

# The verb phrase in Kemtuik

## 0. Introduction

The first impression one gets, hearing and analyzing texts in the Kemtuik language, is very dependent on the type of discourse that one is reading. Some texts give the impression that at one is dealing with a rather simple clause and phrase structure; but other texts reveal a quite differentiated verb phrase structure. There are simple, bare, and fully inflected verbs. In order to understand this, we will explore texts occurring in different kinds of discourse. If one takes e.g. a narrative versus explanatory or descriptive discourse, a clear picture will show up immediately. Explanatory and descriptive discourses (rule giving, customs, letters, reports, etc.) shows mainly bare structure, with only once in a while an inflected verb structure, and on the other side narrative discourse with a lot of interaction exploits a total range of simple, bare and fully inflected verbs<sup>1</sup>. Rule-giving, customs, (*‘How we do things in Kemtuik’*), but also e.g. letters do not need the inflected verbs (or very incidental), while tales with a lot action and daily speech, use these inflected forms regularly. As we will point out later, ‘actualization’, ‘details’ / ‘coloring’ of the text cause the difference in use between bare and inflected verbs. As an illustration, two examples using bare verb roots:

|              |           |               |            |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|------------|
| <i>Nemot</i> | <i>mo</i> | <i>klong.</i> | ‘He left.’ |
| 3SG          | PAST      | go            |            |

|              |              |            |         |
|--------------|--------------|------------|---------|
| <i>Genam</i> | <i>klong</i> | <i>so.</i> | ‘I go.’ |
| 1SG          | go           | des.       |         |

And a more complex structure, in which the verb is inflected by a string of suffixes:

|                |            |                    |                         |
|----------------|------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Motnang</i> | <i>mea</i> | <i>pen-kle-lo.</i> | ‘You (both) will talk.’ |
| 2PL            | will       | talk-pl-FT.2P      |                         |

## 1. Basic Verb Phrase

### 1.1 Definition

The verb phrase in Kemtuik is defined as the verb, not obligatory preceded by adverbials, and preceded and followed by a number of affixes and particles which specify the number, person, gender, tense, aspect, mood and direction of the predication. We will refer to these elements as pre- and post-auxiliary morphemes. However, within the post-auxiliary morphemes there is a special group that will be called ‘Detail Adjunct’ (DET ADJ).

### 1.2 Example of Basic Verb Phrases

Differentiation in style shows up in any language, but in Kemtuik the difference between hardly inflected and fully inflected texts in VP-structure is quite remarkable, since some type of texts show up mainly bare verbal forms, while other type of discourse offers us a wide phenomena of inflected verbs. In fact, focusing on explanatory texts first will provide us with a basic VP-structure, using mainly bare verb roots, followed by a restricted number of pre-

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<sup>1</sup> These types of discourse carry their own names in Kemtuik. Explanatory discourse contains *demu nebut* (‘stone-talk’) or *nebut drom / mang* (‘talk-advice’); *nebutpen* (‘instructions’) And narrative discourse on the other side, *mam nebut* (inspiring talk; ‘tales’), *ku nebut* (origin information).

and post auxiliaries. In a second stage we will focus on narrative texts that because of actualization need a lot of detailed information.

But ‘simple’ use of verbs will be discussed first. The following text is an example about Kemtuik marriage customs.<sup>2</sup> Analyzing this provides us with a list of basic features of the verb phrase (NB: in this paper verb phrases are printed in red; points of interest in blue).

### *Kabung drang sogo nebut*

Woman brideprice purpose talk  
‘Story about brideprices.’

*At nggeasui go sedue go nglangin ey kabung go nglangin ey tegu so.*

I now fact. man poss. father with woman poss. father with meet des.

‘I am going to meet with the father of the husband (lit. man) and the father of the bride (lit. woman).’

*Kabung denok nemot go unen sedue go yap no mea weng.*

Woman child she pos mother man poss. house dir. will come

‘The mother of the bride will come to the house of the man.’

*“At go duo go kunala duduung, mot go duo no.” (equative clause)*

1p.sg. poss. child poss. wish, 2psg. poss. child dir.

‘The wish of my child is towards your son.’

*Ngganemot kalik pu go, nglangin nemot go danon go taut mea idok.*

that like say fact., father he poss. boy poss. goods will pick up

‘That being said, the father of the man will pick up the bride price of the his son.’

*Unen ey nglangin ey go lo drang nggenemot mea idok:*

Mother with father with fact instr.. valuables this will collect

‘Mother and father will collect these valuables.’

*wada taidi; yawang taidi; teguo taidi; nggano ngoy seglue namon.*

stone axe five; (yellow) beads five; (blue) beads five; and (black) beads two

‘Five stone axes; five yellow beads, five blue beads and two black beads.’

*Ngganemot no, nebut mea pu:*

that cont.time, talk will say

‘Following that (he) will say:

*“Mot usu se trok, genam usu mea trok, walop semu genang.”*

You garden must pull out, I garden will pull out, celebration prepare in order to

‘You and I should get food from the garden for the ceremony.’

*Ngganemot no sikabung sedue go sik sogo mea klong, kabung go yakena no.*

that being so dir. people man poss. originating from will go, woman poss. village dir.

‘Following that, the people of the man’s (village) will go to the village of the woman (bride).’

*Ngganemot no ten way-way mea de-dam.*

that being so dir. food each other will rep. eat

‘And than (they) will eat together.’

*Way-way dam go, nemot go taiti, nemot go andua-andua no mea iti.*

each other eat fact., 3psg. poss. gift, 3psg. poss. friends dir.will give

‘Having eaten together, he (=the boy’s father) will give gifts to his friends.’

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<sup>2</sup> For additional texts with ‘simple’ verbs see the attachment of this paper.

*Andua-andua ten keba yam so ta go.*  
friends food stringbag complete set ready fact.  
'The party (of the bride) will set-out all the strings with food.'

*Nemot go sedue trang nemot lo keba nemu mea u-wet.*  
3psg poss. man eldest 3p. subj.m. stringbag eye will rep. search  
'Their leader will carefully check the stringbags.'

*Menay tang kangok go, yam so yam tui go, yam, ngganemot no keba mea glung.*  
animal origin large fact. complete, measure fact. finish that OK dir.stringbag will hang  
'When meat originated from big cattle is carefully counted, the stringbags will be taken up (= deal is accepted).'

*Kabung woy ku no li go-no, ngga-no wip mea dok.*  
Woman sun earth go down fact.-dir. that-dir. skirt will tie up  
'When the girl has bowed down to the sun, then the skirt will be put on.'

*Kabung ngga wip so dok go, nemot nogo drang banom so mea iti:*  
woman that skirt spec. tie fact. 3psg. dir.fact. brideprice self spec. m.will give  
'The woman that put on the skirt, will receive a wedding gift herself.'

*teguo ey wada ey, kabung wip so dok go nogo drang.*  
green beads with stone axe(s) with, woman skirt spec.tie-up fact dir.fact wedding gift  
'Green beads and stone axes, the wedding gift for the woman that puts on the skirt.'

*Amblekeba kabung ngganemot go-a mea iti; ngge kabung dok tap.*  
Clothes woman that fact.-focus will give this woman tie-up (=marry) way  
'That woman will give the clothes; that is the way a girl is married.'

*Nggeasui go keba glung go, yakena no mea u-weng.*  
now fact stringbag hang on fact, village dir. will cont.come  
'Now the bag being tied up, will come to the (husbands) village.'

*Nggano nebut ngge kalik so mea pu: mot utep go sisua daguit-a se idok.*  
then talk this like spec. will say: you tomorrow fact. betelnut-focus must pick-up (more than one)  
'Then talk like this will be said: tomorrow you must collect betelnuts.'

*Napu go genamnang kabung /wawi go/, /gemang mea klong, kabung itak sogo.*  
day after tomorrow fact. we (excl.) woman take fact., event-there will go, woman leave behind purpose  
'The next day we will take the girl and be on our way to leave the girl behind.'

*Kabung ngganemot wawi go klong genang sogo,*  
girl that take fact go planning purpose,  
'In order to take the girl and go (escort)'

*nemot go nglangin nogo wada klaya ngoy klaya mea iti*  
3<sup>rd</sup> ps.sg. poss. father to axe one blue beadstring one will give  
'her father will be given one stone axe and one beadstring, '

*nemot ta taling genang, nemot go nglangin logo taiti.*  
3<sup>rd</sup> ps. sg. hand show in order, 3<sup>rd</sup> ps.sg. father instr. fact will give.  
'to show him regards, that is a gift from his (the boy's) father.'

*Ngge tap lo i-itak go kabung.*  
this road instr. rep.leave fact. girl  
'In this way girls are married out.'

*Ngganemot no nevo ta lo pong go, yakena nevo,*  
 That so dir.pig hand instr. look after fact. village pig  
 ‘Then a domesticated pig from the village,’

*nemot /mea dok go, usre ey ko-klong, sedue go yakena no mea pla.*  
 3psg. will tie up dans with cont. go, man poss. village dir. will present  
 ‘he will take (this) and dancing while going, present this as a gift to the village of the man.’

*Ngganemot sedue nemot go demanon lo ngoy wada ta no iti go,*  
 then man he poss. sister instr. beads stone axe hand dir. take fact.,  
 ‘Then the sister of the man (groom) after being given the beads and axe in her hands’

*mea i-igot usre ey.*  
 will cont. play around and dance  
 ‘will play around with dances.’

