

APPENDIX A: BIAK TEXTS

This section contains four texts of different genres. For each text, it has been noted where and how it was recorded. In all texts, intonation is indicated; the sign '#' is used for falling intonation plus pause, the sign '+' for rising intonation plus pause, while the sign '...' is used for level intonation plus pause. Other punctuation marks, except the colon and inverted comma's, have been left out. The difference between falling intonation and level intonation was sometimes difficult to make.

Short story

The short story below was told by Timo Yembise, who was my main informant in Wardo. The story was video-recorded, and I hope to place both the recording and this text on the web later this year. The short story is well-known throughout Biak, and can be found in simplified form in *surat wasya* (Kijne:1950).

SKaa1

Rasya... *snon* *ri* *kyor#*
 ras =ya snon ri kyor
 day =3SG.SPC male NUM.LNK three
 'One day, (there were) three men.'

SKaa2

Skora *skovavores#*
 3PC-go sko-va~vors
 3PC-go 3PC-RED~row
 'They went on a rowing trip.'

SKab

Snon ri *kyor* *anskoine* +
 snon ri kyor an -sko -i -ne
 male count/LNK three GIV -3PC -SPC -this

iya *byabara* +
 i-ya b<y>abara
 3SG-SPC <3SG>suffer.k.o.skin.disease

iya *vukór* *ivyor* +
 i-ya vukór i- vyor
 3SG-SPC head 3SG- bald(headed)

iya *vyemnóre#*
 i-ya v<y>e-mnór
 3SG-SPC <3SG>VBLZ-mucus

'These three men, one suffered a skin disease, one was bald-headed, and one had a snotty nose.'

SKac

Skora *nda* *skék* *ro* *wai* *nanya* *ido+*
 sko-ra n-ra sk^h-ék ro wai an-ya ido
 3PC-go to.o.there-sea 3PC-go.up LOC canoe GIV-3SG.SPC THEM

<i>vevemnór</i>		<i>anya</i>	...	<i>nya</i>	<i>rawen</i>	#
ve-ve-	mnór	an -ya	...	n<y>a	rawn	
REL-VBLZ-	mucus	GIV -3SG.SPC	...	<3SG>have	foremost.section	

'As for their going to the sea and going into the canoe, the one with the snotty nose sat in the front.'

SKad

<i>Vukór evyor</i>		<i>anya</i>	+	<i>kyón</i>	<i>ro fadu</i>
vukór e-	vyor	an -ya	+	k<y>ón	ro fadu
head REL-	bald(headed)	GIV -3SG.SPC	+	<3SG>sit	LOC middle

<i>fa</i>	...	<i>kóve</i>		+	<i>nyarem</i>	#
fa	...	k ^H -	óve	+	n<y>arm	
CONS...	1PL.INC-	say		+	<3SG>bail(.a.boat)	

'The bald headed one, he said in the middle, so that – we say – he would bail.'

SKae

<i>Evekasip</i>		<i>orovaido</i>	<i>ebabara</i>		<i>nanya</i>
e-ve-	kasip	orovaido	e- babara		an -ya
REL-VBLZ-	scabies	or	REL- suffer.k.o.skin.disease		GIV -3SG.SPC

<i>fyara</i>		<i>sko</i>	#
f<y>ara		sko	#
<3SG> hold.the.rudder		3PC	#

'The one having scabies or having a skin disease held the rudder for them.'

SKaf

<i>Skokávor</i>		<i>ro</i>	<i>sorn</i>	<i>vaníme</i>	+
sko-	kávor	ro	sorn	vaním	
3PC-	cross.over	LOC	deep.sea	not.yet	

<i>skofúr</i>		perjanjian	# ¹
sko-	fúr	perjanjian	
3PC-	make	agreement	

'Before they crossed over the deep sea, they made an agreement.'

