG-call

bo anya be Yamnaibori
 bo an-ya be Ya-mnai-bo-ri
 top GIV-Det.SG as 1SG-finish-top-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

“The old Manarmakeri loved his village Sopen very much, the village (where) he grew up, and but his heart (was on) the place he made a garden and stabbed the pig and it said the words “I finished”, therefore he himself called the top (of the hill) as Yamnaibori (“The top (of the hill where) I finished”).”

(59) iswar kawasa byesi kako fama
 i-swar kawasa be- -y- si kako fama
 3SG-love people POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN also but

armaker byesya sifnai fa manggundi
 armaker be- -3SG- sya si-fnai fa manggund-i
 scabies POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN 3PL.AN-cause to self-3SG

kawasa	byena		sikofen	i	ma
kawasa	be- -y- na		si-kofen	i	ma
people	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.INAN		3PL.AN-talk	3SG	and

sesyowi	i	ba
s-besyowi	i	ba
3PL-respect	3SG	not

“He loved his people too, however, his scabies made (him) so his own people talked (about) him and did not respect him”

(60)	kawasa	byesya		sakfawi	sawarwar
	kawasa	be- -y- sya		s-ak-fawi	sawarwar
	people	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN		3PL.AN-also-know	love

ba,	snar	san	rokaker	bebor	byena
ba,	snar	s-an	rokaker	be-bor	be- -y- na
not,	because	3PL.AN-eat	plant	Rel-many	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.INAN

ma	randip	byedi
ma	randip	be- -y- di
and	pig	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG

“His people also did not know (how to) love, because they ate many of his plants and his pig”

(61)	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	nya	roi	no	bese	ba
	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	na- -y-	roi	no	bese	ba
	old man	Manarmakeri	have- -3SG-	thing	any	other	not

kwar,	roi	bedawer	ya	isoi	ainkyon
kwar	roi	be-dawer	ya	i-iso-i	ainkyon
already,	thing	Rel-remain	det.SG	3SG-be-that.SG	stick

byeja		ma	wai	kabasya	mnggun	yas
be- -y- dya		ma	wai	kabasya	mnggun	yas
POSS- -3SG- det.SG		and	canoe	kabasya ⁸	small	top

⁸ This is the name of a type of a canoe.

bedawu	kwar	ya	suirya	kwar
be-dawr	kwar	ya	sui-r-ya	kwar
Rel-remain	already	det.SG	3DU-be-that	only

“The old Manarmakeri already had not any other things, the remaining things were his stick and his *kabasya* canoe (at the) top”, (they) were the only two (remaining things)”

(62)	ro	fyor	ryaryas		kyain	ro	manggundi	ro
	ro	fyor	ra- -y- r- yas		kain- -y-	ro	manggun-i	ro
	at	time	move- -3SG- towards-	top	sit- -3SG-	at	self-3SG	at

Yamnaibori	ma	swaruser	byena		nawayan
Yamnaibori	ma	swaruser	be- -y- na		na-wayan
Yamnaibori	and	thought	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.INAN		3PL.INAN-wander

kam	be	koreri	myam	kwar	an	ya,	ibur
kam	be	koreri	mam- -y-	kwar	an	ya,	i-bur
all	to	heaven	see- -3SG-	already	GIV	Det.SG,	3SG-leave

fasau	ba	bo	kawasa	byesya
fasau	ba	bo	kawasa	be- -y- sya
quick	not	while	people	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN

san	apen	ya	besiper	bur	i,
s-an	apen	ya	be-siper	bur	i,
3PL-eat	roast	Det.SG	Rel-whole	leave	3SG

imewer	dawos	kuker	robeyan	ma	randip	dakan
i-mewer	d-awos	kuker	robeyan	ma	randip	d-ak-an
3SG-refuse	3SG-speak	with	food	and	pig	3SG-also-eat

ba	boi	isu	monda	wai	kabasya	byani
ba	boi	i-su	monda	wai	kabasya	be- -y- an- i
not	but	3SG-push	just	canoe	kabasya	POSS- -3SG- GIV- Det.SG

“When he sat by himself at Yamnaibori and his thoughts all wandered to the heaven he had seen, he did not leave (went home) quickly while his people ate the roast food all from him, he refused to talk about the food and the pig he did not eat, however, he just pushed his *kabasya* canoe”

(63)	Dun	monda	kabores,	kanarem	ma	ainkyon	byedi
	D-un	monda	kabores	kanarem ⁹	ma	ainkyon	be- -y- di
	3SG-take	only	paddle	water jug	and	stick	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG

⁹ This water jug is usually used to remove water from the canoe

bo	byores	isye	andir	iwara	be	mun	oridek
bo	bores- -y-	i-sye	andir	iwa-ra	be	mun	ori-d-ek
and	row- -3SG-	3SG- -follow	side	that-towards there	to	part	sun-3SG-rise

“He only took a paddle, a water jug and his stick and he rowed on that side to the sun set part”

(64)	ro	fyor	ya	wambraw	ya	iso	mura
	ro	fyor	ya	wam-braw	ya	i-so	mura
	at	time	Det.SG	wind-west	Det.SG	3SG-blow	thus

sorn	ya	imarmer	boken	isof	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	kyara
sorn	ya	i-marmer	boken	isof	mansard	Mananarmak’rdi	kara- -y-
sea	Det.SG	3SG-wave	a bit	until	old man	Manarmakeri	think- -3SG-

fa	byores	pdef	ba	bo	bye	ryar	ro
fa	bores- -3SG-	pdef	ba	bo	be- -y-	ryar	ro
to	row- -3SG-	straight on	not	but	become- -3SG	be at anchor	at

mnu Maundori
mnu Maundori
village maundori

“At the time the west wind blew, therefore, the sea was a bit wavy so the old Manarmakeri thought that he should not row on but he should be at anchor in Maundori village”

(65)	Ro	fyor	ya	bosen	ya	syo	ra
	ro	fyor	ya	bosen	ya	so -y-	ra
	at	time	Det.SG	beach	Det.SG	throw	until

kyur	ramen	ya	ma	sau	o	ba
kur- -y-	ramen	ya	ma	sau	o	ba
touch- -3SG-	deep blue-seawater	Det.SG	and	harbour	o	not

“At the time the tide went down to reach the deep blue-seawater¹⁰ and there was not any harbour”

¹⁰ In Biak when the long low tide season occurs, all the coral reefs, which are usually found under the seawater and which are usually located beside the deep blue-seawater, would appear on the surface and people could walk on them. In (65), it says that it reaches the deep blue-seawater. It means that the low tide reaches the coral reefs near the deep blue-seawater.

(66) mansar Mananarmak'rdi byuk ainkyon byanya
 mansar Mananarmak'rdi buk- -y- ainkyon be- -y- an -ya
 old man Manarmakeri give- -3SG- stick POSS- -3SG- GIV- Det.SG

isrib uk bosen an ya fa mob ya bye sau
 i-srib uk bosen an ya fa mob ya be- -y- sau
 3SG-open cut beach GIV Det.SG to place Det.SG become- -3SG- harbour

ma byors munde ro
 ma bors- -y- mu-nde ro
 and row- -3SG- DIR-landward at

“The old Manarmakeri used his stick to open the beach to became a harbour and he rowed (his canoe) landward”

(67) ro bosen ya bande ri
 ro bosen ya ba-nde ri
 at beach Det.SG side-landward POSS.3SG.DetSG

byuk ainkyon ya ifrur rwaren ya
 buk- -y- ainkyon ya i-frur rwaren ya
 give- -3SG- stick Det.SG 3SG-make bay Det.SG

fa ipyar ro
 fa i-pyar ro
 to 3SG-float at

“at the landward of the beach he used his stick to make a bay for him to be at anchor”.

(68) Snar ro fafisu ya mansar Mananarmak'rdi imbrow
 snar ro fafisu ya mansar Mananarmak'rdi i-mbrow
 because at time Det.SG old man Mananarmakeri 3SG-thirsty

ma war no napyan ba mura byuk ainkyon
 ma war no na-pyan ba mura buk- -y- ainkyon
 and water any 3PL.INAN-available not thus give- -3SG- stick

byani ifrur war ya fa isasyar ro
 be- -y- an -i i-frur war ya fa i-sasyar ro
 POSS- -3SG- GIV- Det.SG 3SG-make water Det.SG to 3SG-come out from

karui	bero	yen	andir	na
karui	be-ro	yen	andir	na
rock	Rel-be at	sand	side	Det.PL.INAN

“Because at that time the old Manarmakeri was thirsty and there was not any water available, therefore, he used his stick to make water to come out from the rock which was located at the side of the sand(y) (beach)”

(69)	war	an	ya	bye	duber	fa	kawasa
	war	an	ya	be- -y-	duber	fa	kawasa
	water	GIV	Det.SG	become- -3SG-	spring	to	people

bebor	mnu	Maundori	sna	be	war	ma	isya
be-bor	mnu	Maundori	s-na	be	war	ma	i-s-ya
rel-many	village	Maundori	3PL.AN-have	as	water	and	3SG-be-there

sor	kaker	i	be	“ war	Mananarmak’rdi”
s-or	kaker	i	be	“war	Mananarmak’rdi”
3PL.AN-call	still	3SG	as	“water	Manarmakeri”

“The water became a spring for many people of Maundori village to have it as (drinking) water, they still call it as Manarmakeri water”

Marandan bera be Mokmeri ma Meokbundi (Meos Wundi)

Marandan	be-ra	be	Mokmeri	ma	Meokbundi	(Meos Wundi)
travel	Rel-move	to	Mokmer	and	Meokbundi	(Island Wundi)

“The trip to Mokmer and Wundi island”

(70)	Ro	fyor	wam	ya	ryir	e	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi
	ro	fyor	wam	ya	rir- -y-	e	mansar	Mananarmakrdi
	at	time	wind	Det.SG	blow- -3SG-	e	old man	Manarmakeri

dek	ro	way	kabasya	mnggun	byani	ma
d-ek	ro	way	kabasya	mnggun	be- -y- an-i	ma
get into	at	canoe	kabasya	small	POSS- -3SG- GIV-Det.SG	and

isye	andir	iwara		be	Samberi
i-sye	andir	iwa-ra		be	Samber-i
3SG-follow	side	that.sg-towards there		to	Samber-FOC

“When the wind blew, the old Manarmakeri got into his small *kabasya* canoe and rowed on that side towards Samber.

(71)	fyanam	be	Samberi	ido	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	daron
	fanam- -y-	be	Samber-i	ido	mansar	Mananarmakrdi	d-aron
	near- -3SG-	to	Samber-FOC	when	old man	Manarmakeri	3SG-swim

fa	myun	inmamen	beba	ya	kuker	ainkyon	benik
fa	mun- -y-	inmamen	be-ba	ya	kuker	ainkyon	be-nik
to	kill- -3SG-	snapper	Rel-big	Det.SG	with	stick	Rel-magic

byani
 be- -y- an-i
 POSS- -3SG-GIV-Det.SG

“When he was near to Samber, the old Manarmakeri swam to catch a big snapper with his magic stick”

(72)	Ibyaun	inmamen	an	ya	ro	wai	kabasya
	i-byaun	inmamen	an	ya	ro	wai	kabasya
	3SG-take	snapper	GIV	Det.SG	at	canoe	kabasya

mnggun	ani	ma	byores	be	rum	manibob	byedi
mnggun	an-i	ma	bores- -y-	be	rum	manibob	be- -y- di
small	GIV-Det.SG	and	row- -3SG-	to	house	friend	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG

ro	mnu	Samberi
ro	mnu	Samber-i
at	village	Samber-FOC

“He took the snapper in the small *kabasya* canoe and rowed to his friend’s house in Samber village”

(73)	skok	inmamen	an	ya	ramnai	sikun	i
	s-kok	inmamen	an	ya	ramnai	si-kun	i
	3PL.AN-cut	snapper	GIV	Det.SG	after that	3PL.AN-cook	3SG

ra	myas	e	san	pres	i	bo	bin
ra	mas- -y-	e	s-an	pres ¹¹	i	bo	bin
until	cooked- -3SG-	e	3PL.AN-eat	the whole fish	3SG	and	woman

ben	rum	ya	dakan	ker	o	ba
be-na	rum	ya	d-ak-an	ker	o	ba
Rel-have	house	Det.SG	3SG-also-eat	little part	O	not

“They cut the snapper then they cooked it until it was cooked; they ate all of it and the woman who owned the house did not have any part of it”

(74)	rofyor	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	ifawi	bin	ya	dakan
	ro-fyor	mansar	Mananarmakr	i-fawi	bin	ya	d-ak-an
	at-time	old man	Manarmakeri	3SG-know	woman	Det.SG	3SG-also-eat

inmamen	ker	o	ba	mura	imai	bo	ibur
inmamen	ker	o	ba	mura	i-mai	bo	i-bur
snapper	little part	O	not	thus	3SG-feel ashamed	and	3SG-leave

mnu	Samberi,	byores	be	mnu	Mokmeri
mnu	Samber-i	bores- -y-	be	mnu	Mokmer-i
village	Samber-FOC	row- -3SG-	to	village	Mokmer-FOC

“When the old Manarmakeri knew (that) the woman did not eat any part of the fish, he felt ashamed and left Samber village, he rowed to Mokmer village”

(75)	ro	mnu	Sorido	banda	ri	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi
	ro	mnu	Sorido	ba-nda	ri	mansar	Mananmakr
	at	village	Sorido	side-seaward	POSS.3SG.Det.SG	old man	Manarmakeri

byuk	ainkyon	benik	byanya	myun	in
buk- -y-	ainkyon	be-nik	be- -y- an-ya	mun- -y-	in
give- -3SG-	stick	Rel-magic	POSS- -3SG- GIV-Det.SG	kill- -3SG-	fish

beba	ya	wer	fa	dun	bo	ibur
be-ba	ya	wer	fa	d-un	bo	i-bur
Rel-big	Det.SG	again	to	3SG-take	and	3SG-leave

¹¹ Nothing (no part of the fish) was left. This applies not only for fish but for other things as well.

snar	napirman	byedi		Padawankan	ro	Mokmeri
snar	napirman	be- -y- di		Padawankan	ro	Mokmer-i
because	cousin	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG		Padawankan	at	Mokmer-FOC

“In the seaward of Sorido village, the old Manarmakeri used his magic stick to catch a big fish again, took (it) and left because his cousin, Padawankan was in Mokmer”

(76)	ro	mnu	Mokmeri	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	iryab
	ro	mnu	Mokmer-i	mansar	Mananarmakrdi	i-ryab
	at	village	Mokmer-FOC	old man	Manarmakeri	3SG-delighted

snar	isrow	ma	fyafyar	us	napirman
snar	i-srow	ma	fafyar- -y-	us	napirman
because	3SG-meet	and	story- -3SG-	with	cousin

byedi		Padawankan,	fyoro	kwar	susrow
be- -y- di		Padawankan	fyoro	kwar	su-srow
POSS- -3SG- Det.SG		Padawankan	long time	already	3DU-meet

su	ba
su	ba
3DU	not

“In Mokmer village, the old Manarmakeri was delighted because he met and talked to his cousin Padawankan, the two had not met each other for a long time”

(77)	ro	fyor	an	ya	Padawankan	swar	ryande
	ro	fyor	an	ya	Padawankan	swar	ra- -y- nde
	at	time	GIV	Det.SG	Padawankan	spouse	move- -3SG- landward

rya	bar	ro	sup	bo	ibur	baim,	ro
ra- -y-	bar	ro	sup	bo	i-bur	baim	ro
move- -3SG-	side	at	forest	and	3SG-leave	not yet	at

diya	sikun		in	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	myun
diya	si-kun		in	mansar	Mananarmakrdi	mun- -y-
place.that	3PL.AN-cook	fish		old man	Manarmakeri	kill- -3SG-

ro	Sorido	an	ya	fa	san	pres	i
ro	Sorido	an	ya	fa	s-an	press	i
at	Sorido	GIV	Det.SG	to	3PL.AN-eat	the whole	3SG

bo	Padawankan	swar	dakna	ker	o	ba
bo	Padawankan	swar	d-ak-na	ker	o	ba
but	Padawankan	spouse	3SG-also-have	little part	O	not

“At that time, Padawankan’s wife went out landward to the forest and had not returned yet, at that time they cooked the fish the old Manarmakeri caught in Sorido for them to eat all of it but Padawankan’s wife did not have any part of it”

(78)	ro	mun	mandira	ya	Padawankan	swar	ibur
	ro	mun	mandira	ya	Padawankan	swar	i-bur
	at	end	afternoon	Det.SG	Padawankan	spouse	3SG-leave

ker	sup	ma	myam	faro	inkor	sya	mura
ker	sup	ma	mam- -y-	faro	in-kor	sya	mura
from	forest	and	see- -3SG-	to	fish-bone	Det.PL.AN	thus

ifuken	ker	byesya	ma	sobe
i-fuken	ker	be- -y- sya	ma	s-obe
3SG-ask	little part	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN	but	3PL.AN-say

in	sya	sibro,	mura	imsor
in	sya	si-bro	mura	i-msor
fish	Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-finished	thus	3SG-angry

bo	dawos	nabor
bo	d-awos	na-bor
and	3SG-speak	3PL.INAN-many

“At the end of that afternoon, Padawankan’s wife came from the forest and saw the fish bones, therefore, she asked her part but they said the fish were gone. Thus, she was angry and spoke a lot (*idiom*: complain)”.

(79)	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	ryowr	Padawankwan	swar
	mansar	Mananarmakrdi	rowr- -y-	Padawankan	swar
	old man	Manarmakeri	hear- -3SG-	Padawankan	spouse

dawos	mura	imai	wer	bo	dor
d-awos	mura	i-mai	wer	bo	d-or
3SG-speak	thus	3SG-feel ashamed	again	and	3SG-call

fa	ibe	ibur
fa	i-be	i-bur
to	3SG-want	3SG-leave

“The old Manarmakeri heard (that) Padawankan’s wife complained, therefore, he felt ashamed again and requested to leave”

(80)	ro	fyor	ibur	baim	napirman	byedi
	ro	fyor	i-bur	baim	napirman	be- -y- di
	at	time	3SG-leave	not yet	cousin	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG

Padawankan	byuk	srai	emas	bon	ri	suru
Padawankan	buk- -y-	srai	e-mas	bon	ri	suru
Padawankan	give- -3SG-	coconut	Rel-ripe	fruit	Num.Link	two

ma	oser	ma	byesur	kwar
ma	oser	ma	be- -y- sur	kwar
and	one	FOC	become- 3SG- grow	already

“Before he left, his cousin, Padawankan gave (him) two ripe coconut and one had sprouted”

(81)	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	byors	ibur	mnu	Mokmeri
	mansar	Mananarmakrdi	bors- -y-	i-bur	mnu	Mokmer-i
	old man	Manarmakeri	row- -3SG-	3SG-leave	village	Mokmer-FOC

ma	ibur	yob	Meokbundi	mob	ikyar
ma	i-bur	yob	Meokbundi	mob	i-kyar
and	3SG-leave	to	Wundi island	place	3SG-believe

na	ismai	Koreri	ro	ras	oso
na	i-smai	Koreri	ro	ras	oso
will	3SG-find	heaven	at	day	one

“The old Manarmakeri left Mokmer village and went to Wundi island the place he believed he would find the heaven one day”

(82)	Mananarmak’rdi	ifyafer	kuker	payamyum	ro	Meokbundi	ma
	Mananarmakrdi	i-fyafer	kuker	payamyum ¹²	ro	Meokbundi	ma
	Manarmakeri	3SG-arrive	with	goodness	at	Wundi island	and

¹² Reduplicated form of the root *pyum* ‘to be good’.

kawasa	bero	myos	ya	seababen	i
kawasa	be-ro	myos	ya	s-be-ababen	i
people	Rel-at	island	Det.SG	3PL.AN-make-good care	3SG

bo	siyau	i	ba
bo	si-yau	i	ba
and	3PL.AN-drive someone out	3SG	not

“Manarmakeri arrived safely in Wundi island and the people who were at the island welcomed him and did not refuse him”

(83)	ro	Meokbundi	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	imarisen	kaku
	ro	Meokbundi	mansar	Mananarmakrdi	i-marisen	kaku
	at	Wundi island	old man	Manarmakeri	3SG-happy	very

ibe	isuf	swan	srai	mura
i-be	i-suf	swan	srai	mura
3SG-want	3SG-slice	alcohol	coconut	thus

dor	srai	knam	oso	ro	kawasa	bero
d-or	srai	knam	oso	ro	kawasa	be-ro
3SG-request	coconut	tree	one	from	people	Rel-at

mnu	sokan-i	fama,	simewer	sbuk
mnu	sokan-i	fama	si-mewer	s-buk
village	support-Det.SG	but	3PL.AN-refuse	3PL.AN-give

srai	oso	fa	isuf	ri
srai	oso	fa	i-suf	ri
coconut	one	for	3SG-slice	Det.SG

“In Meokbundi, the old Manarmakeri really wanted to slice a coconut beverage¹³, therefore he requested one coconut tree from the people who lived and supported him at the island but they refused to give one for him to slice”

(84)	ro	diya	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	kyer
	ro	diya	mansar	Mananarmakrdi	ker- -y-
	at	place.that	old man	Mananarmakrdi	plant- -3SG-

srai	sur	byani	ma	isur	fasau
srai	sur	be- -y- an-i	ma	i-sur	fasau
coconut	grow	POSS- -3SG- GIV-Det.SG	and	3SG-grow	quickly

¹³ The process of making coconut beverage is by cutting/slicing the tip of the coconut

kaku	fa	bye		srai	knam	beba	ma
kaku	fa	be- -y-		srai	knam	be-ba	ma
very	to	become- -3SG-		coconut	tree	Rel-big	and

isuf			i	be	swan	srai	
i-suf			i	be	swan	srai	
3SG-slice			3SG	as	alcohol	coconut	

“At that time the old Manarmakeri grew his coconut seed and it grew very quickly to become a big coconut tree and he sliced it as coconut alcoholic beverage”

(85)	randak	ya	ro	diya	mansar	Mananarmak’rdi	ras-ras
	randak	ya	ro	diya	mansar	Mananarmakrdi	ras-ras
	early	Det.SG	at	place.that	old man	Mananarmakrdi	day-day

na	kaem	ikenem	monda	ro	safsuf	swan
na	kaem	i-kenem	monda	ro	safsuf	swan
Det.PL.INAN	all	3SG-live	only	from	slicing	alcoholic

srai,	fararur	bye	naba		ba	kaku
srai	fararur	be- -y-	na-ba		ba	kaku
coconut,	job	make- -3SG	3PL.INAN-big		not	very

“Beginning from that time, the old Manarmakeri all day everyday lived only from slicing the coconut alcoholic beverage, *the job he cared about so much*¹⁴”

Fararur bero Meokbundi (Meos Wundi)

fararrur	be-ro	Meokbundi	(Meos	Wundi)
work	Rel-at	Meokbundi	(Island	Wundi)

“The Work at Wundi Island”

(86)	ro	arwo	oso	Mananarmakrdi	iwudar	ra	myam
	ro	arwo	oso	Mananarmakrdi	i-wudar	ra	mam- -y-
	at	morning	one	Manarmakeri	3SG-walk around	towards there	see- -3SG-

¹⁴ Literary meaning: he does not want to talk big about it or make a big thing out of it.

srai	por	byanya,		fama	ikandor	kaku	snar
srai	por	be- -y- an-ya		fama	i-kandor	kaku	snar
coconut	blossom	POSS- -3SG-GIV-Det.SG		but	3SG-surprise	very	because

myam	fa	amn	besau	ri	fyak
mam- -y-	fa	amn	be-sau	ri	fyak
see- -3SG-	there	bamboo	Rel-hang	Num.Link	four

byansya	sebei,
be- -y- an- sya	s-ebei
POSS- -3SG- GIV-Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-empty

oso	isya	dinm	karau	swan	srai
oso	i-s-ya	d-inm	karau	swan	srai
one	3SG-be-there	3SG-drink	steal	alcohol	coconut

byansi
be- -y- an- si
POSS- -3SG- GIV-Det.PL.AN

“One morning Manarmakeri went to see his coconut blossom, however, he was very surprised because he saw (that) the four bamboos which hung (on the coconut blossom) were empty, some one must have been stealing-drinking his coconut beverage.”

(87)	snar	arwo-arwo	na	kam	swan	sya
	snar	arwo-arwo	na	kam	swan	sya
	because	morning-morning	Det.PL.INAN	all	alcohol	Det.PL.AN

sibro	ker	mura	Mananarmak’rdi	fyafayaf
si-bro	ker	mura	Mananarmakrdi	fafayaf- -y-
3PL.AN-empty	continiously	thus	Manarmakeri	fed up- -3SG-

bo	kyara	fa ibe	isin	warek	mankaraurau
bo	kara- -y-	fa i-be	i-sin	warek	man-karaurau
and	think- -3SG-	to 3SG-want	3SG-observe	keep	man-steal

beyinem	swan	byesi	fa	insama	fyor	i
be-inem	swan	be- -y- si	fa	insama	for- -y-	i
Rel-drink	alcohol	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN	for	so	catch- -3SG-	3SG

“Because all the mornings the beverage was always empty therefore, Manarmakeri was fed up and thought that he should observe the thief who drank his alcoholic drink so he could arrest him”

(88) ro rob randak ya Mananarmak'rdi kyon isin
 ro rob randak ya Mananarmakrdi kon- -y- i-sin
 at night first Det.SG Manarmakeri sit- -3SG- 3SG-observe

ro srai fuar ya
 ro srai fuar ya
 at coconut flower Det.SG

“On the first evening Manarmakeri observed from the flower of the coconut tree ”

(89) bape myam ro arwo ya swan srai
 bape mam- -y- ro arwo ya swan srai
 bur see- -3SG- at morning Det.SG alcohol coconut

byansya skarau si kaker
 be- -y- an- sya s-karau si kaker
 POSS- -3SG- -Det.PL.AN 3PL.AN-steal 3PL.AN still

“but he saw in the morning (that) his coconut beverage was still stolen”

(90) ro rob ebe suru ya Mananarmak'rdi ijabek
 ro rob ebe suru ya Mananarmakrdi i-jabek
 at night ORDINAL two Det.SG Manarmakeri 3SG-tie

kaderen ya ro srai knam ya faduri fa
 kaderen ya ro srai knam ya fadu-ri fa
 bench Det.SG at coconut tree Det.SG middle-POSS.3SG-Det.SG for

byuksin mankaraurau ya
 buk- -y- -sin man-karaurau ya
 give- -3SG- observe man-stealing Det.SG

“On the second evening Manarmakeri tied a bench in the middle of the coconut tree to use (it) to observe the thief”

(91) bape ro arwo ya myam wer swan
 bape ro arwo ya mam- -y- wer swan
 but at morning Det.SG see- -3SG- again alcohol

ansya	sibro	wer
an-sya	si-bro	wer
GIV-Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-empty	again

“ But in the morning he saw again (that) the beverage was empty again”

(92)	ro	rob	ebe	kyor	Mananarmak’rdi	kyain	yofek
	ro	rob	ebe	kyor	Mananarmakrdi	kain- -y-	yofek
	at	night	ORDINAL	three	Manarmakeri	sit- -3SG-	hide

ro	srai	kadwor	ya	ro	kapyaf	swaf	na
ro	srai	kadwor	ya	ro	kapyaf	swaf	na
at	coconut	tip of (a) leaf	Det.SG	at	midrib of the coconut	space	Det.PL.AN

“On the third night, Manarmakeri hid at the tip of the coconut leaf between midribs of the coconut”

(93)	meser	muryas	ya	ro	fyor	dork	nakpef
	meser	ku-r-yas	ya	ro	fyor	dork	na-kpef
	next day	DIR-towards-top	Det.SG	at	time	daybreak	3PL.INAN-break

baim	Mananarmak’rdi	myam	mankaraurau	swan	srai	an
baim	Mananarmakrdi	mam- -y-	man-karaurau	swan	srai	an
not yet	Manarmakeri	see- -3SG-	man-steal	alcohol	coconut	GIV

ya	dado	murbab	ro	srai	kadwor	ya
ya	d-ado	mu-r-bab	ro	srai	kadwor	ya
Det.SG	3SG-descend	DIR-towards-below	at	coconut	tip of (a) leaf	Det.SG

“The next morning before the daybreak opened widely, Manarmakeri saw the thief of the coconut beverage got down from the tip of the coconut leaf”.

(94)	mankaraurau	an	ya	Makmeser	robaido	Sampari
	man-karaurau	an	ya	Mak-meser	robaido	Sampari
	man-steal	GIV	Det.SG	star-morning	or	Sampari ¹⁵

¹⁵ Sampari is the special name of the morning star in Biak language.

iryā
i-r-ya
3SG-be-that

“The thief was the morning star or *Sampari* (special name of the morning star in Biak language)

(95) ro diya Mananarmak’rdi isawar ra
ro diya Mananarmakrdi i-sawar ra
at place.that Manarmakeri 3SG-stretch s.o.’s hand over towards there

iserepen ma fyor ra idworem kaku
i-serepen ma for- -y- ra i-dworem kaku
3SG-hold tight and catch- -3SG- until 3SG-be repressed tightly very

isof Sampari ispup sewar fama ipok fa
isof Sampari i-spup sewar fama i-pok fa
until Sampari 3SG-struggle to free one’s self search but 3Sg-be able to

pyupes bur Mananarmak’rdi bramin
pupes- -y- bur Mananarmakrdi bramin
struggle to loose one’s self- -3SG- leave Manarmakeri arm

byena ba
be- -y- na ba
POSS- -3Sg- Det.PL.AN not

“At that time Manarmakeri stretched his hands over towards(the thief) to hold (him) and catch him until he (the thief) was repressed very tightly; Sampari struggled to free himself but he could not release himself from Manarmakeri’s arms”

(96) dorek anna naiswaryas
dorek an-na na-s-wa-r-yas
daybreak GIV-Det.PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-be-there-towards-top

nakpef kwar
na-kpef kwar
3PL.INAN-break already

ro diya Sampari ibor wawork bo dobe
ro diya Sampari i-bor wawork bo d-obe
at place.that Sampari 3SG-confuse uncertain and 3SG-say

“Sye	mansar	e,	yor	fa	pir	aya
“sye	mansar	e	y-or	fa	pir- -w-	aya
ohhh	old man	E	3SG-request	for	release- -2SG-	1SG

snar	ro	fafor	ayena
snar	ro	fafor	ay-e-na
because	thing	curse	1SG-POSS-Det.PL.INAN

naiswaryas	nasbak	kwar”
na-s-wa-r-yas	na-sbak	kwar
3PL.INAN-be-there-towards-top	3PL.INAN-open	already”

‘the dawn had already come; at that time Sampari was confused and uncertain and said “oh old man, I beg (you) to release me because my *curse things*¹⁶ already moved up and opened up”’.

(97)	fama	Mananarmak’rdi	dobe	“na	yapir	au	ba
	fama	Mananarmakrди	d-obe	“na	ya-pir	au	ba
	but	Manarmakeri	3SG-say	will	1SG-release	2SG	not

isof	buk	ro	yamander	ker	ro	ras	suine
isof	buk- -w-	ro	ya-mander	ker	ro	ras	suine
until	give- -2S-	thing	1SG-longing for	continuously	at	day	this.DU

faro	aya”
faro	aya
to	1SG

“However, Manarmakeri said “I will not release you until you give me the things that I have been longing for during these two days”’.