### 1.3 Discussion

If we just note the different occurrences of the VP (added with information from a couple of other stories and letters), we get the following possibilities:

|                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>mea + VR.</i>         | <i>Negui walop nang sogo so mea pu: ...</i><br>drum feast purp. spec.fact. int. <b>will call</b><br>‘In order to use the drum at the feast, will be called: ...’<br><i>Nemot lo keba nemu mea u-wet.</i><br>3 <sup>rd</sup> ps instr. stringbag eye <b>will rep. seek</b><br>‘He will inspect all stringbags.’                                                                                                          |
| <i>mea kua + VR.</i>     | <i>Negui tebadali go mea kua kluing.</i><br>drum invain fact. <b>will not</b> sound.<br>‘The drum will not be beaten without a purpose.’                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>mea yakua + VR</i>    | <i>Salam bata so-go-a mea yakua pung.</i><br>salam-tree wide spec-fact-focus <b>will possible not</b> appear<br>‘A ‘salam-tree’ with a wide trunk, will not appear.’                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>mea + VR go +VR</i>   | <i>Imot go way mea klong go pla.</i><br>1 <sup>st</sup> ps.pl. incl. poss. turn <b>will go fact celebrate</b><br>‘We will go and celebrate on our turn.’                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>se +VR</i>            | <i>“Mot usu /se trok/, genam usu /mea trok/, walop /semu genang/.”</i><br>You garden <b>must pull out</b> , I garden <b>will pull out</b> , celebration <b>prepare in order to</b><br>‘You and I should get food from the garden for the ceremony.’                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>gemang + mea + VR</i> | <i>Genam nang kabung wawi go, /gemang mea klong.</i><br>1 <sup>st</sup> ps. pl. woman take fact <b>in a state of</b> will go<br>‘We (excl.) having taken the woman with us, will be on our way.’                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>gemang</i>            | <i>Aip ey Meykali eygo-a gemang, ngganemot kalik so lemoy go.</i><br>Aip with Meikali-with-fact. focus event that like spec. happen fact.<br>‘If the villages Aip and Meikali are together, the same will happen.’                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>gabe (be)</i>         | <i>Ku ngge no imot namon yakena tasam semu genang gabe</i><br>day this dir. we two village deed carry out for <b>event here</b><br>‘On this day we will hold this village celebration.’<br><i>Ngganemot so pu go be: “....”</i><br>This spec. say fact event here<br>‘This is what we say: ‘....’<br><i>Yam so gabe mo semu!</i><br>complete <b>event here completed</b> carry out<br>‘Everything here is carried out!’ |
| <i>VR + go</i>           | <i>Kabung ngganemot /wawi go, klong genang sogo.</i><br>girl that take <b>fact</b> go in order to spec.fact,<br>‘In order to take the girl and go (escort)’                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

|                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| VR + genang             | <i>Ku ngge no imot namon yakena tasam semu <b>genang</b>, gabe.</i><br>day this to we two village deed carry out <b>for</b> be in a situation<br>'On this day we two will hold this village celebration.'                                                                   |
| VR + sogo               | <i>Genamnang kabung wawi go, gemang mea klong, kabung itak <b>so-go</b>.</i><br>we (excl.) woman take fact., event there will go woman leave <b>purpose</b><br>'We will take the girl and be on our way to leave the girl with you.'                                        |
| VR + so                 | <i>At nggeasui go sedue go nglangin ey tegu <b>so</b>.</i><br>I now fact man poss. father with meet <b>desiderate</b><br>'I am going to meet with the father of the husband.'                                                                                               |
| mo + VR                 | <i>'... di srang blo no <b>mo</b> <b>pu</b> go.'</i><br>tree root above dir. completed talk fact.<br>'..what is said in secret.'                                                                                                                                            |
| mo + VR + mo            | <i>'Ngganemot <b>mo</b> <b>kenong mo</b>, mea tuet.</i><br>that completed fall <b>possibility</b> , will bury.<br>'If that falls down, it will be buried.'                                                                                                                  |
| mo + VR + ne            | <i>Nggano ayanang tandali Belanda no <b>mo</b> <b>klong ne</b>, ...</i><br>and father pl. again Netherlands dir. completed go if not<br>'If you and your family <b>would not have gone</b> to the Netherlands, ...                                                          |
| mane + VR (or: mang ne) | <i>Mesam lo sedue ngge yay suing go, nemot lo kiki so <b>mane</b> <b>ya dam</b>.</i><br>mesam instr. man this care stay fact, 3 <sup>rd</sup> ps.sg. instr. green spec. should not im.fut eat<br>'If Mesam takes care for this man, she will not just eat till she vomits.' |
| mamo (or: mang mo)      | <i>Mang mo kalik, genam kua senong.</i><br>exist poss. like saya tidak mengerti.<br>'Possibly, I don't understand'                                                                                                                                                          |
| pla + VR                | <i>Mot lo <b>pla</b> <b>but-a</b>!</i><br>you instr. please kill-focus<br>'Please go ahead and kill it!'                                                                                                                                                                    |
| na + VR                 | <i>Mot <b>na</b> klong go sogo, ....</i><br>2 <sup>nd</sup> ps. sg. warning go fact desiderative-fact (=planning)<br>If you are planning to go that way, then .... ( <b>warning</b> )                                                                                       |
| nase + VR               | <i>Negui walop nang sogo so mea pu: "Denok negui <b>nase klong tutuo</b>!"</i><br>drum festivity purpose des-fact spec. will call: young men drum must go cut wood<br>'To have a drum for the feast, it will be called: 'Boys <b>must</b> go, cut wood for drums.'          |
| ba                      | <i>Ngge <b>ba</b>, iti-a</i><br>this come, take-focus<br>'Please (come here), take this.'                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| ba + VR                 | <i>Nemot lo <b>ba</b> <b>but</b>?</i><br>3 <sup>rd</sup> ps.sg. instr. <b>surprise</b> kill<br>'Did he kill it?'                                                                                                                                                            |

#### 1.4 Conclusion

If we look at the overall picture of this Basic Verb Phrase, we notice:

- a high number of bare verb roots;
- a dominant notion of this sentence structure: 'if this is done, that happens';
- roots preceded by *go* (indicating a fact to be used for further action), *mea* (action will be completed), *mo* (action was completed), or *gabe* / *gemang* (action is being in process);
- quite number of modal varieties gives special flavor to the text and offer the building stones for inter clausal relationships;
- the verb root structure as such is rather simple.

However, stating this one can easily be mistaken. The meaning of a text, using exclusively simple verb structure, is often hard to grasp. In fact, a lot of information needs to be drawn from the wider text and context. For instance, it is unclear sometimes if 3<sup>rd</sup> ps. is male or

female, single, dual or plural; and where the place of activity is, and who the referents are. There is no ‘plot’ being built up. On the other hand, these texts with ‘simple’ verb structure provides us with a basic set-up of the Kemtuik verb phrase.

## 2. Basic Verb Phrase

An overview of the basic verb phrase is provided in the following chart<sup>3</sup>.

| ADVERB                          | PRE-AUXILARY       |                                                                                |     | VERB         | POST-AUXILARY  |                          |                                                            |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|--------------|----------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                 | EVENT              | MODAL                                                                          | NEG | CONTINUATION | VERB ROOT      | INTENSIFIER              | MODAL                                                      |
| ----- > so<br>maning<br>tandali | (ga)be<br>(ge)mang | se<br>na<br>nase<br>ya<br>maya<br>ne<br>mane<br>pla<br>ba<br>mea<br>mo<br>mamo | kua | (c)v         | (c)(c)v(<br>c) | sing<br>dap<br>lak<br>-a | so<br>go<br>sogo<br>ya<br>mo<br>genang<br>ne<br>se<br>sang |

## 3. Adverbials

Adverbials (ADV) are non obligatory and occur Verb Phrase initially. Many of them belong to a special word class followed by *so* (‘specific’). Examples are: *yam so* ‘complete’; *suey so* ‘good’; *kangok so* ‘big, loudly’; *klaya so* ‘oneness, together’; *banom so* ‘on its own’; etc. The utterance *maning* indicating that the event expressed in the verb phrase (sometimes clause) is ‘still ongoing’; completion has not been reached yet. The utterance *tandali* ‘again’ indicates a repetitive action. Some adverbs form in fact a VP in itself.

Consider the following examples:

*Nemot yap ngga suey<sup>4</sup> so mo klik.*

3<sup>rd</sup> ps. house that good spec. already build  
‘He build that house well.’

*Woy so-go, umnali mata so mea pung.*

sun spec.-fact, cane flower many spec. fut. come out  
‘Many cane flowers bloom in the hot season’.

*Lemoy so lemoy go / mea san-yun.*

happen-spec. happen-fact will move towards speaker-ft3pf  
‘She will arrive without a warning.’

*Kota yakena klong-weng so lemoy go be?*

town village go-come spec. happen fact is it?  
Has he become somebody who regularly comes and goes to town?

<sup>3</sup> This chart will not show the Detail Adjunct occurrences of the VP yet.

<sup>4</sup> There are different classes of phonological words that function in different syntactic positions as adverbs, verbs and adjectives, like *suey* ‘good’.

Kua, *maning suey so pu.*  
No *continuation* good spec. say  
'No, (you) haven't said it correctly yet.'

*Maning kabung ngganemot ey nebut so pe-pen, ...*  
Ongoing woman that with talk spec. rep.speak  
'While (he) was still talking to that woman, ....'

Genam *maning koklong.*  
1<sup>st</sup> ps.sg. *progress* rep.go  
I am still going. (focus on action)

*maning so maning*  
*continuing* spec. *continue*  
'eternal'

Yap klik genang di, demu, duoy, naklay *mo?* *Maning?*  
House build in order wood stone money all *completed?* *Continuing?*  
Is the wood, stone and money to build the house complete?

Duo sat nega go *tandali pung go*  
child younger loose fact. *again* arrive fact.  
'How the younger brother arrived again.'

#### 4. Event

The preverbal Auxiliary 'Event' consist of the following two forms:  
*gabe* (in a shortened form: *be*) and *gemang* (in a shortened form: *mang*).  
The same form functions in the VP as : *exist* near speaker (*gabe*) and far from speaker (*gemang*). Both occur in time and space. Combinations can be formed with *mea* (fut., certainty), *ya* (fut., uncertainty); *mo* (past certainty) and *ne* (disproval). Both *gabe* and *gemang* can function as independent verb root. The arrangement 'Event' covers general concepts as: 'in the process of', 'function' 'happen' or 'status'.