SKag

<i>Skona</i>	<i>wós</i>	<i>oser</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>skóve+</i>	[speaker clears his throat]
sko-na	wós	oser	fa	sk ^H -óve	
3PC-have	word	one	CONS	3PC-say	

<i>(evemnór) ...</i>		<i>(eve)vukór</i>	<i>evyor</i>	<i>anya</i>	<i>d-óve</i>	+
e-ve-mnór		eve-vukór	e- vyor	an-ya	d-óve	
REL-VBLZ-	mucus	REL- VBLZ-head	REL-bald(headed)	GIV-3SG.SPC	3SG-say	

¹ The recording around *sorn* is not entirely clear. The text as noted here is approved by different informants, however.

"*ras ine* ... *kovors* ... *ro sorn ine*
 ras i-ne ... ko- vors ro sorn i-ne
 day 3SG.SPC-this ... 1PL.INC- row LOC deep.sea 3SG.SPC-this

voi +
voi +
 but +

oso ... *vyemnúro*
 oso v<y>e-mnúr=o
 INDEF.SG <3SG>VBLZ-mucus=O

ipok vyunk awer mnór vyena
 i- pok v<y>unk awer mnór v<y>e=na
 3SG- able <3SG>wipe.off PROHIB mucus <3SG>VBLZ=3PL.INAN.SPC

orovaido isnof awer" #
 orovaido i- snof awer #
 or 3SG- sniff PROHIB #

'They agreed so they said ...the one with the snotty nose, the bald-headed one said: "this day, we sail on this deep sea, but if someone has a snotty nose, he is not allowed to wipe off his mucus, neither is he allowed to sniff." '

SKak

Inkukro myám rarpon
 inkukr=o m<y>ám rar- pon
 because 3SG-see to.o.there- front

ro ena rawn anya ...
 ro e- na rawn an -ya ...
 thing REL- have foremost.section GIV -3SG.SPC ...

ro bar evemnúr riri #
 ro bar e- ve- mnór ri-i-ri #
 thingthing REL- VBLZ- mucus GEN.SG-PRED.ANAPH #

'Because he saw frontward the one occupying the foremost section ... he was having a snotty nose (*slightly more literal*: it was a guy having a snotty nose).²

SKal

Mura ido dákkofn wósya
 mura ido d-ák-kofn wós=ya
 afterwards THEM 3SG-also-say word=3SG.SPC

² Note that the NP *ro ena rawn anya* 'the one who had the foremost section' is separated from the verb by a motion adverb. Given the fact that motion adverbs usually do not intervene between the verb and the object (cf. 3.7.4), I think that the NP should not be seen as the formal object of the verb *m<y>ám*, but as frame for the nominal clause to come. It is also possible to analyze *ro* [in *ro ena*] as 'LOC' instead of 'thing', in which case *ena rawn anya* would again not be the direct object but the complement of the preposition *ro* 'LOC'.

<i>fa</i>	<i>dóve:</i>	<i>"imbo,</i>	<i>irya</i>	<i>ido</i>	<i>...³</i>	<i>ras</i>	<i>ine</i>
fa	d-óve	imbo	i-rya	ido		ras	i-ne
CONS	3SG-say	indeed	3SG.PRED-ANAPH	THEM		day	3SG.SPC-this

<i>kovors</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>sorn</i>	<i>ine</i>	<i>vo</i>
ko-vors	ro	sorn	i-ne	vo
1PL.INC-row	LOC	deep.sea	3SG.SPC-this	SIM

<i>oso</i>	<i>vukór</i>	<i>vyedya</i>	<i>ivyor</i>
oso	vukór	v<y>e=d-ya	i- vyor
INDEF head	<3SG>POS=3SG-SPC	3SG-	bald(headed)

<i>vo</i>	<i>darésya</i>	<i>dos</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ryarsoyo +</i>
vo	darés=ya	d-os	i	ra	r<y>arso=yo
SIM	radiation=3SG.SPC	3SG-hit	3SG	until	<3Sg>like=O

<i>s<y>own</i>	<i>awer</i>	<i>vraminya</i>
s<y>own	awer	vramin=ya
<3SG>insert	PROHIB	arm=3SG.SPC

<i>vo</i>	<i>vyuk</i>	<i>sfu</i>	<i>awer</i>	<i>vukór</i>	<i>vyedi #</i>
vo	v<y>uk	sfu	awer	vukór	v<y>e=d-i
SIM	<3SG>use	wipe.with.a.cloth	PROHIB head	<3SG>POS=3SG-SPC	

'Afterwards, he also spoke a word so that he said: "indeed, this being the case, while we row at this sea, (if) someone's head is bald and the radiation from the sun hits him at whatever rate (lit: until it is how), he is not allowed to insert his hand (in water) and use it to wipe his head." '

SKaq1

<i>Mura</i>	<i>ido</i>	<i>+ dákkofn</i>	<i>...</i>
mura	ido	d-ák-	kofn ...
afterwards	THEM	3SG-	also- say ...