(98)	Sampari	ifuken	Mananarmak’rdi	rosai	imarisen
	Sampari	i-fuken	Mananarmakrди	rosai	i-marisen
	Sampari	3SG-question	Manarmakeri	what	3SG-like

kaku	ya,	bo	dap	pres	roi	bebor
kaku	ya	bo	d-ap	press	roi	be-bor
very	Det.SG	and	3SG-mention	all	thing	Rel-many

kyara	na	Mananarmak’rdi	da	imarisen	na,
kara- -y-	na	Mananarmakrди	da	i-marisen	na
thing- -3SG-	will	Manarmakeri	perhaps	3SG-like	Det.PL.INAN

¹⁶ Bad things against one’s self.

bape	Mananarmak’rdi	kyarm	oso	ba
bape	Mananarmakr’rdi	karm- -y-	oso	ba
but	Manarmakeri	answer- -3SG-	one	not

“Sampari questioned Manarmakeri what he really liked, and he said all of the many things he thought Manarmakeri would like to have, but Manarmakeri did not respond to any of them”

(99)	mura	Sampari	ifuken	kaku	wer bo	dobe	“imbo
	mura	Sampari	i-fuken	kaku	wer bo	d-obe	“imbo
	thus	Sampari	3SG-question	very	again and	3SG-say	“so

rosaiso	wamarisen	bo	mander	kaku	ya	ido	wakofen”
rosai-iso	wa-marisen	bo	mander- -w-	kaku	ya	ido	wa-kofen
what-be	2SG-like	and	long for- -2SG-	very	Det.SG	FOC	2SG-tell

“Thus Sampari did ask again and said “so what it is that you really like and long for – say (it)!”

(100)	Mananarmak’rdi	ikofen	myaren	bo	dobe	“ro
	Mananarmakr’rdi	i-kofen	myaren	bo	d-obe	“ro
	Manarmakeri	3SG-tell	carefully	and	3SG-say	“thing

yamarisen	fa	yobe	buk	be	aya
ya-marisen	fa	y-obe	buk- -w-	be	aya
3SG-like	for	1SG-say	give- -2SG-	to	1SG

isoine,	koreri	syeben”
i-iso-ine	koreri	seben- -y-
3SG-be-this	heaven	open- -3SG-

“Manarmakeri told (him) carefully and said “the thing that I like you to give me is this – the heaven is open”

(101)	Sampari	ikofen	bo	dobe	“Mananarmakr’di	aror
	Sampari	i-kofen	bo	d-obe	“Mananarmakr’rdi	aror
	Sampari	3SG-tell	and	3SG-say	“Manarmakeri	request

bani	yabuk	i	faro	au	kwar
be-an - i	ya-buk	i	faro	au	kwar
POSS-GIV-Det.SG	1SG-give	3SG	for	2SG	already

ro	arwo	ine	rofyor	or	ya	dompis	baim
ro	arwo	ine	ro-fyor	or	ya	d-ompis	baim
at	morning	this.SG	at-time	sun	Det.SG	3SG-shine	not yet

“Sampari told (him) and said “Manarmakeri, your request I already gave it to you this morning before the sun shines”

(102)	Nwa	koreri	syeben	i	kwar	fa	isya
	Na- -w-	koreri	seben- -y-	i	kwar	fa	i-s-ya
	have- -2SG-	heaven	open- -3SG-	3SG	already	for	3SG-be-there

ryo	rworl,	fama	nari	insama	wafawi	babe
ro- -y-	rori- -w-	fama	nari	insama	wa-fawi	babe
at- -3SG-	within- -2SG-	but	will	so	2SG-know	things about

nanik	koreri	syeben	byeja,
nanik	koreri	seben- -y-	be- -y- dya
magic	heaven	open- -3SG-	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG

meser	iyama	mam	fa	Insoraki
meser	iya-ma	mam- -w-	fa	Insoraki
next day	that over there-towards here	see- -2SG-	for	Insoraki

mananwir	beba	Rumbarak	imasasi
mananwir	be-ba	Rumbarak	i-masasi
village head	Rel-big	Rumbarak	3SG-swim in the river/in the beach

kuker	inai	sya	ro	yendisare
kuker	inai	sya	ro	yendisare
with	girl	Det.PL.AN	at	sandy beach

fanam	Mars	knam	ya	ido	faku
fanam	Mars	knam	ya	ido	faku- w-
near	Mars ¹⁷	tree	Det.SG	when	move carefully- -2SG-

ra	pauk	Mars	bon	no	fa	swo
ra	pauk- -w-	Mars	bon	no	fa	so- -w-
towards there	pick- -2SG	Mars	fruit	any	to	throw- -2SG-

¹⁷ Name of special stree which is usually found along the beach in Biak.

munda	yob	si
ku-nda	yob	si
DIR-seaward	to	3PL.AN

“You have already had the heaven open and it is in you, however, in order (for) you to know the magic things about the heaven’s opening, in the future if you see Insoraki, the (daughter) of Rumbarak, the big head of the village swims in the river with the girls in the beach near the *Mars* tree, you (should) move carefully to pick some *Mars* fruit (and) throw (the fruit) seaward to them”

(103)	Nari	mam	rosai	bekur	Insoraki	ro	ras
	Nari	mam- -w-	rosai	be-kur	Insoraki	ro	ras
	will	see- -2SG-	what	Rel-happen	Insoraki	at	day

barpur	nayama		iry		samambrab
bar-pur	naya-ma		i-r-ya		samambrab
side-back	that.PL.INAN-towards	here	3SG-be-that		strength

koreri	syeben	wasmai	kwar	ro	aya
koreri	seben- -y-	wa-smai	kwar	ro	aya
heaven	open- -3SG-	2SG-have	already	from	1SG

yor	fa	pir	aya	bo	sonai	meser
y-or	fa	pir- -w-	aya	bo	sonai	meser
1SG-request	for	release- -2SG-	1SG	because	light	morning

ya	dek	kwar,	aski	nabor	be	au
ya	d-ek	kwar	aski	na-bor	be	au
Det.SG	3SG-rise	already	grace	3PL.INAN-many	to	2SG

“You will see what happens to Insoraki in the future; that is the strength of the heaven’s opening that you’ve received from me; I beg (you) to release me because the morning light already arose, thank you very much”

(104)	Mananarmak’r	insape	pyir	Sampari	fa	ibur
	Mananarmakr	insape	pir- -y-	Sampari	fa	i-bur
	Manarmakeri	then	release- -3SG-	Sampari	to	3SG-leave

kaber	snar	ismai	ro	myander	ker
kaber	snar	i-smai	ro	mander- -y-	ker
return	because	3SG-get	thing	long for- -3SG-	continuously

an	ya	kwar
an	ya	kwar
GIV	Det.SG	already

“Then, Manarmakeri released Sampari to leave because he has got the thing he longs for”

(105)	ras	ri	beso	skawas	e	Mananarmak’rdi	myam
	ras	ri	beso	sk-awas	e	Mananarmakrdi	mam- -y-
	day	Num.Link	several	3PCL-	E	Manarmakeri	see- -3SG-
				pass			

randa	inai	sya	simasaki	ro	yendisare
ra-nda	inai	sya	si-masaki	ro	yendisare
DIR-seaward	girl	Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-swim and play	at	sandy beach

ya	fanam	Mars	knam	besob	munda	i
ya	fanam	Mars	knam	be-sob	mu-nda	i
Det.SG	near	Mars	tree	Rel-decline	DIR-seaward	FOC

“Several days passed, Manarmakeri saw seaward the girls were swimming in the beach near the Mars tree which (branches) decline (pointing) seaward ”

(106)	Mananarmak’rdi	fyaku	ra	dof	ro	Mars
	Mananarmakrdi	faku- -y-	ra	d-of	ro	Mars
	Manarmakeri	move quietly- -3SG-	there	3SG-hide	at	Mars

baken	ya	barpur	ya,	ma	myam	farfir	kaku	inai
baken	ya	bar-pur	ya	ma	mam- -y-	farfir	kaku	inai
body	Det.SG	side-back	Det.SG	and	see- -3SG-	carefully	very	girl

bemam	pduk	kaku	isoine	Insoraki	sikafkofen
be-mam	pduk	kaku	i-iso-ine	Insoraki	si-kafkofen
Rel-look	pretty	very	3SG-be-this.SG	Insoraki	3PL.AN-say repeatedly

ker	ro	mnu	ya	dori
ker	ro	mnu	ya	do-ri
continuously	at	village	Det.SG	inside-POSS.3Sg-Det.SG

“Manarmakeri moved quietly to hide at the back of the Mars tree trunk, and looked carefully at the girl who looked very beautiful; she was Insoraki (who) was mentioned a lot inside the village”

(107) Mananarmak'rdi pyauk Mars bon na
 Mananrmakrdi pauk- -y- Mars bon na
 Manarmakeri peel- -3SG- MARS fruit Det.PL.INAN

ramnai ikofen wos na ramnai
 ramnai i-kofen wos na ra-mnai
 until-finish 3SG-tell word Det.PL.INAN until-finish

syo na be masen iwanda
 so- -y- na be masen iwa-nda
 throw- -3SG- Det.PL.INAN to seawater that.SG-seaward

“Mananarmakeri peeled the MARS fruit after that he said the words, then, threw them to the water seaward”

(108) Mars bon anna nararyor so
 Mars bon an-na na-raryor so
 Mars fruit GIV-Det.PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-drift at

masen ya ra iya ryandum ikob
 masen ya ra iya ra- -y- ndum i-kob
 sea water Det.SG until one move- -3SG- inward 3SG-hit

ro Insoraki sus byesi
 ro Insoraki sus be- -y- si
 at Insoraki breast POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN

“The Mars fruit drifted at the seawater until one (of them) moved inward (and) hit Insoraki’s breasts”

(109) Insoraki ikandor bo duf Mars bon an
 Insoraki i-kandor bo d-uf Mars bon an
 Insoraki 3SG-surprise and 3SG-hold MARS fruit GIV

ya syo i bur be bandi
 ya so- -y- i bur be ba-ndi
 Det.SG throw- -3SG- 3SG leave to side-outward

“Insoraki was surprised and held the fruit, (and) threw it outside”

(110) fyoro ba ido ebe suru ya ryandum
 fyoro ba ido ebe suru ya ra- -y- ndum
 long not FOC ORDINAL two Det.SG move- -3SG- inward

ikob wer ro Insoraki sus byansi
 i-kob wer ro Insoraki sus be- -y- an-si
 3SG-hit again at Insoraki breast POSS- -3SG- GIV-Det.PL.AN

“Not long, the second one moved inward (and) hit Insoraki’s breasts again”

(111) duf Mars bon an ya ma syo
 d-uf Mars bon an ya ma so- -y-
 3SG-hold Mars fruit GIV Det.SG and throw- -3SG

binkwan kaku be bondi
 binkwan kaku be bo
 far very to side-outward

“She held the Mars fruit and threw (it) very far outside”

(112) bape Mars bon ebe kyor ya ryandum
 bape Mars bon ebe kyor ya ra- -y- ndum
 but Mars fruit ORDINAL three Det.SG move- -3SG- -inward

ikob kaku wer ro Insoraki sus byesya
 i-kob kaku wer ro Insoraki sus be- -y- sya
 3SG-hit very again at Insoraki breast POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN

“However, the third MARS fruit moved inward (and) really hit Insoraki’s breast again”

(113) Insoraki ibur ra ro rum sus byesya
 Insoraki i-bur ra ro rum sus be- -y- sya
 Insoraki 3Sg-leave there at house breast POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN

simaker mura isnau si ra fyoro ba
 si-maker mura i-snau si ra fyoro ba
 3PL.AN-itchy thus 3SG-scratch 3PL.AN until long not

byabir		binggundi	imobsba
babir- -y-		binggun- i	i-mobsba
recognise- -3SG-		self-3SG	3SG-pregnant

“Insoraki went home, her breasts were itchy so she scratched them until not (very) long she recognised herself pregnant”

(114)	Insoraki	sinan	byesya		sikandor	ro
	Insoraki	sinan	be- -y- sya		si-kandor	ro
	Insoraki	parents	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN		3PL.surprise	thing

befnai	fa	inai	skobedi		imobsba,
be-fnai	fa	inai	sko-be-di		i-mobsba
Rel-cause	for	daughter	3PCL-POSS-Det.SG		3SG-pregnant

skofuken	sewar	ro	kawasa
sko-fuken	sewar	ro	kawasa
3PCL-question	search	at	people

bero	Meokbundi	mansei	efawi	ro	befananai	kaku	ya
be-ro	Meokbundi	mansei	e-fawi	ro	be-fananai	kaku	ya
Rel-at	Wundi island	who	Rel-know	thing	Rel-cause	really	Det.SG

fama	oso	ifawi	ba
fama	oso	i-fawi	ba
but	one	3SG-know	not

“Insoraki’s parents were surprised at the thing that caused their daughter pregnant, they questioned the people around Wundi island who knew the thing that really caused (it), but no one knew”

(115)	Insoraki	binggundi	ifawi	ba	kako
	Insoraki	binggun-i	i-fawi	ba	kako
	Insoraki	self-3SG	3SG-know	not	also

“Insoraki herself also did not know”

(116)	fyoro	ba	paik	byena		namnis
	fyoro	ba	paik	be- -y- na		na-mnis
	long	not	month	POSS- -3Sg- Det.PL.INAN		3PL.INAN-suitable

ma	nya	romawa	ya	ma	romawa	snon	riry,
ma	na- -y-	romawa	ya	ma	romawa	snon	i-r-ya
and	have- -3SG-	child	Det.SG	and	child	male	3Sg-be-that

bo	skonir	i	kuker	snon	Manarbew
bo	s-konir	i	kuker	snon	Manarbew
and	3PCL-	3SG	with	name	Manarbew
	name				

“After a while, her time was right and she had a baby; and it was a boy and they named him with the name “Manarbew”.

(117)	Manarbew	isur	fasau	ma	iba	pduk	kaku
	Manarbew	i-sur	fasau	ma	i-ba	pduk	kaku
	Manarbew	3SG-grow	fast	and	3SG-big	handsome	very

ra	fyafir		ma	ifawi	dawos,
ra	fafir- -y-		ma	i-fawi	d-awos
until	understand well- -3SG-		and	3SG-know	3SG-speak

ro	diya	ras-ras	ifuken	ker	snari
ro	diya	ras-ras	i-fuken	ker	sna-ri
at	place.that	day-day	3SG-question	continuously	mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

Insoraki	bo	dobe	“wawi	yai	iso ?”
Insoraki	bo	d-obe	“wawi	yai	i-iso?
Insoraki	and	3SG-say	“mum	dad	3SG-be?

“Manarbew grew quickly and became (a) very big handsome (boy); he understood well and could speak, from that time everyday he always asked her mother Insoraki and said “mum where is daddy”? ; “

Insoraki	sinan	byesi		sfafayaf	mura
Insoraki	sinan	be- -y- si		s-fafayaf	mura
Insoraki	parent	POSS- -3SG-Det.PL.AN		3PL.AN-fed up with	thus

ras	oser	skankain		karkara	fa	sna	wos
ras	oser	s-kankain		karkara	fa	s-na	wos
day	one	3PL.AN-sitting		thought	to	3PL.AN-have	word

fa	sifru	wor	beba	oso	ma	ro	wor	ani
fa	si-frur	wor	be-ba	oso	ma	ro	wor	an-i
for	3PL.AN-make	feast	Rel-big	one	and	at	feast	GIV-Det.SG

ssewar	Manarbew	kma	byedi
s-sewar	Manarbew	kma	be- -y- di
3PL.AN-search	Manarbew	father	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG

“Insoraki’s parents was fed up (with his questions), thus, one day they had a meeting to decide (that) they made a big feast and in that feast they would search for Manarbew’s father”

(118)	ras	an	ya	ryama		wor	an	ya
	ras	an	ya	ra- -y- ma		wor	an	ya
	day	GIV	Det.SG	move- -3SG- towards here		song	GIV	Det.SG

imbran	bo	kawasa	bero	mnu	na	kam	sfanjur
i-mbran	bo	kawasa	be-ro	mnu	na	kam	s-fanjur
3SG-walk	and	people	Rel-at	village	Det.PL.AN	all	3PL.AN-gather

fa	sakso		wor	i
fa	s-ak-so		wor	i
to	3PL.AN-also-follow		song	Det.SG

“The day arrived, the feast started and the people who (came) from all the villages gathered to take part in the feast”

(118)	Insoraki	ma	romawa	byedi	Manarbew
	Insoraki	ma	romawa	be- -y- di	Manarbew
	Insoraki	and	child	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG	Manarbew

sukain	ro	barpon	kaku	fa	sumam	snon
su-kain	ro	bar-pon	kaku	fa	su-mam	snon
3DU-sit	at	side-front	very	for	3DU-see	man

bewor		ma	bekin	sireb		ma	insama
be-wor		ma	be-kin	sireb		ma	insama
Rel-sing traditional song		and	Rel-hold	traditional drum		and	so

Manarbew	myam	babir	kma	byedi
Manarbew	mam- -y-	babir	kma	be- -y- di
Manarbew	see- -3SG-	recognise	father	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG

“Insoraki and her son Manarbew sat at the very front in order to see the men who sang traditional songs and hit traditional drum; and thus, Manarbew (would) recognise his father”

(120)	randak	ya	bembran	bepon	kaku	sisoine	
	randak	ya	be-mbran	be-pon	kaku	si-iso-ine	
	first	Det.SG	Rel-walk	Rel-front	very	3PL.AN-be-this	
	romawa	snon	kabor	babo	sya,	fama	Manarbew myam
	romawa	snon	kabor	babo	sya	fama	Manarbew mam- -y-
	child	man	adolescent	young	Det.PL.AN	but	Manarbew see- -3SG-
	faro	kmari				ba	
	faro	kma-ri				ba	
	for	father-POSS.3SG.DetSG				not	

“First, the ones who walked in front were the young men, but Manarbew did not see his father”

(121)	maran	ebe	suru	ya	ido	snon	fadu	sya
	maran	ebe	suru	ya	ido	snon	fadu	sya
	row	ORDINAL	two	Det.SG	FOC	man	middle	Det.PL.AN
	fama	Manarbew	myam	babir	kmari			banim
	fama	Manarbew	mam- -y-	babir	kma-ri			banim
	but	Manarbew	see- -3SG-	recognise	father-POSS.3SG.Det.SG			not yet

“The second row was the middle-aged men, however, manarbew did not see his father yet”

(122)	raimnai		ido	maran	mansar	mnggun	sya
	ra-i-mnai		ido	maran	mansar	mnggun	sya
	until-3SG-finish		FOC	part	old man	small	Det.PL.AN
	sakmbran	wer	fama	Manarbew	bye		ra
	s-ak-mbran	wer	fama	Manarbew	be- -y-		ra
	3PL.AN-also-walk	again	but	Manarbew	make- -3SG-		move
	mob	o	bakaem				
	mob	o	ba-kaem				
	place	O	not-all				

“After that, the part of less old men also walked as well, however, Manarbew did not move at all”

(123)	mura	maran	epups	kaku	ya	ido	mun	
	mura	maran	e-pups	kaku	ya	ido	mun	
	Then	row	Rel-last	very	Det.SG	be	group	
	mansar	kraf	kaku	si,	ma	Mananarmak’rdi	i	bepur
	mansar	kraf	kaku	si	ma	Mananarmakrdi	i	be-pur
	old man	flesh ¹⁸	very	3PL.AN	and	Manarmakeri	3SG	Rel-last
	kaku,	duf	ainkyon	ma	airam	na	fa	
	kaku	d-uf	ainkyon	ma	ai-ram	na	fa	
	very	3SG-hold	stick	and	wood-leaf	Det.PL.INAN	for	
	byukbabur		wark	ran	sya			
	buk- -y- babur		wark	ran	sya			
	give -3SG- -chase away		guard	fly	Det.PL.AN			

“Then, the very last part was the group of the very old people, and Manarmakeri was the very last one carrying a stick and (some) leaves to guard (himself from) the flies”

(124)	ro	fyor	mansar	ansya		simbran	ro	Insoraki
	ro	fyor	mansar	an-sya		si-mbran	ro	Insoraki
	at	time	old man	GIV-Det.PL.AN		3PL.AN-walk	at	Insoraki
	ma	Manarbew	barpon	subedi		Manarbew	kyur	
	ma	Manarbew	bar-pon	su-be-di		Manarbew	kur- -y-	
	and	Manarbew	side-front	3DU-POSS-Det.SG		Manarbew	point- -3SG-	
	mura		be	Mananarmak’rdi	bo	dobe	“wawi,	
	mu-ra		be	Mananarmakrdi	bo	d-obe	“wawi	
	DIR-towards there		to	Manarmakeri	and	3SG-say	“mum	
	yai	iso	iwu,	wawi	yai	iso	iwu”	
	yai	i-iso	iwu	wawi	yai	i-iso	iwu	
	dad	3SG-be	that.SG	mum	dad	3SG-be	that.SG	

“When the old men walked in front of Insoraki and Manarbew, Manarbew pointed towards Manarmakeri and said “mum, dad is (the one) there, mum, dad is (the one) there””

(125)	Manarbew	ikofen		bo	ispup		fa
	Manarbew	i-kofen		bo	i-spup		fa
	Manarbew	3SG-tell		and	3SG-struggle to get loose		to

¹⁸ This word has a cultural meaning. In this context, it means the old men whose ages are the oldest.

ibe	rya	fyor	kmari,	fama
i-be	ra- -y-	for- -y-	kma-ri	fama
3SG-want	move- -3SG	catch- -3SG-	father-POSS.3SG.Det.SG	but

snari		iserepen	i	snar	dain
sna-ri		i-serepen	i	snar	d-ain
mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG		3SG-hold tight	3SG	because	3SG-disgusted

kaku	Mananarmak'rdi
kaku	Mananarmakrdi
very	Manarmakeri

“Manarbew told (his mother) and struggle to get loose to go (and) get his father, however, her mother held him tightly because she was very disgusted (at seeing) Manarmakeri”

(126)	Manarbew	ispup	rao	snar
	Manarbew	i-spup	rao	sna-r
	Manarbew	3SG-struggle to get loose	until	mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

ryir	brasi	ma	ifrar	ra
rir- -y-	bra-si	ma	i-frar	ra
release- -3SG-	arm-POSS.3SG.Det.SG	and	3SG-run	towards there

fyor	Mananarmak'rdi
for- -y-	Mananarmakrdi
catch- -3SG-	Manarmakeri

“Manarbew struggled to get loose until her mother released his hands and he ran towards (his father) (and) hug Manarmakeri”

(127)	ro	diya	wor	beba	an	ya	sibur
	ro	diya	wor	be-ba	an	ya	si-bur
	at	place.that	feast	Rel-big	GIV	Det.SG	3PL.AN-leave

besisye,	simsor	snar	Mananarmak'rdi	byuk
besisye	si-msor	snar	Mananarmakrdi	buk- -y-
separately	3PL.AN-angry	because	Manarmakeri	give- -3SG-

Insoraki	bin	bepyum	kaku	ro	myos	iwa
Insoraki	bin	be-pyum	kaku	ro	myos	iwa
Insoraki	woman	Rel-beautiful	very	at	island	that.SG

“At that time, the big feast (the crowd) left separately; they were angry because Manarmakeri married Insoraki, the very beautiful woman in the island”

(128)	simkok	rum	na	ma	sfaryan
	si-mkok	rum	na	ma	s-faryan
	3PL.AN-destroy	house	Det.PL.INAN	and	3PL.AN-collect
ro	bebor	sena		kam	roi wai
ro	be-bor	s-e-na		kam	ro wai
thing	Rel-many	3PL.AN-POSS-Det.PL.INAN		all	at canoe
beba	sena,		simer	pef	wai
be-ba	s-e-na		si-mer	pef	wai
Rel-big	3PL-POSS-Det.PL.INAN		3PL.AN-cause	break	canoe
mawa	nakaem	snar	simewr		Mananarmak’rdi
mawa	na-kaem	snar	si-mewr		Mananarmakrdi
small	3PL.INAN-all	because	3PL.AN-refuse		Manarmakeri
swar		skobors	na	ri	
swa-r		sko-bors	na	ri	
spouse-POSS.3SG.Det.SG		3PCL-row	3PL.INAN	Det.SG	

“they destroyed the houses and collected all their belongings in their big canoes, destroyed all the small canoes because they did not want Manarmakeri (and) his wife to row them”

(129)	kawasa	ya	kaem	sayun	sibur
	kawasa	ya	kaem	s-ayun	si-bur
	people	Det.SG	all	3PL.AN-sail	3PL.AN-leave
Meokbundi	ma	srande		sna	ro Yobi
Meokbundi	ma	s-ra-nde		s-na	ro Yobi
Wundi island	and	3PL.AN-move-landward		3PL.AN-have	at Yobi

“All people left Wundi island and went landward (and) had (a place) in Yobi”¹⁹

¹⁹ Yobi is located at Yapen island, another big island almost as big as Biak island. From Wundi island, Biak and Yapen islands are the mainlands. Therefore, any movement towards the two islands would be considered as moving landward.

(130) Insoraki Manarbew ma Mananarmak'rdi skobe skakek
 Insoraki Manarbew ma Mananarmakrdi sko-be sk-ak-ek
 Insoraki Manarbew and Manarmakeri 3PCL- 3PCL-also-get
 want into

ro wai sena fama skur pampum sko
 ro wai s-e-na fama s-kur pampum sko
 at canoe 3PL.AN-POSS-Det.PL.INAN but 3PL.AN-point refuse 3PCL

“Insoraki, Manarbew and Manarmakeri wanted to get into their boat as well, however, they refused the three”

(131) Insoraki srar kasun bye Saneraro
 insoraki srar kasun be- -y- Saneraro
 Insoraki sibling of opposite sex small call- -3SG- Saneraro

iswar sko mura dado fa kyain
 i-swar sko mura d-ado fa kain- -y-
 3SG-love 3PCL therefore 3SG-descend to sit- -3SG-

us skoro Meokbundi
 us sko-ro Meokbundi
 with 3PCL-at Wundi island

“Insoraki’s youngest brother, Saneraro, loved the three, therefore, he got down to stay with them in Wundi island”

(132) ro mun mandira ya Manarbew ibiser mura
 ro mun mandira ya Manarbew i-biser mura
 at part afternoon Det.SG Manarbew 3Sg-hungry thus

dor robeyan faro snar Insoraki,
 d-or robeyan faro sna-r Insoraki,
 3SG-request food for mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG Insoraki,

snar Insoraki iwan bo dobe
 sna-r Insoraki i-wan bo d-obe
 mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG Insoraki 3SG-order and 3SG-say

“rwa wan kamam babara byansi wa”
 “ra- -w- w-an kamam babara be- -y- an- si wa
 “move- -2SG- 2SG-eat dad scabies POSS- -3SG- GIV-Det.PL.AN that

“In one afternoon, Manarbew was hungry, thus, he asked for food from his mother Insoraki; his mother, Insoraki, asked (him) and said “go (and) eat your father’s scabies”

(133) Manarbew rya dor robeyan ro
 Manarbew ra- -y- d-or robeyan ro
 Manarbew move- -3SG- 3SG-request food at

kmar Mananarmak’rdi mura kmar
 kma-r Mananarmakr’rdi mura kma-r
 father-POSS.3SG.Det.SG Manarmakeri thus father-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

Mananarmak’rdi iwan i fa syun randum
 Mananarmakr’rdi i-wan i fa sun- -y- ra-ndum
 Manarmakeri 3SG-order 3SG to enter- -3SG- DIR-inward

myam ro sim ma myam robean bebor
 mam- -y- ro sim ma mam- -y- robean be-bor
 see- -3SG- at bedroom and see- -3SG- food Rel-many

naisya kaem”
 na-s-ya kaem
 3PL.INAN-be-there all

“Manarbew went (to) request food from his father, Manarmakeri, thus, his father, Manarmakeri ordered (him) to enter (and) see inside the bedroom and he saw (that) all food were there”

(134) Manarbew ikofen badir faro snar
 Manarbew i-kofen badir faro sna-r
 Manarbew 3SG-tell make sth known for mother- POSS.3SG.Det.SG

Insoraki ma Insoraki syun randum myam ma
 Insoraki ma Insoraki sun- -y- ra-ndum mam- -y- ma
 Insoraki and Insoraki enter- -3SG- DIR-inward see- -3SG- and

ikandor	bo	ikram	fais	ro	sneri
i-kandor	bo	i-kram	fais	ro	sne-ri
3SG-surprise	and	3SG-hide	quietly	at	stomach-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

“Manarbew told her mother Insoraki, and Insoraki entered inside (the bedroom) (and) saw (the food) and was surprised but she hid (the thing that she had seen) quietly in her heart”

(135)	ras-ras	robeyan	na	nradirya
	ras-ras	robeyan	na	n-ra-d-ir-ya
	day-day	food	Det.PL.INAN	3PL.INAN-move-3SG-be-that

kwar	bo	skan	monda
kwar	bo	sk-an	monda
already	and	3PCL-eat	only

“Everyday the food were (available) like that and the three just ate (them)”

(136)	ro	ras	oso	Mananarmak’rdi	rya	ikun
	ro	ras	oso	Mananarmakrdi	ra- -y-	i-kun
	at	day	one	Manarmakeri	move- -3SG-	3SG-burn

manggundi	ro	kabui	knam	ya	ro	myos	ya
manggun-i	ro	kabui	knam	ya	ro	myos	ya
self-3SG	at	iron wood	tree	Det.SG	at	island	Det.SG

mun	benir	be	Kaweri
mun	be-nir	be	Kaweri
part	Rel-name	as	Kaweri

“One day Manarmakeri went to burn himself at an iron tree in the part of the island which (was) called as Kaweri”

(137)	ro	mun	mandira	ya	Mananarmak’rdi	imbran
	ro	mun	mandira	ya	Mananarmakrdi	i-mbran
	at	part	afternoon	Det.SG	Manarmakeri	3SG-walk

ibur	be	rum	Manarbew	myam	i	ro
i-bur	be	rum	Manarbew	mam- -y-	i	ro
3SG-leave	to	house	Manarbew	see- -3SG-	3SG	at

swaf	ebinkwan	ma	ikofen	yob	snar
swaf	e-binkwan	ma	i-kofen	yob	sna-r
space	Rel-far	and	3SG-tell	to	mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

Insoraki	“wawi	wakmam	yai	iso	iwama
Insoraki	“wawi	w-ak-mam	yai	i-iso	iwa-ma
Insoraki	“mummy	3SG-also-see	dad	3SG-be	that.SG-towards here

“One afternoon Manarmakeri walked home, Manarbew saw him from a distance and told her mother, Insoraki: “mum you (could) also see, daddy was the one coming here””

(138)	Insoraki	ikyar	ba	bo	dobe	“bardai	awer
	Insoraki	i-kyar	ba	bo	d-obe	“bardai- -w-	awer
	Insoraki	3SG-believe	not	and	3SG-say	“boast- -2SG-	not

ba	kmam		ima	byabara	bo	darmaker”
ba	kma-m		i-ma	babara- -y-	bo	d-armaker
because	father-POSS.2SG.Det.SG		3SG-FOC	scabies- -3SG-	and	3SG-scratchy

“Insoraki did not believe (him) and said “Don’t boast because your father has scabies and is scratchy”

(139)	Ibur	ra	ro	rum	insape	Insoraki	ifawi
	I-bur	ra	ro	rum	insape	Insoraki	i-fawi
	3SG-leave	there	at	home	after	Insoraki	3SG-know

kaku	Mananarmak’rdi	fyadwer	kif	bekwar
kaku	Mananarmakrdi	fadwer- -y-	kif	be-kwar
very	Manarmakeri	replace- -3SG-	skin	Rel-old

byeja		kuker	kif	bebabo	ma
be- -y- dya		kuker	kif	be-babo	ma
POSS- -3SG- Det.SG		with	skin	rel-young	and

myam	be	romawa	snon	kabor	kraf
mam- -y-	be	romawa	snon	kabor	kraf
see- -3SG-	as	child	man	adolescent	flesh

bepduk	e
be-pduk	e
Rel-handsome	E

“(When) he came home, then, Insoraki knew very well (that) Manarmakeri had already changed his old skin with the new skin and he looked as a very young handsome man”

