The joke below was told in May 2001, by Spenyel Krei (a man of approximately 30 years old), in the village Yendidori, West-Biak. I had come to the village to watch some adolescents from Wardo playing football, and also visited the village chief. We were invited to come and sit in front of his house, and there were several other persons present. I asked them to tell each other a number of jokes.

A difference is made between 'pause and rising intonation', expressed by '+', 'pause and falling intonation', expressed by '#', and 'pause and level intonation', expressed by '...'. Especially the difference between the latter two, however, is gradual, and at certain places a choice between the two is hard to make.

### **YMaa**

Imbe yafár vo korower# imbe ya- fár vo ko- rowr want 1SG- tell SIM 1PL.INC- hear 'I want to tell and we listen.'

### YMaa2

Yafár ro ... **pendeta** oser# ya- fár ro ... pendeta oser 1SG- tell LOC ... minister one 'I tell about ... a certain minister.'

### **YMab**

Pendetananinehari.mingguvoHari.minggupendetaan-i-nehari.mingguvoministerGIV-3SG.SPC-thisSundaySIM

vyekhotba ro gereja #
v<y>e- khotba ro gereja <
3SG>VBLZ-sermon LOC church

'This minister (it was) on a Sunday (and), he preached in church.'

# **YMac**

Vye**khotba** ro **gereja** vo dóve + v<y>e- khotba ro gereja vo d-óve <3SG>VBLZ- sermon LOC church SIM 3SG-say

"perinta samfur ryok kwar fa
perinta samfur r<y>ok kwar fa
order ten <3SG> resound already CONS

harusu ... koswar min kovesi"#

harus =u ... ko- swar min ko-ve =s-i

must =U ... 1PL.INC- love member 1PL.INC-POS =3PL.ANIM-SPC

'He preached in the church and said: "The ten commandments have resounded already, that we must love our neighbours." '

**YMad** 

Vyekhotbarogerejavoiromav<y>e-khotbarogerejavoiroma<3SG>VBLZ-sermonLOC churchbutson

vyedya isya dákso

v<y>e =d-ya is-ya d- ák- so

<3SG>POS =3SG-SPC 3SG.PRED-that 3SG- also- accompany

ro **kebaktian** anine# ro kebaktian an-i-ne

LOC church.service GIV-3SG.SPC-this

'He was preaching in the church, but his son was also attending this service.'

# **YMae**

Indya roma vyanine ryowr epéne# indya roma v<y>an -i -ne r<y>owr epén so son <3SG>POS.GIV -3SG.SPC -this <3SG>hear push.tight 'So his son listened [to the sermon] and imprinted it in his memory.'

## YMae2

Indya koswar min kovesi#
indya ko- swar min ko-ve =s-i
so 1PL.INC- love member 1PL.INC-POS =3PL.ANIM-SPC
' "So we (must) love our neighbours" '

# **YMaf**

Skobur ra ro rum+ sko- bur ra ro rum 3PC- leave to.o.there LOC house

waktuyakmars<y>áewaktu=yakma-rs<y>áetime=3SG.SPCfather-3SG.POS<3SG>go.out

voskofanukambing eser...vosko-fan=ukambing eser...SIM 3PC-feed=Ugoatone...

**kambing** *epaism riri#* kambing e- paism ri-i-ri

goat REL- black GEN.SG-3SG.PRED-ANAPH

'So they came home ... one time his father was not at home and they fed a goat, it was a black goat.'