<i>vukór</i>	<i>evyor</i>	<i>anya</i>	<i>dákkofn</i>	<i>vo</i>	<i>dóve:</i>
vukór	e- vyor	an -ya	d-ak- kofn	vo	d-óve
head	REL- bald(headed)	GIV -3SG.SPC	3SG- also-say	SIM	3SG-say

<i>"imbo</i>	<i>irya</i>	<i>ido" #</i>
imbo	i-rya	ido
indeed	3SG.PRED-ANAPH	THEM

'Afterwards, he also spoke, the bald-headed one also spoke: "Okay, (this is the given situation).'

³ The expression *irya ido* is found three times in this text. The expression is uttered with either level intonation or falling intonation, as reflected in the text. The expression has an anaphoric function, but usually functions as background for the clause to come. For the use of *ri* cf. 8.5.5.4. For the function of *ido*, see 3.8, 8.3.2, and 10.6.1. The use of *ido* with falling intonation here is somewhat remarkable, given the fact that frames are usually marked by non-falling intonation.

SKaq2

Ras ine komindī⁴ byabara vo
 ras i-ne ko-min-ri b<y>abara vo
 day 3SG.SPC-this 1PL.INC-member-POS.3SG <3SG>suffer.k.o.skin disease SIM

imakr ra ryarsoyo: + ipok isnaw awer,
 i- makr ra r<y>arso =yo i- pok i- snaw awer
 3SG- itchy until <3SG>like =O 3SG- able 3SG- scratch PROHIB

kukro myám rarpur
 kukr =o m<y>am rar-pur
 because =O <3SG>see to.o.there-back

ro efara nanya byabara #
 ro e- fara an -ya b<y>abara
 thing REL- hold.the.rudder GIV -3SG.SPC <3SG>suffer.k.o.skin.disease

'(if) this day one of us has a skin disease and is itchy at whatever rate, he is not allowed to scratch', for he had watched backward the one holding the rudder suffered a skin disease.'

SKat

Mura skona wós eser ra dine
 mura sko-na wós eser ra di-ne
 afterwards 3PC-have word one along place-this

rao imnai, + skoiswara kwar⁵ #
 rao i- mnai + sko-is-wa-ra kwar
 until 3SG- stop + 3PC-PRED-over.there-to.o.there already

'Afterwards, after they had agreed, they were out over there already.'

SKav

Skora ro sorn anya faduri ma imbo ...
 sko- ra ro sorn an -ya fadu -ri ma imbo ...
 3PC- go LOC deep.sea GIV -3SG.SPC middle -POS.SG and indeed ...

evemnór aniponwa +
 e-ve-mnór an-i-pon-wa
 REL-VBLZ-mucus GIV-3SG.SPC- front-over.there

vye ma ipok mnór vyanna va
 v<y>e ma i- pok mnór v<y>=an -na va
 <3SG>give and 3SG-able mucus <3SG>POS=GIV -3PL.INAN.SPC not

⁴ The function of *di* or *ri* in this position is not entirely clear. The dissertation describes forms formed with *min* as partitive pronouns, cf. 3.2.7.

⁵ Coming at the word *wós*, the narrator hesitates or corrects himself. The words here are given by one of my informants. The use of *radine* with a (seemingly) anaphoric function is somewhat unusual.

kukro *nakwán* *fes* *indoka* *nro* *dine#*^{6,7}
 kukr =o na- kwán fes indoka n-ro di-ne
 because =O PL.INAN- long down approximately 3PL.INAN-LOC place-this
 'They arrived in the middle of the deep sea and indeed ... the snotty nose in the front could not bear his mucus for it had grown long downwards approximately until here.'