(140)	Manarbew	ikofen	faro	snari		Insoraki
	Manarbew	i-kofen	faro	sna-ri		Insoraki
	Manarbew	3SG-tell	to	mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG		Insoraki

bo	dobe	“wawe,	yai	ima	inik	kaku
bo	d-obe	“wawe,	yai	i-ma	i-nik	kaku
and	3SG-say	"mummy	daddy	3SG-FOC	3SG-magic	very

fa	ifrur	ro	nayafa		kaem,
fa	i-frur	ro	naya-fa		kaem,
to	3Sg-make	thing	that.PL.INAN-over there		all,

ikofen	monda	bo	aibon	ma	robeyan
i-kofen	monda	bo	ai-bon	ma	robeyan
3SG-say	only	and	wood-fruit	and	food

naisya	kaem
na-s-ya	kaem
3PL.INAN-be-there	all

“Manarbew told her mother, Insoraki and said “Mum daddy is very magic, he made all things, he just said and the fruit and the food were all there”

(141)	komam	kam	kada	fyadwer	manggundi	kwar	fa
	ko-mam	kam	kada	fadwer- -y-	manggun-i	kwar	fa
	1PL.INCL-see	all	surely	replace- -3SG-	self-3SG	already	to

byabo	ma	i	ero	fandu	kobedine”
babo- -y-	ma	i	e-ro	fandu	ko-be-dine
young- -3SG-	and	3SG	Rel-at	middle	2PL-POSS-Place.this

“We all could see (that) he has changed his skin to become young and he is in the middle of us here”

(142) randak ya Insoraki ikyar manggun ro Manarbew
 randak ya Insoraki i-kyar manggun ro Manarbew
 first Det.SG Insoraki 3SG-believe little thing Manarbew

ikofen na ba, bape fyoro mura
 i-kofen na ba bape fyoro mura
 3SG-tell Det.PL.INAN not but long therefore

sneri ikyar e
 sne-ri i-kyar e
 stomach-POSS.3SG.Det.SG 3SG-believe E

“At the beginning Insoraki did not really believe the things that Manarbew said, but after (a) long (time), her heart believed (it)”

(143) mura ro ras ya mindi Insoraki imsor
 mura ro ras ya min-di Insoraki i-msor
 thus at day Det.SG part-Det.SG Insoraki 3SG-angry

swari Manananarmak’rdi bo dobe
 swa-ri Mananarmakrdi bo d-obe
 spouse-POSS.3SG.Det.SG Manarmakeri and 3SG-say

“rosa befnai fa wakofen badir manggun au
 “rosa be-fnai fa wa-kofen badir manggun au
 “what Rel-cause for 2SG-tell make s.o./sth known self 2SG

ro randak ya ba insama kawasa ayesiwara
 ro randak ya ba insama kawasa ay-e-siwa-ra
 at first Det.SG not so people 1SG-POSS-that.PL.AN-towards there

sibur awer ko”
 si-bur awer ko”
 3PL.AN-leave not 1PL”

“Thus, one day Insoraki got angry with her husband, Manarmakeri and said “What was the cause that you did not inform yourself at the beginning so my people who have went towards there would not have left us”

(144) Fama Mananarmak’rdi dobe “wamsor awer
 Fama Mananarmakrdi d-obe “wa-msor awer
 But Manarmakeri 3SG-say “2SG-angry not

ba	nari	koyau	usr	si”
ba	nari	ko-yau	usr	si”
because	will	1PL-chase	follow	3PL.AN”

“However, Manarmakeri said :Don’t be angry because we will follow them”

(145)	Meser	ya	Mananarmak’rdi	ryanda
	Meser	ya	Mananarmakrdi	ra- -y- nda
	Next day	Det.SG	Manarmakeri	move- -3SG- seaward

dores	ro	yen	andir	ma isik	wai	Mansusu	ya
d-ores	ro	yen	andir	ma i-sik	wai	Mansusu	ya
3SG-stand	at	sand	side	and 3SG-make	canoe	Mansusu	Det.SG

ro	yen	ya	bo	ri
ro	yen	ya	bo	ri
at	sand	Det.SG	top	POSS.3SG.Det.SG

“The next day Manarmakeri went seaward (and) stood on the side of the beach and made a *Mansusu*²⁰ canoe on the beach”

(146)	ryos	pum	wai	isik	an	ya
	ros- -y-	pum	wai	i-sik	an	ya
	kick- -3SG-	push	canoe	3SG-make	GIV	Det.SG

randa	ipyar	ro	masen	ya,	fama	myam
ra-nda	i-pyar	ro	masen	ya,	fama	mam- -y-
DIR-seaward	3SG-float	at	sea water	Det.SG	but	see- -3SG-

mansusu	ya	ma	dun	sneri		ba
mansusu	ya	ma	d-un	sne-ri		ba
mansusu	Det.SG	FOC	3SG-take	stomach-POSS.3SG.Det.SG		not

“he pushed the canoe he made seaward to float on the seawater; however, he saw that the *Mansusu* canoe did not please him”

(147)	isik	Wiron	ya	ma	ryos	pum	i
	i-sik	Wiron	ya	ma	ros- -y-	pum	i
	3SG-make	Wiron	Det.SG	and	push- -3SG-	push	3SG

²⁰ Name of special type of canoe.

wer fama imewer i snar kawasa sibor
 wer fama i-mewer i snar kawasa si-bor
 again but 3SG-reject 3SG because people 3PL.AN-many

siffrur i kwar rya imewr i
 si-frur i kwar rya i-mewr i
 3PL.AN-make 3SG already so 3SG-refuse 3SG

“He made a *Wiron*²¹ canoe and pushed it as well, however, he refused it because many people had already made it so he refused it”

(148) ro diya isik wai Karures beba ya
 ro diya i-sik wai Karures be-ba ya
 at place.that 3Sg-make canoe Karures rel-big Det.SG

wer, ryos pum i randa ipyar ma i
 wer ros- -y- pum i ra-nda i-pyar ma i
 again kick- -3SG- push 3SG DIR-seaward 3SG-float and 3SG

Mananarmak’rdi myam ma imarisen ya
 Mananarmakrdi mam- -y- ma i-marisen ya
 Manarmakeri see- -3SG- and 3SG-happy Det.SG

“At that time, he made a big *Karures*²² canoe again, he pushed it seaward, it floated and it was the one that Manarmakeri chose and favored”

(149) ro diya skobyawn robebor skobena
 ro diya sko-byawn ro-be-bor sko-be-na
 at place.that 3PCL-collect thing-Rel-many 3PCL-POSS-Det.PL.INAN

ma skayun skobur Meokbundi be Krawi fa skomam
 ma sk-ayun sko-bur Meokbundi be Krawi fa sko-man
 and 3PCL-sail 3PCL-leave Wundi island to Krawi to 3PCL-see

kawasa skobansi
 kawasa sko-be-an-si
 people 3PCL-POSS-GIV-Det.PL.AN

“At that time they collected their belongings and left Wundi island to Krawi to see their people”

²¹ Another name of a special type of canoe.

²² Name of a special type of canoe.

Ro Krawi be Numfori

ro Krawi be Numfor-i
 from Krawi to Numfor-FOC

From Krawi to Numfor

(150) Mananarmak'rdi, Insoraki, Manarbew ma me
 Mananarmak'rdi Insorak-i Manarbew ma me
 Manarmakeri Insorak-FOC Manarbew and uncle

byedi Saneraro skayun kuker karures ani
 be- -y- di Saneraro sk-ayun kuker karures an-i
 POSS- -3SG- Det.SG Saneraro 3PCL- with karures GIV-det.SG
 sail

ma fasau monda skofyafer ro Krawi
 ma fasau monda sko-fyafer ro Krawi
 and quickly just 3PCL- at Krawi
 arrive

“Manarmakeri, Insoraki, Manarbew and his uncle, Saneraro, sailed with the *karures* and quickly they arrived in Krawi”.

(151) kawasa Meokbundi bebur ansi
 kawasa Meokbundi be-bur an-si
 people Wundi island Rel-leave GIV-Det.PL.AN

sisya kam ro diya
 si-s-ya kam ro diya
 3PL.AN-be-there all at place.that

“The people of Wundi island who left (them) were all at that place”

(152) Mananarmak'rdi ikofen munde yob mambanyo
 Mananarmak'rdi i-kofen mu-nde yob mambanyo
 Manarmakeri 3SG-tell DIR-landward to father in law

ma imbanyo byesuya insama suranda
 ma imbanyo be- y- suya insama su-ra-nda
 and mother in law POSS- -3SG- Det.DU so 3DU-move-seaward

subarek ma sisu wai karures an ya
 su-barek ma si-su wai karures an ya
 3DU-lay and 3PL.AN-push canoe karures GIV Det.SG

ro	subons	na
ro	su-bons	na
at	3DU-back	Det.PL.INAN

“Manarmakeri spoke landward to his father and mother in law to tell them that the two (could) go seaward (and) laid down and (so that) they could push the *karures* canoe over their back”.

(153)	insar	mansar	ansuya	sumewer	kaku,
	insar	mansard	an-suya	su-mewer	kaku,
	old woman	old man	GIV-Det.DU	3DU-refuse	very,

sukofen	mamyai	Mananarmak’rdi	suyobe	ima	da
su-kofen	mamyai	Mananarmak’rdi	su-obe	i-ma	da
3DU-tell	shameful	Mananarmak’rdi	3DU-say	3SG-FOC	perhaps

ro	kaku	yo	iryandari	dobe	wai	byeja
ro	kaku	o	i-r-ya-ndari	d-obe	wai	be- -y- dya
thing	real	o	3SG-be-that-so	3SG-say	canoe	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG

fyak	baken	subena	be	afyak	ri
fak- -y-	baken	su-be-na	be	afyak	ri
lie- -3SG-	body	3DU-POSS-Det.PL.INAN	as	pillow	Det.SG

“The old man and the old woman refused (it) very strongly, the two embarrassed Manarmakeri; they said, perhaps HE is the *real thing*²³, therefore, he wanted his canoe to lay (over) the two’s body as the pillow”

(154)	kawasa	ya	sisan	pum	Mananarmak’rdi
	kawasa	ya	si-san	pum	Mananarmak’rdi
	people	Det.SG	3PL.AN-throw	push	Manarmakeri

ma	imsor	si	bo	dayun	ibur
ma	i-msor	si	bo	d-ayun	i-bur
and	3SG- angry	3PL.AN	and	3SG-sail	3Sg-leave

be	Numfori
be	Numfor-i
to	Numfor-FOC

“The people refused Manarmakeri and he got angry with them and sailed away to Numfor”

²³ An idiomatic expression to say that someone/something is true and valuable.

(155)	sobe	sifawi		kada	nari	siso	
	s-obe	si-fawi		kada	nari	si-iso	
	3PL.AN-say	3PL.AN-know		if	will	3PL.AN-be	
	pyum	wos	byena.		ma	rarirya	nari
	pyum	wos	be- -y- na		ma	rarirya	nari
	good	word	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.INAN		and	therefore	will
	sakfadwer		kraf	ma	kif	bekwar	sena
	s-ak-fadwer		kraf	ma	kif	be-kwar	s-e-na
	3PL.AN-also-change		flesh	and	skin	Rel-old	3PL.AN-POSS-Det.PL.INAN
	fa	sbabo		ra	mob	byabo	ra i
	fa	s-babo		ra	mob	babo- -y-	ra i
	to	3PL.AN-young		like	place	young- -3SG-	like Det.SG

“If only they had known (about Manarmakeri’s magic), they would have followed his words appropriately and therefore they would have changed their old flesh and skin to become young like the way he looked”

(156)	mambanyo	ma	imbanyo	an	suya	ras	ri
	mambanyo	ma	imbanyo	an	suya	ras	ri
	father in law	and	mother in law	GIV	Det.DU	day	Det.SG
	subarek	ma	karures	ya	iruren	epen	su
	su-barek	ma	karures	ya	i-ruren	epen	su
	3DU-stay	and	karures	Det.SG	3SG-move fast	over	3DU
	kada	na	sufadwer	baken	subena		fa
	kada	na	su-fadwer	baken	su-be-na		fa
	perhaps	will	3DU-change	body	3DU-POSS-Det.PL.INAN		to
	subabo	kako	sumnis		Mananarmak’rdi		manggundi
	su-babo	kako	su-mnis		Mananarmak’rdi		manggun-i
	3DU-young	also	3DU-look like		Manarmakeri		self-3SG

“The father and the mother in law, the day the two laid down and the *karures* moved fast over the two, perhaps, the two would have also changed their body to be young like Manarmakeri himself”

(157) wai Karures an ya dayun be bar orisun
 wai Karures an ya d-ayun be bar ori-sun
 canoe Karures GIV Det.SG 3SG-sail to side/part sun-set

ma ifyafer ro myos Numfori
 ma i-fyafer ro myos Numfor-i
 and 3SG-arrive at island Numfor-FOC

“The *Karures* canoe sailed to the sunset part (Westward) and arrived in Numfori”

(158) Manarbew kyans ibe ifnak ro yen snar
 Manarbew kans- -y- i-be i-fnak ro yen snar
 Manarbew cry- -3SG- 3SG-want 3SG-play at sand because

dares ya isam boken
 dares ya i-sam boken
 sun heat Det.SG 3SG-hot a bit

“Manarbew cried for playing on the sand because the sun heat was very hot”

(159) ro diya Mananarmak’rdi syo karui ya
 ro diya Mananarmakrdi so -y- karui ya
 at place.that Manarmakeri throw- -3SG- stone Det.SG

rande bye myos fa nyir be Poiru
 ra-nde be -y- myos fa nir -y- be Poiru
 towards-landward become- -3SG- island to call- -3SG- as Poiru

“At that place Manarmakeri threw a stone landward to become an island, which (is) called Poiru”

(160) Manarbew dado rande ifnak
 Manarbew d-ado ra-nde i-fnak
 Manarbew 3SG-get down DIR-landward 3SG-play

ro yen bero myos mnggun ani
 ro yen be-ro myos mnggun an-i
 at sand Rel-at island small GIV-Det.SG

“Manarbew got down landward to play in the sand of the small island”

(161) myos Poiru isof babo ine komam kada
 myos Poiru isof babo ine ko-mam kada
 island Poiru until recent time this.SG 1PL-see surely

isya ryo mnu Pakreki banda
 i-s-ya ro- -y- mnu Pakreki ba-nda
 3SG-be-there at- -3SG- village Pakreki side-seaward

ri
 ri
 POSS.3SG.Det.SG

“The island Poiru until today we could see (it); it exists at the seaward side of Pakreki village”

(162) ro myos an ya bo ri
 ro myos an ya bo ri
 at island GIV Det.SG top POSS.3SG.Det.SG

Mananarmak’rdi kyer ai knam ri fyak
 Mananarmakrdi ker- -y- ai knam ri fyak
 Manarmakeri plant- -3SG- wood tree Num.Link four

ma ai knam rifyak an skoya
 ma ai knam ri-fyak an skoya
 and wood tree Num.Link-four GIV Det.PAUCAL

skobe keret beba ri fyak, skoiso
 sko-be keret be-ba ri fyak skoi-iso
 3PCL-become clan Rel-big Num.Link four 3PAUCAL-be

Rumberpon, Rumansara, Anggraidifu Rumberpur
 Rumberpon, Rumansara, Anggraidifu Rumberpur
 Rumberpon, Rumansara, Anggraidifu Rumberpur

“On the island Manarmakeri planted four trees and the four trees became the four big clans, they were Rumberpon, Rumansara, Anggraidifu and Rumberpur”

(163) ebe bukor ro keret ri fyak an
 e-be bukor ro keret ri fyak an
 Rel-become head at clan Num.Link four GIV

skoine	isoine	“Funkawyan”
skoine	i-iso-ine	“Funkawyan”
this.3PAUCAL	3SG-be-this	“Funkawyan”

“The one who became the head of the four clan was Funkawyan”

Barbur bera be sup Korano Fyak ma mun orisyun

Barbur ²⁴	be-ra	be	sup	Korano	Fyak	ma	mun	Ori-sun-	-y-
Departure	Rel-move	to	land	King	Four	and	part	Sun-enter-	-3SG-

“The departure to King Four islands and the (islands in the) Sunset part (Westward)”

(164)	Mananarmak’rdi	skobarek	fyor	ker	mnggun	ro	Numfori
	Mananarmakr-di	ske-barek	fyor	ker	mnggun	ro	Numfor-i
	Manarmakeri	3PCL-stay	time	part	little	at	Numfor-FOC

“Manarmakeri (and his family) stayed for a short time in Numfor”

(165)	Mananarmak’rdi	ikofn	yob	kawasa	sya	bo	dobe
	Mananarmakr-di	i-kofn	yob	kawasa	sya	bo	d-obe
	Manarmakeri	3SG-tell	to	people	Det.PL.AN	and	3SG-say

“nari	yafrur	roi	befrur	kandor	ro	myos	ine
nari	ya-frur	roi	be-frur	kandor	ro	myos	ine
later	1Sg-make	thing	Rel-make	surprise	at	island	this.SG

imfama	yor	fa	mgoso	pyum	ro	yakofn	na
imfama	y-or	fa	mgo-so	pyum	ro	ya-kofn	na
however	1SG-request	for	2PL-follow	good	thing	1SG-tell	Det.PL.INAN

“Manarmakeri told the people and said “I will make wonderful things at this island”, however, I request that you follow well the things that I (will) say”.

(166)	oso	imar	ido	mgokans	awer	i	snar
	oso	i-mar	ido	mgo-kans	awer	i	snar
	one	3SG-die	if	2PL-cry	not	3SG	because

²⁴ Reduplicated form of the root *bur* “to leave”.

nari	ikbawes	wer	fa	ikenem
nari	i-kbawes	wer	fa	i-kenem
later	3SG-rise	again	to	3SG-alive

“If one died, don’t weep for him/her because s/he will rise again to be alive”

(167)	robeyan	na		nabro		ido	mgosewar
	robeyan	na		na-bro		ido	mgo-sewar
	food	Det.PL.INAN		3PL.INAN-empty		if	2PL-look for

awer	be	sup	Yapen	snar	nari	robeyan	supsap
awer	be	sup	Yapen	snar	nari	robeyan	supsap
not	to	land	Yapen	because	later	food	various

nramuma			ro	manggun	na
n-ra-mu-ma			ro	manggun	na
3PL-move-DIR-towards here		at	self		3PL.INAN

“If the food is exhausted, don’t look for (it) to Yapen land because various kinds of food will come here by themselves”

(168)	kawasa	Numfori		siso		pyum	Mananarmak’rdi
	kawasa	Numfor-i		si-iso		pyum	Mananarmakr-di
	people	Numfor-FOC		3PL.AN-be		good	Mananarmakr-Det.SG

wos	byena			ba,	skans	snonkaku
wos	be- -y- na			ba	s-kans	snonkaku
word	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.INAN			not	3PL.AN-cry	human being

emar	sya		ma	sewar		robeyan	ker
e-mar	sya		ma	s-sewar		robeyan	ker
Rel-die	Det.PL.INAN		and	3PL.AN-look for		food	continuously

be	sup	Yapen
be	sup	Yapen
to	land	Yapen

“Numfor people did not follow Manaramkeri’s words carefully, they wept for the dead and they still look for food in Yapen land”

(169)	Mananarmakr di		imsor		kawasa	beso
	Mananarmakr-di		i-msor		kawasa	be-so
	Manarmakeri		3SG-angry		people	Rel-follow

asuser	ba	sya	ma	isu	wai
asuser	ba	sya	ma	i-su	wai
obedient	not	Det.PL.AN	and	3SG-push	canoe

byani			fa	ibe	dayun	ibur	pdef
be- -y- an- i			fa	i-be	d-ayun	i-bur	pdef
POSS- -3SG- GIV- Det.SG			to	3SG-be about	3SG-sail	3SG-leave	straight

“Manarmakeri got angry (with) his people who did not obey (his message) and pushed his canoe to leave (them) straight away”

(170)	ro	fyor	skofasos	fa	skobe	skayun	ya
	ro	fyor	ske-fasos	fa	ske-be	sk-ayun	ya
	at	time	3PCL-prepare	to	3PCL-be about to	3PCL-	Det.SG
						sail	

Manarbew	isya	ifnak	kaker	ro	yen	ya	bo
Manarbew	i-s-ya	i-fnak	kaker	ro	yen	ya	bo
Manarbew	3SG-be-there	3SG-play	still	at	sand	Det.SG	top

“When the three prepared to sail, Manarbew was still playing on the sand”

(171)	Mananarmak’rdi	ryop	ikak	beyarek	sayaryur
	Mananarmakr-di	rop- -y-	ikak	be-arek	sayaryur ²⁵
	Mananarmakeri	throw- -3SG-	snake	Rel- bite	painfully

sya	fa	sfakak	Manarbew	i	mura
sya	fa	s-fa-kak	Manarbew	i	mura
Det.PL.AN	to	3PL.AN- cause-afraid	Manarbew	3SG	thus

Manarbew	imgak	bo	ryanda	dek	ro	wai
Manarbew	i-mgak	bo	ra- -y- nda	d-ek	ro	wai
Manarbew	3SG-afraid	and	move- -3SG- seaward	3SG- get in	at	canoe

“Manarmakeri threw a poisonous snakes to frighten Manarbew, thus, Manarbew was afraid and went seaward to get into the boat”

(172)	Randak	ya	ro	diya	ikak	beyarek	sayaryur
	randak	ya	ro	diya	ikak	be-arek	sayaryur
	early	Det.SG	at	that.place	snake	Rel-bite	painfully

²⁵ Reduplicated form of *syur* ‘painful’.

sro	Numfori	isof	babo	ine
s-ro	Numfor-i	isof	babo	ine
3PL.AN-at	Numfor-FOC	until	recent	this.SG

“Beginning from that time the poisonous snakes were in Numfori until today”

(173)	Mananarmak’rdi	skayun	skobur	be	myos-myos
	Mananarmakr-di	sk-ayun	sko-bur	be	myos-myos
	Mananarmakeri	3PCL-sail	3PCL-leave	to	island-island

Korano	Fyak	nawandi
Korano	Fyak	nawa-ndi
King	Four	that.PL.INAN-outward

ro	diya	skayun	skobur	pdef	be	mun	ori	syun
ro	diya	sk-ayun	sko-bur	pdef	be	mun	ori	sun- -y-
at	that.place	3PCL-sail	3PCL-leave	straight	to	part	sun	enter- -3SG-

iwara	ra	skofyafer	ro	sup	amber	nariwa
iwa-ra	ra	sko-fyafer	ro	sup	amber	nawa- -ri-
that.SG-there	until	3PCL-arrive	at	land	foreign	that.PL.INAN-outside

“Manarmakeri (and his family) sailed to the King Four islands out there; from that place they sailed straight to the westward until they arrived at foreign lands outside”

(174)	I	befnai	amber	sya	snana	bo
	i	be-fnai	amber	sya	s-nana	bo
	3SG	Rel-cause	stranger	Det.PL.AN	3Pl.AN-have things	and

koma	kona	roi	no	ba
ko-ma	ko-na	roi	no	ba
1PL.INCL-FOC	1PL.INCL-have	thing	any	not

“It (was the reason) that caused the strangers to have things (be rich) but WE, we don’t have any thing”

Mananarmak’rdi angginm byena

Mananarmakrdi angginm be- -y- na
 Manarmakeri message POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.INAN
“Manarmakeri’s messages”

(175) rari fafyar ya mob rya ya, Mananarmak’rdi
 rari fafyar ya mob ra- -y- ya Mananarmakr-di
 thus story Det.SG place move- -3SG- Det.SG Manarmakeri

nari kyaber ro syos bebe fik ya
 nari kaber- -y- ro syos bebe fik ya
 will return- -3SG- at generation ORDINAL seven Det.SG

“Thus the story went like that, Manarmakeri would return on the seventh generation”

(176) Mananarmak’rdi ryir angginm byena fa
 Mananarmak’rdi rir- -y- angginm be- -y- na fa
 Manarmakeri release- -3SG- message POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.INAN for

mob nrok ya isoine:
 mob n-rok ya i-iso-ine
 place 3PL.INAN- sound Det.SG 3SG-be-this

“Manarmakeri gave his messages as follows:

(177) kawasa sya sipok san awer bakdi bon
 kawasa sya si-pok s-an awer bakdi bon
 people Det.PL.AN 3PL.AN-be able 3PL.AN-eat not pumpkin fruit

ma randip/ snar su bebe knam Mananarmak’rdi ibur
 ma randip snar su be-be knam Mananarmak’rdi i-bur
 and pig because 3DU Rel-become source Mananarmak’rdi 3SG-leave

mnu Sopen
 mnu Sopen
 village Sopen

“The people should not eat pumpkin and pig because the two (were) the reason Manarmakeri left Sopen village”

(178)	kawasa	sya	sipok	fa	san	awer	ikak
	kawasa	sya	si-pok	fa	s-an	awer	ikak
	people	Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-be able	to	3PL.AN-eat	not	snake
ma	kawen/	snar	si	kako	sak	rer	ra
ma	kawen	snar	si	kako	s-ak	rer	ra
and	shrimp	because	3PL.AN	also	3PL.AN-also	change skin	as
mob	Mananarmak'rdi	ryer		ra	i		
mob	Mananarmak'rdi	rer- -y-		ra	i		
place	Manarmakeri	change skin-	-3SG-	like	Det.SG		

“The people should not eat snake and shrimp because they also changed (their skin) like the way Manarmakeri changed his skin”

(179)	Ono	sipok	fa	sisbawr	awer	rik	e
	Ono	si-pok	fa	si-sbawr	awer	rik	e
	Any	3PL.AN-be able	to	3PL.AN-spill	not	blood	E
snar	ro	mob	rik	nasbawr	ro	babe	ababen
snar	ro	mob	rik	na-sbawr	ro	babe	ababen
because	at	place	blood	3PL.INAN-spill	at	things about	care
no	ba						
no	ba						
any	not						

“Any one should not spill blood because at the place the blood spills there is no peace”

(180)	nari	sbaus	rum	no	fa	naser	robeyan
	nari	s-baus	rum	no	fa	na-ser	robeyan
	will	3PL.AN-build	house	any	to	3PL.INAN-store	food
Mananarmak'rdi	byena						
Mananarmak'rdi	be- -y- na						
Manarmakeri	POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.INAN						

“They should build some houses to store Manarmakeri’s food”

(181) nari sfanjur aimun no fa nabor e
 nari s-fanjur aimun no fa na-bor e
 will 3PL.AN-collect fire wood any for 3PL.INAN-many E

snar ro fyor Mananarmak’rdi ryamuma
 snar ro fyor Mananarmak’rdi ra- -y- mu- ma
 because at time Mananarmak’rdi move- -3SG- DIR- towards here

na sup ya pyampan ras ri kyor
 na sup ya pampan- -y- ras ri kyor
 will land Det.SG dark- -3SG- day Num.Link three

“They should collect some fire wood so there are many (fire wood available) because at the time Manarmakeri comes, the land would be dark for three days”

Text 3

**FAFYAR BEKUR KORBEN MA BIN YOMGA
“THE STORY ABOUT DRAGON AND THE YOMGA WOMAN”**

Audio Recording:

Narrator : Demianus Baransano

Age : 76

Dialect of Biak: Saba/Wadibu (East Biak)

Data recorded on Tuesday, 12 September 2004

Location : Saba Village, Marao-East Biak

FAFYAR BEKUR KORBEN MA BIN YOMGA
“THE STORY ABOUT DRAGON AND THE YOMGA WOMAN”

Fafyar	bekur	korben	ma	bin	Yomga
fafyar	be-kur	korben	ma	bin	Yomga
story	Rel-about	dragon	and	woman	Yomga

“The story about dragon and the Yomga woman

(1)	yafar	farfyar	Sanadiyo	mbo	inai	byedya/
	ya-far	farfyar	Sanadi-yo	mbo	inai	be -y- dya
	1SG-tell	story	Sanadi-O	about	daughter	POSS-3SG-Det.SG

byedya	faroro	romawa	ye	befarkor
be-y-dya	faroro	romawa	y-e	be-farkor
POSS-3SG-Det.SG	to	son	1SG-POSS	Rel-study

do	sup	bondi	ro	Amerika	iwanine#
ro	sup	bondi	ro	Amerika	iwa-ine
at	land	foreign	at	Amerika	that.SG-this.SG

“I tell the story of Sanadi’s daughter to my son who study in the foreign country, America”

(2)	Yabawa	rya	rawo	isof	roro
	Ya-bawa	rya	rawo	i-sof	roro
	1SG-small	when	until	3SG-reach	at

yaba	myae	yabe	tahun	samfur	di	fik	sesr
ya-ba	m-yae	ya-be	tahun	samfur	di	fik	sesr
1SG-big	towards-top	1SG-become	year	ten	num.link	seven	plus

di	wonm	ine
di	wonm	ine
Num.link	six	this.SG

yakain	do	mnu	ine	Sabai#
ya-kain	ro	mnu	ine	Saba-i
1SG-stay	at	village	this.SG	Saba-Foc

“When I was small until I am seventy six years old, I have been living in this village, Saba”

(3) Inja yara be mob-o ba
 inja ya-ra be mob-o ba
 so 1SG-go to place-O not

ma insape yakabr ma yabe
 ma insape ya-kaber ma ya-be
 and just 1SG-return here 1SG-be about to

yafawar fawar ine ba#
 ya-fawar fawar ine ba
 1SG-tell story this.SG not

“So I did not go anywhere and not just returned here to tell this story”

(4) Inja yafawari rarsne#
 inja ya-fawar-i rar-sne
 so 1SG-tell-3SG like-this

“So I tell it like this”

(5) Ro mnu Saba irainei#
 ro mnu Saba ine- - ra- -i
 in village Saba this- -seaward-FOC

“In this seaward village of Saba”

(6) Korbeno benir be Bakaka iya byark oyu
 Korben-o be-nir be Bakaka iya bark –y- ro-u
 dragon-O Rel-name as Bakaka one stay – 3SG at-U

nyan kwaru Saba Warwer siraine sedi#
 nyan kwar-u Saba Warwer sine- -rai- s-e-di
 road old-U Saba Warwer this.PL.AN- seaward 3PL.AN-POSS-Det.SG

“A dragon whose name was Bakaka lived in the old road of seaward Saba-Warwer”

(7) Nyan ya snori Kinefni#
 nyan ya sno-ri Kinefni
 road Det.SG name-3SG.POSS.Det.SG Kinefni

“The road’s name is Kinefni”

(8) Korben ine fyair bin berande ido
 korben ine fair- -y- bin be-ra-nde ido
 dragon this.SG peep- 3SG- woman Rel-move-landward FOC

bebaraprapn do yaf narewara
 be-baraprapn ro yaf nawa- -re- -ra
 Rel-roast food at garden that.PL.INAN- -landward- -along

bo bebur mumbrasi#
 bo be-bur²⁶ mu-m-ra-si
 and Rel-leave DIR-towards-seaward-Det.PL.AN

“This dragon usually watched the women who usually went landward to roast food along the gardens²⁷ and went home²⁸”

(9) fyair simbran dao sisyo b rido
 fair- -y- si-mbran rao si-syob ido
 peep- -3SG- 3PL.AN-walk until 3PL.AN-away then

inai binkbor anine dakusr
 inai bin-kbor an-ine d-ak-usr
 girl woman-young GIV-this.SG 3SG-also-follow

doroyo snar suyakuser#
 roro-O sna-r suy-ak-user
 at mother-3SG.POSS.Det.SG 3DU-also-follow

“He watched them walking until they were away, then, this young women followed (she walked at the back of) her mother. The two of them followed (the others).”

(10) Inai binkbor ya snonsnon byedi Inggini#
 inai bin-kbor ya sononsnon be- -y- -di Inggini
 girl woman-young Det.SG name POSS- - 3SG- -Det.SG Inggini

“The young woman’s name is Inggini”

²⁶ The verb root *bur* ‘to leave’ in this context means ‘to go home’.

²⁷ The position of the gardens is in the landward viewed from the seaside.

²⁸ The home is located near the sea.