Consider the following examples:

- functioning as a pre-auxiliary element in sentences like:

Genamnang kabung wawi go *gemang mea klong.*  
1p.excl. pl. woman take fact. *event there* will go  
'Taking the woman with us, we will be on our way'

Nemot namon lo pu go *yam so gabe mo semu.*  
3<sup>rd</sup> ps. dual instr. ordered fact completely *event here* compl. carry out  
'What they have ordered, we already carried out.'

Nggano tasam-tasam *mata so gemang mo lemoy dali.*  
And incident pl. many spec. *event there* completed happen too  
'And many incidents happened there too.'

- functioning as main verb predication in sentences like:

*Nggenemot so pu go be: nali ngga dali kua go, nali meno iti klong mea tuk.*  
 This spec. order fact. **event this**: bird that ready not fact., bird other take go will kill  
 ‘This is ordered: if there is no bird of paradise ready, another bird must be taken, brought and killed.’  
*Aip ey Meykali ey go-a gemang, ngganemot kalik so lemoy go.*  
 Aip with Meykali with fact.-foc. **event is there**, that like spec. happen fact  
 ‘When the villages Aip and Meykali are together, they will perform in the same way.’

*Ku ngge no imot namon yakena tasam semu genang, gabe.*  
 day this dir.we(incl) two village celebration carry out purpose **event is here**  
 ‘On this day the two villages will hold their village (partnership) celebration.’

*Nemot go konsep genam ba so gabe.*  
 It poss. concept I in spec. **event is here**  
 ‘It’s concept is in myself (heart or thought)’.

*Ngga sedue, nemot go mot so /tetra go, gemang.*  
 that man he poss. order spec. calling fact **event is there**  
 ‘That is the calling (shouting information) to everyone’

## 5. Mood

The modal component of the VP can appear in either of the two elements: PRE -and POST AUX as indicated in the scheme above, and it also occurs in the Detail Adjunct of the Verb, as we will see. Modal components as expression of the speakers’ attitude can be grouped as: ‘volition’, ‘condition’, ‘completion’, ‘state’ focusing on the action or state in the verb. In fact, mood conflates in Kemtuik with concepts as: tense and aspect. To cover this all, we will use the term ‘modality’. Most of the modals in POST AUX position form the basis for inter clausal relationships<sup>5</sup>, focusing in fact more on the whole preceding clause in relation to following clauses than on the verb phrase as such. (See for further discussion over there.) Consider the following figure, where the modal components of the VP are brought together:

### Modal components in Kemtuik Verb Phrase

|                    |                               |                                                                   |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| VOLITION<br>5.1    | <i>ya --- (mang ya; maya)</i> | imperative action                                                 |
|                    | <i>--- ya</i>                 | interrogative action                                              |
|                    | <i>--- so</i>                 | desiderative action                                               |
|                    | <i>yakua ---</i>              | Action is not allowed to happen                                   |
| CONDITION<br>5.2   | <i>ne ---</i>                 | contradiction                                                     |
|                    | <i>-- ne</i>                  | contradiction                                                     |
|                    | <i>--- mo</i>                 | (uncertain) conditioning                                          |
|                    | <i>mang mo (mamo)---</i>      |                                                                   |
|                    | <i>pla –</i>                  | permission for action                                             |
|                    | <i>--- genang</i>             | purpose of action                                                 |
|                    | <i>(na)se— --se</i>           | (necessary) condition                                             |
|                    | <i>na ---</i>                 | certainty of result of action                                     |
|                    | <i>sang---</i>                | unfortunately                                                     |
|                    | <i>--- sang</i>               |                                                                   |
| EXPECTATION<br>5.3 | <i>mea ---</i>                | Certainty what is going to happen or not                          |
|                    | <i>mea kua ---</i>            | to                                                                |
| COMPLETION<br>5.4  | <i>mo---</i>                  | Completed action                                                  |
|                    | <i>maning</i>                 | Not yet completed action                                          |
|                    | <i>--- go</i>                 | Reference to completed action with possible upcoming consequences |

#### 5.1 Volition

<sup>5</sup> See for an overview the chapter on inter clausal relationships.

The volitional forms involve features as ‘necessity’, ‘imperative’, ‘interrogative’, ‘planning’ and ‘desiderative’. In contrast with se the mild imperative interrogative ....ya occurs, and is to be distinguished from the other mild command ya....

Notice the following examples:

*At nggeasui go sedue go nglangin ey kabung go nglangin ey tegu so.*

I now poss. man poss. father with woman poss. father with meet desiderate  
‘I am going to meet with the father of man (groom) and the woman (bride).’

*Kabung ngganemot wawi go, klong genang so.*

woman that take fact. go purpose desiderate  
‘(We), taking the woman with us, will be on our way.’

*Klong ya!*

go mild imperative  
‘Go on!’

*Genam ya klong?*

1pg. uncertain go  
‘Can I go?’

*Ngga ya kua lemoy.*

that fut. neg. happen  
‘It is impossible that it will happen.’

## 5.2 Condition

The conviction that certain action is either ‘impossibility’, ‘not wishful’, ‘permitted’, ‘purpose’, ‘necessary’ or ‘contrary’ are brought together under the umbrella of ‘condition’. *Se* can mean either ‘necessary action’ in active constructions or ‘fatal action’ in passive ones.

Notice the following examples:

*Sogo so mot ngge sono ne weng?*

why des. 2psg here spec.dir. contradiction come  
‘On the contrary, why are you not coming here?’

*Namon so pu go, nangglik ey ne iti.*

two spec. order fact, three with contradiction give  
‘He ordered two, instead he was given three.’

*Nemot lo kiki so ma-ne ya dam.* (mane = mang ne = gemang ne)

3<sup>rd</sup> ps.sg. instr. green spec. event-contradiction should im.fut eat  
‘She will not be in the situation to eat till vomiting.’

*No, genam ngge, nando go senun ne?*

contrast, I here who poss. wife contradiction  
‘But, if that is so, of whom am I here the (legitimate) wife?’

*Mot lo pla but-a!*

you instr. permission kill-focus  
‘Please, you kill it!’

*Ku ngge no imot namon yakena tasam semu genang, gabe.*

day this dir. we two village ceremony carry out in order to event here  
‘On this day we are together to plan the village celebration.’

Mot        *se*        *klong!*  
2<sup>nd</sup> ps. sg. *necessity* go  
'You must go!'

Ku yam so        *se*        *ki-klik*, ....  
day completely *necessity* rep. darken  
'When it had become complete dark, ...'

Ye! Genam go kabung bu no suing go *se*.  
Ay! 1<sup>st</sup> ps. sg. poss. woman water to stay fact *fatal*  
'Ay! My wife has drowned.'

Lema lo som gono, kekay so bu no *se gluik-nawon*.  
snake intr. wrap fact cont., all at once water to *fatal* draw  
'Wrapped by the snake, she was drawn all at once into the water.'

Denok ngganemot dabui ba suali *se tra-ton*.  
child that heart in afraid *fatal* feel-pt-3ps  
'That child felt afraid in his heart.'

*Mang mo(mamo)* kalik, genam kua senong.  
event unsure like I not know  
'If that is clear, I do not understand'

Mot        *na*        *klong go sogo*, ....  
2<sup>nd</sup> ps. sg. *cause* go fact desiderative-fact (=planning)  
'If you are planning to go that way, then ....' (*warning*)

... ntaton kebong go tete sogo duo *na tui*.  
brother die fact poss. int. fact child *cause* give birth  
'... to cause the birth of a 'back-up' child to (his) dead brother.'

Negui walop nang so-go-so mea pu, denok negui *na-se klong* // *tutuo*.  
drum celebration purpose spec-fact-des. will called, young men drum *must* go rep.cut  
'Young men will be ordered to cut a drum for the festivities.'

### 5.3 Expectation

'Expectation' comes out in Kemtuik (not so surprisingly) with heavy overtones of 'futurity' which result in the tendency to view it as 'tense'. But looking at the total discourse in which *mea* and *mo* occur, it is more like to be 'mode' than 'tense'. For instance, in the text above (about 'Bride prices') *mea* indicates the 'proper steps' that need to be taken in an exchange of bride price. I view *mea* as 'a strong expectation / necessity to happen in the future;

Consider the following examples:

Genam wadi so ngge lo *mea srek*.  
I night spec. here gen. will sleep  
'I (certainly) will sleep here the coming night (= not other nights).'

Utep so genam tandali *mea klong*.  
Tomorrow des. I again will go.  
'I (certainly) will go again tomorrow.'

Compare these examples (*mea* versus *genang*; *gemang*; *so*)

Nggeasui # genam tandali *mea klong*.  
today I again will go  
'Today I will go again.'

*Utep go genam tandali klong genang.*  
 Tomorrow fact. I again go planning  
 'I am planning to go tomorrow.'

*Ngga utep nemotnang tandali gemang klong.*  
 that next day they again event go  
 'The next day they left again.'

*Nggeasui go genam tandali klong so.*  
 today fact I again go desiderate  
 'I want to go now.'  
*Tebadali go walop mea kua iti.*  
 in vain fact. festivity will not give (strong argument).  
 'Without purpose a celebration will not be given.'

*Genam go dabui ba no-go yakay kangok so mea tra.*  
 1<sup>st</sup> ps. sg. poss heart in to-fact happiness big spec. will feel  
 'I -for sure- will feel great happiness in my heart.'

#### 5.4 Completion

I consider *mo* as a mode expressing 'completed action' rather than 'past tense'. And *go* (factual) as a reference to completed action with upcoming consequences, to be expressed in the following main verb (or even by the events in a discourse, as in a title).

*Genam wadi go ngge lo mo sreks.*  
 I night fact here gen. completed. sleep  
 'I have slept here last night (the whole night > completed action)'

*Wadi genam lo lema masi lo mo but.*  
 night I instr. snake foot instr. completed. kill  
 'Last night I killed a snake with my foot.'

