

## KINDS OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN BIAK

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Three 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). Both Steinhauer and Van den Heuvel present headless relative clauses. Several questions, however, still exist such as (1) formal distinctions between the three types of relative clauses; and (2) whether Biak has internally headed relative clauses that need answers. Van den Heuvel (2006)'s example like *berkat Mansern v<y>uk =na* 'blessing Lord <3SG> give=3PL.INAN.SPC 'The blessing that the Lord gives', seems to indicate that Biak has internally headed relative clauses, which is uncommon from a universal point of view" (Van den Heuvel, 2006:423).

Based on Mofu (2009)'s findings, this paper will address the above issues and show that the language permits relativization on all parts of Keenan-Comrie's hierarchy. It allows relativization not only on subject, object, object of preposition, oblique, genitive and object of comparison but also on object in subordinate clause, embedded subordinate clause, serial verbs constructions, and temporal adjunct modifiers. In addition, Biak has stacked and nested relative clauses.

DATA:

### ***RC relativizing Subject NP.***

- (1) 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"

### ***RC relativizing Object NP.***

- (2) 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 lkofn] 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"

### ***RC relativizing Oblique NP / Object of Preposition.***

- (3) ifrar sasar ra mob [Manarmakrdi dof ro] ya (T2.50)  
i-frar sasar ra mob Manarmakrdi d-of ro ya  
3SG- mistake towards place Manarmakrdi 3SG- at Det.SG  
run hide

“ He mistakenly ran towards the place where Mananarmakrdi was hiding at”

***RC relativizing Modifier.***

- (4) “Yafawi na mob [yambran] ya ba” (T2.19)  
 “Ya- na mob ya-mbran ya ba  
 fawi  
 “1SG- later place 1SG-walk Det.SG not  
 know  
 “I don’t know where (the place that) I will go “

***RC relativizing Genitive.***

- (5) 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’

***RC relativizing Object of Comparison.***

- (6) 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’

***RC relativizing Object in Subordinate Clause.***

- (7) 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”

***RC relativizing Object in embedded Subordinate Clause.***

(8) Mananarmak'rdi ikofen myaren bo dobe "[ro  
 Mananarmakr'di i-kofen myaren bo d-obe "ro  
 Manarmakeri 3SG-tell carefull and 3SG-say "thing  
 y

[yamarise fa yobe buk be aya]  
 n  
 [ya- fa y-obe buk- -w- be aya]  
 marisen  
 [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"

**RC relativizing Object in Serial Verb Construction.**

(9) 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'

**RC relativizing Temporal Adjunct Modifier.**

(10) 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”.