(11) Sumbran mra korben anine ikanow
 su-mbran m-ra korben an-ine i-kanow
 3DU-walk towards-seaward dragon GIV-this.SG 3SG-pick up/move up

bruri ma syun doroyu
 bru-ri ma sun- -y- roro-u
 head-POSS.3SG.Det.SG and enter- -3SG at -U

inawn faru nanya ma ikas fananjur do i
 inawn faru an-ya ma i-kas fananjur ro i
 bag middle GIV-Det.SG and 3SG-circle collect inside 3SG

rao inawn inani dun bo dadoi#
 rao inawn in-an-i d-un bo d-adoi
 until bag woman-GIV-Det.SG 3SG-take and 3SG-descend

“They two walked seaward, the dragon moved his head up and entered in the middle part of the bag and circled himself inside the bag, at the bag which the woman got down (with it to the village).”

(12) Dadoi rarbabi ryanda ro mnu
 d-adoi ra-r-bab-i ra- -y- -nda ro mnu
 3SG-descend DIR-down-FOC move- -3SG- -seaward at village

irawa ido
 iwa- -ra- ido
 that.SG- -seaward- then

ido inawn fadu nanya myarbak rya
 ido inawn fadu an-ya marbak- -y- rya
 then bag middle GIV-Det.SG heavy- -3SG- so

in anya dibri ma ikofn
 in an-ya d-ibr-i ma i-kofn
 woman GIV-Det.SG 3SG-return-3SG and 3SG-tell

snari#
 sna-ri
 mother-3SG.POSS.Det.SG

“She went down to the village, then the middle part of the bag was heavy so she returned and told her mother”

(13) Inggini ikofn snari bo dobo “awin
 Inggini i-kofn sna-ri bo d-obo awin
 Inggini 3SG-tell mother-3SG.POSS.Det.SG and 3SG-say mum

insanja kumbran ro diwamrame inawn
 insanja ku-mbran ro diwa-m-ra-me inawn
 when 1DU-walk from there-towards-seaward-ME bag

faru nine myarbakbokn dadine ba#
 faru ine marbak- -y- bokn ra-dine ba
 middle this.SG heavy- -3SG- -more such as-this.SG not

“Inggini told her mother and said, “mum when we walked from there to here the bag was not as heavy as this (its weight at present).

(14) Imboi ine myarsyur ja#
 Imboi ine marsyur- -y- ja
 but this.SG heavy- -3SG- so

“However, this is heavy, so

(15) Robaido kumampan ari#
 Roba-ido ku-mam-pan ari
 not-if 3DU-see-try first(before doing something else)
 “Or let’s see it first”

(16) Sumam mufrum ido
 su-mam mu-f-rum ido
 3DU-look DIR-towards- inside when

korben ani i Bakakai
 korben an-i i Bakaka-i
 dragon GIV-Det.SG 3SG Bakaka-FOC

bekakas royo inawn faru anya dori#
 be-kakas ro-o inawn faru an-ya do-ri
 Rel-circle at bag middle GIV-Det.SG inside-3SG-POSS.Det.SG

“When they see inside, the dragon, he, Bakaka who circled (himself) in the middle of the bag”

(17) Inja korben anya byak sbari
 inja korben an-ya bak- -y- sba-ri
 so dragon GIV-Det.SG open- -3SG- mouth-3SG.POSS.Det.SG

ma dobo mkun aya#
 ma d-obo mk-un aya
 and 3SG-say 2PL-take 1SG

“So the dragon opened his mouth and said “take me”.

(18) Inja suyun i randa byark ro
 inja suy-un i ra-nda bark- y- ro
 so 3DU-take 3SG DIR-seaward stay- -3SG- at

rum ani#
 rum an-i
 house GIV-Det.SG

“So the two took him seaward to stay at the house”

(19) Skenf kayam ro rum anya boi korben
 sk-enf kayam ro rum an-ya boi korben
 3PCL- together at house GIV-Det.SG but dragon
 sleep

anine denf soyu in ani Inggini
 an-ine d-enf so-u in an-i Inggini
 GIV-this.SG 3SG-sleep together-U woman GIV-Det.SG Inggini

bin Yomgani#
 bin Yomgan-i
 woman Yomga-FOC

“The three slept together at the house but the dragon slept with the woman, Inggini, the Yomga woman”.

(20) Suna ro sim ya iyi#
 su-na ro sim ya iyi
 3DU-have at bedroom Det.SG one

“The two sleep in one bedroom”

(21) Mboi srar byansuine
 mboi srar be- -y- an-suine
 but sibling of opposite sex POSS- -3SG-GIV-this.DU

sufawi ba#
 su-fawi ba
 3DU-know not

“But her two brothers did not know”

(22) Kmar Sanadiyo ifawi ba#
 Kma-r Sanadi-o i-fawi ba
 Father-3SG.POSS.Det.SG Sanadi-O 3SG-know not

“Her father, Sanadi, did not know”

(23) Binsar ani sifawi ba#
 Binsar an-i si-fawi ba
 Old woman GIV-Det.SG 3PL.AN-know²⁹ not

“the old woman, they did not know”

(24) Boi rob rido korben anine iso
 boi rob ido korben an-ine i-so
 but night when dragon GIV-this.SG 3SG-stick out

snonisi ra ryoi bin anya
 snoni-si ra ro- -y- i bin an-ya
 nose-3SG.POSS.Det.SG to at- -3SG-FOC woman GIV-Det.SG

fmar byedi#
 fmar be- -y- di
 genitals POSS- -3SG- Det.SG

“However at night the dragon stuck out his nose towards the woman’s genitals”.

²⁹ This sentence seems ungrammatical because the verb agreement marker (prefix *si-* (3PL.AN)) does not co-occur with the subject *bin ani* ‘the woman’ which is the third person singular. However, this phenomenon is common in the Biak language. If we look at the first two sentences (sentence 20 and 21), we could see that the two brothers of the girl did not know that the dragon have slept with the girl. Sentence (23) forms the conclusion that they all did not know about the case including the old woman.

(25) Rao rob ri-fumonskoyame srar
 rao rob ri-fum-o-skoya-me srar
 until night Num link –O- several-Det.TR-ME³⁰ sibling of opposite sex

byansui ryaryo sumarisn manggun ba#
 be- -y- an-sui raryo- -y- su-marisn manggun ba
 POSS- -3SG- -GIV-Det.DU seem- -3SG- 3DU-like little not

“For several nights her two brothers seemed a little bit unhappy”.

(26) Muraido sukofn kmari bo suyobo
 muraido su-kofn kma-ri bo suy-obe-o
 Therefore 3DU-tell father-3SG.POSS.Det.SG and 3DU-say-O

kamamo insape kobe kan
 kamam-o insape ko-be k-an
 father-O now 1PL.INCL-want 1PL.INCL-eat

in bo nari...#
 in bo nari
 fish and later (may be later...)

“Therefore, they told her father and said “father now we want to eat fish and perhaps....”

(27) Inja sokon skofawar ido korben anya ryower#
 inja sko-kon sko-fawar ido korben an-ya rower- -y-
 so 3PCL-sit 3PCL-tell when dragon GIV-Det.SG listen- -3SG-

“So when they sat and talked, the dragon listened”

(28) Byark ro sim irumwa bo ryowr
 bark- -y- ro sim iwa- -rum- bo rower- -y-
 lie- -3SG- at bedroom that- -inside- and listen- -3SG-

mundi ro skofawari#
 mu-ndi ro sko-fawar-i
 DIR-outwards thing 3PCL-tell-Det.SG

“He lay in the bedroom inside and listened outward to the thing that they talked about”

³⁰ Suffix *-me* has the same function as suffix *-o*.

(29) Inja ikofn Inggini bo dobe snon
 inja i-kofn Inggini bo d-obe snon
 so 3SG-tell Inggini and 3SG-say man

bansuriya kmami
 be- -w- -an-suiya- -ri- kma-mi
 POSS- -2SG- -GIV-Det.DU- -outside- father-2SG.POSS.Det.SG

sibe san in ido
 si-be s-an in ido
 3PL.AN-want 3PL.AN-eat fish if

“So he told Inggini and said “if your two men outside and your father want to eat fish”

(30) na wakofn be si
 na wa-kofen be si
 later 2SG-tell to them

bo srande sbak airares#
 bo s-ra-nde s-bak airares
 and 3PL.AN-move-landward 3PL.AN-cut down poisonous roots

“you’ll tell them to go landward to cut poisonous roots”

(31) Inja skorowrusru korben anine ikofn beyu
 inja sko-rowr-user-u korben an-ine i-kofn be-u
 so 3PCL-listen-follow- dragon GIV-this 3SG-tell to-U
 U

inaine Inggini#
 inai-ne Inggini
 girl-this.SG Inggini

“So they followed what the dragon told this girl, Inggini”

(32) Iraya nja meser skorande skobak
 i-rya nja meser sko-ra-nde sko-bak
 3SG-be so tomorrow 3PCL-move- 3PCL-cut
 landward down

airars	na#
airars	na
poisonous roots	Det.PL.INAN

“It’s just like that, the next day they went landward to cut the poisonous roots”

(33)	Skunmra	skosu
	sk-un-m-ra	sko-su
	3PCL-take-towards-	3PCL-
	seaward	push

way	mkun	anya	randa
way	mkun	an-ya	ra-nda
canoe	small	GIV-Det.SG	DIR-seaward

korben	ani	iki	rarbab	ikas	ro	do#
korben	an-i	i-ki	ra-r-bab	i-kas	ro	do
dragon	GIV-Det.SG	3Sg-slide	DIR-towards- downward	3SG-circle	at	inside

“They took (the poisonous root) seaward, pushed the small canoe towards the sea, the dragon slide down(and) circled (himself) inside (the canoe).”

(34)	Bo	subors	kukr	i	randa	skopapo	Samidares#
	bo	su-bors	kukr	i	ra-nda	sko-pap ³¹ -o	Samidares
	and	3DU-row	with	3SG	DIR-seaward	3PCL-wash-	Samidares
						O	

“ and (then) the two rowed (the canoe) with him seaward, they poisoned Samidares^{32,}”

(35)	Ido	korben	anya	iyor	ikofn	fa	skokob
	ido	korben	an-ya	i-yor	i-kofn	fa	sko-kob
	so	dragon	GIV-Det.SG	3SG-call	3SG-tell	to	3PCL-
							hit

airars	anna	bo	insape	darkepen
airars	an-na	bo	insape	d-ark-e-pen
poisonous root	GIV-Det.PL.INAN	and	then	3SG-bite-hold

³¹ In this context, the verb *pap* (‘to wash’) means ‘to poison’ a pond. After the poisonous roots are hit with stones, then, they are pressed in the same way someone is pressing a washed cloth in order to dry it. The juice that comes out from the roots is very strong to poison the fish.

³² Samidares is the name of a place where there are lots of fish around and below the corals.

bo	ikib	bruri		rarbi	isu
bo	i-kib	bru-ri		ra-r-bab-i	i-su
and	3SG-slide	head-3SG.POSS.DET.SG		DIR-towards-downward-FOC	3SG-insert

roroyu	karyu	na		bab	na#
roro-u	karyu	na		bab	na
at	rock	Det.PL.INAN	downward	Det.PL.INAN	

“Then the dragon called (them) to ask them to hit the poisonous roots and then he bit (and held) (the roots in his mouth) and moved his head down, he inserted (his head) below the rock”

(36)	Isu	randumi		in	ansya	snas
	i-su	ra-ndum-i		in	an-sya	s-nas
	3SG-insert	DIR-inward-FOC	fish	GIV-Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-smell	

bo	sisae	randi		skawkuw	ma
bo	si-sae	ra-ndi		s-kawkuw	ma
and	3PL.AN-get out	DIR-outward		3PL.AN-appear at the surface level	and

skobuk	aryes			nasau#
sko-buk	aryes			na-sau
3PCL-	fish net			3PL.INAN-catch
give				

“he inserted (it) inside, the fish smell (the poisonous root) and they came outward, they appeared at the sea surface level and the three used the fishnet to catch (the fish)”

(37)	Skopap	Samidares	rao	imnai	skorafrum
	sko-pap	Samidares	rao	i-mnai	sko-ra-f-rum
	3PCL-wash	Samidares	until	3SG-finish	3PCL-move-towards-inward

skopapu	Sawarap#
sko-pap-u	Sawarap
3PCL-wash-	Sawarap
U	

“They poisoned Samidares until it finished, they moved inward to poison Sawarap”

(38) Skonap i wer ma skosawn
 sko-nap i wer ma sk-sawn
 3PCL-beat 3SG again and 3PCL-
 throw

in ansya raryas sbark ro
 in an-sya ra-r-yas s-bark ro
 fish GIV-Det.PL.AN DIR-towards-top 3PL.AN-stay at

wanya dori#
 wa-an-ya do-ri
 canoe-GIV-Det.SG inside-3SG.POSS.Det.SG

“They poisoned it as well and they threw the fish upward to the canoe (where) the fish were collected inside the canoe”

(39) Boi bekanaek ansuya sumarisn mangguno
 boi be-kanaek an-suya su-marisn manggun-o
 but Rel-brothers GIV-Det.DU 3DU-like little

korben ani byuko bin subani Inggini
 korben an-i buko -y- bin su-be-an-i Inggini
 dragon GIV-Det.SG marry- -3SG- woman 3DU-POSS-GIV-Det.SG Inggini

iryba ba#
 i-ryba ba
 3SG-be not

“However, the two brothers were a little bit unhappy (that) the dragon married their woman Inggini”

(40) Muraido suna wosi
 muraido su-na wos-i
 so 3DU-have words-Det.SG

“Therefore the two negotiated”

(41) suyobo fyoro iwai rarbab i
 su-obe-o fyor-o i-wai ra-r-bab i
 3DU-say-O when-O 3SG-swim DIR-towards-below Foc

(44)	barya	ebe	bebanya	dif	mgan
	barya	ebe	beba-an-ya	d-if	mgan
	therefore	Rel-become	elder-GIV-Det.SG	3SG-pick up	axe

anya	myae	byuk	karuko	bukor	ya
an-ya	m-yae	buk- -y-	karuk-o	bukor	ya
GIV-Det.SG	towards-top	give- -3SG-	cut-O	head	Det.SG

do	ikpar		dande
do	i-kpar		ra-nde
thus	3SG- move or be hurled quickly through the air		DIR-landward

nyir	be	Nusasri	epups	iwarpon#
nir- y-	be	Nusasri	e-pups	iwa-r-pon
call- 3SG-	as	Nusasri	Rel-end	that.SG-towards-front

“ Therefore, the elder brother picked up the axe upward and used it to cut the head, thus it was hurled quickly through the air (moved) landward, It is called Nusasri, the one at the front end.”

(45)	Fadu	ya	wer	rya	wer	fre	snonsnon
	fadu	ya	wer	ra- -y-	wer	f-re	snonsnon
	middle	Det.SG	again	move- -3SG-	again	towards-landward	name

byeja	isya	boi	yabefnder	i#
be- -y- dya	i-sya	boi	ya-befnder	i
POSS-3SG-Det.SG	3SG-exist	but	1SG-forget	3SG

“The middle part (of the snake) also moved landward as well, its name exists but I forgot it.

(46)	Indo	fadu	ya	iya	wer	do
	Indo	fadu	ya	iya	wer	do
	Then	middle	Det.SG	one	again	FOC

ryawer	fre
ra- -y- wer-	f-re
move- -3SG- again	towards-landward

isya	wer	boi	snonsnon	byeja		yabefnder	i#
i-sya	wer	boi	snonsnon	be- -y- -dya		ya-befnder	i
3SG-exist	again	but	name	POSS- -3SG- Det.SG		1SG-forget	3SG

“Then, the other one also in the middle moved landward, it still exists but I forgot its name”

(47)	Ido	bekar	murpur		ya	nyir	be	Kaduki#
	ido	be-kar	mu-r-pur		ya	nir- -y-	be	Kaduki
	Then	Rel-face	DIR-towards-backward		Det.SG	call- -3SG-	as	Kaduki

“Then, the one (part of the snake) which faced backward is called as Kaduki”

(48)	Bo	bekar	mura	roro	purai	anya	nyir	
	bo	be-kar	mu-ra	roro	purai	an-ya	nir- -y-	
	and	Rel-face	DIR-there	at	tail	GIV-Det.Sg	call- -3SG-	

beyo Kwomsimbriri#
 be-o Kwomsimbriri
 as Kwomsimbriri

“And the one which faced towards the tail is called as Kwomsimbriri”

(49)	Ro	bepups	kaku	ya	baboine	nggor	i	be	Saunek#
	Ro	be-pups	kaku	ya	babo-ine	ngg-or	i	be	Saunek
	the one	Rel-end	very	Det.SG	new-this	1PL.EXCL-call	3SG	as	Saunek

“The one at the very end, today, we called it as Saunek”

(50)	Do	purai	mgun	barsa	ya	ryaryani		
	do	purai	mgun	barsa	ya	ra- -y- r-yai		
	then	tail	small	last	Det.SG	move- -3SG- -towards-top		

byarkuso Wursam ro Adurki#
 bark- -y- us-o Wursam ro Adurki
 stay- -3Sg- with-o Wursam ro Adurki

“Then the last small tail went upward to stay with Wursam in Adurki”

(51) Muraido mnuk ansine siryui rao
 Muraido mnuk an-sine si-ryui rao
 Thus piece GIV-this.PL.AN 3PL.AN-gather until

sibebekaryui ma bekon doroyu Saba Warwer
 si-be-be-karui ma be-kon roro-u Saba Warwe
 3PL.AN-Rel-become-stone and Rel-sit at-U Saba Warwer

banda ma bepampan aniwa#
 ba-nda ma be-pampan an-iwa
 part-seaward and Rel-dark GIV-that.SG

“Thus, these pieces gathered together until they were the ones who became stones and stay at the sea side of Saba Warwer and the dark place over there”

(52) Komamfra kada
 ko-mam-f-ra kada
 1PL.INCL-see-towards seaward if

bekain annarayafa
 be-kain an-naya- -ra- fa
 Rel-sit GIV-that.PL.INAN- -seaward- there

korben ine mnuk byesya siri#
 korben ine mnuk be- -y- sya si-iri
 dragon this.SG piece POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.AN 3PL.AN-be

“If we look seaward the ones sit along there, those are the dragon’s body’s pieces”.

(53) A inja imnai ro dine#
 A inja i-mnai ro dine
 Ah so 3SG-finish at here

“Ah so it finishes here”

Text 4

SNONGGAKU EBE BABARA, EBYOR MA EBEMNORE
“The scabies, the bald, and the snotty nose”

Audio Recording:

Narator : Bernece Mofu

Age : 55

Dialect of Biak: Mandori (Numfor Island)

Date : Monday, 13 September 2005 at 09.00am

Location: Orwer village, East Biak

SNONGGAKU EBE BABARA, EBYOR MA EBEMNORE

snonggaku	ebebabara,	ebyor,	ma	ebemnore
snonggaku	e-be-babara	e-byor	ma	e-be-mnor-e
people	Rel-being-scabies	Rel-bald	and	Rel-being-mucus-E

‘The scabies, the bald, and the snotty nose’

(1)	ras	ine	ras	bebe	samfur	sesr
	ras	i-ne	ras	bebe	samfur	sesr
	day	3SG-this	day	ORDINAL	ten	plus

di	kyor	ro	paik	<i>September</i>	<i>tahun</i>
di	kyor	ro	paik	<i>Spetember</i>	<i>tahun</i>
Num.link	three	at	month	September	year

syaran	di	suru	sesr	di	fyak
syaran	di	suru	sesr	di	fyak
thousand	Num.Link	two	plus	Num.Link	four

oras	bebe	war	arwo	babo#
oras	bebe	war	arwo	babo
hour	ORDINAL	nine	morning	new

‘today is the thirteenth of September, two thousand and four, at nine o’clock early morning’

(2)	fafyar	ine	yamarisn	yafafyari	faro
	fafyar	i-ne	ya-marisen	ya-fafyar-i	faro
	story	3Sg-this	1SG-happy	1SG-tell-3SG	to

kpum	mgun	ayesuya	Hannah	ma	Sastra	Mofu	su
kpum	mgun	ay-e-su-ya	Hannah	ma	Sastra	Mofu	su
grandchild	small	1SG-POSS-3DU-Det	Hannah	and	Sastra	Mofu	Det.DU

ro	sup	bondi/	sup	Enggeres#
ro	sup	bondi/	sup	Enggeres
at	land	outside/	land	England

‘This story, I am happy to tell it to my two young grandchildren, Hannah and Sastra Mofu in other country, England’

(6) Inja rofyoru skobors baime bena rawn anya
 inja ro-fyor-u sko-bors baim-e be-na rawn an-ya
 thus at-time-U 3PCL-row not yet-E Rel-have front GIV-Det.SG

kyoryaye benarmi bo dobe “naeko
 koryaye- -y- be-narm-i bo d-obe “brother
 tease- -3SG- Rel-bucket-Det.SG and 3SG-say

rasne daesya iba kaku inja
 ras-ne daes-ya i-ba kaku inja
 day-this sun heat-Det.SG 3SG-big very so

komindi byemnor
 ko-min-di be- -y- mnor-o
 1PL.INCL-member of the same group-Det.SG have- -3SG- mucus-O

ipokfa isnofu mnor byena baberi#
 i-pok-fa i-snof-u mnor be- -y- na ba-beri
 3SG-able-to 3SG-rub-U mucus POSS- -3SG- Det.PL.INAN not-at all

“Thus, before they rowed (the canoe), the one at the front teased the one with the bucket and said “brother, today the sun heat is very hot so if one of us have snotty nose, he should not rub his mucus at all”

(7) Inja bebemnor anine dakkoryae
 inja be-be-mnor an-ine d-ak-koryaye
 so Rel-have-mucus GIV-this.SG 3SG-also-tease

befara anine bo dobe “naeko ras ine
 be-fara an-ine bo d-obe “naek-O ras ine
 Rel-steer GIV-this.SG and 3SG-say “brother-O day this.SG

daesya iba kaku inja komindi
 daes-ya i-ba kaku inja ko-min-di
 sun heat-Det.SG 3SG-big very so 1PL.INCL-member of the same group-Det.SG

imakro ipokfa isnauwi baberi#
 i-makr-o i-pok-fa i-snauw-i ba-beri
 3SG-itchy-O 3SG-able-to 3SG-scratch-3SG not-at all

“So the one who had snotty nose also teased the one who steered (the canoe) and said “brother, today the sun heat is very high so (if) one of us is itchy, he should not scratch himself at all”

(8)	Ikofn	faroyo	bebebabara	ani#
	i-kofn	far-o	be-be-babara	an-i
	3SG-say	to	Rel-have-scabies	GIV-Det.SG

“He said (it) to the one who had the scabies”

(9)	Inja	bebebabara	anine	dakkoryae
	inja	be-be-babara	an-ine	d-ak-koryaye
	so	Rel-have-scabies	GIV-this.SG	3SG-also-tease

robaido	dobo	dakfafirku	benarawn	anine
robaido	d-obo	d-ak-fafirku	be-na-rawn	an-ine
or	3SG-say	3SG-also-make fun of-U	Rel-have-front	GIV-this.SG

bo	dobe	“naeko	rasine	daresya	iba
bo	d-obe	“naeko	ras-ine	dares-ya	i-ba
and	3SG-say	“brother	day-this.SG	sun heat-Det.SG	3SG-big

kakuyo	komindi	ipokfa
kaku-o	ko-min-di	i-pok-fa
very-O	1PL.INCL-member of the same group-Det.SG	3SG-able-to

ryubu	bruri	baberi#
rub- -y- u	bru-ri	ba-beri
water- -3SG- U	head-POSS.3SG.Det.SG	not-at all

“So the one with scabies also teased or made fun of the one at the front (of the canoe) and said “brother, (although) today the sun heat is very high, one of us should not put water on his head at all”

(10)	Ikofn	faroro	bena	rawn	anine#
	i-kofn	faroro	be-na	rawn	an-ine
	3SG-say	to	Rel-have	front	GIV-this.SG

“He said (it) to the one at the front”

(11)	Inja	ras	anine	daresya	iba	kaku	robaido
	inja	ras	an-ine	dares-ya	i-ba	kaku	robaido
	so	day	GIV-this.SG	sun.heat-Det.SG	3SG-big	very	or

iba fafayaba#
i-ba fafaya-ba
3SG-big expected-not

“Thus, that day the sun heat was very hot”

(12)	Imbape	snon	anskoine	skofarmgu	monda#
	imbape	snon	an-skoine	sko-farmgu	monda
	but	man	GIV- this.PCL	3PCL-row	just

“But the three men just rowed (the canoe)”

(13)	Infama	bebemnor	anine	fyarmgu	ma
	Infama	be-be-mnor	an-ine	farmngu- -y-	ma
	However	Rel-have-mucus	GIV-this.SG	row- -3SG-	but

ipokba kwar#
i-pok-ba kwar
3SG-able-not already

“However, the snotty nose rowed (the canoe) but he had not been able (to continue)”

(14)	Inja	syewar	nyan	fa	byuki	frows	orobaido
	inja	sewar- -y-	nyan	fa	buk- -y- -i	frows	orobaido
	so	search- -3SG-	way	to	give- -3SG- -3SG	tempt	or

byuk beanggaro naek byansuine#
buk- -y- be-anggar-o naek be- -y- -an-suine
give- -3SG- verb-nonsense brother POSS- -3SG- -GIV-this.DU

“So he searched for ways that he could use to fool (to lie) his two brothers”

(15) Radine dobe “naeko muyakmam munde
 ra-dine d-obe “naeko mu-ak-mam mu-nde
 like-this.SG 3SG-say “brother 2DU-also-see DIR-landward

kada randipya iso beyorsu beyanan doro
 kada randip-ya i-iso be-ors-u be-anan roro
 if pig-Det.SG 3SG-be Rel-stand-U Rel-eat at

yenandir irewani#
 yen-andir iwa- re- i
 sand-side that.SG- landward- FOC

“He said like this: “brothers, if you two look landward, there is a pig standing up (and) eating at the side of the sand landward”

(16) Yana *sinapano* kada nari yapami
 ya-na sinapan-o kada nari ya-pam-i
 1SG-have gun -O if will 1SG-shoot-3SG

radine#
 ra-dine
 like-this.SG

“If I had a gun, I would shoot it like this”

(17) Inja ikofn bo isnof fasausau mnor
 inja i-kofn bo i-snof fasausau mnor
 so 3SG-say and 3SG-rub quickly (repeatedly) mucus

byannane#
 be- -y- an-nane
 POSS- -3SG- GIV- this.PL.INAN

“So he said (it) and he repeatedly rubbed his snotty nose quickly “

(18) Inja bebebyor anine daksewaru nyan wer#
 inja be-bebyor an-ine d-ak-sewar-u nyan wer
 so Rel-be-byor GIV-this.SG 3SG-also-search-U way again
 “Thus, the bald also look for reason again”

(19) Dobe “naeko pami ndirya kada
 d-obe “naeko pam- -w- -i nri-r-ya kada
 3SG-say “brother shoot- -2SG- -3SG like-be-that if
 nari ayaiso besonu duro ma yabukikunduri
 nari aya-is-o be-son-u dur-o ma ya-buk-i-kun-dur-i
 will 1SG-be-O Rel-boil water-O and 1SG-give-3SG-boil-water-3SG

radine#
 ra-dine
 like-this.SG

“He said, brother if you shot it like that, I will be the one who boil water and I use it to steam it up like this”

(20) Inja dakkofn boi ryubu bruri
 inja d-ak-kofn boi rub- -y- -u bru-ri
 so 3SG-also-said and water- -3SG- -U head-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

mob bebyori#
 mob be-byor-i
 place Rel-bald-Det.SG

“So he also said and watered the bald part of his head”

(21) Inja bebababara anine robaido befara anine
 inja be-be-bara an-ine robaido be-fara an-ine
 so Rel-have-scabies GIV-this.SG or Rel-steer GIV-this.SG

daksewar nyan wer#
 d-ak-sewar nyan wer
 3SG-also-search way again

“so the one with scabies or the one that steer (the canoe) also searched for a way again”

(25) Irya kwar fafyar mgun ro kpu mubeja
 I-r-ya kwar fafyar mgun ro kpu mu-be-dya
 3SG-be-that already story little from grand mother 2DU-POSS-Det.SG

insar Mofui ro Manuren Nyampun Kwaidi Biak Timur#
 insar Mofu-I ro Manu-ren Nyampun Kwaidi Biak Timur
 old woman Mofu-FOC at village- Nyampun Kwaidi Biak East

“It was the little story from your grandmother, the old lady Mofu from Nyampun Kwaidi, East Biak”

Text 5

CASUAL CONVERSATIONS

Audio Recording:

Narrators : 1. Henoah Mofu (59 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak: Swandiwe (West Biak)

2. Badu Rumbekwan (49 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak: Sorndiwari (Korido)

3. Benyamin Rumbewas (48 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak: Swandiwe (West Biak)

4. Gr Awom (50 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak: Mandender (West Biak)

5. Yan Piet Msen (50 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak: Samber (South Biak)

6. Eskol Mampioer (52 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak: Samber (South Biak)

7. Yesaya Mansoben (40 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak: Korem (North Biak)

8. Yance Iryouw (42 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak : Korem (North Biak)

9. Simon Inggamer (44 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak : Bosnik (East Biak)

Date : Friday, 22 October 2005 at 09.00am

Location: Department of Education Office Biak Town

CASUAL CONVERSATIONS

H Mofu:

- (1) Suriyo *Bapade* a Rumbekwani isoine.
 suri-o Bapa-ade a Rumbekwan-i i-iso-ine
 suri-O father-younger brother mmm Rumbekwan-FOC SG-be-this

‘Suriel, young uncle Rumbekwan is here’

- (2) Badu Rumbekwani eyors ine boi *kebetulan* ryo
 Badu Rumbekwan-i e-ores ine boi kebetulan ro- -y-
 Badu Rumbekwan-FOC Rel-stand this.SG but by accident be at- -3SG-

Jayapura mumfe bo a ryowr au
 Jayapura mu-m-fe bo a rower- -y- au
 Jayapura DIR-towards here-downward and mmm hear- -3SG- 2SG

boi dun *alamat* banya fa rya dobe bye
 boi d-un alamat be-an-ya fa ra- -y- d-obe be- -y-
 but 3Sg-take address POSS-GIV-DET for move- -3SG- 3SG-say want- -3SG-

fyas *surat* mufri fa sa muya a
 fas- -y- surat mu-f-ri fa so muya a
 write- -3SG- letter DIR-towards-outside for so 2DU.DET mmm

mufafyar be Inggris wer.
 mu-fafyar be Inggris wer
 2DU-talk as English again

‘Badu Rumbekwa who stands here but by accident he came from Jayapura and mmm he heard (about) you but he took your address for he said he wanted to write a letter to (you) outside so that the two of you mmm chat in English again’

- (3) Rasepondya rwo a Australia ido
 ras-e-pon-dya ro- -w- a Australia ido
 day-Rel-front-DET.SG be at- -2SG- mmm Australia when

fyas *surat* ya fa ro yau ro Australi.
 fas- -y- surat ya fa ro au ro Australi
 write- -3SG- letter DET.SG towards at 2SG at Australia

‘The first time you were in Australia, he wrote a letter to you in Australia’

(4) Mbo **skaran** rwo Inggris ido ro ibe
 Mbo skaran ro- -w- Inggris ido ro i-be
 and now At- -2SG- England FOC thing 3SG-be about to

a fyas **surato** yobe au wer ja fyasas
 a fas- -y- surat-o yob-e au wer ja fasas- -y-
 mmm write -3SG- letter-O to-E 2SG again so write- -3SG-

fyas **alamat** banya kwar mboi **skaran**
 fas- -y- alamat be-an-ya kwar mboi skaran
 write- -3sg- address 2sg.poss-giv-det.sg already but now

inggoisne nggofafyar do yu **kantor**
 inggo-ine- -s- nggo-fafyar ro-u kantor
 1PL.EXCL-this.SG- -be- 1PL.EXCL-chat at-u office

dikbud³⁵ anya barponi.
 dikbud an-ya bar-pon-i
 Education and Culture GIV-DET.SG part-front-DET.SG

‘But now you are in England , the thing he wants to mmm write a letter to you again, so he already wrote your address but now we’re chatting in front of the Department of Education and Culture office’

(5) inja wakrowr **suara** byeja nari.
 inja w-ak-rower suara be- -y- -dya ari
 so 2SG-also-listen voice POSS- -3SG- -DET.SG First thing

‘So please listen to his voice’

B Rumbekwan:

(6) A inja kaset ine kaset anine yawos
 a inja kaset ine kaset an-ine ya-wos
 mmm so cassette This.SG cassette GIV-this.SG 1SG-speak

radine boi a na yafarem **surato** **langsun** do
 ra-dine boi a na ya-farem surat-o langsung ro
 move-this place but mmm will 1SG-send Letter-O straight at

³⁵ *Dikbud* is an Indonesian acronym for Pendidikan ‘Education’ dan Kebudayaan ‘culture’.