*Nggano tasam-tasam mata so gemang mo lemoy dali.*  
 And incidents many exist completed action also  
 'And many incidents have happened also.'

*Kabung ngganemot /wawi go, klong genang sogo.*  
 girl that take fact go in order to purpose,  
 'In order to take the girl and go (escort)'

*Duo sat nega go tandali pung go*  
 child younger loose fact. again arrive fact.  
 'How the younger brother arrived again.' (= title)

#### 6. Negation

Negation in the VP is a special enough topic to be given separate status from modality. Note that negation signaled by *kua* appears directly preceding the verb root ahead of several other MODAL and EVENT forms, e.g. 'gabe', 'gemang', 'ya' and 'mea', or follows others like 'mo'. It can follow *maning* 'continuing'. The negation *kua* can also occur like several other PRE AUX, as an independent verb root. Negation may be supported by POST AUX -sre-, expressing the result of the negative activity<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> See the discussion of modals in POST AUX

Consider the following examples:

*Genam moyso, ya kua klong!*  
I not willing imm. fut. neg. go  
'I don't want to go!'

*Genam mo klong, nemot kua klong.*  
I completed action go he did not go  
'I went', but he did not go.'

*Genam mea kua klong.*  
I certainty neg. go  
'I def. will not go'.

*Genam maning kua klong.*  
I continuing not go  
'I have not gone yet.'

## 7. Verb Root

The verb root has a few specialties:

7.1 The verb root can indicate 'repetition' by copying the preceding the initial consonant and vowel of the root, like this: CV.C(C)V(C) e.g. ko-klong 'going' or in the case of a vowel verb initially, the first vowel will be repeated, like this: V.V(C)(V) e.g. i-iti 'giving, taking'<sup>7</sup>.

7.2 Many verbs belong to a word class that also can function as adjective, adverb, modal or negation<sup>8</sup>.

7.3 A verb phrase may have two different roots with related additional meaning, like:

*Kota yakena klong-weng so lemoy go, be?*  
town village go come spec. happen fact is it?  
*Has he become somebody who comes and goes to town?*

*Kabung ngga, sedue lo iti-itak go lo mo mlay.*  
woman that man intr. take-leave fact-intr. already used to  
'That girl has a reputation of different relationships'.

*Duen sedue meduim-a li-klak go.*  
Bush people hill-focus go down-go up fact  
Highland people are always going up and down the mountains.

*Ngga, put ba lo kerlam so nemotnamon mea kapot-dak.*  
that, hole in instr. together spec. they two will fall-collaps  
'If that is so, they will fall down together in the hole.'  
*Mot go taut ba iti!*  
you poss. possessions come take  
'Come here and take your possessions!'

7.4 A verb root can be followed by an intensifier:  
The following forms have been noted:

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<sup>7</sup> See for more detailed discussion the section on Phonology.

<sup>8</sup> See for examples at the chapters on Adjectives, Adverbials, Modals and Negation.

- *sing*            each one
- *lak*            everyone as a group
- *dap*            end of proces
- *a*              focus<sup>9</sup>

Consider the following examples:

*Sipsuing sey sing!*  
 chair    cover *one by one*  
 ‘Cover each chair!’

*Ngga ey, Waling debui go temoy, lema lo don so bung go, gemang wasey-sing.*  
 that with, Waling girl    poss. body snake instr. bone spec. brake fact action devide *in pieces*  
 ‘Then the bones of Waling’s body were devided into pieces by the snake.’

*Wengkabui lo koybutasemu temu mot go, gemang nenawon-lak dali.*  
 Headman instr. servant        other order fact, proces    on their way-*all* also  
 ‘The headman ordered another group of servants to go all as well.’

*E...danon nemot yam so kangok- dap ng-am go.*  
 Till child he        completely big *finish proces* remote past-3psm fact.  
 ‘till the child had grown up completely/ or: had become mature.’

Notice the difference between *dap* and *-a*:

*Genam pen dap t-u go.*  
 I        speak *finished proces* pr.t.-1ps fact  
 ‘This is *all* what I have to say.’ (focus on the total speech)

*Genam nebut pen-a tu go*  
 I        speech talk *focus* pr.t. 1p fact  
 ‘*This* speech is what I have to say.’ (focus on a specific item)

Notice also the difference between *dap* and *#*

*Imot kua ikum dap i<sup>10</sup> sre w on.*  
 we incl not see *proces* pl. no result pr.t.-3psm  
 ‘We have searched around but not see anything.’

*Imot kua ikum ### e sre w on.*  
 we incl. not see *###* pl. no result pr.t.-3psm  
 ‘We have not seen it.’ (Focus is on the result)

## 8. Fully inflected verbs

### 8.1 Introduction

As being stated in chapter 1 some discourse types do not need fully inflection of the verb. The events are then expressed mainly as bare verbs. But moving on to other kinds of discourse, e.g. narrative, we see immediately quite a differentiation of handling events in verbal structure. Look for instance at the verb structures as they occur in the beginning of the tale ‘Dame Idam’. After an introduction using ‘bare’ verbs (*red*) (section 1-3), the ‘plot’ of the

<sup>9</sup> Focus –a occurs elsewhere in the clause as well and also inside the Verb Detail Adjunct

<sup>10</sup> The occurrence of *i* (plural marker) is quite special. So far, only *e* has found in the same slots.

story will be introduced with fully inflected verbs (section 4 >). That is where the action starts (blue):

## 8.2 The story of Dame Idam (line 1-12)

Dame 001

*Dame Idam, nemot go unen ey nglangin ey usu no mo klong.*

Dame Idam he (poss) mother with father with garden dir. completed go

Dame Idam's mother and father have gone to the garden.

Dame 002

*Dame Idam, nemot banom yap no itak go.*

Dame Idam he alone house dir. leave fact

They left Dame Idam alone in the house.

Dame 003

*Wabedong Dame Idam go andua\_andua ey isuo ple so tu-tuk gono,*  
midday Dame Idam (poss) friends with wild\_citrous\_fruit bow spec. rep.-throw fact-cont.

At midday, when Dame Idam was shooting a citrus fruit with his friends,

*Dame Idam, nemot go ngoydan ey nglangin lo nemot no iti go,*  
Dame Idam he (poss) beads\_(blue) thread with father instr. he to give fact  
the string for the beads, which his father had given him

*kabung nang so- go gemang tong.*  
wife purp. des.-fact in\_a\_state\_of cut  
to get a wife, broke.

=====

Dame 004

*Wabedong go kamso wet-a-ton, kua ikum- sre-won.*  
midday fact unsuccessfully look\_for -focus-ptsit-3s. male/not see-neg.- ptsingle-3s.male  
Midday he looked without success and did not find them.

Dame 005

*Dame Idam ngganemot suali go, yap ba so got-ton.*  
Dame Idam that afraid fact, house in spec. stay-ptdur-3sm  
Dame Idam being afraid, stayed in the house.

Dame 006

Use Dame Idam, nemot go nglangin ey unen ey  
late\_afternoon Dame Idam he (poss) father with mother with  
Late afternoon, Dame Idam's parents ked

*usu sik sogo pung go, ten semu go,*  
garden spec.-fact arrive fact food make fact,  
arrived from the garden and cooked the meal,

*nggano demanon betedon nemot pu so gemang be-tun, pu go.*  
then sister brother he tell des. event there down-pt-3sf tell fact  
and told his sister to go down and call her brother.

Dame 007

*Nggano betedon lo pu go: motnang-a klong-dam-a*  
then brother instr. say fact: you pl.-focus go eat-focus  
Then (her) brother said, 'You there go ahead and eat!'

*Genam sadui ey go ten ya kua dam.*  
I sickness with fact food will not eat  
I am sick and will not eat.'

Dame 008

*Demanon tandali weng go, nglangin ey unen ey pu goso,*  
sister again come fact father with mother with say fact-desiderative  
The sister came back again, (but) because she was ordered by her father and mother,

*demanon tandali betedon pu so / gemang be-tun.*  
sister again brother say int. / event go\_down-pt.3sf.  
the sister went down again to her brother.'

*Betedon lo ngga kalik so gemang pu-na-won dali,*  
brother instr. that like spec. event there say-dir-ptfact again,  
He answered like that too,

*'Genam ten ya kua dam'.*  
I food will not eat  
'I will not eat'.

Dame 009

*Unen ey nglangin ey pu gono: mesip sogo, ten-a ya dam-yan?*  
mother with father with say fact.cont. afterwards food focus question eat-ft-3sm.  
The parents answered, 'Will he eat afterwards then?'

Dame 010

*Demanon lo betedon nemot degu so klong go taidi yam so*  
sister instr. brother he room sit. go fact 'a fist full'  
The sister went to her brother's room five times.

Dame 011

*Taidi tete be-tun gono*  
five time go\_down-pt3sf fact cont.  
After she had gone for the fifth time,

*Dame Idam lo demanon nemot gemang but-ba-won gono,*  
Dame Idam instr. sister she event hit from low to high fact cont.  
Dame Idam hit his sister

*ngge kalik so gemang pen-ba-won demanon no:*  
this like spec. (event\_mark) say from low to high-pt.3sm sister to  
(and) said this to his sister,

*mot nando deguo lo pu goso, ten senang so uweng, genam ten mo(-i-) so- go.*  
you who news instr. say fact-int. food continuous spec. rep.come I food compl. int. fact  
'Who is ordering you to come here with news of food? I do not want to eat!'

Dame 012

*'Genam go ngoy kabung nang so go aya lo iti go mo tong-a-tun,*  
I (poss) beads wife purp. int. factfather father instr. give fact compl.action cut-focus-pt.3f  
My string of beads, that my father gave me to get a wife, has broken

*isuo ple so tu-tuk gono.'*  
wild\_citrous\_bow int. rep.throw fact-cont.  
when shooting jeruks with my bow.