## **YMah**

Ras eser ido ... mansar ero mnuyanya ...
ras eser ido ... man-sar e- ro mnu =ya =n =ya ...
day one THEM... male-old REL- LOC village =3SG.SPC =SEP =3SG.SPC ...

vyesusa rovean#
v<y>e- susa rovean
<3SG>VBLZ-problem food

## **YMai**

Ya dáwaw rovean mura ido + ya d- áwaw rovean mura ido yes 3SG- lack food aferwards THEM

rya imrán ra ro pendetai# r<y>a i- mrán ra ro pendeta =i <3SG>go 3SG- walk to.o.there LOC minister =3SG

fa dóve dór rovean roi # rovean d-óve dór fa i ro CONS3SG-say 3SG- call food LOC 3SG

# **YMak**

Rya ido **pendeta** syáe r<y>a ido pendeta s<y>áe <3SG>go THEM minister <3SG>go.out

voi roma vyanine ...voi roma v<y>=an -i -nebut son <3SG>POS=GIV -3SG.SPC -this

 $(i)^{l}$  ... ero rumi # i ... e- ro rum =i 3SG ... REL- LOC house =3SG.SPC

# **YMal**

"anake<sup>2</sup> Mura ido dóve yaro rum voi + d-óve mura ido anak -e yaro rum voi afterwards **THEM** 3SG-say 1SG-LOC house but son

yáwaw rovean indya yóve yara ma áwaw rovean indya y-óve yama ra 1SG- lack food so 1SG-say 1SG- go to.here

<sup>1</sup> The pause after *i* here is probably due to doubt from the side of the speaker how to proceed.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;At a certain day, an old man in the village was short of food.'

<sup>&#</sup>x27;He lacked food, so he walked to the minister to ask food from him.'

<sup>&#</sup>x27;At the moment that he went (there), the minister was out, but his son, he was at home.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The function of e used after anak 'child' is not entirely clear, but probably serves to call for the attention from the side of the Addressee. It might be related to the question clitic e described in 4.11. The corpus contains occasional other examples of e used after the word used to address people, like insar-e 'old.woman-e', or awine 'mother-e' [TWdn].

bapak isne idobapak is ido -ne father 3SG.PRED -this **THEME** kerno aya" # vye rovean ve v<y>e rovean ker =no ve aya <3SG>give =nonSP.nonSG to 1SG food part "Then he said: "son, I was at home, however, I didn't have food so I thought to come here ... if father (i.e. the minister) is here, let him please give me a little food." ' **YMao** vyanine dóve Roma romawa v<y>=an -i d-óve -ne <3SG>POS=GIV-3SG.SPC -this 3SG-say son "ooo + bapak isne va bapak is-ne 000 va \*\*\* father 3SG.PRED-this not # vakramu seno. va vakram =u sen =0 va 1SG- store =u cent =nonSP.SG not 'His son said "father isn't here, I do not have a penny." ' **YMap** + **kambing** *inkovanya* Voi ma iso + kambing inko-v=an -ya voi ma iso 1PL.EX-POS=GIV -3SG.SPC TOP 3SG.PRED-O but + goat iriya indya + rwafa i-ri -ya indya + r<w>a fa **CONS** 3SG.SPC-out -that + <2SG>goso i bov i # wún rawbov ún ra i i 3SG until 3SG 2SG- take 2SG.sell "However, our goat is (the one) outside there so go and take it so that you can sell it." '3

**YMaq** 

Bov i sa vyepipi ido bov i sa v<y>e-pipi ido 2SG.sell 3SG CONS <3SG>VBLZ-money THEM

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> From the combinatory use of ri 'out' and ya 'that' in iriya '3SG.SPC-out-there', it is clear that the Addressee is still standing at the door, while the Speaker is inside. Compared to the speaker inside, the goat is ri 'out'. It is closer to the Addressee than to the Speaker, which accounts for the use of ya 'that' (cf. 9.3.2 and 9.5.3).

insape		wakdún			roveanno		fa	wan #		
insape		wa-	k-	d-ún	rovean	=no	fa	W-	an	
then		2SG-	use-	3SG-take	food	=nonSP.nonSG	CONS	2SG-ea	at	
"Sell it so that if there's money you can use it to get food so that you can eat."										

### **YMas**

Mura ido mansar anya rya n-ri mura r<y>a ido man-sar an n-ri -ya -3SG.SPC aferwards **THEM** male-old GIV <3SG>go to.there-out

pyeru ... kambing anya fa dún i #
p<y>er =u ... kambing an -ya fa d-ún i
<3SG>loosen =u ... goat GIV -3SG.SPC CONS 3SG-take 3SG
'So the old man went out to loosen the goat to take it.'