Uncen	Jayapura	mufa		fa	sa	wamarisen.
Uncen	Jayapura	mu-fa		fa	sa	wa-marisen
Uncen	Jayapura	DIR-towards there		for	So that	2SG-happy

‘Mmm so this cassette (in) the cassette I talk like this but I will send a letter straight from Jayapura to (you) so you are happy’

(7)	ro	wafur	ro	diyan	na		na	fas
	ro	wa-fur	ro	diya	na		na	fas
	thing	2SG-do	at	that place	DET.PL.INAN		will	2SG-write

kabr	na		ma	surato	ma		sama
kabr	na		ma	surat-o	ma		sama
back	DET.PL.INAN		towards here	letter-O	towards here		so that

yakmarisn		bo	yawasya	na		boi	yor		fa	sama
y-ak-marisen		bo	ya-wasya	na		boi	y-or		fa	sama
1SG-also-happy		and	1SG-read	3PL.INAN		but	1SG-request		for	so

kamus	kero	ro	wakofn	na		anna
kamus	ker-o	ro	wa-kofn	na		an-na
dictionary	little	thing	2SG-say	3PL.INAN		GIV-DET.PL.INAN

<i>bepesan</i>		ro	inggris	anya		e....	australia
be-pesan		ro	Inggris	an-ya		e...	Australia
2SG-vblzr-message		at	England	GIV-DET.SG		Whoops..	Australia

nanya		<i>bekirimo</i>		esero	ro	diwama
an-ya		be-kirim-o		eser-o	ro	diwa-ma
GIV-DET.SG		2SG.vblzr-send-O		One-O	at	that place over there.towards here

‘The thing you do there, you will re-write them, a letter to (me) here so I will also be happy and read them but I request that (a) small dictionary that you talked about, you ordered it in England Whoops... (in) Australia, you send one from there to here’

(8)	e....	kamus	Inggris-Inggriso	iry	kw
	e....	kamus	Inggris-Inggris-o	iry	kw
	Ehhh	dictionary	English-English-O	be	already

‘Ehh an English-English dictionary, that’s it’

- (9) irya kwar
 irya kwar
 be already

‘That’s it’

H Mofu:

- (10) eh Suri wafawi **bahwa** **skaranu** yors yu suine
 eh Suri wa-fawi bahwa skaran-u y-ors-us su-ine
 Ehh Suri 2SG-know that Now-U 1SG-stand-with 3DU-this

Bapa Badui kukro **Bapa** Rumbewasu a **jenderal OPM**³⁶
 Bapa Badu-i kukr-o Bapa Rumbewas-u A jenderal OPM
 father Badu-FOC With-O father Rumbewas-U mmm general OPM

ero Biak Barat ani.
 e-ro Biak Barat an-i
 Rel-be at Biak West GIV-DET.SG

‘Eh, Suriel, you know that now the two I am standing with here (are) father Badu and father Rumbewas (who is) the OPM general commander in the West Biak’

- (11) E... wak**komentar** ari...
 E.. wa-k-be-komentar ari...
 Mmm.. 2SG-also-vblzr-comment first

bapade dakbe **komentar** fa wakrower.
 bapa-ade d-ak-be-komentar fa w-ak-rower
 Father-younger brother 3SG-also-vblzr-comment for 2SG-also-listen

‘Umm... please (you also) give your comments... young father would also want to give comments for you to listen’

- (12) farem be Inggris.
 farem be Inggris
 send to England

‘send to England’

³⁶ OPM stands for Organisasi Papua Merdeka (Free West Papua Movement), a political organisation in West Papua that is fighting for independence and freedom from Indonesian occupation.

Rumbewasi	benai.
Rumbewas-i	be-na-i
Rumbewas-FOC	Rel-have-3SG

‘ Yes, certainly I am the one who is the source of that place but if they said the struggle of Papuan (Papuan independence struggle) The Mofu clan who are at that place but the place where they take (people and) hide (and) express (their) anger, your father Rumbewas who has it’,³⁸

H Mofu:

(15)	a	inja	<i>kira-kira</i>	<i>pemilu</i> ³⁹	mandobinja
	a	inja	kira-kira	pemilu	mandobin-dya
	a	so	guess	general election	yesterday-DET.SG

<i>pemilu</i>	nanya	nja	mbo	mansei	mgakbepilih
pemilu	an-ya	nja	mbo	mansei	mgo-ak-be-pilih
general election	GIV-DET.SG	so	so	who	2PL-also-vblzr-choose

besyani.

be-s-ya-ni

Rel-be-Det.SG-FOC

‘Ah... so let’s see who did you choose to *become* (the president) in the yesterday’s general elections?’

B Rumbewas:

(16)	SBYi	kukro	inkobar	aya	fa
	SBY-I	kukro	inko-bar	aya	fa
	SBY-FOC	because	1PL.EXCL-carry	1SG	for

yabeketua	<i>KPPS</i>	rya	yabor	yaberari.
ya-be-ketua	KPPS	rya	ya-bor	ya-be-ra-ri
1G-become-chairman	KPPS	so	1SG-confuse	1SG-become-such as-be

‘SBY⁴⁰ because we had me as the chairman of the KPPS⁴¹, so I was confused how I should move.

³⁸ Mofu accuses Rumbewas as freedom fighters who sometimes beat or threaten people if they do not follow what the freedom fighters want, especially if they give information to Indonesian soldiers. However, this is a common joke which is sometimes shared among Biak people especially people from West Biak.

³⁹ *Pemilu* is an Indonesian acronym for *Pemilihan* ‘election’ and *Umum* ‘general’.

H Mofu:

(17) kira kira mop na nasasyar doyo a
kira-kira mop na na-sasyar ro-o a
guess Joke DET.PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-come out at-O mmm

mob u *sepilih* ro naiwara
mob-u s-e-pilih ro na-iwa-ra
Place-U 3PL.AN-vblzr-choose at 3PL.INAN-that.SG-towards there

ke?

ke?

Quest.Part.

‘Was there any joke that occurred at the voting place?’

B Rumbewas:

(18) oh mop na nsae ba.
oh mop na n-sae ba
Oh joke DET.PL.INAN 3PL.INAN-come out not

‘Ohh the jokes did not occur’

(19) Soridoi mob nsae ro ro i.
Sorido-i mob n-sae ro ro i
Sorido-FOC place 3PL.INAN-come out at at 3SG

‘Sorido was the place they occurred’

H Mofu:

(20) aoo.. iwer ido.
Ah.. i-wer ido
Ah.. 3SG-again What

‘Ah it’s again’

⁴⁰ SBY is the acronym of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (The present Indonesian President).

⁴¹ KPPS is an Indonesian acronym for *Komisi* ‘commission’ *Pelaksana* ‘implementation’, *Pemungutan* ‘collection’ *Suara* ‘votes’.

(21) mbo mbo Soridoi mop na
 mbo mbo Sorido-i mop na
 yes yes Sorido-FOC joke DET.PL.INAN

nasasyar ido
 na-sasyar ido
 3PL.INAN-come out if

ryaryando nari a ebemambanyo ro i muya
 ra- -y- -rya-ndo nari a e-be-mambanyo ro i muya
 Move- 3SG- -so-FOC will mmm Rel-become-in law at 3SG 2DU.DET

na a Rumbewasi yo a Suri mui
 na a Rumbewas-i o a Suri mui
 will mmm Rumbewas-FOC O mmm Suri 2DU.DET

ebemambanyo ro Soridoi masa ibe mufrur
 e-be-mambanyo ro Sorido-i masa ibe mu-frur
 Re-become-in law at Sorido-FOC impossible want 2DU-do

mamyai Sorido sya mob si
 mamyai sorido sya mob si
 shame Sorido DET.PL.AN place 3PL.AN

ena mob ya. nsi
 e-na Mob ya si
 Rel-have place Det.SG DET.PL.AN

‘Yes if (it was) Sorido (where) the jokes occurred, if it’s like that, the two of you who are the inlaws in that place mmm Rumbewas (and) Suriel the two of you, it is impossible (for you) to want to ashame the people of Sorido who own that place’

B Rumbewas:

(22) Rumbewas ima byesinan kwar ja
 Rumbewas i-ma be- -y- sinan kwar ja
 Rumbewas Det.SG-FOC Become- -3SG- parent already so

yarir mufa be *anak* au ro diri.
 ya-rir mu-fa be anak au ro di-ri
 1SG-give up DIR-towards there to son/daughter 2SG at Place-outward

‘Rumbewas is already an old man so I *give up to you*⁴² (the) son outside’

(23) sup amber iri.
 sup amber i-ri
 land foreign 3SG-outward

‘The foreign land out there’

H Mofu:

(24) a inja *kira-kira* *apaitu* fawar no ndoyu Supiori Utara
 a inja kira-kira apa-itu fawar no ro-u Supiori Utara
 mmm so guess what-that story any at-U Supiori North

riwa fa se kakrowr ke indo.
 ri-wa fa se k-ak-rowr ke indo
 Det.SG-that for so 1PL.INCL-also-listen Quest.Part if

‘Ah so perhaps, what is it, is there any story from North Supiori for us to listen?’

B Rumbekwan:

(25) be *pa* guru yo mansoben.
 be pak guru o Mansoben
 Hey sir teacher O Mansoben

‘Hey teacher Mansoben!’

(26) a mgoro dipurwu ni na mgonan
 a mgo-ro di-pur-wu ni na mgo-nan
 mm 2PL-at place-back part- over there FOC will 1PL-eat

⁴² You bear the responsibility.

fafaya	in	ya	baberi.
fafaya	in	ya	ba-beri
abundance	fish	DET.SG	not-completely

‘You’re at the back, you won’t be able to eat lots of fishes’

(27)	in	bero	bonde	bonda.
	in	be-ro	bo-nde	bo-nda
	fish	Rel-at	part-landward	part-seaward

‘Fish which are at the land and (at) the sea’

Yesava Mansoben:

(28)	aroba	in	noba.
	a-ro-ba	in	no-ba
	Ah-thing-not	fish	any-not

‘No, there isn’t any fish’

(29)	ine	fafisu	ine	byeibrin	ba	rya.
	ine	fafisu	ine	be- -y- -ibrin-	ba	rya
	This.SG	time	this.SG	become- -3SG- -calm	not	so

‘This time it (the sea) is not calm so....’

(30)	ino	sibor	kukro	roba	bo	insape	mboi
	in-o	si-bor	kukro	ro-ba	bo	insape	mboi
	Fish-O	3PL.AN-many	because	Thing-not	but	if	but

na	kosewar	indo.
na	ko-sewar	ido
will	1PL.INCL-search	if

‘No the fish aren’t many because.... but then... but if we look for (them)’

Yunus Rumaropen:

(31) a bo in sya sibor do Supriori
a bo in sya si-bor ro supiori
A.. but fish DET.PL.AN 3PL.AN-many at Supriori

besya bo.
besya bo
contrarily but

‘mmm but contrarily the fish are many in Supiori but....’

Yunus Rumaropen:

(32) imbo i yakofn ya bae.
imbo i ya-kofn ya bae
Yes 3SG 1SG-say DET.SG already

‘Yes, It’s what I said’

(33) in sibor besya bo wobo inno
in si-bor besya bo w-obo in-no
Fish 3PL.AN-many contrarily but 2SG-say fish-any

sro Supriori Utara bari
s-ro Supriori Utara ba-ri
3PL.AN-be at Supriori North not-at

‘The fish are many but you said there isn’t any fish in North Supiori’

Yesaya Mansoben:

(34) aroba in sya boi mbo na kosewar
a-ro-ba in sya boi mbo na ko-sewar
Ah-thing-not fish DET.PL.AN but if will 1PL.EXCL-search

fafisu	ine	byewam		rya.
fafisu	ine	be- -y- -wam		rya
time	this.SG	become- -3SG- -wind		so

‘No, the fish are there but if we look for (it), this time is windy so’

Yunus Rumaropen:

(35)	roba	nido	ero	bande	si.
	ro-ba	ido	e-ro	ba-nde	si
	thing-not	FOC	Rel-at	part-landward	DET.PL.AN

‘If not (then) the ones that are on the land’

Yesaya Mansoben:

(36)	a	ero bonde		sya	me	sifan	diso
	a	e-ro bo-nde		sya	me	si-fan	diso
	mmm	Rel-at part-landward		Det.PL.AN	FOC	3PL.AN-feed	if

ma	eroba		ido	na	orob.
ma	a-ro-ba		ido	na	a-roba
if	Ah-thing-not		if	will	Ah-thing-not

‘mmm the ones on the land (only available) if they feed(farm) them, if not then (there) won’t (be any)’

H Mofu:

(37)	ah	bapa	awom	i	ebe	ebeyak pesano
	Ah	bapa	Awom	i	e-be	e-be-ak-be-pesan-o
	mmm	father	Awom	3SG	REL-want	Rel-want-also-vblzr-message-O

pesanan	ine	mufri		be	au	ndi.
pesanan	ine	mu-f-ri		be	au	i
message	This.SG	DIR-towards-outward		to	2SG	FOC

‘mmm (this is) father Awom who wants to send this message outward to you’

(38) romawa nanya dobe kawos
 romawa an-ya d-obe k-awos
 son GIV-DET.SG 3SG-say 1PL.EXCL-speak

fa yafarem ra ryowr do diriwa nja.
 fa ya-farem ra rower- -y- ro di-ri-wa nja
 for 1SG-send there Listen- -3SG- at Place-outward-over there so

‘The son said we speak for(so that) I send (it) there (to him) so he (could) listen outside’

Father Awom:

(39) mmm
 mmm
 mmm

mmm..

H Mofu:

(40) mbo mbo wakawos be Mandender fa ryower.
 mbo mbo w-ak-awos be Mandender fa rower- -y-
 yes yes 2SG-also-speak as Mandender for listen- -3SG-

‘Yes, you also talk as Mandender for(so that) he could listen’

Father Awom:

(41) mmmm nja rosai ebesyani.
 mmmm nja rosai e-be-s-ya-ni
 mmm so what Rel-become-be-Det.SG-FOC

‘mmm so what is it?’

H Mofu:

(42) wawosu rosai ebe wawos ro mandobinja *pemilu*
 wa-wos-u rosai e-be wa-wos ro mandobin-dya pemilu
 2SG-speak what Rel-want 2SG-speak at Yesterday-DET.SG General election

ya	imnis	barya	<i>betrima</i>	babo	wobe.....
ya	i-mnis	ba-rya	be-trima	ba-bo	w-obe
DET.SG	3SG-suitable	not-so	2SG.vblzr-accept	not-but	2SG-say..

‘You talk what you wanted to talk yesterday (about) the general election was not properly (conducted) therefore you did not accept (it) and said.....’

Father Awom:

(43)	mbo	<i>pemilu</i>	ya	ma	imbo	imnis	kwar.
	mbo	pemilu	ya	ma	imbo	i-mnis	kwar
	but	general election	DET.SG	FOC	indeed	3SG-suitable	already

‘but the general election was properly (conducted)’

H Mofu:

(44)	oso	na	ebe <i>presiden</i>	ya	ke	atau	Jawa
	oso	na	e-be-presiden	ya	ke	atau	Jawa
	one	will	Rel-become-president	DET.SG	Quest.Part	or	Java

riry	ke?
d-iry	ke
3SG-be	Quest.Part

‘Will anyone become the president or will a Javanese become president?’

Father Awom:

(45)	imbo	komindi	ri	ebe	<i>presiden</i>
	imbo	ko-min-di	ri	e-be	presiden
	yes	1PL.EXCL-member of-	DET.SG	be	Rel-become president

ya	babo.
ya	ba-bo
DET.SG	Not-but

‘Yes, but (why) not one of us become the president?’

(46) mbo *mentri* sya ma *musti* suru Yo
 mbo menteri sya ma musti suru o
 but minister DET.PL.AN FOC must two O

suyakkain.
 su-ak-kain
 3DU-also-sit

‘Yes, but the ministers, two (of our tribe) must also sit (in the cabinet)’

(47) Fa suyakkofnbadir bar ya kobedi.
 Fa su-ak-kofn-badir bar ya ko-be-di
 for 3DU-also-tell-show part DET.SG 1PL.EXCL-POSS-DET.SG

‘For they could talk about our side’

(48) insamaido suyakawos pyum *OTSUS*⁴³ ya fa...
 insama-ido su-ak-awos pyum OTSUS ya fa
 So that 3DU-also-speak good special autonomy DET.SG for

imbran pyum bo snapnap knik.
 i-mbran pyum bo s-napnap knik
 3SG-walk good and 3PL.AN- be naughty quit

‘so that they could talk well (about) the special autonomy for (so that) it could go well and they stop being naughty’

Yesaya Mansoben:

(49) sifrows ko ndi
 Si-frows ko ndi
 3PL.AN-tease 1PL.EXCL FOC

‘They (could) trick us’

⁴³ OTSUS is Bahasa Indonesia acronym for *otonomi* ‘autonomy’ and *khusus* ‘special’.

Father Awom:

(50) insamaido dawos pyum rya
insama-ido d-awos pyum rya
So that-FOC 3SG-speak good so

‘so that he speaks well so’

(51) romawa ine sro diriwa
romawa ine s-ro di-ri-wa
son this.SG 3PL.AN-be at Place-outward-over there

kwar ja *harus* sakbeatu mob na
kwar ja harus s-ak-be-atur mob na
already so should 3PL.AN-also-vblzr-manage place DET.PL.INAN

fa napyan.
fa na-pyan
for 3PL.INAN-easy

‘This son, they⁴⁴ are already outside so they should manage these things to make them easy’

Yunus Rumaropen:

(52) way ine imbran kwar ja
way ine i-mbran kwar ja
boat this.Sg 3SG-walk already So

‘The canoe already moved so’

H Mofu:

(53) e Boseran
e Boseran
Hey Boseran

‘Hey Boseran!’

⁴⁴ They talked about me and all my friends who cared about West Papuan people.

Father Awom:

(54) yawos fa ikwan ba boi mob isof
 Y-awos fa i-kwan ba boi mob i-sof
 1SG-speak for 3SG-long not but place 3Sg-until

ro ro i
ro ro i
at at 3.SG

‘I do not speak long but it finishes at it (there)’

H Mofu:

(55) e.... insande eyawos ine indo bapa Awomi.
 e.. insade e-awos ine indo Bapa Awom-i
 Just now Rel-speak This.SG FOC father Awom-FOC

‘Ehh the one who just spoke was father Awom’

(56) Mandender.
 Mandender
 Mandender

‘A Mandender speaker’

(57) nggukro a Ambrobn ebarkepen *lapangan*
 nggukro a Ambroben e-bark-epen lapangan
 with mmm Ambroben Rel-stay-hold field

terban ansi
terbang an-si
fly GIV-DET.PL.AN

‘with the Ambroben (people) who live around the airport’

(58) *bepancing* *keadaan* ya fa wobo wobo wafawi
 be-pancing keadaan ya fa w-obo w-obo wa-fawi
 2SG.vblzr-attempt situation DET.Sg for 2SG-say 2SG-say 2Sg-know

Simon	ima	mop	byeja	mandobinja
Simon	i-ma	mop	be- -y- dya	mandobin-dya
Simon	Det.SG-FOC	joke	POSS- -3SG- -DET.SG	Yesterday- DET.SG

ryandi	ryoyu	Inggris
ra- -y- -ndi	ro- -y- -u	Inggris
move- -3SG- -outward	be at- -3SG- -U	England

bar	be	skarano	dakawos
bar	be	skaran-o	d-ak-awos
part	so	now-O	3Sg-also-speak

‘You shouldn’t provoke the situation for you said... you know that SIMON, his joke went to England yesterday so now he could also speak’

Simon Inggamer:

(59)	wawos	babo....	bapa	byekirim	beyo
	wa-wos	ba-bo	bapa	be- -y- -kirim	be-o
	2Sg-speak	Not-but	father	Vblzr- -3SG- -send	To-O

anak	surii
anak	Suri-i
Son/daughter	Suri-FOC

‘Don’t you speak? Father send (it) to Son Suriel’

H Mofu:

(60)	Skaran	nggokain	nggofawar	do	kantor	Dikbud
	skaran	nggo-kain	nggo-fawar	ro	kantor	Dikbud
	now	1PL.EXCL-sit	1PL.EXCL-chat	at	office	Dikbud

anya	barpon	di	boi	e	ine	nggawos
an-ya	bar-pon	di	boi	e	ine	ngg-awos
GIV-DET.SG	Part-front	DET.SG	but	mmm	This.SG	1PL.EXCL-speak

kukro	ragam	na	besisye	rya	a	Utara	ri
kukro	ragam	na	besisye	rya	a	Utara	ri
with	variety	DET.PL.INAN	separately	so	mmm	North	DET.SG

skaran ebeyakawosi.
 sekarang e-be-ak-awos-i
 now Rel-want-also-speak-FOC

‘Now, we sit (and) chat in front of Department of Education and Culture office but here we speak with different dialects mmm the North is the one who will also be speaking now’

(61) Ne mosa kwain do nani?
 ne mob-sai kain- -w- ro an-i
 Hey place-which Sit- -2SG- at GIV-DET.SG

‘Hi, where do you live?’

Yance Iryouw:

(62) Nusi
 Nusi
 Nusi

‘Nusi’

H Mofu:

(63) Ine ido Utara riry a boi kyain Do
 ine ido utara ri-iry a boi kain- -y- ro
 This.SG FOC North DET.SG-be but Sit- -3SG- at

Nusi kyain fanamu Bapade mansamyar
 Nusi kain- -y- fanam-u bapa-ade man-samyar
 Nusi Sit- -3SG- Near-U Father-younger brother bird-blond

ero Wundi nani.
 e-ro Wundi an-i
 Rel-be at Wundi GIV-DET.SG

‘This one is the North but he lives in Nusi, he lives near young uncle, the blonde who lives in Nusi’

(64) Yorami.
Yoram-i
Yoram-FOC

‘Yoram’

(65) Skoi bero myos skoya.
skoi be-ro myos skoya
3PCL.DET Rel-be at island 3PCL.DET

‘They are the ones who are at the island’

(66) Skobeprenta Padaido
Sko-be-perintah Padaido
3PCL-vblzr-govern Padaido

‘They rule Padaido’

(67) Nja **Kira-kira** **keadaan** mgo ro a Padaido
nja kira-kira keadaan mgo ro a Padaido
so guess situation 2PL at mm Padaido

ya ryaryo?
ya ra- -y- ryo
DET.SG move- -3SG- -what

‘So how is your situation in Padaido?’

H Mofu:

(68) Mgosan bom bo mgomnai kwar?
Mgo-san bom bo mgo-mnai kwar?
2PL-throw bomb and 2PL-stop Already?

‘(Are) you still throwing bombs and have already stopped (it)?’

<i>kehidupan</i>	<i>atau</i>	kenm	obena		ro
kehidupan	atau	kenm	o-be-na		ro
living	or	life	1PL.EXCL-POSS-DET.PL.INAN		at

barpon	ine	<i>dan</i>	<i>sementara</i>	<i>pemilihan</i>	<i>umum</i>	ine
bar-pon	ine	dan	sementara	pemilihan	umum	ine
part-front	this.SG	and	for a while	election	general	this.SG

a	by <i>ingatkan</i>	o	<i>karena</i>	SBY	<i>dengan</i>
a	be- -y- -ingatkan	o	karena	sby	dengan
mmm	Vbzr- -3SG-remind	1PL.EXCL	because	SBY	with

Kala-Yusuf	by <i>jadi</i>		a	<i>pemimpin.</i>
Kala-Yusuf	be- -y- jadi		a	pemimpin
Kala-Yusuf	Vblzr- -3SG- -become		mmm	leader

‘So the activities in the families to support living or our lives in the future and at the moment the general election reminded us because SBY and Yusuf Kalla have become leaders’

(73)	Rarirya	yakofen	insamaido	a	romawa
	Ra-ri-rya	ya-kofen	insamaido	a	romawa
	Move-DET.SG-so	1SG-tell	so that	mmm	son

rby <i>pintar</i>	nsa	makbe	<i>dukun</i>	sup
be- -y- -pintar	nsa	m-ak-be	dukung	sup
Vblzr- -3SG- -clever	So	2PL-also-vblzr	support	island

obanine		by <i>maju</i>		be	barpon.
o-be-an-ine		be- -y- -maju		be	bar-pon
1PL.EXCL-POSS-GIV-this.SG		Vblzr- -3SG- -progress		to	part-front

‘Therefore, I speak to the son (and expect him) to become clever/smart so you could support our land to progress forward’

(74)	<i>Terima Kasih!</i>
	Terima Kasih
	receive love

‘Thank you’

H Mofu:

- (75) *Bapade* insande ibe
Bapa-ade isande i-be
father-younger brother few moments ago 3SG-be about to
- dakawos be baro Swandiwe rya dakors bo
d-ak-awos be bar-o Swandiwe rya d-ak-ors bo
3SG-also-speak as Part-O Swandiwe so 3SG-also-stand and
- byecampur Samber sya nja dawos
be- -y- -campur Samber sya nja d-awos
Vblzr- -3SG- -mix Samber DET.PL.AN so 3SG-speak
- be Samber rya dawos fa wakrower.
be Samber rya d-awos fa w-ak-rower
as Samber so 3SG-speak for 2SG-also-listen

‘Young uncle wants to speak with Swandiwe dialect so he is standing and because he mixed with the Samber (people) so he speaks with Samber dialect for you to listen’

Yan Piet Mnsen:

- (76) A yakawos royo bape....
a y-ak-awos ro-o bape
Ah 1SG-also-speak thing-O not.but

‘Ah I don’t talk (about) anything but...’

H Mofu:

- (77) Wawos wos ero Samber.
w-awos wos e-ro Samber
2SG-speak language Rel-be at Samber

‘You speak Samber dialect! (Lit: You speak the language from Samber)’

Yan Piet Msen:

(78) *Pemilu* ine imnai kwar ja e mgak**ebantu**
pemilu ine i-mnai kwar ja e mg-ak-be-bantu
Pemilu this.SG 3Sg-stop already so mm 2PL-also-vblzr-assist

fa era be marisn ine marisn beba
fa e-ra be marisn ine marisn be-ba
for Rel-move to happiness This.SG happiness Rel-be big

komarisn ine harus u kobe kosmai
ko-marisn ine harus u ko-be ko-smai
1PL.EXCL-be happy this.SG must U 1PL.EXCL-want 1PL.EXCL-get

‘This general election finished already so you also (need to) help the happy thing, this big happy thing that we desire, we must have it’

(79) Yawos royo baboi irya kwar
Y-awos ro-o ba-boi irya kwar
1SG-speak thing-O not-but be already

‘I did not speak anything but that’s it’

(80) *Terima Kasih!*
Terima Kasih
receive Love

‘Thank you’

H Mofu:

(81) E *Anak* Suri e *skaran* yorsus u
E anak Suri E skaran y-ors-us U
E Son/daughter Suriel E now 1SG-stand-with U

Bapade Mampioperi be ibe dakawos
Bapa-ade Mampioer-i be i-be d-ak-awos
Father-younger brother Mampioer-FOC want 3SG-want 3SG-also-speak

fa samaido wakrowero ragamu Samber
 Fa sama-ido w-ak-rower-o ragam-u Samber
 for so that 2SG-also-listen-O variety-U Samber

skobanya nja a nuyors royu *pelabuhan*
 sko-be-an-ya nja a nu-ors ro-u pelabuhan
 3PCL-POSS-GIV-DET.SG so mm 1DU.INCL-stand at-U Harbour

‘Ehh son Suriel mmm now I am standing with young uncle Mampioer because he wants to speak to you so you could also listen to their Samber dialect so mm.. the two of us are standing at the harbour’

(82) A nuyors ro *pelabuhan* boi ibe dakawoso
 a nu-ors ro pelabuhan boi i-be d-ak-awos-o
 a 1DU.INCL-stand at harbour but 3SG-want 3SG-also-speak

pesanan ke swaruser ke bye a
 pesanan ke swaruser ke be- -y- a
 message Quest.Part thought Quest.Part POSS- -3SG- mmm

byerasa byesenang ke byetrima
 Be- -y- rasa Be- -y- -senang Ke Be- -y- -terima
 Vblzr- -3SG- -feel Vblzr- -3SG- -be happy Quest.Part Vblzr- -3SG- -accept

ba ke ro *keadaan* inggobe ro
 ba ke ro keadaan inggo-be ro
 not Quest.Part at condition 1PL.INCL-POSS At

Papuae Indonesiaine
 Papua-e Indonesia- ine
 Papua-E Indonesia-this.SG

‘Mmm the two of us are standing at the harbour but he wants to speak his message or opinion which he feels he is not happy or does not accept in our situation in West Papua Indonesia’

(83) Au mande mgorafa mgoro diya
 au mande mgo-ra-fa mgo-ro diya
 2SG fortune 2PL-move-towards there 2PL-be at Place.that

nja mgakmamu mob nggobera ya boi
 nja mg-ak-mam-u mob nggo-be-ra ya boi
 so 2PL-also-look-U place 1PL.INCL-Rel-move DET.SG but

nggoma a *perasaan* a inggomarism na
 nggo-ma a perasaan-o a inggo-marism na
 1PL.INCL-FOC mmm feeling-O Mmm 1PL.INCL-be happy 3PL.INAN

ya isya nggomarism banna
 ya isya nggo-marism ba-an -na
 DET.SG be 1PL.INCL-be happy Not-GIV-DET.PL.INAN

naisya nja
 na-isya nja
 3PL.INAN-be So

‘Lucky you, you went to stay there so you could see the way we live like but us mmm the feelings we like and (the ones) we don’t like exist so’

(84) ibe dakawos fa wakrowr ja *skaranu* yabuk
 i-be d-ak-awos fa w-ak-rower ja sekarang-u ya-buk
 3SG-want 3SG-also-speak for 2SG-also-listen so now-U 1SG-give

kesempatan be i fa dakawose
 kesempatan be i fa d-ak-awos-e
 opportunity to 3SG for 3SG-also-speak-E

‘He wants to also talk (to you) for you (to also) listen so now I give him a time for him to also talk’

(85) Ndo *bapade* wakawose
 ndo bapa-ade w-ak-awos-e
 so father-younger brother 2SG-also-speak-E

‘So young uncle you could also speak’

E Mampiper:

(86) Yo *terima kasih* wer be *anak* au
 yo terima kasih wer be anak au
 yes receive love again to son 2SG

mufa
mu-fa
DIR-towards there

‘yes, thank you again to you son’

- (87) yakofnbadir manggundaya snonsnon ayedya
ya-kofn-badir manggund-aya snonsnon ay-e-dya
1SG-tell-reveal self-1SG name 1SG-POSS-DET.SG

Eskol Mampiooper
Eskol Mampiooper
Eskol Mampiooper

‘I introduce myself, my name is Eskol Mampiooper’

- (88) Yabelahir ro Samberi
Ya-be-lahir ro Samber-i
1SG-vblzr-born at Samber-FOC

‘I was born in Samber’

- (89) *Skaran jam* ine yorsus kmami
sekarang jam ine y-ors-us kma-m-i
now hour This.SG 1SG-stand-with Father-2SG.POSS.DET.SG-FOC

bo nuyors nufafyar doyu *pelabuhanu*
bo nu-ors nu-fafyar ro-u pelabuhan-u
and 1DU.INCL-stand 1DU.INCL-chat At-U Harbour-U

ero Biak kobanine
e-ro Biak ko-be-an-ine
Rel-be at Biak 1PL.EXCL-POSS-GIV-this.SG

‘Now (at) this hour I am standing with your father and the two of us are standing chatting at the harbour in our Biak (town)’

- (90) Mboi yamarisnu yakbuku *titipan* mguno be naek
Mboi ya-marisn-u y-ak-buk-u titipan mgun-o be naek
but 1SG-be happy 1SG-also-give-U package little to brother

au	mundi	fa	byejadi	swarapepen ⁴⁵
au	mu-ndi	fa	be- -y- jadi	swarapepen
2SG	DIR-outward	for	Vblzr- -3SG- -become	reminder

‘But I like to give a little message to you brother outside, to become a reminder’

(91)	Isoine	insanja	naek	bepon	ansine
	i-iso-ine	insanja	naek	be-pon	an-sine
	3SG-be-this	a moment ago	brother	Rel-be at front	GIV-this.PL.AN

sbaryas	na	kwar	boi	ine	yakbetamba
s-baryas	na	kwar	boi	ine	y-ak-be-tambah
3PL.AN-inform	3PL.INAN	already	but	This.SG	1SG-also-vblzr-add

monda
monda
only

‘It is this, just now the earlier brothers have already talked about them, but, I just add this’

(92)	Robefur	inggo	ro	supu	Byaki	ine	fa
	ro-be-fur	inggo	ro	sup-u	Byak-i	ine	fa
	Thing-Rel-make	1PL.INCL	at	island-U	Biak-FOC	this.SG	For

byejadi	keresahan	be	kawasa	Papua	ine
be- -y- jadi	keresahan	be	kawasa	Papua	ine
Vblzr- -3SG- -become	worries	to	people	Papua	This.SG

nggoberasa	kam	i	ro	fyor	ine	ni
nggo-be-rasa	kam	i	ro	fyor	ine	ni
1PL.INCL-vblzr-feel	all	3SG	at	time	This.SG	FOC

‘The thing that made us in this island of Biak for it became a worry for these Papuan people, we all felt it at this time’

(93)	Isoine	amber	anine	ifruru
	i-iso-ine	amber	an-ine	i-frur-u
	3SG-be-this.SG	stranger	GIV-this.SG	3SG-du-U

⁴⁵ Swarapepen is the reduplication of a compound word swarepen ‘to remember’ which comes from two words *swar* ‘love’ and *epen* ‘to hold’

dun	i	ma	ikfrur	ko	ro
d-un	i	ma	i-k-frur	ko	ro
3SG-take	3SG	Towards here	3SG-give-do	1PL.EXCL	at

supu	kobanine		nya	<i>meman</i>	<i>sangat...</i>
sup-u	ko-be-an-ine		ya	memang	sangat..
Island-U	1PL.EXCL-POSS-GIV-this.SG		DET.SG	certainly	Very

‘It is this, this foreigner made.. took it here, the way s/he made us in our land certainly very....’

