

## Kemtuik grammar sketch

### 1 Introduction

Language and speakers, where spoken, **affiliation**, some cultural information, plus info about data on which this grammar is based (time and work with Kemtuik).

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## 1. Introduction

**1.1 Location.** The Kemtuik language area is located in the northeastern corner of the province of Papua, Indonesia, some 80 kilometers southwest of the provincial capital of Jayapura (see maps below). The language is spoken by approximately 5,000 speakers who live in 23 villages. Quite a few Kemtuik people live in the provincial capital and the surrounding townships.

**1.2 Dialects.** Three dialect areas can be distinguished for the Kemtuik language. The leading dialect, which can be called ‘Kemtuik proper’, is spoken in the villages of Merem and Yanim. The second dialect is spoken alongside the road to Genyem in the villages of Sabron, Samon, Mamda and Meikari. The third dialect is located south of lake Sentani and called Damoy Blo. The differences between these three dialects are in fact minor and the ‘Kemtuik proper’ variant is considered the model for the whole area. There is some confusion about the use of the language name [‘Kɛm.tük, ‘Kam.tuk, ‘Kem.tuk]. This is probably due to the non-occurrence of [ü] in Indonesian and the pronunciation of the language name in adjacent areas. Kemtuik ‘proper’ uses [‘Kɛm.tük]

**1.3 Affiliation.** Traditionally the small Nimboran language family (Nimboran (7,500; Kemtuik/ Kemtuk 5,000; Klesi/Gresi 4,000 ; Mekwey/Moi 2,500 and Kuansu Mlap 500 was classified as a subgroup of the large Trans-New Guinea family. However, recent research by Malcolm Ross shows that these families are not affiliated (Malcolm D. Ross, 2005, ‘Pronouns as a preliminary diagnostic for grouping Papuan languages’ In: Andrew Pawley, Robert Attenborough, Jack Golson and Robin Hide, eds, *Papuan Pasts. Cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples*, 15-66. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics). Because of its small size and the differences with surrounding non-related languages such as Sentani, Tanamerah, Uria and Elseng, the Nimboran family is of special interest. Culturally the unity between all these language groups is more pervasive than their differences in language and dialect would suggest.

**1.4 Papuan Malay / Indonesian.** Papuan Malay is an offshoot of Ambonese Malay, mixed with Papuan linguistic features, which has been in use since approximately 1850 with the arrival of bird hunters and missionaries in the area. The national language, Bahasa Indonesia, was introduced in the province in 1962, and has a growing influence, but Papuan Malay is still popular as well and even getting stronger.

**1.5 Historical and cultural.** In 1925 the missionaries Bijkerk en Schneider started to do mission work amongst the Nimboran, Gresi, Mlap, Moi en Kemtuik language groups. In a number of years most of them were adapted to the Christian religion, although many firmly hold on to the old beliefs as well. Churches and Christian schools were built in almost all villages. The government established three Districts in the area: Kemtuk, Kemtuk/Gresi and Nimboran. Since 1990 government school (primary and middle schools) are replacing the old

schoolsystem. But education itself is still poor. Only a slow growing number of children reach higher education levels. Transmigrant settlements, established in the area since 1975 have not flourished. In fact, many of the original settlements are (verlaten) and the inhabitants have moved to coastal areas and town. Economic development is going reasonable well. The traditional focus on pigs is practically being replaced by raising cows and goats. Cocoa crop is a major export product. Legal and illegal woodcutting empoverished the jungle in the area.

**History of language research.** Since Kemtuik had never been written, analysis of the sound system had to be done first, the results of which were published in 1975 (see bibliography). Research was carried out mainly in the Kemtuik area at the village of Merem, which is considered by the people to be the cultural centre of the Kemtuik, from 1985 onwards Sabron-Samon in the other side of the area, became the major center for research. From 1975-1981 the research was done under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (now SIL International), in cooperation with the Cenderawasih University in Abepura, Papua (then Irian Jaya), Indonesia. On the basis of this analysis a preliminary orthography was established. From that time onwards, words and phrases were continually added to a lexical database, also from other parts of the Kemtuik area. From 1985 until 1992 new data were added to the collection by Mr. Michael Werner, a field linguist also working with SIL. From 2005 onwards, some fieldwork was, not only by expatriate field linguists of SIL, but also by students from the University of Jayapura (especially in Gresi). An official orthography for the Kemtuik language was established in 2007. In 2008 a Kemtuik vocabulary in triglot form (Kemtuik, Indonesian and English) was published, containing some 2,400 entries.