# **YMat**

Pyer **kambing** *anya* fa dún vvov ra i kambing an -ya d-ún p<y>er fa v<y>ov ra GIV -3SG.SPC CONS3SG-take <SG>loosen goat until <3SG>sell 3SG

pendeta ibur ro fararúr # kwar *ma.*. ma pendeta i-bur f~ara~rúr kwar ma 3SG- leave LOC ~RED~make and minister already to.here 'He loosened the goat to take and sell it ... then the minister came home from work.'

# **YMav**

Ifukn vo dóve "anak! kambing ero..
i- fukn vo d-óve anak kambing e- ro
3SG- ask SIM 3SG-say son goat REL- LOC

kambing efes<sup>4</sup> epn rodirine nanya#" kambing edi-ri epn ro -ne nan -ya push.tight LOC place-out GIV -3SG.SPC REL- tie -this 'He asked "son, the goat... the goat that was bound outside here...?" '

## **YMaw**

Voromavyanyadóve:voromav<y>=an-yad-óveSIMson<3SG>POS=GIV-3SG.SPC3SG-say

insandya mansarya rya ma ...
insandya man-sar =ya r<y>a ma
just male-old =3SG.SPC <3SG>go to.here

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The root *fes* 'tie' is a transitive verb. The meaning of the form here is clear. The form should probably be understood as a reduced form of the passive *e-veve-fes* 'REL-PAS-tie'.

<i>ikofn</i> i- kofn 3SG- speak	<i>vadíru</i> vadír =u announce =u	dáwaw d- áwaw 3SG- lack	rovean indya rovean indya food so		
yave ya- ve 1SG- want	<i>yakofn</i> ya-kofn 1SG-speak	fa fa CONS	<i>dún</i> d-ún 3SG-take	i i 3SG	
until <3SC 'His son answ	ov i fa S>sell 3SG CO vered "A moment	i- ve DNS 3SG-want ago an old mar	ikdún rovear i- k- 3SG- use- n let know that he w use it to get food." '	d-ún 3SG-take	rovean food I, so I wantedI

# **YMay**

Ba,kenapawóvewakofnfabakenapaw-óvewa-kofnfaEXCLwhy2SG-say2SG-speakCONS

dún i ra vyov i! d-ún i ra v<y>ov i 3SG-take 3SG until <3SG>sell 3SG

# **YMaz**

Dóve "ba, **bapak** wakofn kwar d-óve ba bapak wa- kofn kwar 3SG-say EXCL father 2SG- speak already

ro ... **gereja** ...vo wóve ... **harus** ro ... gereja vo w- óve ... harus LOC ... church SIM 2SG- say ... must

koswar min kovesi. #
ko-swar min ko-ve =s-i

1PL.INC-love member 1PL.INC-POS =3PL.ANIM-SPC

' He answered "hey, dad, you just said in church that we must love our neighbours!" '

# **YMbb**

Pendeta dóve "a, **bukan** yakofn ve ko pendeta d-óve bukan yakofn ve ko a 1SG- speak to 1PL.INC minister 3SG-say not a

<sup>&#</sup>x27; "What, why did you (think to) tell him to take it and sell it?!" '

vape yakofn ve warga jemaatsi<sup>5</sup># vape ya- kofn ve warga jemaat =s-i but 1SG- speak to member church =3PL.ANIM-SPC

The minister said "Ah, I did not say that to us, but to the members of the church!"

From the recording it is clear that the speaker uses  $warga\ jemaat=i$  instead of  $warga\ jemaatsi$ . My language helper corrected =i '3SG.SPC' into =s-i '3PL.AN-SPC'. This may be a case of hypercorrection, however, given the fact that the corpus contains several examples of groups being referred to by a singular, cf. 3.3.3.2.