(94)	Nyan	anine	ifurfa	dunu	<i>kecewa</i>
	nyan	an-ine	i-fur-fa	d-un-u	kecewa
	way	GIV-this.SG	3SG-do-for	3SG-bring-U	disappointment

<i>dan</i>	dunu	<i>banyak</i>	<i>musiba</i>	be	kawasa	Papua	nsine
dan	d-un-u	banyak	musibah	be	kawasa	Papua	sine
and	3SG-bring-U	many	disaster	to	people	Papua	This.PL.AN

‘This way caused to bring disappointment and it brought lots of disaster to the Papuan people’

H Mofu:

(95)	E	inja	Mampiooper	yawosuk	au	bape	a
	e	inja	mampiooper	y-awos-uk	au	bape	a
	E	so	Mampiooper	1SG-speak-cut	2SG	Not.but	mmm

<i>Kira-kira</i>	mob	<i>bemaksud</i>	ine	<i>karna</i>	a	<i>skarano</i>	a
kira-kira	mob	be-maksud	ine	karena	a	skaran-o	a
guess	place	2SG.vblzr-mean	This.SG	because	mmm	Now-O	mmm

mandobinja	<i>presideno</i>	Megawati	ifur	fa
mandobin-dya	presiden-o	Megawati	i-fur	fa
Yesterday-DET.SG	president-O	Megawati	3SG-do	for

<i>byebagi-bagio</i>	<i>pemekarano</i>	<i>kabupaten</i>	nanefa	ndima
be- -y- -bagi-bagi-o	pemekaran-o	kabupaten	nane-fa	ima
Vblzr- -y- divide-divide	extension-O	regency	this.PL.INAN-for	therefore

<i>akhirnya</i>	a	<i>suku</i>	ero	Irian	anna
akhir-nya	a	suku	e-ro	Irian	an-na
End-3SG.POSS.DET.SG	mmm	tribe	Rel-be at	Irian	GIV-DET.PL.INAN

nabor	kurwe	<i>skaran</i>	<i>suku</i>	ri	suru	suro	i
na-bor	kurwe	sekarang	suku	ri	suru	su-ro	i
3PL.INAN-be many	although	now	tribe	Det.SG	two	3DU-be at	3SG

rya
rya
So

‘Ehh so Mampiper, I don’t cut you(your talk) but perhaps this thing (that) you mean because now, yesterday President Megawati because of her actions, she divides the extension of these regencies so in the end mmm although the tribes in Irian (West Papua) were many but now there are two tribes in it’

(96)	Inja	<i>sukuyu</i>	Papua	ya	<i>suku</i>	Irian	Jaya
	inja	suku-u	Papua	ya	suku	irian	Jaya
	so	tribe-U	Papua	Det.SG	tribe	Irian	Jaya

Barati
Barat-i
West-FOC

‘So the Papuan tribe (and) the West Irian Jaya tribe’

(97)	Ma	<i>skaran</i>	sufur	fa	ndima	a	kosnirn
	ma	sekarang	su-fur	fa	ndima	a	ko-snirn
	and	now	3DU-do	for	therefore	mmm	1PL.EXCL-attack

yaye	ko
yaye	ko
Each other	1PL.EXCL

‘And now the two caused (because of the two’s actions) therefore mmm we attacked each other’

E Mampiper:

(98)	Kosnirn	yaye	ko
	ko-snirn	yaye	ko
	1PL.EXCL-attack	Each other	1PL.EXCL

‘We attacked each other’

- (99) A *macamu* nap ansya to?
 a macam-u nap an-sya to?
 a like-U cousin GIV-DET.PL.AN Quest.Part

‘Ah just like the cousins, aren’t they?’

- (100) a inja nap ero *bagian barat* iwa
 a inja nap e-ro bagian barat iwa
 a so cousin Rel-be at part west That.SG

ma nap Papua ya ibe susnirn yaye su
 ma nap papua ya ibe su-snirn yaye su
 and cousin Papua DET.SG want 3DU-attack Each other 3DU

padahal kobeoser
 padahal ko-be-oser
 contrarily 1PL.EXCL-become-one

‘mmm so the cousins from the western part there and the Papuan cousins want to attack each other, however, we are one’

- (101) Inja *kira-kira* mob ine insandya
 inja kira-kira mob ine insandya
 so guess-guess place this.SG a moment ago

na *barangkali* *besingung* ya ke?
 na barangkali be-singung ya ke?
 3PL.INAN perhaps 2SG.vblzr-mention DET.SG Quest.Part

‘So perhaps, this thing just now, perhaps it was what you mentioned?’

- (102) Ya *betul*.
 Ya betul
 yes right

‘Yes, indeed’

(103) A *memanu maksud tujuan* ya iri
 a memang-u maksud tujuan ya i-iri
 a certainly-U meaning goal DET.SG 3SG-be

‘mmm certainly it is the meaning (and) the goal’

(104) **Karna** ifur mob anine fa *skaran*
 karena i-fur mob an-ine fa sekarang
 because 3SG-do place GIV-this.SG for now

byukbeadu ko
 buk- -y- -be-adu ko
 Give- -3SG- -vblzr-create a fight 1PL.EXCL

‘Because she made this thing to make us attack each other’

(105) Anna *politik* ebari
 An-na politik e-ba-ri
 GIV-DET.PL.INAN politic Rel-be big-Det.SG

ifur do fa ifur fa ndima *akhirnya*
 i-fur ro fa i-fur fa ndima akhir-nya
 3SG-do at for 3SG-do for therefore End-3SG.POSS.DET.SG

babeoser kobanine *skaran* imbruwer
 babe-oser ko-be-an-ine sekarang i-mbruwer
 Things about-one 1PL.EXCL-POSS-GIV-this.SG now 3SG-sink

‘Those are big politics that she did for (because of her action) in the end our unity now sinks’

(106) Nja *biasa biasa* fyoro baido komun yaye
 nja biasa biasa fyoro ba-ido k-mun yaye
 so usual usual time Not-FOC 1PL.EXCL-kill each other

ko
 ko
 1PL.EXCL

‘so if it goes like (this), not very long we will fight each other’

H Mofu:

(107) Ya!
Ya
Yes!

'Yes!'

E Mampioper:

(108) Ro ifur fa sebagai *penonton* bo sape
ro i-fur fa sebagai penonton bo sape
thing 3SG-do for as viewer and while

kyain byenonton ko
kain- -y- be- -y- -nonton ko
Sit- -3SG- Vblzr- -3SG- -watch 1PL.EXCL

'That's the thing she does as observer and then she sits (and) watches us'

H Mofu:

(109) Sobe eso eso karui na
s-obe e-so e-so karui na
3PL.AN-say Rel-throw Rel-throw stone Det.PL.INAN

ramna ido insape eyofk ro brampin na ro
ra-mna ido insape e-ofek ro brampin na ro
Move-end then then Rel-hide at fingers Det.PL.INAN at

dokor bo
dokor bo
back of one's body and...

'They said the ones who threw stones and then hid the hands at the back'

E Mampiooper:

(110) Nja nyan anine ifur fa koberasa
nja nyan an-ine i-fur fa ko-be-rasa
so way GIV-this.SG 3SG-do For 1PL.EXCL-vblzr-feel

sedangkanu kobawa mgun besya
sedangkan-u ko-ba-ba mgun besya
although-U 1PL.EXCL-be big-not little contrarily

kakberasakanu mob anine
k-ak-be-rasakan-u mob an-ine
1PL-EXCL-also-vblzr-feel-U place GIV-this.SG

sehingga yabetitipu *pesan* ine be naek au
sehingga ya-be-titip-u pesan ine be naek au
so 1SG-vblzr-package-U message This.SG to brother 2SG

insamaido mgokain do andiriya fa nari mgoi
insama-ido mgo-kain ro andir-iyfa nari mgo-i
so that 2PL-sit at Side-that.SG for will 2PL-FOC

na kobeharap fano *bisa* mgoi ebeat^{ur} sup
na ko-be-harap fa-o bisa mgo-i e-be-atur sup
will 1PL.EXCL-vblzr-hope For-O can 2PL-FOC Rel-vblzr-manage land

anine mgoya ido insamaido *bisa* mgofur *himbauan*
an-ine mgo-ya ido insamaido bisa mgo-fur himbauan
GIV-this.SG 2PL.FOC if so that can 2PL-do appeal

be andinema fa nsamaido ndwark
be an-dine-ma fa nsamaido n-dwark
to GIV-place.this-towards here for So that 3PL.INAN-block

ko fa nsamaido mob aninera kabor nafur awer
ko fa nsamaido mob an-ine-ra kabor na-fur awer
1PL.EXCL for so that place GIV-this.SG- <unknown> 3PL.INAN-do not

darya kukro imbo na *bisa* na komun yaye
ra-rya kukro imbo na bisa na ko-mun yaye
such be that because mmm will possible will 1PL.EXCL-kill each other

ko
 ko
 1PL.EXCL

‘So this way caused us to feel..., actually we are little (people) however, we also feel this thing so I send this message to you brother so that you live there for you will be the one that we expect if you are the one who could govern this land, then, could you make an appeal to here so they protect us so that this thing should not cause (us) like that because mmm we could kill each other’

(111) *Padahal* nono bese babo Papua siko kam
 Padahal nono bese ba-bo Papua si-ko kam
 In fact any other not-but Papua Det.PL.AN-1PL.EXCL all

ramnaido ro kofur besnei nya ro kona rirya
 ramna-ido ro ko-fur besnei ya ro ko-na ri-rya
 after that-FOC at 1PL.EXCL-do such thing DET.SG thing 1PL-have Det.SG

besya ifur fa ndima *akhirnya* kobekenal
 besya i-fur fa ndima akhir-nya ko-be-kenal
 contrarily 3SG-do for therefore end-3SG.POSS 1PL.EXCL-vblzr-know

yaye ko ba
 yaye ko ba
 each other 1PL.EXCL not

‘Contrarily, it’s not anyone else but we all Papuan ourselves but then we do such thing, this is the thing we have, however, because of her action in the end we don’t know each other ‘

(112) Komin ya dobe iwa
 ko-min ya d-obe iwa
 1PL.EXCL-member of DET.SG 3SG-say that.SG

ibena mob inen ya ibena dinen ya
 i-be-na mob ine ya i-be-na dine ya
 3SG-Rel-have place this.SG DET.SG 3SG-Rel-have place.this.SG DET.SG

ifur dapon *akhirnya* *bisa* kosnirn
 i-fur ra-pon akhir-nya bisa ko-snirn
 3SG-do move-front end-3SG.POSS can 1PL.EXCL-attack

yaye	ko
yaye	ko
each other	1PL.EXCL

‘One of us said that one over there who who has this place, he is the one who has it, it causes us that in the end we could attack one another’

H Mofu:

(113)	Inja	Hannah	kmamo ⁴⁶	a....
	inja	Hannah	kma-m-o	a
	so	Hannah	father-2SG.POSS.DET.SG-O	mmm

insandya	Bapade	Mampiopru	a	dawos
insandya	Bapa-ade	Mampioper-u	a	d-awos
a moment ago	father-younger brother	Mampioper-U	mmm	3SG-speak

ekaku	na	boi	ine	nido	dobe	e
e-kaku	na	boi	ine	ido	d-obe	e
Rel-true	DET.PL.INAN	but	this.SG		3SG-say	mmm

dakfuro	ai	sobe	mop	ke	ro	efur
d-ak-fur-o	ai	s-obe	mop	ke	ro	e-fur
3SG-also-do	mmm	3SG-say	joke	Quest.Part	thing	Rel-do

fakamambrif	ke	ro	boi	mop	ine	<i>rupanya</i>
fa-kamambrif	ke	ro	boi	mop	ine	rupanya
for-laugh	Quest.Part	thing	but	joke	this.Sg	perhaps

ryakeru	a	mob	mgobanya	ke
ra- -y- -ker-U	a	mob	mgo-be-an-ya	ke
move- -3SG- -from-U	mm	place	2PL-POSS-GIV-DET.SG	Quest.Part

‘So, **Hannah’s father**, mmm just now young uncle mmm spoke the true things but this one he said mmm he also wants to make the thing called as joke or the thing that make (us) laugh but this joke seems to have come from your place’

⁴⁶ In this conversation, I am the second person and I was addressed as Hannah’s father. This is to show respect because calling me by my first name will be considered rude.

(114) Sbob ko fa kobesuru rya
 s-bob ko fa ko-be-suru rya
 3PL.AN-sell 1PL.EXCL for 1PL.EXCL-become-two so

‘They sold us to be two so’⁴⁷

(115) Irian Jaya *bagian* *baratu* *mungkin* mop bero
 Irian Jaya bagian barat-u mungkin mop be-ro
 Irian Jaya part west-u perhaps joke Rel-be at

mngorori ndiri
 mgo-ro-ri di-ri
 2PL-be at-Det.SG Det.SG-be

‘Western part of Irian jaya, perhaps the joke that comes from your place’

(116) Inja na rrowr monda ro mobu snonggaku
 Inja na rowr- -w- monda ro mob-u snonkaku
 so will listen- -2SG- only at place man

ine robero swan mgoya ke ero
 ine ro-be-ro swan mgoya ke e-ro
 this.SG thing-Rel-be at sea 2PL.DET Quest.Part Rel-be at

sup sya ke insape na korowrpanu
 sup sya ke insape na ko-rowr-pan-u
 land DET.PL.AN Quest.Part will 1PL.EXCL-listen-help-U

inseiu a efur mop ine ni
 in-sei-u a e-fur mop ine ni
 fish-which-U mm Rel-do joke this.SG FOC

‘So you just listen at the way the person who comes from the sea or from the land, we will listen (and predict) who made this joke’

⁴⁷ The speaker means the division of West Papua to become two provinces (the West Irian Jaya province and the Papua province). The division was refused by the majority of Papuans and therefore they said that they were being sold.

E Mampiooper:

(117) A inja *anaku* ai *Bapade* byetitipu mop
a inja anak-u ai Bapa-ade be- -y- -titip-u mop
a so son-U mmm father-younger vblzr- -3SG- -package joke

ine fa byehibur mgun au ro andiriyā boi
ine fa be- -y- -hibur mgun au ro andir-iya boi
this.SG for vblzr- -3SG- -comfort little 2SG at side-that.over there but

mop ine byeasal doyu Papua *Baratu* ai Papua
mop ine be- -y- -asal ro-u Papua Barat-u ai Papua
joke this.SG vblzr- -3SG- -come from at-U Papua West-U mmm Papua

Barat.

Barat
West

‘Ah so son mmm young uncle send this joke to a little bit comfort you at that place outside, however, this joke come from West Papua mmm West Papua’

(118) Nja mop ine ryamuma ro ai bon
nja mop ine ra- -y- -mu-ma ro ai bon
so joke this.SG move- -3SG- -DIR-towards here at mm mountain

Arfak ke ro riwa mumbra rya
Arfak ke ro riwa mu-m-ra rya
Arfak Quest.Part at place.that DIR-towards here-seaward so

‘So this joke come from mmm Arfak mountain towards the seaward so’

(119) Fak bar bero ai Warmarei beyado
fak bar be-ro ai Warmare-i be-ado
Arfak man Rel-be at mmm Warmare-FOC Rel-descend

mumbra ya boi duno manggokor di suru
mu-m-ra ya boi d-un-o manggokor di suru
DIR-towards-here-seaward Det.SG but 3SG-bring-O chicken amount two

‘One Arfak man from Warmare who went down but he took two chickens’

(120) Duf iya ra barya iya ra barya
 D-uf iya ra bar-ya iya ra bar-ya
 3SG-hold that.SG at part-Det.SG that.SG at part-Det.SG

bo dadomra imbran ma
 bo d-ado-m-ra i-mbran ma
 and 3SG-descend-towards here-sea ward 3SG-walk and

byelewat ro binamber ya rumya
 be- -y- -lewat ro bin-amber ya rum-ya
 vblzr- -3SG- -pass at woman-stranger Det.SG house-Det.SG

rawr byedya rya binamber anya ifukn bo
 rawr be- -y- -dya ryta bin-amber an-ya i-fukn bo
 front POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG so woman-stranger GIV-Det.SG 3SG-ask and

dobe “*Bapa*” *ayam* “*berapa?*”
 d-obe Bapa ayam berapa?
 3Sg-say sir chicken how much?

‘He held one on his side and one other on his other side and went down walking and passed the front of a foreign woman’s house so the foreign woman asked (him) and said: “ Sir, how much is the chicken?’

(121) *Maksud* Byedya ifuknu manggokor
 Maksud be- -y- -dya i-fukn-u manggokor
 meaning POSS- -3SG- - DET.SG 3SG-ask-U chicken

ansine *kira-kira* esero *harga* byedi
 an-sine kira-kira eser-o harga be- -y- -di
 GIV-this.PL.AN estimate one-O price POSS- -3Sg- -Det.SG

‘Her intention (was) to ask how much the price of a chicken is’

(122) Nja snonggaku babar anine ifawi barya pyambar
 nja snonkaku babar an-ine i-fawi ba-rya pambar- -y-
 so man scabies GIV-this.SG 3SG-know not-so turn- -3SG-

fa myam inamber anin mbo dobe “*Ayam dua*”
 fa mam- -y- in-amber an-I mbo d-obe ayam dua
 for see- -y- fish-stranger GIV-Det.Sg and 3SG-say “chicken two

‘So this scabies man (because) he didn’t understand so he turned to see the foreign woman and said “two chickens”’

(123) Ikofnu *ayam* *dua*
 i-kofn-u ayam dua
 3SG-say-U chicken suru

‘He said (that) the chicken were two’

(124) Inja binamber anya ifrar dandum
 inja bin-amber an-ya i-frar ra-ndum
 so woman-stranger GIV-Det.SG 3SG-run move-inward

fyanam rama ifukn bo dobe
 fanam- -y- rama i-fukn bo d-obe
 near- -3SG- after that 3SG-ask and 3SG-say

“kira-kira ayam satu ekor berapa?”
 kira-kira ayam satu ekor berapa?
 guess-guess chicken one tail how much?

‘So the foreign woman ran inward closer and then aksed (him) and said “how much is one chicken?”

(125) Mura mansar anya dobe **“satu ekor tiga**
 Mura mansar an-ya d-obe satu ekor tiga
 thus old man GIV-DET.SG 3SG-say one tail three

puluh ribu”
 puluh ribu
 ten thousand

‘Then, the old man said “one tail costs thirty thousand (rupiahs)’

(126) Mura binamber anya fyafko
 mura bin-amber an-ya fafko- -y-
 thus woman-stranger GIV-Det.SG complain- -3SG-

bo dobe “boo.... **terlalu mahal sampe...”**
 bo d-obe boo... terlalu mahal sampe
 and 3SG-say Ohh.... very expensive too much

‘Then, the foreign woman complained and said “Ohh it’s too expensive”

(127) **“Coba kaseh turun kah?”**
 coba kaseh turun kah?
 try give lower Quest.Part

‘Could you try to lower (it) down?’

(128) Mura awak⁴⁸ anya ryir manggokor
 mura awak an-ya rir- -y- manggokor
 thus orphan GIV-Det.SG release- -3SG- chicken

ansuya rarbab suyors rama
 an-suya ra-r-bab su-ors rama
 GIV-2DU.DET move-towards-downward 2DU-stand then

dobe **“sa sudah kaseh turun....”**
 d-obe saya sudah kasih turun
 3SG-say 1Sg already give lower

‘Thus, the orphan released the chickens downward to standa and said “I have already lowered (them) down’

(129) Inja mop ya mob rya isof ro
 inja mop ya mob ra- -y- i-sof ro
 so joke Det.SG place move- -3SG- 3Sg-reach until at

iryia kwar boi **terima kasih** nabor
 irya kwar boi terima kasih na-bor
 be already but receive love 3PL.INAN-be many

mufa be....
 mu-fa be
 DIR-towards there to

‘So the joke was like that.. until that (it finished) that’s it but thank you very much for...’

H Mofu:

(130) Ya inja mob anine **maksud** ya a
 ya inja mob an-ine maksud ya a
 yes So place GIV-this.SG intention Det.SG mmm

⁴⁸ It is common to use *awak* ‘orphan’ to refer to someone whose mother or father has died.

Fak mgobansi.
 Fak mgo-be-an-si
 Arfak 2PL-POSS-GIV-PL.AN-DET.PL.AN

‘Yes so this joke, the meaning of the joke about your Arfak people’

(131) Iya bebob ya nja ryir si
 iya be-bob ya nja rir- -y- si
 one Rel-sell Det.SG so Release- -3SG- 3PL.AN

rarbab ryiru manggokor nansya
 ra-r-bab rir- -y- u manggokor an-sya
 move-towards-below Release- -3SG- -u chicken GIV-DET.PL.AN

suyors rama insape dobe **“Ibu**
 su-ors rama insape d-obe “Ibu
 3DU-stand After that then 3SG-say “Madame

sa	sudah	kaseh	turun”
sa	sudah	kaseh	turun
1SG	already	give	Lower

‘It is one of (them) who sold (the chicken) so he released them downward, the two chicken stood then he said “madam, I’ve lowered (them) down’

(132) A inja **Ibu** dobeda dobe byekasih **turun**
 A Inja Ibu d-obera d-obe Be- -y- kasih turun
 A so madame 3SG-think 3SG-say Vblzr- -3SG- -give lower

ja **barangkali** byekurangi **harga** ya **padahal**
 ja barangkali Be- -y- -kurangi Harga Ya Padahal
 so perhaps Vblzr- -3SG- -reduce price Det.SG contrarily

byekasih **turun** fa manggoko ansuya suyors
 be- -y- -kasih turun fa manggoko an-suya su-ors
 Vblzr- -3SG- -give lower for chicken GIV-2DU.DET 3DU-stand

boi **harga** yama byetetap
 boi harga ya-ma be- -y- -tetap
 but price DET.SG-FOC Vblzr- -3SG- -be the same

<i>tiga</i>	<i>puluh</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>ribu</i>	ro	a...	manggoko	eser
tiga	puluh	lima	ribu	ro	a	manggoko	eser
three	ten	five	thousand	at	mm	chicken	One

‘AH so the madame thought he said he lowered (them) down so perhaps, the price was reduced, in fact, he lowered the chicken to stand up (on the ground) but the price was fixed thirty five thousand (rupiahs) for each chicken’

(133) Inja a mobo mop ine mob rya
 inja a mob-o mop ine mob ra- -y-
 so mmm place-O joke This.SG place move- -3SG-

iri.
 iri
 be

‘So mmm the joke is like that ‘

Text 6

Vocal Group Orwer Casual Conversation

Text in Biak : Suriel Mofu

Date: September 2006

Location: Oxford University, United Kingdom

Audio Recording:

Location: Orwer Village, East Biak

Date : Friday, 22 October 2005 at 09.00am

Narrators : 1. Henoeh Mofu (59 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak: Swandiwe (West Biak)

2. Elihut Rumkorem (32 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak: Nyampun/Bosnik (East Biak)

3. Kumi Mofu (28 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak: Nyampun/Bosnik (East Biak)

4. William Mofu (27 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak: Nyampun/Bosnik (East Biak)

5. Sergius Rumkorem (35 yrs old)

Dialect of Biak : Nyampun/Bosnik (East Biak)

be Manseren kobeja ro nangi iyaswa.
 be Man-seren ko-be-dya ro Nangi iwa- -yas-
 to bird-clean 1PL.INCL-POSS-DET.SG at heaven That- -top-
 “With our songs of prayer we do believe (that) in the days to come, you will come
 brother (and) we meet each other and we all pray to our God in the heaven above”

Kumi Mofu:

(3) Isoine naek insande beyawos beponya
 i-iso-ine naek insande be-awos be-pon-ya
 3SG-be-this.SG brother just now Rel-speak Rel-early-DET.SG

Elihat Rumkormi, bepau bassi.
 Elihut Rumkorm-i be-pau bass-i
 Elihut Rumkorm-FOC Rel-pull bass-FOC
 “Our brother who has just spoken earlier was Elihud Rumkorem who played the bass
 strings⁴⁹”

(4) Befnak gitarya naeko Yani Rumbiaki,
 be-fnak gitar-ya naek-o Yani Rumbiak-i
 Rel-play guitar-Det.SG brother-O Yani Rumbiak-FOC

bemelodiya naek Sergius Rumkormi,
 be-melodi-ya naek Sergius Rumkorm-i
 Rel-play melodi-Det.SG brother Sergius Rumkorm-FOC

vokal naek Asartiel Inggameri, befnak gitarya Eli
 vokal naek Asartiel Inggamer-i, be-fnak gitar-ya Eli
 singer brother Asartiel Inggamer-FOC Rel-play guitar-DET.SG Eli

Rumbiaki, ra ro aya Kumi Mofui, nufnak juk.
 Rumnbiak-i ra ro aya Kumi Mofu-i nu-fnak juk
 Rumbiak-FOC until to 1SG Kumi Mofu-FOC 1DU.EXCL-play ukulele
 “The one who played the guitar was brother Yani Rumbiak, the one who played the melody was
 brother Sergius Rumkorem, the singer was brother Asartiel Inggamer, the one who played guitar
 was brother Eli Rumbiak until (it came) to me Kumi Mofu, the two of us (EXCL) played ukulele”

(5) Do vokal e suminya Yusuf Rumerei, do vokal
 do vocal e su-min-ya Yusuf Rumere-i do vokal
 then singer E 3DU-member of-Det.SG Yusuf Rumere-FOC then singer

⁴⁹ A typical musical instrument like a very big and long guitar with only two strings

ipar banya ido.
 ipar be-an-ya ido
 brother/sister in law 2SG.POSS-GIV-DET.SG then
 “Yes, mmm that’s fine, it’s your eldest brother but how about your
 sister in law”

W. Mofu:

(9) fawar mop ari....
 fawar mop ari..
 2SG.tell joke first thing to do
 “Please tell (a) joke”

Kumi Mofu:

(10) Oh tabea mufa yob ipar au
 Oh tabea mu-fa yob ipar au
 Oh greetings DIR-towards there to brother/sister in law 2SG
 “Oh, greetings to you sister in law”

H. Mofu:

(11) Hannah snari
 Hannah sna-ri
 Hannah mother-3SG.POSS.DET.SG
 “Hannah’s mother”⁵⁰

Kumi Mofu:

(12) Hannah snari.
 Hannah sna-ri
 Hannah mother-3SG.POSS.DET.SG
 (Yes) “Hannah’s mother”

(13) Dow nane nggodisn na nggokyar
 dow nane nggo-disn na nggo-kyar
 song this.PL.INAN 1PL.EXCL-sing 3PL.INAN 1PL.EXCL-believe

⁵⁰ Because the message was recorded so this person tried to emphasize that the greetings was sent to Hannah’s mother and that the addressee who was the sister in law of the speaker in (10) was clear to everyone who listen to the recording. The response was the same remarks as in (12).

kaku na raso ido mgokyam ma kosrob ko
 kaku na ras-o ido mgo-kyam ma ko-srob ko
 very will day-O then 2PL-gather and 1PL.INCL-meet 1PL.INCL

ro mnu nane.
 ro mnu nane
 at village this.PL.INAN

“We sang these songs (and) we believe (that) one day you will come and we will meet each other in these villages⁵¹”

(14) *Bapai*, *mamasu*, nggokyar kaku na
 Bapa-i mama-su nggo-kyar kaku na
 Father-FOC mama-2DU.DET 1PL.EXCL-believe very will

mgorama
 mggo-ra-ma
 2PL-move-towards here
 “Mum and dad, we do believe (that) you will come”

Kumi Mofu:

(15) Beee *malam bae* mufa beyo *iparo* Hannah
 Beee malam baik mu-fa be-o ipar-o Hannah
 Hi! evening good DIR-towards there to-O brother/sister in law Hannah

snam au.
 sna-m au
 mother-2SG.POSS.Det.SG 2SG
 “Hi! Good evening to (you) sister in law, Hannah’s mum⁵²”

(16) Wobo nggofarem mop rya.
 w-obo nggo-farem mop rya
 2SG-say 1PL.EXCL-send joke so
 “You asked us to send you jokes”

⁵¹ Some of the singers came from neighbouring villages, thus, this is perhaps a factor that has influenced the speaker to say “in these villages” rather than saying “in this village” which would mean the village where they were at the time of speaking.

⁵² In Biak, it is not polite to call adults by their names. People usually use elder brother, younger brother, uncle, younger uncle, eldest uncle, and someone’s dad or someone’s mum. In (15) the speaker did not use the addressee’s real name to call her, instead he used the addressee’s daughter’s name to call her. In addition, Hannah’s mum in (15) is used as a VOCATIVE.

(17) Mop o yafawar fa kombrif kam ro arwo
 mop-o ya-fawar fa ko-mbrif kam ro arwo
 joke-O 1SG-tell for 1PL.INCL-laugh all at morning

ke mesr ke mandira ke.
 ke mesr ke mandira ke
 Quest dawn Quest afternoon Quest
 “The joke (that) I tell for all of us to laugh in the morning, dawn, or afternoon⁵³”

(18) Inja mob rya isoine:
 inja mob rya i-iso-ine
 so joke be 3SG-be-this.SG
 “So the joke is like this”

(19) Fafisuya OPM sisur do Biak **Barat**, mnu
 fafisu-ya OPM si-sur ro Biak Barat mnu
 time-DET.SG OPM 3PL.AN-grow in Biak West village

kobani. noi e... siwarkiyo mansar
 ko-be-an-i boi-e si-warki-o mansar
 1PL.INCL-POSS-GIV-DET.SG however - E 3PL.AN-block old man

Manggaprowi, **bapatuai**.⁵⁴
 Manggaprouw-i bapa-tua-i
 Manggaprouw-FOC father-old-FOC
 “At the time, the OPM⁵⁵ grew up in West Biak, our village. But they arrested Elder Manggaprouw, the eldest uncle.

