

Kemtuik Clause

1. Context

To illustrate the kind of sentences and wider context in which Kemtuik clauses operate, the first part of a famous (widespread) myth *‘How a brother and sister were drawn away by a flood’* is being glossed and translated (clauses indicated by slashes) as follows:

1. *Banim dega go, sikabung got- ne-a -k -am go / miam kua.*
before very giv. people stay-pl.-foc.-rem.past- 3p giv. / many not
‘Very long ago people stayed; there were not many.’
2. *Nglangin-a danon ey denun ey go-a. /*
father-focus boy with girl with giv.-focus
‘Only a father with his son and daughter.’
3. *Ngga no, unen kua senong./ Gemang?/ Kua?/*
that to mother not know, sit. not
‘And (if there was) a mother or not, is not known.’
4. *Ku meno so # danon ey denun ey go wawi go / buo so gemang klong./*
day certain spec.boy and with girl with giv. take giv. pick int. sit. go
‘On a certain day, (the father) took (his) boy and girl, (and) went to pick (fruit).’
5. *Ngga ey, nglangin-a ulu blo so no klak -bi -w -on go /*
that with father-foc. bread fruit tree top spec. dir. climb-up -pt -3p.masc. giv.
‘Then the father having climbed to the top of the breadfruit tree,
6. *ulu so buo-te -ba -w -on go no /*
breadfruit spec. pick-dur.-sit.high-pr.t.3p.masc. giv. dir.
while he started to pick the bread fruit,
7. *ulu blo sik so sa blue gemang pu -bi -w -on!*
bread tree top from rain magic sit. call-motion up-pt.-3p.masc.
‘from the top of the bread tree he said magic to cause rain.’
8. *Sa blue pu -bi -w -on go no /*
rain magic say – motion up-pt-3p.masc. giv. dir./
‘While he was saying magic to cause rain,
9. *sa pupu / e ... bu ey se i -iti. /*
rain pour out till water with necessity rep.give.
rain poured out till it started to flood.’

10. *Ngga ey bu sung gemang klak./*
that with water flow sit. go up
'Then a a banjir came up.
11. *Bu ke- klak go lo/ danon ey denun ey bu lo kenok go/*
water rep. go up giv. instr. / boy with girl with water instr. attack giv./
'(The) boy and girl were touched by the raising water
12. *busung lo se lek./*
banjir instr.neces. draw
and threatened to drawn away by (the) banjir.'
13. *Duo namon lo gemang usi, / "Aya! Bu na go yam so ya? /*
child two instr. sit. ask, "Father! Water dir. giv measure spec. interrog.
'The two children asked, "Father! How far will the water go?"
14. *Sa pu go tong-a! / Bu kui yam no go se!" /*
rain say giv. cut -focus water waist measure dir giv. imp.
'Cut off calling rain! The water is already coming to the waist!"
15. *Ngga no, nglangin lo way so pu go, /*
that dir father instr. turn spec. say giv.
'To that (the) father answered,
16. *"Mot namon-a yakot so suing-a / genam mea li -si -l- u so!" /*
you two-foc. quiet spec. sit-foc. 1p.s. will climb down ft 1ps spec.
'You two sit quiet there, I will climb down.'
17. *Ngga sik so go, nemot namon ey bu lo yam so se se-saguip./*
that origin spec. giv. 3p dual with water instr. measure spec. ness. rep.cover
'At that point they two were completely covered by water.'
18. *Bu lo yam so saguip go / duo namon bu lo lek go koklong./*
water instr. complete cover giv. child two water instr. carry away giv. rep. go
'Covered by water, the two children were carried away by the water and going.'

2. Cohesion and grammatical relationships

2.1 Some general remarks

To get a grasp of understanding of what is going on in Kemtuik text, it is important to recognize different discourse types: narrative, hortatory, explanatory, argumentative, procedural and conversation. For instance: narrative and conversation use both bare and inflected verbs, while procedural, explanatory and argumentative texts show mainly bare verbs,

with only occasionally inflected verbs. Lacking all this detailed VP-information, this kind of texts is sometimes hard to understand (for outsiders). One needs to know the actual context to understand exactly what is going on and who is referred too. The opposite is true as well: narrative discourse offers a lot of detailed information (see: discussion VP) and needs only limited (e.g. cultural) input from the context. In fact, it is rather the other way around: myths give meaning to the context in which they are told.