### 8.3 Discussion

Besides the bare verb roots, several occasions of fully inflected verbs occur as well, with elements like number, mode, directional, tense/aspect, person and gender. They are grouped together in what we will call: Detail Adjunct (DET ADJ). Since the DET ADJ in the verb

phrase uses somewhat different forms according to its position, they form a special group amongst the other auxiliaries. That position is:

- a) Independently of the root
- b) An elaboration of the root.

The following scheme shows the occurrences of the DET ADJ

|              |                      | Detail Adjunct |                                                    |                                                                  |
|--------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
|              | any verbal predicate |                | motion predicate                                   |                                                                  |
|              |                      |                |                                                    |                                                                  |
| adjunct      | non-adjunct          |                | adjunct                                            | non-adjunct                                                      |
|              |                      |                |                                                    |                                                                  |
| root+adjunct | root                 |                | adjunct alone<br>(motion away)<br>(motion towards) | <i>klong</i><br>(motion away)<br><i>weng</i><br>(motion towards) |
| (1)          | (2)                  |                | (3)                                                | (4)                                                              |

Each of these four possibilities is illustrated as follows:

- (1) *Wabedong go kamso wet-a-ton, kua ikum-sre-won.*  
midday fact unsuccessfully look\_for -focus-ptsit-3s. male not see-neg.- ptfact-3s.male  
'Midday he looked without success and did not find them.'
- (2) *Genam ten dam so.*  
I food eat desiderative  
'I am going to eat.'
- (3) *Taidi tete be-tun gono, ....*  
five time directional-pt-3pf fact cont.  
'After she went for the fifth time, .....
- 4) *Demanon lo betedon nemot degu so klong go taidi yam so*  
sister instr. brother he room sit. go fact 'a fist full'  
'The sister went to her brother's room five times.'

Note that if the adjunct occurs alone, it carries only a motion meaning. Similarly the very general motion verb *klong* 'go' and *weng* 'come' may function as substitutes for the verb but never take the DET ADJ.

#### 8.4 Overview of the position of the DET ADJ in the fully inflected VP

| ADVERB | PRE-AUXILIARY |       |      | VERB       |              | POST-AUXILIARY |                   |       |
|--------|---------------|-------|------|------------|--------------|----------------|-------------------|-------|
|        | EVENT         | MODAL | NEG. | REPETITION | VERB<br>ROOT | INTENSIFIER    | DETAIL<br>ADJUNCT | MODAL |

8.5 The constituents of the DET ADJ may be summarized as follows:

#### DETAIL ADJUNCT

| Plural | Mood | Duration | Direction | Tense / Aspect | Person / Gender |
|--------|------|----------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|
|--------|------|----------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|

### 9. Plural Markers

9.1 Plurality in Kemtuik can be expressed in different ways. A non-obligatory plural marker can be added on to the subject (e.g. *nemot-nang* ‘3<sup>rd</sup> ps plural’; *klaya, namon*, etc. ‘one’, ‘two’, etc). ;

Consider these examples:

*Duo namon lo gemang usi, “Aya! Bu nago yam so ya?”*  
 child two instr. event ask, father water when finished question  
 The two children asked, “ Father, when will the flood be finished?”

*Nemot-nang go don mata so ngge no glung go be!*  
 3ps-plural poss bone abundantly this dir hang fact event here  
 A lot of their bones are hanging around here!

9.2 Or the other way around: an obligatory plural marker in the verb phrase indicates the kind of plurality of the subject, without mentioning that subject. A third possibility is referring to a singular form of the subject. Consider the examples,

*Tap logo ngga kalik gemang pen-kle-kun-tug-un.*  
 road inst. fact that like event talk-dual-dir-prt-3pf  
 That is what *they two* were discussing under way.

*Nali piam go nebut, sedue ngga go lom ba lo gemang bega-kle-kunton, “...”*  
 spirit bad fact talk *man* that fact mouth in via event shout-dual-dir-prt-3pm  
 ‘Through the mouth of those *two men* it was shouted, “....”

9.3 PLURALITY in the DET ADJ of the verb concords with PERSON. First, second and third person singular are added with *-namon / nang* to form plurality. The one exception is 1<sup>st</sup>ps. dual / plural inclusive (*imot / imot-namon / imot-nang*). This form follows the 3<sup>rd</sup>ps sg form of Person. Consider the following example:

*Imotnamon duen ba lo mea sreke-me-na-yon.*  
 we two bush in somewhere will sleep-dual-dir-ft-3pm  
 ‘We two will sleep somewhere in the bush.’

9.4 There seems to have been two classes of plural markers,

- (a) independently of the root (as DET ADJ only)
- (b) with the root ( Root + DET ADJ)

In the past (1976) these two active systems were then recorded as follows:

- (a) independent of the root

| Person                                             | Dual ( <i>namon</i> )                       | Plural ( <i>nang</i> )                   |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| First person excl. (1-2+3)<br><i>genam/ at 'I'</i> | <i>ke</i><br>( <i>genamnamon /atnamon</i> ) | <i>i</i><br>( <i>genamnang/ atnang</i> ) |
| Second person<br><i>mot 'you'</i>                  | <i>ke</i><br>( <i>motnamon</i> )            | <i>ke</i><br>( <i>motnang</i> )          |
| Third person<br><i>nemot 'he', 'she', 'it'</i>     | <i>ke</i><br>( <i>nemotnamon</i> )          | <i>ne</i><br>( <i>nemotnang</i> )        |
| First person incl. (1+2-3)<br><i>imot 'we'</i>     | <i>m</i><br>( <i>imotnamon</i> )            | <i>i</i><br>( <i>imotnang</i> )          |

(b) with the root

| Person                                             | Dual ( <i>namon</i> )                        | Plural ( <i>nang</i> )                   |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| First person excl. (1-2+3)<br><i>genam/ at 'I'</i> | <i>kle</i><br>( <i>genamnamon /atnamon</i> ) | <i>e</i><br>( <i>genamnang/ atnang</i> ) |
| Second person<br><i>mot 'you'</i>                  | <i>kle</i><br>( <i>motnamon</i> )            | <i>kle</i><br>( <i>motnang</i> )         |
| Third person<br><i>nemot 'he', 'she', 'it'</i>     | <i>ke/ kle</i><br>( <i>nemotnamon</i> )      | <i>ne</i><br>( <i>nemotnang</i> )        |
| First person incl. (1+2-3)<br><i>imot 'we'</i>     | <i>mle / me</i><br>( <i>imotnamon</i> )      | <i>e</i><br>( <i>imotnang</i> )          |

But it may be that nowadays this difference is getting 'mixed-up'. Actually, only occurrences 3ps of *ke* (DET ADJ only) versus *kle* (ROOT + DET ADJ) are still found abundantly.

Consider the following text in which the blue colored plurals (*ke, kle*) occur:

*Nggano kabung namon, woy susut ip- kle-sa-tun go,*  
and woman two sun set stand-up dual-dir-prt.3pf fact  
'And the two women stood up and walked from the west,

*e ... dun idi lo gemang ke-be-tun go,*  
till ... north side event dual-dir-prt.3pf fact  
'and went all the way via the north (=Mount Cyclops),'

*e ... woy klak no gemang pung-kle-ba-tun.*  
till .sun rise to event arrive dual-dir-prt.3pf.  
'till they arrived in the east.'

*Ngga sik so, negui kukluing go, seguo popong go gemang tup -kle -kun -tun.*  
From there, drum rep. beat fact, music rep.play fact event hear-dual-to them-pt.3pf  
'From there they heard the beating of the drum and playing of music.'

*Nggano gemang ke-san-tun, e ... Dalom no gemang pung.*  
and event dual-dir-pt.3pf, till...Dalom to event arrive  
'and they went overthere, till they arrived in the village Dalom.'

*Nemotnang lo duing go, 'Ngge nago sik sogo sikabung lo seguo pla -ne -t on ?'*  
They instr. think fact, this where from people instr. music play-plural-pt. 3pm.  
'They thought, 'The people who sing, where do they come from?'

The other (actual) occurrences are summarized below  
(shown in concord with their pronouns) in one scheme:

| Person                                             | Dual ( <i>namon</i> )                                 | Plural ( <i>nang</i> )                         |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| First person excl. (1-2+3)<br><i>genam/ at 'I'</i> | <i>ke- / kle</i><br>( <i>genamnamon /atnamon</i> )    | <i>e- (i-)</i><br>( <i>genamnang/ atnang</i> ) |
| Second person<br><i>mot 'you'</i>                  | <i>kle-</i><br>( <i>motnamon</i> )                    | <i>ke- / kle</i><br>( <i>motnang</i> )         |
| Third person<br><i>nemot 'he', 'she', 'it'</i>     | <i>ke<sup>11</sup> / kle</i><br>( <i>nemotnamon</i> ) | <i>ne-</i><br>( <i>nemotnang</i> )             |
| First person incl. (1+2-3)<br><i>imot 'we'</i>     | <i>mle- / me-</i><br>( <i>imotnamon</i> )             | <i>e- (i-)</i><br>( <i>imotnang</i> )          |

Consider also these examples:

*Yakena kungap mang i-ikum; nggano ke-na-tugun.*  
 Village outlook exist rep.see; there to dual-there-ptdur-3pf  
 'We begin to see the outlook of the village'; and they went to there.'

*Sogo kalik go nebut mo tup-kle-to?*  
 what like fact talk already hear-dual/plural-pt-2p  
 'What talk did you two hear?'

*Imotnamon gabe ya kap-mle-yon!*  
 we two event im.fut run away dual-im.fut- 3pm  
 'Let we run away'

*... imotnamon kebleng klik-meyon genang.*  
 ... we two stretcher make-dual-ft-3pm purpose  
 '... in order for us to make a stretcher.'

*Nemotnamon klak-ke<sup>12</sup>-bi-ton go*  
 They two climb-plural-dir-ptdur-3pm fact  
 While they two were climbing, ....'

Compare also these occurrences of *ke* and *kle* in the same context (Woy Idam 058 and 060):

*Nemot namon wop sagoy so leguit-ke-ban-tugun go, demu luk ngganemot no pung go, ...*  
 3p two shrimps torch des. show-dual-return up-ptdur fact, stone hole that dir. arrive fact  
 When the two (girls) were catching shrimps with torches, and they arrived at the stone hole, ....