(20) Imbare... e.. sobo dakfano Konsupi.
 Imbare.. e s-obo d-ak-fan-o Konsup-i
 so... E 3PL.AN-say 3SG-also-feed-O Konsup-FOC
 “So, mmm they said he also feed the Konsup⁵⁶”

⁵³ The speaker mentioned different times because he did not know exactly what the time was in the UK at the time of speaking.

⁵⁴ Although this word is a combination of two Malay words *bapa* ‘father’ and *tua* ‘old’, the use of *bapatua* ‘eldest uncle’ is only used in West Papua and other Eastern Indonesian Malay.

⁵⁵ OPM stands for Organisasi Papua Merdeka (Free West Papua Movement), a political organisation in West Papua that is fighting for independence and freedom from Indonesian occupation.

⁵⁶ Konsup is a name specifically given for Melkianus Awom, high commander of OPM in Biak. The word *konsup* itself is a Biak compound word which is formed from two separate words; *kon* ‘sit/occupy’ and *sup* ‘jungle/forest’. Thus, the meaning of *konsup* is something like *the ruler of the jungle*.

(21) Fyarem ger robean munde be yo
 farem- -y- ger robean mu-nde be-o
 send- -3SG- continuously food DIR-landward to-O

mansar Konsupi ro sup.
 mansar Konsup-i ro sup
 old man Konsup-FOC at forest
 “He continuously sent food to Konsup in the jungle”

(22) Imbarya *tentara* Hassanuddin Ujung Pandang ansi
 imbarya tentara Hassanuddin Ujung Pandang an-si
 Therefore army Hassanuddin Ujung Pandang GIV-DET.PL.AN

srama sifuknja
 s-ra-ma si-fukn-ja
 3PL.AN-move-toward here 3PL.AN-question-so

sisewar dao sismai indo sifukni.
 si-sewar da-o si-sma-i indo si-fukn-i
 3PL.AN-search until-O 3PL.AN-have-3SG then 3PL.AN-question-3SG
 “Therefore, the Hassannudin⁵⁷ army from Ujung Pandang came to question (him) so they searched until they found him and then questioned him”

(23) Sifukni boi *bapatua* Manggaprow dakfawio
 si-fukn-i boi bapa-tua Manggaprouw d-ak-fawi-o
 3PL.AN-question-3SG boi father-old Manggaprouw 3SG-also-know-O

woso Indonesia kermgun kermgun boi
 wos Indonesia ker-mgun ker-mgun boi
 language Indonesia part-little part-little but

rya sobo *kaki* *kapala* ke.....
 ra- -y- s-obo kaki kapala ke....
 such as -- 3SG- 3PL.AN-say foot head Quest
 “They questioned him, however, eldest uncle although he also knew very little Indonesian language but it was like what people said (lit:they said) *feet-head*⁵⁸”

⁵⁷ Hassanuddin is the name of the Indonesian National Army battalion which was based in Ujung Pandang (the Celebes island of Indonesia).

⁵⁸ Feet-head is an idiom which means don't know something completely or the knowledge of something is very little.

(24) Imbare dawos kwar.
 imbare d-awos kwar
 Therefore 3SG-speak already
 “Therefore, he spoke”

(25) Sunirao *pos* ido sifukn. i.
 s-un-i-ra-o *pos* ido si-fukn i
 3PL.AN-take-3SG-to post then 3PL.AN-question 3SG
 “They took him to the military post, then, questioned him”

(26) Sifukni bo sobo “*Bapa yang kasih makan*
 si-fukn-i bo s-obo “Bapa yang kasih makan
 3PL.AN-question-3SG and 3PL.AN-say “Father who give eat

OPM”.

OPM

OPM

“They questioned him and said “you⁵⁹ who fed the OPM”

(27) Indo *bapatua* kyarm bo dobo “*bukan!*”
 Indo bapa-tua karm- -y- bo d-obo “bukan!”
 So father-old answer- -3SG- and 3SG-say “no”
 “so the eldest uncle replied and said “No!”

Hassanudin Army:

(28) *Ah bapa tipu bapa yang pasti kasih*
 Ah bapa tipu bapa yang pasti kasih
 Ah father lie father who surely give

Makan.

makan

eat

”Ahh! You lie. You who certainly feed (them).

(29) *Ini ada laporan dari kepala desa bapa*
 ini ada laporan dari kepala desa bapa
 this there report from head village father

⁵⁹ In Eastern Indonesian as well as in Western Indonesian Malay, the word *Bapak* “father or sir” is usually used to address a second person singular adult male. All married men are called *Bapak*. In the Eastern Indonesian Malay the final glottal consonant /k/ is deleted.

<i>kemarin</i>	<i>ada</i>	<i>kasih</i>	<i>makan</i>	<i>untuk</i>	<i>bapa</i>	Konsum.
kemarin	ada	kasih	makan	untuk	bapa	Konsum
yesterday	was	give	eat	for	father	Konsum

“Here is a report from the head of village (that) yesterday you were feeding Elder Konsum”.

Mr Manggaprouw:

(30) *Tidak saya tidak kasih makan.*
 Tidak saya tidak kasih makan
 Not 1SG not give eat
 “No, I did not feed (him)”.

Hassanudin Army:

(31) *“Bapa tipu”.*
 Bapa tipu
 father lie
 “You lie”

Mr Manggaprouw:

(32) *Tidak.*
 tidak
 “No!”

Hassanudin Army:

(33) *Ah bapa tipu.*
 Ah bapa tipu
 Ah father lie
 “Ahh, you lie!”

Mr Manggaprouw:

(34) *Tidak.*
 tidak
 not
 “No!”

Hasanuddin Army:

- (35) *Bapa bohong.*
Bapa bohong⁶⁰
father lie
“You lie!”

Mr Manggaprouw:

- (36) *Iya !*
iya !
Yes!
“Yes!”

- (37) Kyarm iyafa skor i ma
karm- -y- iya-fa sk-or i ma
answer- -3SG- that.SG-towards there 3PCL-call 3SG towards here

skorip i fa imbran baberi.
sko-rip i fa i-mbran ba-beri
3PCL-beat 3SG until 3SG-walk not-completely
“He answered that (yes) (that made them) called him (and) beat him until he could not walk at all.”

- (38) Mbe bebur danda ro mnu ido
mbe be-bur ra-nda ro mnu ido
then Rel-go home move-seaward to village when

ryama ro Bosnik isrouw *bapai*,
ra- -y- -ma ro Bosnik i-srouw bapa-i
move- -3SG- -towards here At Bosnik 3SG-meet Father-FOC

almarhum.

almarhum

Passed away (the late)

“Then, went home to the village, he came to Bosnik to meet the late father.

⁶⁰ *Bohon* is another word for “to lie”, which is not commonly used in Eastern Indonesian Malay especially in the Biak community.

(39) isrow *bapa* inja *almarhum* Isaki...
 i-srouw bapa inja almarhum Isak-i
 3SG-meet father so passed away Isak-FOC
 “He met daddy so.... The late Izak.”

(40) Isrow *bapa* inja fyar fa *bapa* dakrower.
 i-srouw bapa inja far- -y- Fa bapa d-ak-rower
 3SG-meet father so Tell- -3SG- for father 3SG-also-listen
 “He met daddy, so he told daddy to listen (to his story).”

(41) Inja *bapa* ifukn i “imbo rosa efnaifa
 inja bapa i-fukn I “imbo ro-sai e-fnai-fa
 so father 3SG-question 3SG “so thing-which Rel-cause-for

skorip au besyani”.
 Sko-rip au be-s-ya-ni
 3PCL-beat 2SG Such as-be-Det.SG-FOC
 “So daddy asked him “so what caused them to beat you like that?”

(42) Indo *bapatua* dobe a... imbo iryama wos
 Indo bapa-tua d-obe a.. imbo i-r-ya-ma wos
 so Father-old 3Sg-say mmm.. Yes (but) 3SG-be-that-FOC language

Melayu na yafawi na kam rao wos
 Melayu na ya-fawi na-kam ra-o wos
 Malay DET.PL.INAN 1SG-know 3PL.INAN-all move-o language

kermkun sobe *bohon* ker ne i
 ker-mkun s-obe bohong ker Ne i
 Part-little 3PL.AN-say lie part this 3SG

yakfawi ba.
 y-ak-fawi ba
 3SG-also-know Not
 “So the eldest uncle said “mmm yes, although I knew all Malay language until (I came to) this part of word *bohon*. It (was) what I did not know.”

(43) Skokofn bo skobe *bohon* ja yakarm bo
 Sko-kofn bo sk-obe bohong ja ya-karm bo
 3PCL-say and 3PCL-mention lie so 1Sg-answer and

(48) Mboi yakarm **iya** fa ima skorip aya fa
 mboi ya-karm iya fa i-ma sko-rip aya fa
 yes 1Sg-answer Yes for 3SG-FOC 3PCL-beat 1SG for

yamam boi yambran fa.
 ya-mam boi ya-mbran fa
 1SG-see but 1SG-walk for

“Yes (but) I answered yes (for it made them) beat me until I saw but I walked for

(49) Ne... mop ya isyawer.
 Ne.. mop ya i-sya-wer
 Hey.. joke DET.SG 3SG-be-again
 “here, there is another joke”

(50) **Guru banci.**
 guru banci
 teacher transvestite
 “The transvestite⁶¹ teacher”

(51) **Guru** Inggameri.
 guru Inggamer-i
 teacher Inggamer-FOC
 “Teacher Inggamer”.

(52) Yakor i be tete ya yakmami rye
 y-ak-or i be tete ja y-ak-mam-i rye
 1SG-also-call 3SG as grand father so 1SG-also-see-3SG so

yafar i mai muyakmbrif ari.
 ya-far i mai mu-ak-mbrif ari
 1SG-tell 3SG towards here 2DU-also-laugh first thing to do
 “I also called him as grandfather, thus, I also saw him so I tell about him (so) you also laugh.”

⁶¹ The word *banci* ‘transvestite’ refers to a man who behaves as a women in his voice, habit and appearances.

(53) Inde ro dawos na dawos be *banci*
 Inde ro d-awos na d-awos be banci
 so thing 3SG-speak DET.PL.INAN 3SG-speak as transvestite

boi dawos ra dine dobe:
 Boi d-awos ra di-ne d-obe
 but 3Sg-speak as place-this 3SG-say
 “So the things he spoke, he spoke like a transvestite but he spoke like this, he said;”

(54) ryama ifukn *mamai...*
 ra- -y- -ma i-fukn mama-i
 Move- -3SG- -towards here 3SG-question mother-FOC
 “He came to ask mummy”

(55) dobe “*mama*”
 d-obe “mama”
 3SG-say “mother”
 “He said “Mummy”.

(56) dor be *mama* bape *kaka*
 d-or be mama bape kaka
 3SG-call as mother but elder
 “He did not call mummy but Elder”

(57) dobe *kaka kira-kira bisa* ido buk-o *saran*
 d-obe kaka kira-kira bisa ido buk-o saran
 3SG-say elder guess-guess can if 2SG.give-O advice

usul pendapat atau masukan mai yakfarkoro
 usul pendapat atau masukan ma ya-k-farkor-o
 suggestion opinion or input towards here 1SG-use-teach-O

barbin ansiyasu.
 bar-bin an-si-yas-u
 Part-woman Giv-DET.PL.AN-top-U
 “He said, “Elder, could you give advice, suggestion, opinion, or input for (me) to use (them) to teach the group of women up there”

- (58) *Trus mama tanya* “barbin disa siri...?”
 trus mama Tanya “bar-bin di-sa s-iri?”
 then mother question Part-women DET.SG-which 3PL.AN-be?
 “Then, mummy questioned (him) “which group of women were they?”
- (59) *Ibu-ibu yang mana ?*
 Ibu-ibu yang mana?
 ladies which where?
 “Which ladies?”
- (60) Indo *guru* Simon dobo “bapupsisye *saudara-saudara kita*
 Indo guru Simon d-obo “bapupsisye saudara-saudara kita
 then teacher Simon 3SG-say <unknown> relatives 1PL.INCL
- yang di pulau sana*
 yang di pulau sana
 who at island there
 “Then, teacher Simon said “Don’t you know our relatives who (live) in the island there?”
- (61) Mios Mangguandi.
 Mios Mangguandi
 island Mangguandi
 “The Mangguandi island”
- (62) *Ibu-ibu kita di myos Mangguandi beyakbe PKK.*
 Ibu-ibu kita di myos Mangguandi be-ak-be PKK
 ladies 1PL.INCL At island Mangguandi Rel-also-become PKK
 “Our ladies in Mangguandi island who are also PKK⁶²”
- (63) *Ibu-ibu PKK ansi.*
 Ibu-ibu PKK An-si
 ladies PKK GIV-DET.PL.AN
 “The PKK ladies”
- (64) *Jadi saya kasih latihan kursus, sulam-menyulam,*
 jadi saya kasih latihan Kursus, sulam-menyulam,
 so 1SG give training course knitting

⁶² PKK (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga “Family Welfare Support), a women’s institution established in every district and sub-district all over Indonesia. This institutionalised program was introduced by the Indonesian government in early 1980s.

jahit-menjahit, menjahit, taplak meja.
jahit-men-jahit men-jahit taplak meja
sew-trans.V.prefix-sew trans.V.prefix-sew cloth table
“So I give training, courses, sewing...., sewing table cloth.”

(65) Boi *sebentar saya toki loncing mereka dengar*
Boi sebentar saya toki loncing mereka dengar
but in a moment 1SG knock bell 3PL hear

tapi malas tau jadi yabe pikir boi tidak bisa
tapi malas tau jadi ya-be-pikir boi tidak bisa
but lazy know So 1SG-verbz-think but not can

skali.

skali

very much

“But in a moment I am going to knock the bell (and) the might listen but pretend (that) they do not hear (lit: they do not know) so I thought this could not be accepted at all”

(66) *jadi bagaimana ya...*
jadi bagaimana ya..
So how Quest
“So, what (am I going to do?)”

(67) *saya sudah siap rotan...*
saya sudah siap rotan
1SG already prepare rattan
“I have prepared the rattan”

(68) *yabesiap warar ya kwar mai yobe yakrab*
ya-be-siap warar ya kwar mai yobe Ya-k-rab
1SG-verbz-prepare rattan DET.SG already for 1SG-say 1SG-use-spank

si *tapi tidak sampe hati yamun si kukro*
si tapi tidak sampe hati ya-mun si kukro
3PL.AN But not until heart 1Sg-beat 3PL.AN because

nggodisn insanja nana
 nggo-disn insanja n-an-na
 1PL.EXCL-sing just now 3PL.INAN-GIV-DET.PL.INAN

nakame nggodisn na ru Manuren.
 Na-kam-e nggo-disn na ro Manuren
 3PL.INAN-all-E 1PL.EXCL-sing 3PL.INAN at Manuren
 “We told (the joke) at..... we told (the joke) then the song mmm we sang just now all of
 them we sang them in Manuren”

(75) Bapai.... mansari ro yo Manuren.
 Bapa-i mansar-i ro-o Manuren
 Father-FOC mansar-FOC at-O Manuren
 “Father, the Elder in Manuren”.

(76) Bai yo mamasu.
 Bai yo mama-su
 So yes mother-3DU.DET
 “So, Yes, mummy both of them”

(77) Nggodisen do yo rumi dori.
 Nggo-disn ro-o rum-i do-ri
 1PL.EXCL-sing at-O house-DET.SG Inside-3SG.POSS.DET.SG
 “We sang inside the house”

(78) Nggoberekam.
 Nggo-be-rekam
 1PL.EXCL-vblzr-record
 “We do the recording (Lit: We record)”

(79) Imbare irya kwar monda.
 Imbare i-rya kwar monda
 so 3SG-be already only
 “So, that’s it.”

Text 7

**FAFYAR BEKURU INAI YOMGA MA IKAK KORBENI
“THE STORY OF THE YOMGA GIRL AND THE DRAGON”**

**Text in Biak : Suriel Mofu
Date: September 2006
Location: Oxford University, United Kingdom**

**Audio Recording:
Narrator : Henoeh Mofu
Age : 59 yrs old
Dialect of Biak: Swandiwe (West Biak)
Date : Friday, 22 October 2005 at 09.00am
Location: Orwer Village, East Biak**

FAFYAR BEKURU INAI YOMGA MA IKAK KORBENI
‘THE STORY OF YOMGA GIRL AND THE DRAGON’

(1) Ro fandu mnu bero swan andir
 ro fadu mnu be-ro swan andir
 at middle village Rel-be at sea side

ro myos Byaki bar wamurm na
 ro myos Byak-i bar wamurem na
 at island Biak-FOC part east Det.PL.INAN

mnu ri suru sufanam yaye.
 mnu ri suru su-fanam yaye
 village Num.Link two 3DU-near each other

‘In a village which is situated at the side of the sea in the Eastern part of Biak island, there are two villages which are next one to another’

(2) Mnu Saba a Warwer.
 mnu Saba a Warwer
 village Saba mmm Warwer
 ‘Saba village (and) Warwer’

(3) Ro fandu keret bekenm ro mnu suinen
 ro fandu keret be-kenem ro mnu su-ine
 in middle clan Rel-alive in village This.3DU

na iya snori keret Yomga.
 na iya sno-ri keret Yomga
 Det.PL.INAN one name-POSS.3SG.DET.SG clan Yomga

‘Among the clans who live in these two villages, one clan was called Yomga clan’

(4) Insar bero keret inenya ikenm kukru kpu
 insar be-ro keret ine-ya i-kenm kukru kpu
 Old woman Rel-be at clan This-Det.SG 3SG-live with grand child

byeskoya skobe kyor.
 be- -y- -skoya sko-be-kyor
 POSS- -3SG- -DET.3PCL 3PCL-be-three

‘(An) old woman from this clan lived with her three grand children. They are three’

(12) Fama insar ine imbran ker roi ro
 fama insar ine i-mbran ker ro-i ro
 however Old woman This.SG 3SG-walk again At-3SG at

ras ras nja dobe ikwan ba.
 ras ras nja d-obe i-kwan ba
 day day so 3SG-say 3SG-long not

‘However, this old woman continuously walked on it everyday so she thought it was not far’

(13) Imbekpu nansuine ma kawasa kam
 im-be-kpu an-suine ma kawasa kam
 Woman-Rel-sibling of opposite sex GIV-this.3DU FOC people all

bembran ro nyan Serbiser sya sifawi ikak
 be-mbran ro nyan serbiser sya si-fawi ikak
 Rel-walk at road Serbiser DET.PL.AN 3PL.AN-know snake

korben efawir siro nyan ine munda
 korben e-fawir si-ro nyan ine mu-nda
 dragon Rel-observe 3PL.AN-at Road This.SG DIR-seaward

munde ya ba.
 mu-nde ya ba
 DIR-landward Det.SG not

‘The two grandmother and grandchild and all the people who walked on the Serbiser road did not know a dragon who observed them (moving) in this road seaward and landward’

(14) Ikak korben ine sneri
 ikak korben ine sne-ri
 snake dragon This.SG Stomach-POSS.3SG.DET.SG

ryo insar ya kpu bye Yomgai.
 ro- -y- insar ya kpu be- -y- Yomga-i
 Be at- -3SG- Old woman Det.SG Grand child POSS- -3SG- Yomga-Det.SG

‘The dragon snake’s heart was at the old woman’s granddaughter, Yomga’

(15) Inja byark kyara nyan disaiso nari byuki
 inja bark- -y- kara- -y- nyan di-sai-iso nari buk- -y- -i
 so lie- -3SG- think- -3SG- way place-what-be will give- -3SG- -3SG

srowi besyani.
 srow-i be-s-ya-ni
 meet-3SG Rel-be-Det.SG.FOC

‘So he kept thinking (of) what way he would use to meet her’

(16) Rasyanido binbekpu nansuine sumbran
 ras-ya-ido bin-be-kpu an-suine su-mbran
 Day-DET.SG-when woman-rel-and GIV-this.3DU 3DU-walk

wer do nyan Serbiser be yaf skobanya
 wer ro nyan Serbiser be yaf sko-be-an-ya
 again at road Serbiser to garden 3PCL-POSS-GIV-Det.SG

fa sube suyun robeyan mboi sufawi ikak
 fa su-be su-un ro-be-an mboi su-fawi ikak
 for 3DU-want 3DU-take Thing-Rel-eat but 3Du-know snake

korben anya byark fyair su ro nyan
 korben an-ya bark- -y- fair- -y- su ro nyan
 dragon GIV-Det.SG Lie- -3SG- Watch- -3SG- 3DU at road

andir anine nja ba.
 andir an-ine nja ba
 side GIV-this.SG so not

‘One day the two, the grandmother and the grand daughter walked again at the Serbiser road to their garden to get food but the two did not know (that) the dragon kept watching them from the side of the road’

(17) Korben ine byesau-sau fa
 Korben ine be- -y- -sau-sau fa
 dragon This.Sg Want- -3SG- -quick-quick for

isrouw kukru Yomgai.
 i-srouw kukru Yomga-i
 3SG-meet with Yomga-FOC

‘This dragon wanted to meet with Yomga as soon as possible’

(18) Inja kyara ker nyan disaiso
 inja kara- -y- ker nyan di-sai-iso
 so Think- -3SG- continuously road Place-what-be

nari byuki syewari be rum.
 nari buk- -y- -i sewar- -y- -i be rum
 will Give- -3SG- -3SG search- -3SG- -3SG to house

‘so he continuously thought (of) what way he would use to follow her home (Lit:search her to her home)’

(19) Fafisu ine imauws beya a
 fafisu ine i-mauws be-aya a
 opportunity this.SG 3SG-appropriate to-1SG mmm

Yakbeusru marisn ayedi.
 y-ak-be-usr-u marisn ay-e-di
 1SG-also-use-follow desire 1SG-POSS-Det.SG

‘This time is appropriate for me to do my desire’

(20) Rarirya korben anya dek fa
 ra-ri-rya korben an-ya d-ek fa
 Move-Det.SG-be dragon GIV-Det.SG 3SG-climb for

pyark bakn byeja ro aiknam beyors
 park- -y- bakn be- -y- -dya ro ai-knam be-ors
 circle- -3SG- body POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG at wood-tree Rel-stand

ro nyan andir efanam bam bamu seke ma
 ro nyan andir e-fanam bam-bam-u s-ek-e ma
 at road side Rel-be near Incline-incline-u 3PL.AN-climb-e and

sado roi imbo insape iwaf
 s-ado ro-i imbo insape i-waf
 3PL.AN-descend At-3SG then after that 3SG-wait for

imbekpu
in-be-kpu
woman-rel-grandmother

nansui.
an-sui
GIV-Det.3DU

‘So the dragon climbed up to circle his body around a tree stem that stood beside the road which was closer to the incline where they (usually) climbed and went down on it and then he waited for the two, the grandmother (and her granddaughter)’

(21) Iwaf suro arwo ya ra isof Mandira.
i-waf su-ro arwo ya ra isof mandira
3SG-wait for 3DU-at morning Det.SG move until afternoon

‘He waited for the two from morning until afternoon’

(22) Inja era be yaf sya kame sfasos
inja e-ra be yaf sya kam-e s-fasos
so Rel-move to garden Det.PL.AN All-e 3PL.AN-prepare

fa sibur be swan be rum anenf sena
fa si-bur be swan be rum anenf s-e-na
for 3PL.AN-leave to sea to home sleeping 3PL.AN-POSS-Det.PL.INAN

oser-oser.
oser-oser
One-one

‘So the ones that went to the gardens all prepared to go to the sea to their home one by one’

(23) Nyan Serbiser byeusr ba.
nyan Serbiser be- -y- -usr ba
road Serbiser become- -3SG- -noisy not

‘The Serbiser road was not busy’

(24) Aiwan bebor bero nyan ya ban bar
aiwan be-bor be-ro nyan ya ban bar
animal Rel-many Rel-be at road Det.SG side side

sya sefasis kame ma siwaf
 sya se-fasis kam-e ma si-waf
 Det.PL.AN 3PL.AN-be quiet All-e and 3PL.AN-wait for

kam fa sibe sfair roi naknik
 kam fa s-be s-fair roi naknik
 all for 3PL.AN-want 3PL.AN-watch thing in a moment

befarar be ro mob yani.
 be-farar be ro mob ya-ni
 Rel-occur Rel At place Det.SG-FOC

‘Many animals who live along side of the road were all quiet and waited to see what would happen in a moment in that place’

(25 Ro fyor anya Yomga kpuri
 ro fyor an-ya Yomga kpu-ri
 at time GIV-Det.SG Yomga Grand mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

insape suyakkabr ma sube sufanam mob
 insape su-ak-kaber ma su-be su-fanam mob
 Just about 3DU-also-return and 3DU-be about to 3DU-be near place

korben anya iwaf su ro nani.
 korben an-ya i-waf su ro an-i
 dragon GIV-Det.SG 3SG-wait 3DU at GIV-Det.SG

‘At that time, Yomga’s grandmother, the two were just about to get close to the place where the dragon was waiting for the two’

(26 Fyoro baido surama ro
 fyor-o ba-ido su-ra-ma ro
 time-O not-when 3DU-move-towards here at

bambam anya nja Yomga dors bo myampum
 bambam an-ya nja yomga d-ors bo mam- -y- -pum
 incline GIV-Det.SG so Yomga 3SG-stand and see- -3SG- -push

insar kpuri fa dado
 insar kpu-ri fa d-ado
 Old woman Grand mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG for 3SG-descend

bepon	snar	bambam	ine	Syamswene.
be-pon	snar	bambam	ine	samswen- - y- -e
Rel-front	because	incline	This.SG	Difficult- -3SG- -E

‘Not long, the two came to the incline so Yomga stood and watched for her grandmother to go down first because this incline was difficult’

(27)	Fafisu	ine	ipyan	korben	ya
	fafisu	ine	i-pyan	korben	ya
	opportunity	This.SG	3SG-make easy	dragon	Det.SG

fa	byeusru		baroser	erobaido	marisn	byedi.
fa	be- -y- -usr-u		baroser	ro-ba-ido	marisn	be- -y- -di
for	Use- -3SG- -follow- -U	wish	thing-not-if	desire	POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG	

‘This time helped the dragon to do his desire or his wish’

(28)	Ikyui	ro	ai	ipyar	bakn
	i-kyu-i	ro	ai	i-pyar	bakn
	3SG-push-3SG	at	wood	3SG-float	body

byanya		roya	rarbab
be- -y- -an-ya		ro-ya	ra-r-bab
POSS- -3SG- -GIV-Det.SG	At-Det.SG	Move-towards-below	

isyui	ma	dakakas	ro	inokn	faru	in
i-syu-i	ma	d-akakas	ro	inokn	faru	in
3SG-push inward-3SG	and	3SG-swim	at	basket	middle	woman

Yomga	byani.
Yomga	be- -y- an- i
Yomga	POSS- -3SG- -GIV-Det.SG

‘He attached (himself) at the wood where he pushed his body downward to move himself and slithered inside Yomga’s basket (garden bag)’

(29)	Inai	inkbor	anine	myam	kero
	inai	in-kbor	an-ine	mam- -y-	ker-o
	girl	Woman-adolescent	GIV-this.SG	See- -3SG-	Continuously-O

kpuri		nja	ifawi	roi	besun	ro
kpu-ri		nja	i-fawi	roi	be-sun	ro
Grand mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG		so	3SG-know	thing	Rel-enter	at

inokn	byaninen			ya		ba.
inokn	be- -y- an- ine			ya		ba
basket	POSS- -3SG- -GIV-this.SG			Det.SG		not

‘The young woman was watching her grandmother so she did not know what entered inside her basket’

(30)	Dakado	ro	bam	ya	rarbab	ro	sop
	d-ak-ado	ro	bam	ya	ra-r-bab	ro	sop
	3SG-also-descend	at	incline	Det.SG	Move-towards-below	at	below

ya	nido	insape	imbran	dusr	kpuri
ya	ido	insape	i-mbran	d-usr	kpu-ri
Det.SG	FOC	then	3SG-walk	3SG-follow	Grand mother-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

ro	barpur.
ro	bar-pur
at	Part-back

‘She also went down the incline downward to the ground then she walked following her grand mother from behind’

(31)	Fyoro	baido	surama	Ro	mob
	fyor-o	ba-ido	su-ra-ma	ro	mob
	Time-O	Not-when	3DU-move-towards-here	at	place

simasasi		ro	ya	inja	sumnaisu
si-masasi		ro	ya	inja	su-mnai-su
3PL.AN-usually have shower/bath		at	Det.SG	so	3DU-stop-3DU

fa	sube	suyakmasi		snar	mob	ine
fa	su-be	su-ak-masi		snar	mob	ine
for	3DU-want	3Du-also-take a shower/bath		because	place	This.SG

ryo		nyan		andiri.
ro- -y-		nyan		andir-i
Be at- -3SG-		road		Side-FOC

‘Not long, the two came to the place they usually have shower or bath so the two stopped to take a shower/bath because this place was beside the road’

(32)	Mob	simasaki		ro	ine		fyanam
	mob	si-masaki		ro	ine		fanam- -y-
	place	3PL.AN- usually have shower/bath		at	This.SG		Be near- -3SG-

be	rum	ya	nja	sramra		ido
be	rum	ya	nja	s-ra-ma		ido
to	home	Det.SG	so	3PL.AN-move-towards here		when

simnaisu		fa	simasi		ramnai
si-mnai-s-u		fa	si-masi		ra-mnai
3PL.AN-stop-3PL.AN-U		for	3PL.AN-take a shower/bath		Move-stop

insape	sisar		be	mnu	ya	munda.
insape	si-sar		be	mnu	ya	mu-nda
then	3PL.AN-come out		to	village	Det.Sg	DIR-seaward

‘The place (where) they took a shower/bath was near to (their) house so when they came seaward they stopped to take a shower and then came out to the village seaward’

(33)	Inbekpu		nansuya		suyakmasi
	in-be-kpu		an-suya		su-ak-masi
	Woman-rel-grandmother		GIV-Det.3DU		3DU-also-take a shower/bath

ra	sumnai	bo	fyor	sube	sumbran	ya	nido
ra	su-mnai	bo	fyor	su-be	su-mbran	ya	ido
move	3DU-finish	and	time	3DU-be about to	3DU-walk	Det.SG	when

insar	anya	myam	ikak	eba	ya	dakas	ro
isar	an-ya	mam- -y-	ikak	e-ba	ya	d-akas	ro
Old woman	GIV-Det.SG	See- -3SG-	snake	Rel-big	Det.SG	3SG-swim	at

kpu	inokn	faru	byani.
kpu	inokn	faru	be- -y- -an-i
grand daughter	basket	middle	POSS- -3SG- -GIV-Det.SG

‘The two, the grandmother and the granddaughter also took a shower until they finished and when they were about to walk, the old woman saw a big snake crawling in the middle of the granddaughter’s basket’

(34)	Rodiya	sumgak	bo	sufrar	subur	inokn	ani.
	ro-diya	su-mgak	bo	su-frar	su-bur	inokn	an-i
	At-that place	3DU-be afraid	and	3DU-run	3DU-leave	basket	GIV-Det.SG

‘At that moment the two were afraid and ran leaving the basket’

(35)	Rofyor	sufrar	subur	anya	surowr u
	ro-fyor	s-frar	su-bur	an-ya	su-rowr-u
	At-time	3DU-run	3DU-leave	GIV-det.SG	3DU-heard-U

ikak	anya	dor	su	ro	subrusna.
ikak	an-ya	d-or	su	ro	su-bru-s-na
snake	GIV-Det.SG	3SG-call	3DU	at	3DU-head-POSS-Det.PL.INAN