Also, analyzing grammatical structures it is necessary to look at the text as a whole. Semantically, we notice an orderly building up of the plot. If we trace the participants through the discourse -for instance the figure ‘father’- we notice prominence of the main actor (father) made overt by its fronted position in the sentence (2, 5 and 15). In each of those cases prominence is also made visible by the clitic *-a* ‘foc.’ and in last case by the postposition *lo* ‘instr.’ In (4) ‘father’ is grammatically not mentioned, but semantically present (The father is introduced earlier). Sentence (5), however, starts with strong prominence on ‘father’ followed by subject indication in the inflection of the verb (*-on* ‘3p.s.masc’). And in the following clauses (6,7,8) ‘father’ is referred to by (*-on*) only.

A point of interest also is the occurrence of the demonstrative *ngga* ‘that’. Combined with postpositions, like *no*, (‘to’) *ey* (‘with’), *sik so go* ‘at’ (litt. origin + spec.+ giv.) this word functions clause initially as connector of the main event line in the discourse (cf. 3,5,10,15, 17).

2.2. Grammatical relationships

An important phenomenon in Kemtuik grammar is a specific class of postpositions taking care of the majority of grammatical relationships inside Kemtuik text. To this class belong:

go deixis / ‘given’ (‘giv’);

so specific/inessive or intention (‘int.’ following verbs); (‘spec.’ elsewhere);

lo instigative (‘instr.’)

no allative; (‘to’)

ey comitative; (‘with’)

-a focus (‘foc.’)

and layered sequences of them.

The distribution of these postpositions is very wide. They follow: nouns; verbs; adjectives, adverbs, demonstratives. In isolated positions or in layered sequences, they produce all sorts of grammatical relations: linkage within the NP; linkage between NP, AdjP, AdvP with the VP; and inter clausal relationships.

The occurrences of these postpositions in Kemtuik syntax, where they relate to and what their sequences are listed below. The precise grammatical function will be analyzed in context.

<p>Relational Postpositions</p> <p>and</p> <p>possible layered sequences</p>
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Specific /Inessive Intentional	Instigative	Allative	Deixis	comtative	focus
marks:	marks:	marks:	marks:	marks:	marks:
- verb - adverb - object - postposition - demonstrative - numeral - subject - colour	- tr.subject (in case disambiguity) - intr. subjects - instruments - demonstrative - pathway of movement - inter clausal rel.	- goal - recipient - inter clausal rel.	- noun - demonstrative - adjective - verb - clause - time	- demonstrative - noun - colour - verb	-verb -noun - demonstrative

<i>so</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>ey</i>	<i>-a</i>
can be followed by <i>so go</i> <i>so no</i>	can be followed by <i>lo go</i> <i>lo go so</i>	can be followed by <i>no so</i> <i>no go</i> <i>no go so</i> <i>no go ey</i>	can be followed by <i>go so</i> <i>go so go</i> <i>go lo</i> <i>go ey</i> <i>go-a</i> <i>go no</i> <i>go no go</i>	can be followed by <i>ey go</i>	can NOT be followed or preceded by any other postposition but does follow <i>go</i> 'giv.'

Examples of form-meaning pairings to determine contrasts, similarities and so on will be given.

2.2 Postposition = *so*

The postposition *so* marks activity, persons, object, attribute as specific / inessive / intention. The postposition is glossed as ‘specific’ (‘spec’);

Examples:

2.2.1 Following verbs it marks the intention of the actor.

Aka / usu keballi so.

Ol.brother garden work int.

‘Older brother is working in the garden.’

Sa / pu so.

rain pour out int.

‘It is going to rain.’

Genam / ten dam so.

1p.s. food eat int.

‘I am going to eat.’ (explaining why he already started).

Compare the preceding example with:

Genam ten so du -duing.

1p.s. food spec. rep.think

‘I am focused on food’ (‘I would like to eat’)

Compare also:

Genam ten # te-tra.

1p.s. food rep. feel

‘I am feeling food’ (‘I’m hungry’)

“Mot namon-a yakot so suing-a / genam mea li -si -l- u so!”

you two-foc. quiet spec. sit-foc. 1p.s. will climb down ft 1ps int.