*Nemot namon ngganemot so kasa-kle-tugun.*  
 They two that spec. search-dual-ptdur3p  
 They start to search that (place with shrimps)

*Imot kua ikum dap i sre won.*  
 we incl not see proses pl. no result pt.3psm  
 'We have searched around but not see anything.'

*Imot kua ikum ### e sre won.*  
 we incl. not see ### pl. no result pr.t-3psm  
 'We have not seen it.' (Focus is on the result)

<sup>11</sup> The choice for *ke*, where *kle* would be expected may be explained by the fact that *ke* is following verbs with a move, coming or going. When it is a case of 'pure coming and going' we would speak of Det Ad. But verbs with a move element like searching and climbing may follow the 'coming and going' application, i.e. *ke* instead of *kle*.

<sup>12</sup> Expected would be: *kle*, but if the above mentioned suggestion is right, the occurrence of *ke* is the rule.

## 10. Mode in Detail Adjunct

There is one form occurring regularly in DET ADJ, very often combined with *kua* (negative). Compare this with the example where *sre* functions as modal in the DET ADJ. Probably, it may be best translated as: event = ‘reality’ or event = ‘no reality’

Consider the following examples:

*Isuali kedong-a dam-sre-tu.*

Cassowary meat-focus eat-real-pt-1p

‘I eat cassowary meat now.’

*Genam no bu wadong-sre-san-to go, gemang mo iti-sre-sa-tu!*

1p dir water ask-real-dir-pt-1p event already give-real-dir.1p

If you had asked me for water, I would have given it

*Sikabung mo senong: ngge imot go deguena, no kua usi-ne-sre-na-won.*

people already know: this 1pl.incl. poss headman but not ask-pl-real-dir-pt.3pm

The people realised: this is our headman, but they did not dare to ask.

*Imot kua ikum-dap-i-sre-won.*

1p pl incl not see-result proces-pl-real-pt-3pm

(After looking around) ‘We have not seen it.’

*Sogo ho goso nemot tang go-lo-go sikabung bu kua tui-sre-na-won?*

Why 3p self fact-instr-fact people water not touch-real-dir-pt-3pm

‘Why are the people not baptized by him self?’

*Dame Idam kim betui ba no itak go, nemot go unennang nglanginnang nogo kua pen-sre-te-ba-tun.*

Dame Idam coconut corral in dir leave fact, 3p poss father pl mother pl to not say-real-dur-dir-pt-3pf

‘The fact that Dame Idam was left behind in a coconut corral, she did not dare to tell to her parents.’

*Nabi sogo, gemang mo senong-sre-won: ngge kamea kabung!*

prophet if, even already know-real-pt-3pm: this prostitute

If he were a prophet, he would have known: this is a prostitute.

## 11. Duration

Duration in the Kemtuik verb phrase can be expressed in several ways, with slightly different meaning. Before analyzing one of those, an overview of all possibilities will be given.

Combinations are possible, while others are exclusive.

- |                                                        |                                             |
|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| a) adverbial duration                                  | > <i>senang so</i> ‘continuing’             |
| b) repetition of the verb root                         | > <i>ko-klong</i> ‘going’                   |
| c) use of marker <i>te</i> in the DET ADJ              | > <i>gemang got-tebawon</i> ‘he is staying’ |
| d) use of duration marking in TENSE                    | > <i>tugu; (tyu); ngu</i> etc.              |
| e) use of <i>no</i> at the beginning/end of the clause | > <i>gono</i> ( <i>no</i> = continuation)   |

Here we will discuss the marker *te* (c). It points to a durative event, providing new or specific information. Consider the following two sentences, taken from the same story, pointing to two different effects of the same event. The first utterance is spoken by the author using a present durative tense; the second one is spoken by a participant in the story, using *te* in combination with general present tense (-w-), explaining the strange behavior of the older brother.

(a) *Ngganemot suali sogo so yap ba so got-ton.*  
 that afraid reason spec. house in spec. stay-ptdur-3pm  
 Because of that he was afraid and stays in the house.

(b) *Ngganemot suali sogo so yap ba so gemang got-te-ba-won.*  
 that afraid reason spec. house in spec. event stay-durative-in-pt-3pm  
 Because of that he was afraid and is staying in the house.

Sometimes *te* is used in combination with *gemang*<sup>13</sup> ‘event over there’ and general present tense, as a special marker noting focus on a durative event in a direct speech, or building up to a climax. (This is in contrast with *gemang* followed by a durative present tense, or with *gemang* followed by a durative in the form of repetition of the verb root, which are more general utterances without special attention.)

*Be-ton go, tap no Yansu kaguit bu so uwata-ne-te-ba-won go, gemang ikum-ba-won.*  
 dir-ptdur-3pm, road dir Yansu girl water spec. rep.bath-pl-dur-pt-3ps fact, event see-dir-pt-3pm  
 ‘Going up, on (his) way he saw girls (from the village) Yansu bathing over there.’

*Kaguit bu so wata-ne-ton go,*  
 girl water spec. bath-pl-ptdur-3p  
 ‘While the girls were bathing,

*muey go kinnemon dop-na-tun lak go,*  
 lizard poss. blood smell-dir-pt-3pf- all-fact  
 and they all smelled the (cooked) blood of a lizard,

*nggano gemang pu-te-na-won, “Mm...muey penggu! Kinnemon-a be! Nago so duik go dam-ne-ton?”*  
 and event say-dur-dir-pt.3p, Mm...green lizard! Smell-focus event here! Where cook fact eat-pl-ptdur-3ps  
 then (they) said, “Mm ... a lizard! What a smell there is! Where precisely having cooked it, they are eating?”

### Compare this use of *gemang* followed by durative present or general present,

*Demanon lo weng go, unen ey nglangin ey gono gemang pen-a-tun, “....”*  
 yg.sister instr. come fact, mother with father with fact dir. event talk-focus-ptdur-3sf,  
 After coming to the father and mother, the younger sister began to say, “....”

*Demanon senong-na-t-un gono, gemang we-tugun, “Ye! At go kemdet iseguon blo no ba lit!”*  
 Yg.sister know-dir-pt-3pf fact dir, event speak-ptdurative-3pf, “Hey! 1ps pos old.br.tree above dir surpr. strand  
 The sister realizing, began to speak, “Hey, my brother stranded on top of the ‘iseguon’ tree!” (after a flood)

*Tap logo ngga kalik gemang pen-kle-tugun.*  
 road on the that like event talk-dual-ptdur-3pf  
 On their way, they talked like that.

### Or *gemang* followed by durative in the form or repetition of the verb root:

*Nggano denok meno, kabung nalo ikum gono, dabui ta teguey ey gemang pu-pu, “....”*  
 and boy other woman old see fact dur heart hand knock with event rep.say, “...”  
 and another boy, seeing the old woman, knocked on his breast (shows pity) and said, “....”

<sup>13</sup> There are no occurrences of *te* (durative) in combination with *gabe* (‘event over here’)

## 12. Directives in the DET ADJ

The general directive both in time and place is *no*<sup>14</sup>. But In Kemtuik speakers may specify a high degree of detail as to direction or motion in the verb. Consider eg.

*Ngga no tandali degut-sa-won go no, Banu Debui lo demu kangok golo demuput no wuik-si-tun.*  
 that dir. again enter-same level-pt3pm fact dir, BD instr. stone big fact instr. stone hole dir. roll-down-ptf  
 And when he (Woy Idam) entered (the hole) again, Banu Debui rolled a big stone down before the hole.

The main features that distinguish the directionals are:

- (a) Move towards (return) or from the speaker
- (b) The height of the direction compared with the level of the speaker.

But it is important to realize that categories as ‘same’, ‘higher’ and ‘lower’ are not geographical features, but depend heavily on the ideas of the Kemtuik people about what is ‘high’, ‘low’ and ‘same’. And the ‘coming’ and ‘going’ of time is also expressed in these ideas. The directives of place are based upon the following:

- (a) Their general impression concerning the geographical elevations
- (b) The status of certain towns and villages

Thus:

- (a) The Kemtuik area is divided into a higher part (the eastern villages) ; a lower part (the western villages, and a neutral part (the villages alongside the road from Buruway (Bloway) to Genyem. The Gresi area, of which the main important village, Yansu, is located on top of a low mountain range, is considered to be ‘high’, although quite a few villages are located in the valley behind the range and are on a lower altitude. The Nimboran area is considered neutral (same level), as are other places in Papua, eg. Mamberamo, Wamena (although high in mountains), etc. The coastal area (including the main capital of Indonesia Jakarta, the Netherlands or America, etc.) are considered to be low.
- (b) The status of certain towns is another important factor. The whole of Jayapura, which is the provincial capital of Papua, is high area. One goes ‘up’ to Jayapura and ‘down’ to Kemtuik / Gresi villages (although Yansu is on a higher location than Jayapura). It is interesting that the Kemtuik side of Lake Sentani is still ‘low’, but the village Yoka at the other side of the lake and close to the main town Jayapura, is already ‘high’.

These features are summarized in the following scheme (numbers > examples):

| Description<br>position of speaker | Down             | UP      | Same                 | Verb Phrase<br>Occurrence |
|------------------------------------|------------------|---------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Move – towards                     | kun (1)          | ban (5) | san ( 9) Future time | (Root) + Det Adj          |
| Move – away                        | na (2) Past time | be (6)  | se (10)              | Det Adj only              |
| Move – away                        | si (3)           | bi (7)  | # (11)               | Root + Det Adj            |
| Situation away                     | na (4)           | ba (8)  | sa (12)              | Root + Det Adj            |

<sup>14</sup> For a detailed discussion on general directive *no*, see ‘Overview on grammatical relations in Kemtuik’.

## 12. 1 Movements ('coming') towards the speaker, using Det Adj only:

Genam *mea san-d<sup>15</sup>u*.