SKax

Mura *ido* *syéwar* *nyan#* *Syéwar* *nyan* *fa* ...
 mura ido s<y>éwar nyan s<y>éwar nyan fa
 afterwards THEM <3SG>seek road <3SG>seek road CONS

dánkar *su* *vo* *dóve:* *mumám* *munde* *kada+*
 d- ánkár su vo d-óve mu-mám mu-n-re kada
 3SG- deceive 3DU SIM 3SG-say 2PL-see PATH-to.o.there-land suppose.that

randipya *iso* *emrán* *ro...* *yénya* *bo* *ire#*
 randip =ya iso e- mrán ro yén =ya bo i-re
 pig =3SG.SPC 3SG.PRED-O REL- walk LOC sand =3SG.SPC upside 3SG-and
 So he sought for a way out. He sought a way so that ... he deceived the two and said: "if you looked landwards, there is a pig that walks at ... the beach."

SKba

Sinapan *risine* *kada+*
 sinapan ri-is-i-ne kada
 gun GEN.SG-3SG.PRED-SPC-here suppose.that

na *yaveukur* (*i*)
 na ya- ve- ukur i
 then 1SG- VBLZ- measure 3SG

rawo *imnis* *ido+* *insape* *yapáme.*
 rawo i- mnis ido insape ya- páam
 until 3SG- fit THEM then 1SG- shoot
 'If this were a gun, I would aim until it is okay, and then I would shoot.'

SKbb

Yapám *vo* *yóve* "*puu*"
 ya- páam vo y- óve puu
 1SG- light SIM 1SG- say puu

indya *isrer* *ve* *epám* *vo* *vyuk* *vrampin*
 indya i- srer ve e-pám vo v<y>uk vrampin
 so 3SG- pretend as REL-shoot SIM <3SG>give finger

⁶ Here the Speaker shows with his hand the place until where the mucus reached.

⁷ The meaning of *v<y>e* in this context is not entirely clear. It is an inflected form either of the verb *ve* 'give', or an inflected form of (a verb related to) the verbalizer *ve*. Note, however, that the verbalizer is analyzed as a prefix, whereas here it should be seen as an independent verb. For the verb *ve* 'give' cf. 10.12.4. For the verbalizer *ve* cf. 4.3.1.5.

<i>vyedine</i>	<i>vyunk</i>	<i>mnór ero</i>	<i>dine</i>
v<y>e=d-i-ne	v<y>unk	mnór e-ro	di-ne
<3SG>POS=3SG-SPC-this	<3SG>wipe.off	mucus REL-LOC	place-this

nanna #

an-na

GIV-3PL.INAN.SPC

'I would shoot and say "puu!" ', so he acted like a shooter and used his finger to wipe off his mucus.'

SKbe

<i>Mura</i>	<i>ido+</i>	<i>ero</i>	<i>fadu ...</i>
mura	ido	e-ro	fadu
afterwards	THEM	REL-LOC	middle

<i>vukór</i>	<i>evyor</i>	<i>anya</i>	<i>dóve:</i>
vukór	e- vyor	an -ya	d-óve
head	REL- bald(headed)	GIV -3SG.SPC	3SG-say

<i>"oo + ro</i>	<i>iponwa</i>	<i>vyunk</i>	<i>mnór</i>
oo + ro	i-pon-wa	v<y>unk	mnór
ooh + thing	3SG-front-over.there	<3SG>wipe.off	mucus

<i>vyanna</i>	<i>ndari</i>	<i>dánkar</i>	<i>ri⁸#</i>
v<y>=an-na	ndari	d-ánkar	ri
<3SG>POS=GIV-3PL.INAN.SPC	perhaps	3SG-deceive	IRR

'Then, the one in the middle, the bald-headed one thought, "ooh, it seems that the one in the front (over) there has wiped off his mucus and deceived (us)." '

SKbg1

<i>Mura</i>	<i>ido</i>	<i>dákkofn</i>	<i>vo</i>	<i>dóve:</i>
mura	ido	d-ák-kofn	vo	d-óve
afterwards	THEM	3SG-also-say	SIM	3SG-say

<i>irya</i>	<i>ido #</i>
i-rya	ido
3SG.PRED-ANAPH THEM	

'Then he also spoke and said: "okay (this is the given situation)."