Hier moeten twee kaarten ingevoegd worden:

- a) overzicht taalgroepen in Noord-Oost Papua
- b) overzichtskaartje van het Kemtuik gebied

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## 2 Phonology

contains charts of consonants and vowels.

**Lists of contrasting pairs + allophonic variations. Prenasalized stops?**

Important: what is the status of the schwa; this is probably related to stress patterns. I see contrastive stress in 1975 article: on final or on penultimate syllable. **Really contrastive or predictable by some rule.**

Syllable structure?

What are the vowel sequences? Is /ui/ always realized as rounded high front vowel [ü]?

**Consonant clusters?** only with liquid, i.e. /l/ or /r/, as second element?

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## 3 Pronominal sets: Free and bound.

For the free pronouns Kemtuik seems to have a minimal-**augmented** system: four person categories: first, second, third and first + second, and three numbers: singular, dual and plural. The combinations give us special forms for inclusive and exclusive first person pronouns for non-singular. The free pronouns do not distinguish gender, but the subject suffixes on final verbs do, compare:

### Free pronouns

person	sg	du	pl
1	genam	genam-namon	genam-nang
2	mot	mot-namon	mot-nang
3	nemot	nemot-namon	nemot-nang
1+2	imot	imot-namon	imot- <b>nang</b>

### Verbal suffixes for Subject

person	sg	du	pl
1exc	-u	-u	-u
1inc		-on	-on
2	-o	-u	-o
3masc	-on	-un	-on
3fem	-un	-un	-on

Is this information correct? Based on the document 2008 The verb phrase in Kemtuik.

## 4 Nouns.

What can be said about nouns? Rather little, it looks like.

## 5 Verbs

A lot of complex issues. Comparable to Nimboran are the spatial/directional elements attached to main verbs (Steinhauer 1997 summarizes Anceaux 1965:63-79). Jaap (1976:75-83) needs extensive revision and new exposition.

Simple, bare, Verb stems and final, i.e. fully inflected, verbs: for example we need to account for many examples in the Dame Idam text with just a bare verb.

I have started to list the fully inflected forms from that story, but Jaap would be faster and better equipped to fill out the chart in his 2008 document by giving contrastive examples for the paradigm. For example, from 020; we need to have good evidence for the meaning/function of each of the identified morphemes.

- (1) Tap no gemang ikum-ba-w-on.  
road to/at ? see-go.down-CONT-3SG.M  
'At the road he was seeing/looking.
- (2) Yansu kabung kabuit bu so u-wat-a-ne-te-ba-w-on go.  
Yansu woman unmarried water in RED-bathe-?-PL-?-go.down-CONT-3PL GIV  
'That the Yansu girls were bathing in the river (is what he saw; this captures the clause-final *go*.)

Jaap, can you explain 023: *glung-lak* 'hang-three'?

### 5.1 Directionals

These can function as main verbs or compounded to other verb stems. The compounds are the result of a verb serialization.

I can't really detect a clear system in Jaap's article (1976:77); the tree of directionals does not seem to align with the examples.

Consider Steinhauer's summary of Anceaux's material of Nimboran (1997:275) and my attempt to align the Kemtuik forms. Can this be done? More differences?

	[+S] = involving Speaker	Nim	K	[-S] = elsewhere		K
[-move]	zero	0		[+high] = be higher than S [+low] = be lower than S [-high, -low] = be same level as S [-visible] = be invisible	-bá- -ngá- -sá- -ná	be ? ?
[+ move]	<b>from [+S] to ....</b>			<b>from .... to ....</b>		
	[+high] = go up	-be-	bi	from low or invisible to [high] i.e. 'go up'	-bená	ban
	[-high, -low] = go across, level	-se-	se	from below (invis) to there visible	-sená	san
	[+low] = go down	-se-	na	from below to out of sight	-kené	kun
	[-vis] = from here to out of sight	-ne-	?	from above/far to below	-sené	san
	<b>from .... to [+S]</b>					
	from [+high] to S = come down to S	-keN-	kun			
	from [+low] = come up	-báN-	ban			
	from [-high, -low] = come across	-sáN-	san			

In fact, I wonder if it wouldn't make a lot more sense to simply gloss those forms with 'come up, down, across' (i.e. towards S or deictic center) and 'go up, down, across' (i.e. away from S or deictic center).