I will same level-ft1p

'I will come back.' (movement on the same level)

Genam *mea kun-du*.

I will down-ft1p

'I will come down again'. (from higher area to lower area)

Genam *mea ban-du*.

I will high-ft1p

'I will come up again'. (from lower to higher area)

## 12.2 Movements ('return') toward the speaker, using Root + Det Adj

Genam *mea iti-san-du*.

I will give-return (same level)-ft1p

'I will give (it) back.

Genam *mea iti-kun-du*.

I will give-return (from high to low situation)-ft1p

'I will give (it) back.

Genam *mea iti-ban-du*.

I will give-return (from low to high situation)-ft1p

'I will give (it) back.

## 12.2 Movement away from the speaker using Det Adj only:

Genam *mea se-lu*.

I will dir.same level-ft-1p

'I will go overthere.' (same level)

Genam *mea na-lu*.

I will dir.down-ft-1p

'I will go overthere. (from high to low)

Genam *mea be-lu*.

I will dir.up-ft-1p

'I will go overthere. (from low to high)

## 12.3 Movement away from the speaker using Root + Det Adj:

Genam *mea iti-#-lu*.

I will give-dir.same level-ft-1p

'I will give (it) overthere' (same level)

Genam *mea iti-si-lu*.

I will give-down-ft1p

'I will give it there.' (Downwards)

Genam *mea iti-bi-lu*.

I will give-up-ft1p

'I will give it there.' (Upwards)

---

<sup>15</sup> The [d] in the form *-du* (ft1p) is in fact an allophone of /l/, but being written as *d*.

Situation away from speaker, using Root + Det Adj

Genam *mea iti-sa-lu*.

I will give-sit.same level-ft1p

'I will give it overthere.' (Same level)

Genam *mea iti-na-lu*.

I will give-downwards-ft1p

I will give it overthere.' (Downwards)

Genam *mea iti-ba-lu*.

I will give-overthere-ft1p.'

'I will give it overthere.' (Upwards)

Consider also some examples shown in their given contexts:

Dame 006 (Move away / Up / in Det Adj only = *be*) (6)

*nggano demanon betedon nemot pu so gemang be-tun, pu go.*  
then sister brother he tell des. event there *dir.high-pt-3sf* tell fact  
the meal, and told his sister to go down and call her brother.

---

Dame 008 (Move away / Up / in Det Adj only = *be*) (6)

*demanon tandali betedon pu so / gemang be-tun.*  
sister again brother say int. / event *dir.high-pr.t.3sf*.  
the sister went down again to her brother.'

---

(Situation / Down / Root + Det Adj = *na*) (4)

*Btedon lo ngga kalik so gemang pu-na-won dali, "..."*  
brother instr. that like spec. event there say-*dir.low-ptfact* again,  
He answered like that too, "..."

---

Dame 011 (Move away / Up / in Det Adj only = *be*) (6)

*Taidi tete be-tun gono*  
five time *dir.up-pt3sf* fact cont.  
After she had gone for the fifth time,

---

(Situation / Up / Root + Det Adj = *ba*) (8)

*Dame Idam lo demanon nemot gemang but-ba-won gono, >*  
Dame Idam instr. sister she event hit *from low to high* fact cont.  
Dame Idam hit his sister

---

(Situation / Up / Root + Det Adj = *ba*) (8)

*ngge kalik so gemang pen-ba-won demanon no: "..."*  
this like spec. (event\_mark) say-dir.high-pt.3sm sister to  
(and) said this to his sister, "..."

---

(Move to speakers place ; Down; Det Adj = *kun*) (1)

*Kabung usu sik sogo pung gono, mesip so gabe kun-t-u*  
woman garden from spec.fact arrive fact dir, behind spec. event *down to here-pt-1p*  
After (my) woman has come back from the garden, I have come here afterwards.

---

(Situation / Same level / Root + Det Adj = *sa*) (11,12)

*Nggano genam nevo gabe kua but, ngge maso nemot gabe mo but-sa-t-u.*  
And I pig event not kill, this devil 3p event already kill-*dir.same level-pt-1p*  
'And I am not the one who killed the pig, it is the devil who killed overthere.'

---

(Move / Up / Root + Det. Adj = **bi**) (7)

Woy Idam nemot u no tup gono **gemang klak-bi-w-on**.

Woy Idam 3p cry dir. hear fact dir event climb-up-pt-3pm

‘After hearing the crying, Woy Idam climbed up (in the house).’

(Situation / Down / Root + Det. Adj = **na**) (4)

Nggano maso ngge lo mot tra gono, maso temu **mata so pung-lak-a-na-t-un**.

And devil this instr. order fact dir, devil other many spec. arrive-int-focus-dir.coming down-pt-3pf

‘And after the devil gave orders, many other devils came down.’

(Time setting / Past / Det. Adj. = **na**) (2)

Ku meno so **na-w-on** go **gemang ikum**, kungdon so yagui lo pu-pung go, ngge mata so.  
day other spec. down in time-pt-3pm fact event see, big tree spec. pigeon instr. rep.arrive fact, this many spec.

‘On a specific day in the past he saw many pigeons arrive in the *beringin* tree.’

(Time setting / Future / Det. Adj = **san**) (9)

No, ku **san-tugun** gono, seni mea senong-l-o.

but day coming-pt3pf fact dir content will know-ft-2p

‘But in the future you will understand.’

(Time setting / Past / Root + Det. Adj = **san**) (9)

Kuduong sik so yam so genam **mo pen-a-san-yu**, e... nggeasui go-no **gabe pung**.

Begin from spec. finish spec. I already talk-focus-same level-pt1p till now fact-dir event arrive

‘I have said everything from the beginning till now.’

(Move back / Up / Root + Det Adj = **ban**) (5)

Nemot namon wop sagoy so **leguit-ke-ban-tugun** go, demu luk ngganemot no pung go, ...

3p two shrimps torch des. show-dual-return up-ptdur fact, stone hole that dir. arrive fact

When the two (girls) were catching shrimps with torches, and they arrived at the stone hole, ...

(Move / Same level / Root + Det Adj = **sa** (11,12) ; Move / Down / Root + Det Adj = **si**) (3)

Nggano tandali **degut-sa-won** gono, Banu Debui lo demu kangok golo demu put no **wuik-si-tun**.

And again enter-same level-pt3pm fact dir, BD instr. stone big fact instr. stone hole dir. roll-down-ptf

And when he (Woy Idam) entered (the hole) again, Banu Debui rolled a big stone down before the hole.

(Move / Same level / Det Adj = **se**)

No, sedue **se-won** go, nggano ikum go: e, nebo **mo klak ba?**

But, man same level-pt fact, and see fact: waw pig already climbed-up surprise?

‘But after the man had gone over there and saw this: waw! Did the pig already climb up (sago storage)?’

## 13. Tense and Aspect

### 13.1 Introduction

As stated before concepts of mood, tense, aspect, gender and duration conflate with each other. To keep a clear understanding, I will describe<sup>16</sup> the notion of tense and aspect.

Grammatical tense is a temporal linguistic quality expressing time at, during, or over which a state of action denoted by a verb occurs. Aspect on the other hand defines the temporal flow (of lack thereof) in the described event or state. It needs to be viewed in respect to time, rather than to its actual ‘location’ in time. See also Chapter 11 on Duration, which is related to tense and aspect.

<sup>16</sup> The descriptions are given in Wikipedia

### 13.2 Tense

Strictly speaking there are only two tenses in Kemtuik: Past and Present. Tense in general depends very much on modal elements as being discussed in Chapter 5 (*mo-* ‘completed’; *mea-* ‘certainty’; *ya-* ‘imperative’; *gabe* – ‘happening/happened here’; *gemang-* ‘happening/happened there’; *genang-* ‘purpose’; *so-* ‘desiderative’; *se-* ‘obligatory’; *go* – ‘factual reference’). But inflated forms of tenses exist also. These two groupings are reflected in, among other things, the suffixing of *-m* in Third person Past and *-n* in Third person Non-past. ‘Non-past’ is distinguished in present, that is ‘what happened today’, ‘what is happening’, and in future, that is ‘what and how is going to happen’. The ‘past’ is distinguished between remote and recent past. These forms are only used when the context requires this specific detailed information.

See the following scheme in which TENSE and ASPECT are integrated with PERSON and GENDER

|        |          |              |                        | TENSE                            |         |                  |         |
|--------|----------|--------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|---------|------------------|---------|
|        |          |              |                        |                                  |         |                  |         |
|        |          | PAST<br>(-m) |                        |                                  |         | NON-PAST<br>(-n) |         |
|        |          |              |                        |                                  |         |                  |         |
| REMOTE | REMOTE   | RECENT       | RECENT                 |                                  | PRESENT | PRESENT          | FUTURE  |
|        |          |              |                        |                                  |         |                  |         |
| single | durative | single       | durative <sup>17</sup> |                                  | single  | durative         | action  |
|        |          |              |                        |                                  |         |                  |         |
| ku     | ngu      | yu           | tyu                    | 1 <sup>st</sup> Person           | tu      | tugu             | lu / du |
| ka     | nga      | yo           | tyo                    | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Person           | to      | togoy            | lo / do |
| kam    | ngam     | yom          | tyom                   | 3 <sup>rd</sup> Person<br>male   | won     | togon (ton)      | yon     |
| kum    | ngum     | yum          | tyum                   | 3 <sup>rd</sup> Person<br>female | tun     | tugun            | yun     |

Genam motnang mit sogo nogo, piam-piam so motnang logo kua semu-ke-na-nga.  
 I you pl with spec.fact dir.fact, wrong wrong spec. you pl. instr.fact not do-pl-dir-rem.past dur.2p  
 ‘While I stayed with you, you never did not anything wrong (to me).’

### 13.2.2. Remote past (single)

Banim dega go sikabung got-ne-a-k-am go, miam kua.  
 ago long fact people stay-pl-focus-single-rem.past fact many not.  
 ‘A long time ago the people that existed, were not many.’