‘You two sit quiet there, I will climb down.’

Nggeasui go genam lema but so.

Now giv. 1p.s. snake kill int.

‘I will kill the snake now.’

Genam / mot wawi so / gabe.

1p.s. 2p.s take int. sit.here

‘I am here to take you.’

Ble, mot denok ngga iti go / masi-masi so/ ya klong?

Ble, 2p.s. child that take giv. foot-foot int. interr. go

‘Ble (name of lady), are you willing to take that child to go for a walk?’

Compare intention with purpose and plan:

Mia usu no ten ikak so mo klong.

mother garden to food collect int. already go

‘Mother is already gone for food collection to the garden.’ (intention)

Mia usu no ten ikak go nang mo klong.

mother garden to food collect ‘giv.’ purpose already go

‘Mother has already gone to the garden to collect food. (purpose)

Mia usu no [ten ikak go / nang so go] mo klong.

mother garden to food collect ‘giv’ purpose int. ‘giv’ already go

‘Mother has already gone to the garden in order to collect food.’ (plan)

2.2.2 Indicating specific location and time

sam ngga / meja blo so

book that table on top of spec.

‘The book is lying on the table.’ (not somewhere else)

Duen ku so, nebo mlak go tandali gemang weng.

bush down spec. pig catch giv. again sit. return

‘Deep down in the bush, he caught a pig and returned home.’

Nggeasui go sik so nemot / ta semlea idi so susuing go / mea ikum -ke- lo.

Now giv. origin spec. 3p.s hand right side spec. rep. sit giv. will see-pl-2p

‘From now on you will see him sitting at the right hand (of the clan leader).’

No / mot nang ey kerlam so genam lo wasey go / ngga/ genam go ba so.

To 2p. pl with same spec. 1p.s. instr. divide giv. that 1p.s giv. in spec.

‘But if I divide the same (as) with you, that is what is in me (is my business).’

Seni so! Mot nang nesip so / nemot gabe.

content spec. 2p. pl middle spec. 3p.s sit.

‘Indeed! In the middle of you, he is.’

Iram nemot / blo dega so / su -suing.

Leader 3p.s high very spec. rep.sit

‘The leader, he is very important (litt. high indeed) (fig.)

Inenga go genam Yaneblang sik so (weng go)
Yesterday giv. 1p.s. Nimboran origin spec. (come)
'Yesterday I (came) from Nimboran'

Nemot boy ba sik so pung go.
3p.s. prison inside squeeze out spec arrive giv.
'He came out from prison.'¹

Nemot Yanemblang sik so go.
3p.s. Nimboran squeeze out spec. giv.
'He originally is from Nimboran.'

2.2.3 Following a noun *so* marks 'specific' => adverb

Sikabung / kam so bu-bung.
people end spec. rep. wait
'The people are waiting end-less (= in vain.)'

Suey so / pen-san -d -o ya!
good spec. talk-return-ft.2p.s. imp.
'You have to talk properly.'

Genam / suey so mo ikum.
1p.s. good spec. already see
'I watched carefully.'

2.2.4 Specifying objects

Sikabung / nemot so / bu-bung.
people 3p.s. spec. rep-wait for
'The people are waiting for him.'

Genam / ten so / du-duing.
1p.s. food spec. rep.think
'I am focusing on food.'

Mot / yakena wengkabui so / kuoy go / yakena yay su-suing go nang.
1p.s. village head spec. choose giv. village gard rep-sit giv. purpose
'You have been chosen (as) village leader, to look after the village.'

Nemot / yakena Saplung Samon so / su-suing.
3p.s. village Saplung-Samon spec. rep.sit
He lives in the village Saplung-Samon.

¹ *sik* is in fact a verb, meaning 'squeeze out'. Although *so* is following a verb, (according to my opinion) the meaning here is not 'intention' but 'specific situation'. In context the combination *sik + so* always carries the meaning 'from'.

2.2.5 Supplying specific ness to demonstratives, comparisons, numbers, time

Ngga kalik so.

that like spec.

‘Precisely like that’

Nemot na go no ya suing? Ngga so.

3p.s dir. giv. to interr. sit that spec.

‘Where does he sit? There (precisely)!’