That way we'll get examples like the following (By the way, the FUT suffix is /l/ with [d] as allomorph following a nasal, correct?)

- (3) Genam    mea    iti-go    san-d-u.  
 1SG.SUBJ   FUT   take-GIV   come.across-FUT-1SG  
 ‘Given that I will get (it) I will come across (= same level); I will get (it) and then I come across.’ [these two translations try to capture the meaning contribution of *go*; may not be the best.]
- (4) Genam    mea    iti-    kun-d-u.  
 1SG.SUBJ   FUT   take-    come.down-FUT-1SG  
 ‘I will get (it) and come down. I will take it down.’
- (5) Genam    mea    iti-    si-l-u.  
 1SG.SUBJ   FUT   take-    go.down-FUT-1SG  
 ‘I will get (it) and go down. I will take it down to you or someone else.’ [The giving seems to be an implication of the verb *iti*.]

Looking at Jaap’s document ‘The verb phrase in Kemtuik’, we need a lot of good contrastive examples to verify that analysis.

For example, to get a clear view of tense and aspect (and mood?); many sentences in Dame Idam are apparently tenseless

## 6 Adjectives

Does Kemtuik have a separate word class of adjectives or are they on a par with (other) intransitive verbs?

## 7 Demonstratives and additional elevationals

Ngge ‘this, here’

Ngga ‘that, there’

## 8 Adverbs and adverbials

Is there a real class of monomorphemic adverbs?

## 9. Postpositions or case marking

A preliminary listing here with rough indication of meanings.

Quite a few examples can be used from the Healey/Werner correspondence. However, the whole idea of sequences of particles is ill-conceived. Some of them may follow each other, but they do not form sequences. There is more hierarchical structure, especially involving the ubiquitous GIVEN marker *go*.

Make a comment on the enormous frequency of each.

*go* marks possessive - but is this its basic function? I’ve seen possessives without it; it seems to indicate some textual deixis, translatable with GIVEN. This can mark NPs and clauses, in which case it could be translated with ‘and’. Possibly, two different *go*’s; not sure they are homophones (unrelated) or polysemous (somewhat related) instances. examples abound.

*lo* is ergative, or perhaps a better term is instigative, since it used on NP and clauses to mark

1) transitive subject if disambiguation is necessary, if the agentive subject is focussed.

2) on intransitive subjects that are in control;

3) on instruments;

4) on source or pathway of movement;

5) on clauses that are the cause or reason for the next clause.

Needs example for each.

*ey* is comitative, translatable by ‘with’: once or twice in coordinated NP, can be on comitative phrase if separate from Subject NP; can be on colour or material specification.

*so* marks purposive and inessive, possibly homophonous forms, translatable by ‘for, in order to’ and ‘inside’, respectively. examples:

*no* marks allative: goal or recipient, e.g. N + *no iti* = take to N = give to N.

Here’s an example from the Dame Idam text that illustrates some of these postpositions (enclitics? do they have any phonological processes with the stuff they attach to?)

- (6) Dame Idam, nemot go ngoy dan ey  
 Dame Idam 3SG POS beads string with  
 ‘Dame Idam, his string of beads

nglangin lo nemot no iti go kabung nang so go  
 father INST 3SG ALL take GIV woman price for GIV  
 that (his) father had given to him, [the comma to convey *go*] for buying a woman

gemang tong.  
 be.here cut  
 it was cut. [I am not at all clear about this *gemang* or its contrast *gabe*; are these perhaps adverbs of location?]

Other stuff for morphology/word classes, such as conjunctions, interjections, numerals: described in other sections.

## 10 Structure of NP

N + Adj/V + Dem

Where does a Numeral come? Preceding, following N?

Possessive constructions: is there a difference between alienable and inalienable possession?

Do body-part and kinship nouns get treated different than other nouns when possessed? I have not seen any indication.

## 11 Clause

Word order?

Type of Noun phrases, i.e. arguments, such as Subject, Object, Recipient, other grammatical relations: instrument, location, goal, source, etc.

This ccan/should be linked to section on postpositions.

## 12. Clause combinations

Here we address the various instances of *ngga(no)* ‘that-to/at’ = ‘then’, *go* ‘GIVEN’, and so on.