SKbg2

<i>Randip</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>pámya</i>	<i>ido +</i>
randip	ri	pám=ya	ido
pig	GEN.SG	2SG.shoot=3SG.SPC	THEM

<i>na</i>	<i>yason</i>	<i>duro</i>	<i>ma ...</i>
na	ya- son	dur=o	ma
then	1SG- boil	boiled.water=nonSP.SG	and

⁸ The marker *ri* used here can most probably be equated with the irrealis marker used after propositions introduced by *vude~imbude* (cf. 3.7.3).

yakkundur *i #*
 ya- k- kundur *i*
 1SG- use- pour.hot.water.on 3SG
 'When it is a pig that you shoot, then I boil water and use that to pour hot water on it.'

SKbi

Imbo *na ... yason dur* *anya* *ra imnai +*
 imbo na ya-son dur an-ya ra i-mnai
 indeed then 1SG-boil boiled.water GIV3SG.SPC until 3SG-stop

yanáw *ra* *dine* *myáe ...*
 ya- náw ra di-ne m-yáe
 1SG- use.dipper along place-this to.here-up

yavesiram *ro* *randip* *anya* *ra* *dine." #*
 ya-ve-siram ro randip an-ya ra di-ne
 1SG-VBLZ-pour LOC pig GIV-3SG.SPC along place-this
 'Indeed then I boil the water and then, I take the water (with a dipper) upwards and pour it on the pig like this.' '

SKbk

Ikofn *vo* *nyáw* *masn* *anya* *raryáe*
 i- kofn vo n<y>áw masn an-ya rar-yáe
 3SG- say SIM <3SG>take.up salt.water GIV-3SG.SPC to.o.there-up

ikruv *vukór* *vyedya*
 i- k-ruv vukór v<y>e =d-ya
 3SG- use-wetten head <3SG>POS=3SG-SPC

kukro *darésya* *dos* *mankenm* *indi #*
 kukr=o darés=ya d-os mankenm i=ndi
 because=O radiation=3SG.SPC 3SG-hit very 3SG=IRR⁹
 'While he spoke he took the salt water up and used it to wetten his head, as the radiation hit him very hard.'

SKbm1

Mura *ido +* *evekasip* *mos* *anipurwa ...*
 mura ido evekasip mos an-i-pur -wa
 afterwards THEM REL-VBLZ-scabies dirty GIV-3SG.SPC-back-over.there

dáksmai *nyanya* *fa* *dóve:* *"ah ... bo ... imbo #*
 d- ák- smai nyan=ya fa d-óve ah, bo imbo
 3SG- also- acquire road=3SG.SPC CONS 3SG-say ah, EXCL indeed
 'Afterwards the dirty one having scabies in the back also found a way out and thought: "ah, indeed!.'

⁹ In a number of cases, *kukr(=o)* 'because' is followed by a clause closed off by *ri~ndi*. The function of this marker is not entirely clear, neither is it clear whether the marker should be equated with the marker found after the irrealis complements described in 10.2.5, or with the anaphoric marker that is used in nominal clauses (8.5.5.4).

SKbm2

Aya kako yamakr *vo mov sai na" d-óve*
 aya kako ya- makr vo mov sai na d-óve
 1SG too 1SG- itch SIM place which then 3SG-say

"imbo ... insandya ... *pyám bós i kwar ...*
 imbo insandya p<y>ám bós i kwar
 indeed just <3SG>shoot totally 3SG already

wason durya fa bukkundur i
 wa- son dur=ya fa buk-kundur i
 2SG- boil boiled.water=3SG.SPC CONS 2SG.give-pour.hot.water.on 3SG

ido na oso ipref i va voi +
 ido na oso i-pref i va voi
 THEM then INDEF.SG 3SG-scrape.off 3SG not but

aya na ekaw epref inyai #
 aya na e- kaw e- pref i=n=ya=i
 1SG then REL- make.clean REL- scrape.off 3SG=SEP=3SG.SPC=FOC

'Me too I am itchy and how then", he said, "indeed, he has just shot it dead, given that you have boiled water so that you used it to pour hot water on it, then no one else shall scrape it off, but I am the one that is going to scrape it off!'