2.2.6 Following numerals

2.2.7 Following some colours

2.3 Postposition = *lo*

The postposition *lo* is instigative. Cl-finally it indicates ‘pathway’. It is glossed as ‘instr.’

Ngga / nemot lo.

that it instr.

‘That way is OK!’

Denok dato ngga nemot / amblang dato ey / lo.

child small that 3p.sg./ character strong with instr.

‘That small child shows a strong character.’

2.4 Postposition = *go*

The CL-final postposition *go* marks textual deixis. It carries the meaning of ‘given’, but in a general sense. It is qualifying the preceding NP, AdjP.

(The Cl-final: + V + go forms a basis for further development in the discourse. This position will be discussed separately in chapter 5 section 3 VerbCL_{go}.) *Go* is glossed as ‘giv.’

Udui ngge / nemot go.

banana this 3p.s. giv.

‘This banana is his.’

Yap ngge / seguay go.

house this small giv.

‘This house is small.’

2.5 Postposition: *ey*

The CL-finally postposition *ey* carries the meaning of comitative of qualities and events. It is glossed as ‘with’

Atnang go yeule / seni ey.
1p.pl.exc. giv. rose apple fruit with
‘Our roseapple tree (has) a lot of fruit.’

Genam lo wa, suali / kua tra ey.
1p.s instr. focus afraid not feel with
‘It is me, don’t feel afraid!’

Suona kawi sengin / tom ey.
suona kawi ripe taste with
‘Ripe *suona kawi*’s are delicious.’

2.6 Postposition: *no*

The postposition *no* inside the clause marks allative: goal or recipient and carries aspect of time and place. To indicate ‘prominence’ NP + no can be placed following the VP, in the following order:

± T + S + V + IO_{no}. It is glossed as: ‘to’. (The Clause final position of *no* following a Verb + go will be discussed in chapter 5.3 as ‘Sub-ordinate VerbCL’).

Inenga nemot mo klong Jayapura no.
yesterday 3p.s. go Jayapura to
‘Yesterday he went to Jayapura.’

2.7 Clitic: -a (ya; wa)

3. Clause order

The basic clause order in Kemtuik is *Subject – Object – Verb* (SOV). However in practice, this order is often submitted to changes due to focus, disambiguaty and instigation.

The following variations are regularly occurring:

(O) – S - V ;
(S) - IO – (O) - V;
S – O - V – IO (no)

4. Clause types

It is necessary to sketch some basic clause types in order to see other grammatical aspects in the right perspective. The following basic CL- types are being established:

Equative Cl:	NP + NP + (V _{eq})
Adjectival CL:	NP + V _{adj}
Situational CL:	NP + NP + V _{sit}
Purpose CL	NP + NP/VP _{pp} + NANG
Verbal CL:	NP + VP _{intrans}
	NP + NP + VP _{trans}
	NP + NP + NP + VP _{bitrans}

Discussion and illustration:

4.1 Equative (EQ) clauses

The following formula summarizes this clause type:

$$\text{EQ CL} = \text{S}_{\text{np}} + \text{EQ}_{\text{np}} + (\text{exist PRED})$$

As the Kemtuik clauses above demonstrate, a S_{np} may be equated with another NP by a non-overt predicate, carrying the meaning of *factual* equative. The two NP's are juxtaposed.

For example:

Maria / genam go kabung.
 Maria 1p. giv. woman
 Maria (is) my wife.

Denok ngga go suong / unen ey kerlam.
 Child that giv. face mother with same
 'That child's face is just like her mother's.'

4.2. Adjectival (ADJ) Clauses

This clause type present a qualitative, descriptive predication about a single referent (NP). The center of the clause is an ADJ predicate (PRED_{adj}). The two NP's are not juxtaposed.

AD Cl = S_{np} + PRED_{adj}

For example:

Yap ngge / segway go.
house this small giv.
'This house (is) small.'

Ngge / suey.
this good
'This is good.'

Sedue ngge / kateba.
man this quick
'This man is quick.'

4.3. Situational (SIT) clause

The following formula summarizes this clause type:

SQ CL = S_{np} + Sit_{np} + (PRED_{sit})

S_{np} may be identified with another NP by a Situational Predicate (PRED_{sit})

For example:

Genam Markus gabe.
I Markus sit. here
'I here am Marc.'