### 13.2.3 Recent Past

Banim genam nang bu so u-wata gono, genam go ngoy nemot lo iti go kok-na-yom go.  
 Before we (excl.pl.) water spec rep.bath fact dir, I poss. necklace 3p instr. take fact hide-dir.past fact

Genam lo ngga ba no itak-na-yu go.  
 I instr. that in dir leave-dir-pt fact  
 ‘I left it in there.’

Dame, mot lo kabung nago no itak-yo?  
 Dame, you instr woman where dir. leave-pt2p  
 ‘Dame, where did you leave behind the woman (your wife) ?’

Denok tiat nega go, nemot-a babu lo ba teguok go dam-yum!  
 child smal lost fact, 3ps.-focus grandmother instr. surprise brake fact eat-pt.3p.f  
 ‘The little children! They have been killed (lit. broken) and eaten by grandmother.’

### 13.2.4 Present tense (durative)

Dame Idam ey Dunkoy Debui ey nemot go yakena so got-kle-tugun.  
 Dame Idam with Dunkoy Debui with 3p poss. village spec stay-dual-pt.dur.3p.f  
 ‘Dame Idam stayed with Dunkoy Debui in her village.’

Ngga kalik mea got-sa-togon<sup>18</sup>.  
 that like will stay-dir-pt.dur.3p.m  
 ‘He (God) will stay forever like that.’

Nggano Dame Idam lo ngge kalik so gemang pu-ton, “...”  
 then Dame Idam instr. this like spec. event say-pt.dur.3p.m  
 Then Dame Idam said like this, “...”

Mot sogo so wet-togoy? ”  
 you what spec. search-pt.dur.2p  
 ‘What are you looking for?’

Ngganemot sogo so genam yap ba so gabe got-tugu.  
 therefore spec. I house in spec. event stay-pt.dur.1p  
 ‘Therefore I stay inside the house.’

### 13.2.5 Present tense (single)

Nggano, kabung nalo lo ngge kalik so gemang pu-tun, Genam domdat kua go be.  
 and woman old instr. this like spec. event there say-pt3pf, “I grandchildren not fact state here  
 And the old woman said like this, “I have no grandchildren.”

<sup>18</sup> Although the form would suggest that -togon (present durative tense) is the regular form and -ton (also present durative tense) the exception, it is the other way around (-togon > eternal proces; elsewhere occurs as durative: -ton).

Duen no, nebo uduo lo *gemang segue-ne-sa-won*.  
 Bush dir., pig dog instr. event there hunt-pl-dir-pt.single3pm  
 'In the bush the dogs started to hunt pigs.'

"Kemdet! Mot, tap kun-togoy gono, sogo kalik *semu-ba-to?*"  
 brother you road coming-ptdur-2p, what like do-up-pt2p  
 'Brother, when you were on your way, what happened?'

Nemot namon ngganemot so *kasa-kle-tugun* go, Meki lo Woy idam go masi no *gemang tra-tun*.  
 3p two those search-dual-pt.dur.3pf fact Meki instr. Woy Idam poss.foot dir.event feel-ptsingle.3pf  
 'While they were searching, Meki touched the foot of Woy Idam.'

### 13.3 Aspect

'Single' versus 'durative' in past and present predications are being distinguished. It needs to be said, that the recent past durative does exist, but in recordings and texts these are hard to discover. In practice these forms seem to be taken over by remote past durative forms or present tense durative forms. Since aspect needs to be discussed with respect to time, rather than its actual location therein, examples will be given where especially the durative remote past time expresses more aspect than tense. Consider the following: *got-ngam* (remote past, but meaning 'a long time' versus the result of the actions in: *mot-won* (pt single) 'He vomited':

Woy Idam demu put ba so *got-ngam* go no go  
 Woy Idam stone hole in spec. stay-rem.past dur fact. dir.fact = reason  
 'Because Woy Iram stayed a long time in the stone hole,

lema ey nemot go tawon-masiwon ey ten sogo so nemot lo *dam go*, yam so *mot-won*.  
 snake with 3p poss. handnail-footnail with food purpose 3p instr. eat fact, end spec. vomit-pt.single.3pm  
 the snakes and his finger and footnails that he had eaten as food he vomited completely.'

Banim nogo tasam ngga sedue miam eygo lo *ikum so mo du-duing bung-ne-a-kam*.  
 Before dir fact sign that people many with-fact instr. see des. already rep.long for-pl-focus-rem.past single 3sm  
 'In the old days many people had longed to see this thing happened.'

Ngga kalik go demu mata so nemotnang lo *duk-ne-a-kam*.  
 that like fact. rule many spec. they instr. obey-pl.focus-rem.past single 3pm  
 'And like that they (ancestors) obeyed many customs.'

Nggano sedue kabung temu dabui lo *mo bung-ne-ngam*, no *kua tegu sang*.  
 and people other heart instr. completed wait for-pl-rem.past dur. but not meet regrettable  
 'And for a long time other people hoped for it to happen, but –alas- it did not happen.'

Sualabon iti-won go, ta tong go kin, ngga ba no gemang leguit-na-ngam.  
 pot take-pt.s.3pm fact, hand cut poss.blood, that in dir event store-there-long time  
 'Having taken a pot, and in there he stored the blood of his hand cutting for a long time.'

Nemotnang kam so *uwet-ne-te-na-won*; *kua ikum-ne-ba-ngam*.  
 3p pl. invain seek-pl-dur-there-pt3pm; not see-pl-up-'remote past'3pm  
 'They searched in vain for a long time; they did not see it (hanging up there in the tree).'

Nggano ngge kalik *gemang usi-na-ngum*: "..."  
 and this like event ask-there-rem.past dur. 3pf  
 And she asked for a long time like this: "..."

Consider also the usage of Present Durative Tense and Present Single Tense in ‘*Dame Idam*’ and ‘*Woy Idam*’: (RED is durative; BLUE is single; GREEN is bare verb root)

Dame 004

Wabedong go kamso wet-a-ton, kua ikum- sre-won.  
midday fact unsuccessfully look\_for -focus-ptsit-3s. male/not see-neg.- ptsingle-3s.male  
Midday he looked without success and did not find them.

Dame 005

Dame Idam ngganemot suali go, yap ba so got-ton.  
Dame Idam that afraid fact, house in spec. stay-ptdur-3sm  
Dame Idam being afraid, stayed in the house.

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Woy Idam 012 (beginning of new episode, with reference to REMOTE PAST durative tense. Compare the feeding that took place during that same time, but is expressed in PRESENT durative tense. This must be explained as flash-back versus focus)

Ngganemot nogo, Banu Debui duo ngganemot kua senong se-ngum.  
That because, Banu Debui child that not know there-rem.past durative 3pf  
‘Because of that, Banu Debui did not know that child for a long time

Woy Idam 013 (Flash back using non-inflected verb roots)

Banu Debui ten semu go Woy Idam pu go nemot lo wamoy mlue,  
Banu Debui food prepare fact, Woy Idam said fact. he instr. lie  
If Banu Dabui prepared food, Woy Idam said lying:

“Genam sadui tra goso be. Genam nogo wakay no tui go iti go weng.”  
I sick feel reason event here. 1p dir fact. plate dir.put fact. take fact. come  
“I here feel sick. Put my food on a plate and take it here.”

Woy Idam 014 (The information about the feeding and the lying is in focus > durative pr.t)

No, Woy Idam, nemot go duo ngganemot so saboy-ton.  
But, Woy Idam he poss. child that spec. feed-durative pr.t.3pm  
But Woy Idam was feeding that child

Woy Idam 015 (idem)

Kuno-kuno nemot lo ngga kalik so nemot go senun no mlue-ton.  
day dur.-day dur. 3p.sg. instru. that like spec. 3p.sg. poss. wife dir. lie-dur.pr.t. 3pm  
‘Day after day he lied to his wife like that.

Woy Idam 016 (reference to single event)

E ... duo nggenemot yam so kangok, yagui taidi yam no,  
Till ..child that complete big year 5 finish dir  
Till the child had grown up at the age of 5 years.

nglangin lo ple-ple bin go, duo nggenemot no gemang iti-won.  
father instr. arrows cut fact. child that dir. event give-single pr.t.3p.sg.m  
Then (his) father cut arrows and gave it to this child.

Woy Idam 017

Duo nggenemot go sui: Woy Idam dali.  
child this poss. name: Woy Idam also  
The name of this child was also Woy Idam.

Woy Idam 018 (Reflection: Although the feeding is a durative action (see WI 014), the focus shifts to the fact that a man gives milk to a child > single present tense.)

*Duo nggenemot maning seguay go nogo, Woy Idam lo nemot tang so min kok-won go.*  
child this still little fact. reason, Woy Idam instr. he self spec. milk feed-single pr.t.3pm  
'Because this child was still young, Woy Idam himself fed it with milk.'

Woy Idam 019 (The focus shift again to new action > durative present tense)

*Ple-ple nglangin lo iti go, nggenemot ey iti go, yap kading ba lo wet-a-ton.*  
arrows father instr.give fact. this with give fact. house back in instr. wander around-focus-dur.pr.t.3p.sg.m  
'With the arrows (his) father had given him, (he) wandered around at the back of the house.'

#### 14. Gender

It is not always easy to figure out the gender of the subject. In Kemtuik there are two noun classes: masculin and feminin. And speakers have to learn by heart which nouns belong to which class. Using group situations sometimes female forms are used, sometimes masculin forms are used. This depends on what the speaker decides as having focus.

A complex factor is that Person and Gender do inflate. The only case where gender shows up is in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Person situations. Where the First Person is indicated by i and the Second Person by o, in the Third Person there is a difference between masculin (indicated by o, and feminin indicated by u). And since First Person Inclusive (imot namon /nang) uses Third Person Masculin forms, the o also indicates gender in these forms. Since it is not obligatory to use postposition *lo* to mark a noun as subject, or the possibility to have no subject at all, the gender indication in the Det. Adj makes clear who the actor is.