‘At the time the two ran leaving the basket, the two heard the snake calling the two from (behind) their head’

(36)	Sumor	ja	sufrar	pdef	ba	imboi	sumnai
	su-mor	ja	su-frar	pdef	ba	imboi	su-mnai
	3DU-tired	so	3DU-run	continuously	not	but	3DU-stop

fa	sufuknu	ikak	ebesyani.
fa	Su-fukn-u	Ikak	e-be-s-ya-ni
for	3DU-ask-U	snake	Rel-cause-be-Det.SG-FOC

‘The two were tired so the two did not continue running but stopped to ask what kind of snake it was’

(37)	Sukmu	ikak	ebesya nja	sukabr	da
	su-kmu	ikak	e-be-s-ya nja	su-kabr	ra
	3DU-afraid	snake	Rel-be-Det.SG so	3DU-return	towards there

sube	susewar	fa	sufawi	rosaiso	ibe
su-be	su-sewar	fa	su-fawi	ro-sais-so	i-be
3DU-want	3DU-look for	for	3DU-know	thing-what-be	3SG-want

byefandun		kaku	ro	su	ni
be- -y- -fandun		kaku	ro	su	ni
Vblzr- -3SG- -need		truly	at	3DU	FOC

‘The two were afraid of that kind of snake so the two returned to find out what he really wanted from the two’

(38)	Ro	diya	ikak	korben	anya	dawos	yob
	ro	diya	ikak	korben	an-ya	d-awos	yob
	at	that place	snake	dragon	GIV-Det.SG	3SG-speak	to

su	bo	dobe	ne...	bin	muiya	ne	mumgak
su	bo	d-obe	ne..	bin	mui-ya	ne	mu-mgak
3DU	and	3SG-say	hi	woman	Det.DU-that	FOC	2DU-afraid

awer	aya	bo	muyun	aya	fa	yaso	mu
awer	aya	bo	mu-un	aya	fa	ya-so	mu
not	1SG	but	2DU-take	1SG	for	1SG-follow	2DU

be		rum.
be		rum
to		home

‘At that place, the dragon talked to the two and said “Hi you two woman, you two should not be afraid of me but you two take me to follow you two home’

(39)	Mboi	nari	muyofk	aya	ro	sime.
	mboi	nari	mu-ofek	aya	ro	sim-e
	and	will	2DU-hide	1SG	at	Bedroom-E

‘But you will hide me in the bedroom’

(40)	Insar	anya	kpu	surowr
	insar	an-ya	kpu	su-rowr
	Old woman	GIV-det.SG	Grand daughter	3DU-heard

wos	ikak	anya	byena		muraido
wos	ikak	an-ya	be- -y- -na		mura-ido
words	snake	GIV-Det.SG	POSS- -3SG- -Det.PL.INAN		therefore-when

sumam	yaye	sumgasna
su-mam	yaye	su-mga-s-na
3DU-see	Each other	3DU-eye-POSS-Det.PL.INAN

ramnai	sube snewar	oser	fa	suyuni.
ra-mnai	su-be-snewar	oser	fa	su-un-i
move-stop	3DU-vblzr-stomach	one	for	3DU-take-3SG

‘The old woman’s grand daughter the two heard the snake’s words, therefore, they two looked into each other’s eyes, then, the two agreed to take him’

(41)	Inja	suyuni	kukro	inokn	anya	bo	subur.
	inja	su-un-i	kukro	inokn	an-ya	bo	su-bur
	so	3DU-take-3SG	with	basket	GIV-Det.SG	and	3DU-leave

‘So the two took him with the basket and went home’

(42)	Suranda	Ro	rum	ido	suyofki	ro	inai
	su-ra-nda	ro	rum	ido	su-ofek-i	ro	inai
	3DU-move-landward	at	home	when	3DU-hide-3SG	at	Girl

inkboru	Yomga	sim	byani.
in-kbor-u	Yomga	sim	be- -y- -an-i
Woman-adoloscent-U	Yomga	bedroom	POSS- -3SG- -GIV-Det.SG

‘When the two went landward to home, the two hid him at the young woman, Yomga’s bedroom’

(43)	Rob	na	nido	<i>mutiara</i>	robaido	faduman
	rob	na	ido	mutiara	robaido	faduman
	night	Det.PL.INAN	when	pearl	or	pearl

byeja	idameser	ro	Yomga	sim	byedi.
be- -y- -dya	i-dameser	ro	Yomga	sim	be- -y- -di
POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG	3SG-shine	at	Yomga	Bedroom	POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG

‘Every night his pearl lightened at Yomga’s bedroom’

(47) Rob na nido ikak korben anine fyarwe
 rob na ido ikak korben an-ine farwe- -3sg-
 night Det.PL.INAN when snake dragon GIV-this.SG Change- -3SG-

bakn byeja fa byesnonggaku ma denfus
 bakn be- -y- -dya fa be- -y- -snon-kaku ma d-enf-us
 body POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG for Become- -3SG- -man-real and 3SG-sleep-with

inkbor anya ro yar anenf byedi.
 in-kbor an-ya ro yar anenf be- -y- -di
 woman-adolescent GIV-Det.SG at mattress sleeping POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG

‘At night the dragon changed his body to become a man and he slept with the young woman on her bed’

(48) Rarirya fafisu ine imaws
 ra -ri-rya fafisu ine i-maws
 move-Det.SG-be opportunity this.SG 3SG-appropriate

be korben ya fa byuk beusru farbuk
 be korben ya fa buk- -3sg- be-usr-u farbuk
 for dragon Det.SG For give- -3SG- Rel-follow-U marriage

sube byark kyara ker do ras
 su-be bark- -y- kara- -3sg- ker ro ras
 3DU-POSS Lie- -3SG- Think- -3SG Continuously at day

nayafa nani.
 naya-fa na-ni
 That.PL.AN-towards there Det.PL.INAN-FOC

‘Thus, this time was right for the dragon to do their marriage he kept thinking in those days’

(49) Ras paik Ma tahun na nfararwer.
 ras paik ma tahun na n-fararwer
 day month And year Det.PL.NAN 3PL.INAN-keeps changing in cycle

‘Days, months, and years keep changing one after another’

(50) Nja inai Inkbor anyano fyadores
 nja inai in-kbor an-ya-no fadores- -3sg-
 so girl Woman-adolescent GIV-Det.SG-also Pregnant- -3SG-

erobaido imobsba ma bine srar
 ro-ba-ido i-mobsba ma bin-e srar
 Thing-not-if 3SG-pregnant and Woman-E Sibling of opposite sex

byansuya sufawi kwar.
 be- -y- -an-suya su-fawi kwar
 POSS- -3SG- -GIV-DET.3DU 3DU-know already

‘So the young woman also was pregnant and her two brothers already knew (it)’

(51) Inja sufukni bo suyobe mansei befur fa
 inja su-fukn-i bo su-obe man-sei be-fur fa
 so 3DU-ask-3SG and 3DU-say Bird-which Rel-do for

rwa dine ni.
 ra- -w- dine ni
 Move- -2SG- This place FOC

‘So the two asked him and said “Who caused you to become like this?”’

(52) Srar subanya dobe roma
 srar su-be-an-ya dobe roma
 Sibling of opposite sex 3DU-POSS-GIV-Det.SG 3G-say boy

babo ero mnu inensya ma eso
 babo e-ro mnu ine-an-sya ma eso
 young Rel-be at village This-GIV-Det.PL.AN FOC one

ryama ro aya ba.
 ra- -y- -ma ro aya ba
 Move- -3SG- -towards here at 1SG not

‘The two’s sister said “The young men from this village, no one came to me”’

(53) Mboi ikak korbeno ebark us aya ro sim anenf
 mboi ikak korben-o e-bark us aya ro sim anenf
 but snake dragon-O Rel-stay with 1SG at bedroom sleeping

ayanya	ya	iso	ebe	mob	inefa
ay- e-an-ya	ya	i-iso	e-be	mob	ine-fa
1SG-POSS-GIV-Det.SG	Det.SG	3SG-be	3SG-give	place	this.SG-for

rya		dine		ni.
ra- -y-		dine		ni
move- -3SG-		this place		FOC

‘But the dragon who lived with me in my bedroom, he was the one who caused the thing like this’

(54) Srar byansuya
 srar be- -y- an-suya
 Sibling of opposite sex POSS- -3SG- -GIV-Det.3DU

sukyar	i	ba.
su-kyar	i	ba
3DU-believe	3SG	not

‘Her two brothers did not believe her’

(55) Inja byasu kedwa sim byanya
 inja bas – y- -u kedwa sim be- -y- -an-ya
 so open- -3SG- -U door bedroom POSS- -3SG- -GIV-Det.SG

fa	insape	manggunsu	sumamu	korben	ani.
fa	insape	manggun-su	su-mam-u	korben	an-i
for	then	self-3DU	3DU-see-U	dragon	GIV-Det.SG

‘So she opened her bedroom door for (them) then the two themselves saw the dragon’

(56) Ma rofyor anya sukandor kaku.
 ma ro-fyor an-ya su-kandor kaku
 and at-time GIV-Det.SG 3DU-surprised very
 ‘and at the time the two were very surprised’

(57) Mob ine srar subanya
 mob ine srar su- be –an-ya
 place This.SG Sibling of opposite sex 3DU-POSS-GIV-Det.SG

ma	ikak	korbenya	sufruri	fyoro	kwar.
ma	ikak	korben-ya	su-frur-i	fyoro	kwar
and	snake	dragon-Det.SG	3DU-do-3SG	long	already

‘This thing, the two’s sister and the dragon had already done it for a long time’

(58)	Mboi	mambekanaek	ansuine	sufawi
	mboi	man-be-kanaek	an-suine	su-fawi
	but	Bird-Rel-brother	GIV-this.3DU	3DU-know

barya	sumsor	naba	kaku.
ba-rya	su-msor	na-ba	kaku
not-so	3DU-angry	3PL.INAN-big	very

‘But the two brothers, because the two did not know so the two were very angry’

(59)	Suyayino	srar	subanya
	su-ayin-o	srar	su-be-an-ya
	3DU-feel disgusted-O	Sibling of opposite sex	3DU-POSS-GIV-Det.SG

bo	subur	i.
bo	su-bur	i
and	3DU-leave	3SG

‘The two felt disgusted about the two’s sister and the two left her’

(60)	Mambekanaek	ansuya	sumgak	kawasa	ero	mnu
	man-be-kanaek	an-suya	su-mgak	kawasa	e-ro	mnu
	bird-Rel-brother	GIV-Det.3DU	3DU-afraid	people	Rel-be at	village

nansinensya	sakfawi	mob	anya
na-an-sine-sya	s-ak-fawi	mob	an-ya
Det.PL.INAN-GIV-this.PL.AN-Det.PL.AN	3PL.AN-also-know	place	GIV-Det.SG

fa	skomai	riry	sube	snewar	oser	fa	sumunu
fa	sko-mai	riry	su-be	snewar	oser	fa	su-mun-u
for	3PCL-ashamed	so	3DU-become	stomach	One	for	3DU-kill-U

ikaku		korben		anine.
ikak-u		korben		an-ine
snake-U		dragon		GIV-this.SG

‘The two brothers were afraid of the people in the village knowing the problem for (that) they would be ashamed so they agreed to want to kill the dragon’

(61)	Ras	ya	nido	susasyar	fa	suyobe	suranda
	ras	ya	ido	su-sasyar	fa	su-obe	su-ra-nda
	day	Det.SG	when	3DU-come out	For	3DU-say	3DU-move-seaward

suraswan.
su-ra-swan
3Du-move-sea

‘One day the two went out to, they said (that) they went seaward to catch fish’

(62)	Suyaron	yar	karui	bero	mnu	ya
	su-aron	yar	karui	be-ro	mnu	ya
	3DU-swim	around	rock	Be-at	village	Det.SG

bandari		na.
bar-nda-ri		na
Part-seaward-POSS.3SG-Det.SG		Det.PL.INAN

‘They swam around the rocks at the seaward of the village’

(63)	Bape	susmai	in	mgun	esero	baberi.
	bape	su-smai	in	mgun	eser-o	ba-beri
	but	3DU-find	fish	little	one-O	not-completely

‘However, the two did not get any fish at all’

(64)	Subur	kukru	raryab	ero	susnesna
	su-bur	kukru	raryab	e-ro	su-sne-s-na
	3Du-leave	with	happiness	Rel-Be at	3Du-stomach-POSS-Det.PL.INAN

ba	rande	ro	rum	ido	korben	anya	ifukn
ba	ra-nde	ro	rum	ido	korben	an-ya	i-fukn
not	move-landward	at	house	when	dragon	GIV-Det.SG	3SG-ask

su bo dobe 'sasewar mu be ro ras ine nya
 su bo d-obe 'sasewar mu-be ro ras ine ya
 3DU and 3SG-say catching 2DU-POSS at day This.SG Det.SG

ryarso?
 rarso- -y-
 How- -3SG-

'When the two went home landward with no happy feelings in their heart, the dragon asked them and said "How was your (fish) catching today?'

(65) Suyobe nusma in mgun esero baberi Snar
 su-obe nu-sma in mgun eser-o ba-beri snar
 3DU-say 1DU.INCL-find fish small One-O Not-completely because

nusambrab fa nuyaron be swan ya
 nu-sambrab fa nu-aron be swan ya
 1DU.INCL-strong For 1DU.INCL-swim to sea Det.SG

dori ba.
 do-ri ba
 Inside-POSS.3SG.Det.SG not

'The two said "We two (incl.) did not catch any fish at all because we two were not strong to swim to the sea floor"

(66) Ma nusmai royo fa nubuki
 ma nu-smai ro-o fa nu-buk-i
 and 1DU.INCL-find thing for 1DU.INCL-give-3SG

myunu insya ba.
 mun- -y- -u in-sya ba
 kill- -3SG-- -U fish-Det.PL.AN not

'and we two (incl.) did not have any thing to kill the fish'

(67) Korben anya dobe rarirya ido mufasos
 korben an-ya d-obe ra-ri-rya ido mu-fasos
 dragon GIV-det.SG 3SG-say move-DetSG-so if 2DU-prepare

airares erobaido adwar rars no snar naiso
 ai-rares ro-ba-ido adwar rars no snar na-iso
 wood-roots thing-not-if poisonous plant root any because 3PL.INAN-be the one

kobuki	myun	in	bero	karu	na		bab
ko-buk-i	mun- -y-	in	be-ro	karu	na		bab
1PL-use-3SG	kill- -3SG-	fish	Rel-be at	rock	Det.PL.INAN		below

nansi.
na- an-si
Det.PL.INAN-GIV-Det.PL.AN

‘The dragon said, “if it is so, you two prepare some poisonous roots because they are the ones we could use to kill the fish under the rocks’

(68)	Sumnaf	nyan	korben	ya	ikofn	be	su
	su-mnaf	nyan	korben	ya	i-kofn	be	su
	3DU-listen	road	dragon	Det.Sg	3SG-tell	to	3DU

na		nja.
na		nja
Det.PL.INAN		so

‘The two listened to the way the dragon explained tom them so’

(69)	Suryab	naba		kaku	ma	sumbran	beri	be
	su-ryab	na-ba		kaku	ma	su-mbran	beri	be
	3DU-happy	3PL.INAN-big		very	and	3DU-walk	Immediately	to

sup	fa	susewar	adwar	rars	ikak	ya	ikofn
sup	fa	su-sewar	adwar	rars	ikak	ya	i-kofn
forest	for	3DU-look for	adwar	roots	snake	Det.SG	3SG-tell

be	su		Na.
be	su		na
to	3DU		Det.PL.INAN

‘The two were very happy and the two walked immediately to the forest to look for the poisonous root the dragon told the two about’

(70)	Fyoro	ba	Ido	susasyar	ro	sup	kukru
	fyoro	ba	ido	su-sasyar	ro	sup	kukru
	long	not	when	3Du-come out	at	forest	with

adwar	rars	na		Bos	ri	fyak.
adwar	rars	na		bos	ri	fyak
Adwar	root	Det.PL.INAN		band	Num.link	four

‘Not long the two came out from the forest with four bands of the poisonous roots’

(71)	Rarirya	suyun	na	be	rum	ma	surir
	ra-ri-rya	su-un	na	be	rum	ma	su-rir
	move-Det.Sg-so	3DU-take	3PL.INAN	to	house	and	3DU-hand over

na	faro	korben	ani.
na	fa-ro	korben	an-i
3PL.INAN	Towards-at	dragon	GIV-Det.SG

‘Thus, the two took them home and give them to the dragon’

(72)	Mesr	di	korben	anya	ma	mambekanaek
	mesr	di	korben	an-ya	ma	man-be-kanaek
	next morning	Det.SG	dragon	GIV-det.SG	and	bird-Rel-brother

ansuiya	skosasyar	fa	skobuk	adwar	na
an-suiya	sko-sasyar	fa	sko-buk	adwar	na
GIV-Det.3DU	3PCL-come out	For	3PCL-give	adwar	Det.PL.INAN

nsewar		ine.
n-sewar		in-e
3PL.INAN-look for		Fish-E

‘Next morning the dragon and the two brothers went out to use the poisonous root to catch fish’

(73)	Skoranda	skomnai	ro	mob u	skobe	na	insya
	sko-ra-nda	sko-mnai	ro	mob-u	sk-obe	na	in-sya
	3PCL-move-seaward	3PCL-stop	at	place-U	3PCL-say	will	fish-Det.PL.AN

sibor	do	ya	nido	karui	bero	diyan	ya
si-bor	ro	ya	ido	karui	be-ro	diya	ya
3PL.AN-many	at	Det.SG	when	rock	Rel-be at	that place	Det.SG

snori
 sno-ri
 Name-POSS.3Sg.Det.SG

Inggo.
 inggo
 Inggo

‘They went seaward (and) stopped at the place they thought there were many fish, the rock at the place was called Inggo’

(74) Skopyar ro dine ma skobuk adwar na
 sko-pyar ro dine ma sko-buk adwar na
 3PCL-float at here and 3PCL-give adwar Det.PL.INAN

eninyan in in bero karui ne bab di
 e-ninyan in in be-ro karui ne bab di
 Rel-make dizzy fish fish Rel-be at rock this Below Det.SG

nsi.
 an-si
 GIV-Det.PL.AN

‘They floated at this place and used the poisonous roots that poisoned the fish at the bottom of these rocks’

(75) Fyoro ba ido insya sisasyar ro karu
 fyoro ba ido in-sya si-sasyar ro karu
 long not when Fish-Det.PL.AN 3PL.AN-come out at rock

ya Bab di boi sibe simar
 ya bab di boi si-be si-mar
 Det.SG below Det.SG but 3PL.AN-be about to 3PL.AN-die

inja sibur sambrab ba.
 inja si-bur sambrab ba
 so 3PL.AN-leave strong Not

‘Not long, the fish came out from the bottom of the rocks but because they were about to die so they could not run away strongly’

(76) Inja mambekanaek ansuya suryab bo
 inja man-be-kanaek an-suya su-ryab bo
 so bird-Rel-brother GIV-Det.3DU 3DU-happy and

suyas	suryur	si.
su-as	su-ryur	si
3DU-swim	3DU-collect	3PL.AN

‘So the two brothers were happy and swam to collect them’

(77)	Korben	ya	byuk	purai	byeja
	korben	ya	buk- -y-	purai	be- -y- -dya
	dragon	Det.SG	Give- -3SG-	Tail	POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG

fyarepen	way	skobanine.
farepen- -y-	way	sko-be-an-ine
Hold- -3SG	canoe	3PCL-POSS-GIV-this.SG

‘The dragon used his tail to hold the three’s canoe’

(78)	Daron	byeninyan	insya	kaker	kukru	adwar
	d-aron	be- -y- ninyan	in-sya	kaker	kukru	adwar
	3SG-swim	Make- -3SG- -dizzy	Fish-Det.PL.AN	still	with	Adwar

anna	boi	ifawi	ro	na	kero
an-na	boi	i-fawi	ro	na	kero
GIV-Det.PL.INAN	but	3SG-know	thing	will	In a moment

efur	i	nya	ba.
e-fur	i	ya	ba
Rel-do	3SG	Det.SG	not

‘He was still swimming to poison the fish with the poisonous roots but he did not know what would happen to him in a moment later’

(79)	Mambekanaek	ansuya	suyas	suryur	insya
	man-be-kanaek	an-suya	su-as	su-ryur	in-sya
	Bird-Rel-brother	GIV-Det.3DU	3DU-swim	3DU-collect	Fish-Det.PL.AN

boi	sukara	fa	sube	sumun	korben	anine	nja.
boi	su-kara	fa	su-be	su-mun	korben	an-ine	nja
but	3DU-think	for	3DU-want	3DU-kill	dragon	GIV-this.SG	so

‘The two brothers swam to collect the fish but the two thought to kill the dragon’

(80) Suyek ro waya bori fa swaf ker
 su-ek ro waya bo-ri fa swaf ker
 3DU-climb at canoe Top-POSS.3SG.det.SG for Distance little

ine subuki byeusru swaruser ebyeba
 ine su-buk-i be- -y- -usru swaruser e-bye-ba
 This.SG 3Du-give-3SG give- -3SG- -follow thought Rel-good-not

subani.
 su-be-an-i
 3DU-POSS-GIV-Det.SG

‘The two climbed (swim upwards) to the canoe for this little time the two wanted to do their bad plan (Lit: bad idea)’

(81) Rodiya romawa eba nanya duf sumber
 ro-diya romawa e-ba an-ya d-uf sumber
 At-that place son Rel-big GIV-det.SG 3SG-hold machete

byanya ma byukiwapuk
 be- -y- -an-ya ma buk- -y- -i-wapuk
 POSS_ -3SG- -GIV-Det.SG Toward here Give- -3SG- -3SG-cut

korben anya fa bye mnuk ri war.
 korben an-ya fa be- -y- mnuk ri war
 dragon GIV-Det.SG for Become- -3SG- piece Num.link nine

‘At that time, the elder son held his machete and used it to cut the dragon into nine pieces’

(82) Kur ine korben anya ima imar beri.
 kur ine korben an-ya ima i-mar beri
 time This.SG dragon GIV-det.SG indeed 3SG-die immediately

‘This time the dragon died immediately’

(83) Mnuk ri war anskoya skosnos
 mnuk ri war an-skoya sko-sno-s
 piece Num.link eight GIV-Det.3PCL 3PCL-name-POSS

naisine.
na-isi-ne
3PL.INAN-be-this

‘The eight pieces, their names are as follows:

(84) Karui Saram, Sawaki, Kaduki, Ivengger, Womensimbirir, Amawi,
karui Saram, Sawaki, Kaduki, Ivengger, Womensimbirir, Amawi,
rock Saram, Sawaki, Kaduki, Ivengger, Womensimbirir, Amawi.

Mansasyo.
Mansasyo.
Mansasyo

‘Saram rock, Sawaki, Kaduki, Ivengger, Womensimbirir, Amawi, (and) Mansasyo’

(85) Sumamun da sumnai subur kukru wai ya
su-mamun ra su-mnai su-bur kukru wai ya
3DU-act of killing move 3DU-stop 3DU-leave with canoe Det.SG

be rum imboi korben ya bakn byanya ma
be rum imboi korben ya bakn be- -y- -an-ya ma
to home but dragon Det.SG body POSS- -3SG- -GIV-Det.SG FOC

subur i ro mob sumun i roi.
su-bur i ro mob su-mun i ro-i
3DU-leave 3SG at place 3Du-kill 3SG At-3SG

‘The two performed the act of killing until they finished, they went home with the canoe but the dragon’s body, the two left at the place they killed him’

(86) Subur da ro rum ido sufafyar roi
su-bur ra ro rum ido su-fafyar roi
3Du-leave move at Home when 3DU-tell thing

sufur na kam be insar kpu
su-fur na kam be insar kpu
3DU-do 3PL.INAN all to Old woman Grand mother

subanya	ma	korben	anya	swari
su-be-an-ya	ma	korben	an-ya	swa-ri
3DU-POSS-GIV-Det.SG	and	dragon	GIV-Det.SG	Spouse-POSS.3SG.Det.SG

‘When the two went home, the two told all the things the two did to the two’s grand mother and the dragon’s wife’

(87)	Yomga	kpur		sumnaf	fararur	ebyeba
	yomga	kpu-r		su-mnaf	fararur	e-bye-ba
	Yomga	Grand mother-POSS.3SG-Det.SG	3DU-listen	work	Rel-good-not	

nanine	mura	sumsor	bo	subur	be	sup	ya
an-ine	mura	su-msor	bo	su-bur	be	sup	ya
GIV-this.SG	therefore	3DU-angry	and	3DU-leave	to	forest	Det.SG

dori		rande	sube	ras	ri	fumo.
do-ri		ra-nde	su-be	ras	ri	fumo
Inside-POSS.3SG.Det.SG		DIR-landward	3DU-be	day	Num.link	several

‘Yomga’s grand mother the two listened to the bad work thus, the two were angry and left (home) to the forest landward (and) the two were (there) for several days’

(88)	Rodiya	subur	kabr	be	swan	erobaido	rum
	ro-diya	su-bur	kabr	be	swan	ro-ba-ido	rum
	At-that place	3DU-leave	return	to	sea	Thing-not-if	home

insama	sukram	ikak	ya	bakn	bye	ero	mnuk
insama	su-kram	ikak	ya	bakn	be- -y-	e-ro	mnuk
So that	3DU-bury	snake	Det.SG	body	POSS- -3SG-	Rel-be at	piece

mnuk	ansi.
mnuk	an-si
piece	GIV-Det.PL.AN

‘From that place the two returned seaward or to home so that the two buried the snake’s body that had become pieces’

(89)	Suranda	suryuru	korben	anya	mnuk
	su-ra-nda	su-ryur-u	korben	an-ya	mnuk
	3DU-move-landward	3DU-collect-U	dragon	GIV-Det.SG	piece

(92) Inja ikapar ikak mgun ri samfur.
 inja i-kapar ikak mgun ri samfur
 so 3SG-give birth snake little Num.link ten

‘So she gave birth to ten little snakes’

(93) Yomga byekabom.
 Yomga be- -y- -kabom
 Yomga become- -3SG- -widow

‘Yomga became a widow’

(94) Inja tahun di beso nawas ido snon
 inja tahun ri beso na-was ido snon
 so year Num.link several 3PL.INAN-pass when man

bero keret Fainan ryama dor
 be-ro keret fainan ra- -y- -ma d-or
 Rel-at clan Fainan move- -3SG- -towards here 3SG-request

fa dakbuki.
 fa d-ak-buk-i
 for 3SG-also-marry-3SG

‘So when several years passed, a man from Fainan clan came to ask to marry her’

(95) Bo keret bin ya byansya
 bo keret bin ya be- -y- -an-sya
 and clan women Det.SG POSS- -3SG- -GIV-Det.PL.AN

simarisen inja subuk su.
 si-marisen inja su-buk su
 3PL.AN-happy so 3DU-marry 3DU

‘And the woman’s clans were happy so the two married each other’

(96) Farbakbuk bepyum anine imbran kawan ba.
 farbakbuk be-pyum an-ine i-mbran kawan ba
 marriage Rel-good GIV-this.SG 3SG-walk long not

‘The good marriage did not last long’

(97) Snar ro fafisu snon ya byeoser kukru
 snar ro fafisu snon ya be- -y- -oser kukru
 because At time man Det.SG Become- -3SG- -one with

bin ya nido sararyur bero bin ya syun
 bin ya ido sararyur be-ro bin ya sun- -y-
 Woman Det.SG when poison Rel-be at woman Det.SG Enter- -3SG-

ro bakn byedya muraido imar.
 ro bakn be- -y- -dya mura-ido i-mar
 at body POSS- -3SG- -Det.SG therefore 3SG-die

‘Because at the time the man had sex with the woman, the poison from the woman entered to his body (and) therefore he died’

(98) Marmar ine byewar bar bin ya ma
 marmar ine bewar- -y- bar bin ya ma
 death this.SG cause- -3SG- part women Det.SG and

bar snon ya smun yaye si.
 bar snon ya s-mun yaye si
 part man Det.SG 3PL.AN-kill each other 3PL.AN

‘This death caused the woman’s clan and the man’s clan to kill each other’

(98) Ro fyor skara sewar ro ebyewar u marmar
 ro fyor s-kara sewar ro e-bewar- -y- -u marmar
 at time 3PL.AN-think Look for thing Rel-cause- -3SG- -U death

ya nido insar kpu nanya iso ebe
 ya ido insar kpu an-ya i-iso e-be
 Det.SG when old woman grandmother GIV-det.SG 3SG-be Rel-give

aryawin kukro undamno fa insape ikak mgun ya
 aryawin kukro undam-no fa insape ikak mgun ya
 medicine with leave-some for then snake little Det.SG

syae		i.
sae- -y-		i
Come out- -3SG-		FOC

‘When they tried to find the thing that caused the death, the grandmother was the one who gave magical treatment with leaves for (that) then a small snake came out’

(99)	Ikak	mgun	ri	samfur	u	Yomga	ikapar	anskoya
	ikak	mgun	ri	samfur-u		yomga	i-kapar	an-skoya
	snake	little	Num.link	ten-U		Yomga	3SG-give birth	GIVE-Det.3PCL

iya		iri.
iya		i-iri
one		3SG-be

‘The ten little snakes that Yomga gave birth to, it was one of them’

(100)	Mob	ine	iso	insape	imkok	farbuk	kankuns
	mob	ine	i-iso	insape	i-mkok	farbuk	kankuns
	place	this.SG	3SG-be	then	3SG-break open	marriage	good

korbenya		kukru	inkbor		Yomga	subanya	fa
koben-ya		kukru	in-kbior		yomga	su-be-an-ya	fa
Dragon-Det.SG		with	Woman-adolescent		Yomga	3DU-POSS-GIV-Det.SG	for

sfaryas	i	ro	mnu	ya	ma	isyer	fafyar	ro
s-faryas	i	ro	mnu	ya	ma	i-syer	fafyar	ro
3PL.AN-tell	3SG	at	village	Det.SG	and	3SG-contain	story	at

snonggaku			sya			kame.
snonkaku			sya			kam-e
man			Det.PL.AN			all-E

‘This tragedy then opened up the happy marriage between the dragon and Yomga and the people of the village spread out the story and every one in the village knew about it’.

(101)	Keret	Yomga	simai		inja	sesnewar	eser	bo
	keret	yomga	si-mai		inja	s-e-snewar	eser	bo
	clan	Yomga	3PL.AN-ashamed		so	3PL.AN-become-stomach	one	and

spai	wai	sena		bo	skabor	sorn
s-pai	wai	s-e-na		bo	s-kabor	sorn
3PL.AN-fix	canoe	3PL-POSS-Det.PL.INAN		and	3PL.AN-paddle	sea

ya	be	bar	wambarek	ra	skain	ro	Sorong	raja	Ampat.
ya	be	bar	wam-barek	ra	s-kain	ro	sorong	Raja	Ampat
Det.SG	to	part	Wind-West	towards	3PL.AN-sit	at	Sorong	King	Four

‘The Yomga clan were ashamed so they agreed and they prepared their canoes and paddled the sea to the western part to live in Sorong, the Four Kings’

(102)	Fanam	war	mgun	ya	nja	snir	war
	fanam	war	mgun	ya	nja	s-nir	war
	near	water	little	Det.SG	so	3PL.AN-name	water

ine		be	Yomga.
ine		be	yomga
This.SG		as	Yomga

‘Close to a little pond so they named the pond as Yomga’

(103)	Isof	ro	dine	fafyar	inkbor	Yomga	ma
	isof	ro	dine	fafyar	in-kbor	yomga	ma
	until	at	This place	story	Woman-adolescent	Yomga	and

ikak		korben	ro	mnu	Saba	Warwer.
ikak		korben	ro	mnu	Saba	Warwer
snake		dragon	at	village	Saba	Warwer

‘Until here the story of the Yomga woman and the dragon in the village of Saba-Warwer’