Martin Camat gemang.
Martin District chief sit. there
'Martin is a district chief overthere.'

Ngaynalo / atamu lo / mo luik / gabe.
Aunt uncle instr. already take away sit. here
'Uncle has taken aunt and left from here.'

Ngge / genam go atuia / gabe.
this 1ps giv. plan sit. here
'This is my planning'

4.4 Purpose (PP) clause:

PP-CL = S_{np} + NP/VP_{pp} + NANG

4.5. Verbal Clause

The VERB CL basis may be summarized as follows:

VERB CL = S_{np} ± Obj.np ± Ind.Obj.np + PRED_{vp} ± GO

5.1 Transitivity

To solve disambiguity in the clause, Kemtuik uses different tools. They may use order. In that case the actor will be placed in a prominent position in the clause, i.e. the beginning (a). But followed by the instrumental postposition *lo* it marks actor that is in control (b) and (c). *Lo* is being glossed as ‘instr.’ (instrumental).

(a) *Yoram # / udui ngga / mia no / mo iti.*

Yoram banana that mother to already give
‘Yoram gave the banana already to mother.’

(b) *Udui ngga / Yoram lo / mo iti.*

Banana that Yoram instr. already take
‘Yoram took that banana already.’

(c) *Genam duen ba so lema lo kuip go.*

1ps. bush inside spec. snake instr. bite giv.
‘I was bitten by a snake in the bush.’ (instrumental use of *lo*)

Compare also the two following clauses (d) and (e). In (d) *bu* ‘river, water’ is instigative. It causes to suffocate the object (*genam* ‘I’). The feminine noun class *bu* matches with the feminine 3p.sing. in the verb (*-un*). In (e) the subject is *genam* ‘I’ who will be suffocated by water /river.

(d) *Utep go / genam / bu lo / mea dap -a -y -un.*

Tomorrow giv. 1p.s. water instr. will suffocate-spec.-ft-3pfem. (*bu* ‘river’ = fem.)
‘Tomorrow the river will (cause me) to suffocate.’ (*bu* ‘river’ is made subject by *lo*)

(e) *Utep so / genam / bu lo / mea dap- l - u.*

Tomorrow spec. 1ps. river instr. will suffocate ft. 1ps
‘Tomorrow I will be suffocated by the river.’ (instrumental use of *lo*)

It is the question if a distinction between *active* vs. *passive* verbs should be made, since the difference is being made by the addition of *no* ‘to’ in postposition to the IO. If we consider the verb *iti* the basic meaning will be ‘take’. The same verb added with the postposition *no* ‘to’ expresses ‘give’. So [*iti*] = ‘take’ and [*iti* + *no*] = ‘give’. Compare (a) and (b) and (f).

(f) *Udui ngga / Yoram no / mo iti.*
 Banana that Yoram to already give
 ‘That banana was already been given to Yoram.’

5.2 Intransitive

Genam tra -t- u go.
 1ps. feel pt- 1ps giv
 ‘I felt.’

Mia lo bu bot ey wengkabui no kong go.
 mother instr. water shelf with head to carry giv.
 ‘Mother carried the water shelf on her head.’

Nemot dabui lo mo duing.
 3ps. heart instr. already think
 ‘He/she thought with his/her heart (=considered).’

Nemot bu lo yane go.
 3ps. water instr. crazy giv.
 ‘He is crazy by (drinking) alcohol.’ (=‘he is drunk’)

5.3 Verb followed by Postposition: *go* : VP + go

A subset of the general form is this Clause type is a VP following by *go*. This deitic postposition points to a general given situation. This can give an independent meaning to the CL, but also serve as a relational between subordinate and main clauses.

Examples:

Bayi ngga / beap alui lo / iti-betep go.
 prahu that sea wave instr. take-throw giv.
 ‘That prahu was tossed to and fro by the waves.’

Awe awe ngga / ‘balukuanom’ so / pu go.
 awe awe that ‘balukuanom’ spec. call giv.
 ‘The King Frog is called: ‘Balukuanom’.