SKbr

Na yakaw i ra dine dine dine ..."
 na ya- kaw i ra di-ne di-ne di-ne
 then 1SG- make.clean 3SG along place-this place-this place-this

kesempatanya *dáksnaw i #*
 kesempatan=ya d-ák- snaw i
 opportunity=3SG.SPC 3SG-also-scratch 3SG

'Then I clean it (along) here and here and here", and at this occasion he (also) scratched himself.'

SKbs

Indya fafyár anine snon ri kyor anskoya ...
 indya fafyár an-i-ne snon ri kyor an-sko-ya
 so story GIV-3SG.SPC-this male NUM.LNK three GIV-3PC-SPC

ive kór sko ve snonkaku ...¹⁰
 i- ve k- ór sko ve snonkaku
 3SG- want 1PL.INC- call 3PC as human.being

skóvepintar *ve mún múne #*
 skó-ve-pintar ve mún~mún
 3PC-VBLZ-clever to part~part

'So this story, these three men, we want to call them people, each one of them is clever.'

¹⁰ at this point, the narrator is searching for words

SKbu

Skofawi nanm ve mún mún indya#¹¹
 sko- fawi nanm ve mún~ mún indya
 3PC- know tremendous to part~part
 'They were all very clever, so...'

SKbv

Iya syéwar nyanya
 iya s<y>éwar nyan =ya
 3SG-SPC <3SG>seek road =3SG.SPC

fa +¹² vyunk mnór vyena +
 fa v<y>unk mnór v<y>e=na
 CONS <3SG>wipe.off mucus <3SG>POS=3PL.INAN.SPC

iya syéwar nyan fa +
 i-ya s<y>éwar nyan fa
 3SG-SPC 3SG-seek road CONS

nyaw wárna
 n<y>aw wár =na
 <3SG>take.up water =3PL.INAN

fa ikvan vukórya +
 fa i- k- van vukór =ya
 CONS 3SG- use- wash head =3SG.SPC

anipurwa syéwar nyanya
 an - i- pur -wa s<y>éwar nyan
 GIV - 3SG- back -over.there <3SG>seek road

fa + dáksnaw fasawsaw i #
 fa d- ák- snaw fa~saw~saw i
 CONS 3SG- also- scratch ~RED~fast 3SG

kukru imakr ri #
 kukr =u i- makr ri
 because =U 3SG- itch IRR

'One sought a way so that he could wipe off his mucus, one sought a way so that he could take water and wash his head, the one in the back sought a way to scratch quickly as he was itchy.'

¹¹ This is one of the very few examples where *indya* is followed by falling intonation, which is usually reserved for the end of sentences.

¹² In this sentence, there is a strong and sudden rising intonation after *nyan(ya) fa* three times in sequence. The intonation after *vyena*, *vukórya* is also rising, but less sudden.

SKbz

Indya fafyár anine fafyáru ekofn
 indya fafyár an-i-ne fafyár =u e- kofn
 so story GIV-SPC-this story =U REL- say

vadíru snonkaku fasaw fa
 vadár =u snonkaku fasaw fa
 announce =U human.being fast CONS

evepikiru # swarusrno
 e-ve-pikir=u swarusr=no
 REL-VBLZ-think=U thinking=nonSP.nonSG

fasama ido +
 fasama ido
 CONS THEM

rosai se maksudna ido ... na jadi fasaw #
 rosai se maksud =na ido na jadi fasaw
 what 3PL.AN.vblz meaning =3PL.INAN THEM then happen fast

'So this story is a story that tells about people that can think fast, way of thinkings so that ... what they intend then happens fast.'

SKcb

Mov isofroya isine kwar #
 mov isofro =ya is-i-ne kwar
 place until =3SG.SPC 3SG.PRED-SPC-this already

'The place until where (the story proceeds) is this.'