6. Coordinated Clause

Besides the simple Clause types, a Coordinated Clause (COCL) is prominent in Kemtuik narrative text. The arguments in the preceding clauses are culminating into a VP consisting of

\pm Gemang/ Gabe + Verb Root \pm Affliction

The basic formula of such a Clause is:

$\text{COCL} = (\text{VP}_{\text{go}\pm\text{no}}) \pm (\text{VP}_{\text{go}\pm\text{no}}) + \text{CL}$

This coordinated clause carries the argument all the way to a conclusion.

Examples:

(1) *Maso sedue ngge nemot no keng go / gemang kun -w-on..*
setan man this 3p.s to follow giv. sit. come down-pt.3psg.masc.
'Setan followed this man AND came down.'

(2) *Kabung usu sik so go pung go no, mesip so gabe kun -t -u.*
woman garden origin spec. giv. arrive giv. to behind spec. sit.here come down-pt. 1ps.
'Straight after the woman arrived from the garden, I came down here.'

Consider the following passage from the narrative 'The man and the Devil'

(3) *Ngge kalik so semu-kleton:*
this like spec do-dual-pt.dur.3p.masc.
'This (is) what both men did:

Sedue lo klong go gemang tebok-na-w-on.
man instr. go giv. sit. assist-dir.pt-3pmasc.
'The one man went on his way to fetch the watching place.'

Sedue duot tebok so se t on,
man sago assist in dir.same pt.dur. 3p.masc.
'while the man was on the way to the sago watching place,

maso kateba kap go,
devil quick ran giv.
the devil ran quickly,

nebo kalik so lemoy go,
pig like spec. happen giv.
became like a pig,

duot blo no klak go,
 sago on top of to climb giv.
 climbed on top of the sago,

duot so / dam-ton.
 sago spec. eat pt.dur.3p.masc.
 he was eating sago.

6. Subordinate clauses

Compare the following two utterances *so + go* vs. *so*:

Klum genam ba so gabe.
 love 1p.s inside spec. sit. here
 ‘Inside me there is affection.’ (specific in me, not in other people)

Klum genam ba so go gabe dali.
 affection 1p.s inside spec. giv. sit. here also
 ‘There is also affection in me.’ (in me, but also in other people)

Or a little more complex form: IO + O + V + *ey go*

Mot nang ba so no / sedue ngga go wamoymlue / degut ey / go!
 2p. plural in spec. to / man that giv. lie / enter with / giv.
 ‘In order that in you (pl), the lies of that man, NOT enter!’

Genam aya lo / but ey / go!
 1ps father instr. punish with giv.
 ‘in order that I not be punished by father!’

And embedded in an Adjectival Clause:

{ Snp [+ IO + V + *go*] PredAdj }

Amble wep // damun koy no/ duik go // tom kangok.
 foreign taro stone fire to roast giv. / delicious besar
 ‘An (imported) taro roasted on the fire stones (is) very delicious.’

Another subset of the Verbal Clause is the Purpose Verbal Clause, indicated by: *go nang²*.

^{2 2} Compare this with its negative counterpart: *pui go naning!* (fall giv. purp-neg.)
 ‘in order not to fall.’

{ Snp [EQnp + V + (go) nang (so go)] + Eq.Clnp

Examples:

Ngge / walop ten dam go nang / anggul bu.

This celebration food eat giv. purpose wine water.

‘This is wine for the celebration.’ (= purpose)

Usu bala / woy suali - sa suali nang so go / lo.

garden hut sun afraid rain afraid purpose spec. giv. instr.

‘The hut in the garden is there for protection from sun and rain.’ (= purpose + reason)

Yap / maning kua klik go no // atuia / banim temu no / se semu.

house ongoing neg. build giv. to, planning first very to must make

‘Before the house is build, a planning should be made first.’

THIS GO, THIS GO, GEMANG VERB

The imperative mood forms of the VERB CL involve an optional -though frequent-reduction of over NP constituents such as subject and Object, and the use of the bare verb root (usually) stripped of all other affixes, but marked by a following *ya* (moderative imperative), or preceding *se* ‘strong imperative’

Genam klong go // utep so / tandali / mea weng.

1p.sg. go giv. tomorrow spec. again will come.

‘I go, I will return tomorrow.’

Genam / kopi bu drop / so.

1p.sg. coffee water drink desiderative

‘I am going to drink coffee.’