

Kemtuik Clause

1. Textual evidence

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

1. *Banim dega go, sikabung got- ne-a -k -am go / miam kua.*
old 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. exist 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 exist 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 pu-pu / e ... bu ey se i -iti. /*
rain rep. say 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 exist 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 squeeze spec. giv. 3p dual with water instr. measure spec. ness. rep.cover
'From that they two were completely covered by water.'
18. *Bu lo yam so saguip go / duo namon bu lo lek go ko -klong./*
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. Discourse features

2.1 Some general remarks

2.1.1 To get a grasp of understanding of what is going on in Kemtuik text, it is helpful to recognize different discourse types: narrative, hortatory, explanatory, argumentative, procedural and conversation. Narrative and conversation use both bare and inflected verbs, while procedural, explanatory and argumentative texts show mainly bare verbs, with only occasionally inflected verbs (requiring quite a bit of contextual information). The question of course is then: 'why and when

bare and inflected verbs function in e.g. narrative texts. I guess this has to do with general/ descriptive versus specific/event information in the clause.

2.1.2 Analyzing grammatical structures it is necessary to look at the text as a whole first. What do we see in this specific section of a Kemtuik myth? We notice an orderly building up of a plot in which a father with his two children (boy and girl) are caught by a flood, caused by an act of rain-magic by the father. Finally, the two children are drifted away by the flood.

If we trace one of the participants through the discourse - the figure 'father' - we notice prominence made overt by its fronted position in the sentence (2, 5 and 15) and in each of those cases it is also made visible either by the clitic *-a* 'focus', or by the occurrence of the postposition *lo* 'instrumental'. In (4) 'father' is not mentioned overt, but semantically present (introduced earlier). The following sentence (5), however, starts with strong prominence on 'father' (clitic *-a* 'focus') combined by subject indication in the inflection of the verb (*-on* '3p.s.masc.'). In the following clauses (6,7,8) 'father' is grammatically referred to as (*-on* '3p.s.masc.') only. So, we recognize development of the plot in the discourse by: deixis, clause order (focus) and the alternation between bare verbs (used for general statements) and inflected verbs (used for detailed information).

2.1.3 A point of interest also is the occurrence of the demonstrative *ngga* 'that'. Combined with relational postpositions, like *ngga no*, ('to that') *ngga ey* ('with that'), *ngga sik so go* 'from that position' this demonstrative *ngga* functions clause initially as connector of the main event line in the discourse (cf. 3,5,10,15, 17).

2.2. Grammatical relationships

Cohesion in Kemtuik texts is made visible by a specific class of postpositions taking care of the majority of grammatical relationships. Being a relational element in the text, these postpositions do not carry a specific meaning on itself, (like other prepositions (e.g. *blo* = 'on top of')) but the function of this class is to give a special 'flavor' to the referent or event they are combined with. Their occurrence throughout the text takes care for the grammatical relationships. Depending on their position, their function differs. They have polysemous instances. Some of them can cluster with each other, others are in contrast. To gloss these features proved to be not an easy job. We have tried to provide a kind of 'basic' gloss for each of these relational postpositions.

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.’)
neutral
 and layered sequences of them.

The distribution of these postpositions is widespread throughout the text and fundamental for proper understanding of the meaning. The occurrence of the different referential postpositions in the text can occur both in contrast and pairing. The proper distribution throughout the text provides style and grammatical stability. They follow: (pro)nouns; verbs; demonstratives, numerals, time and place indicators, phrases and clauses. In isolated positions or in layered sequences, they produce all sorts of grammatical relations: linkage within the NP; linkage between NP and AdjP, VP with AdvP, 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 has to be shown in their context.

Relational Postpositions

Specific Intentional	Instigative	Allative	Deixis	Comitative	Focus
marks:	marks:	marks:	marks:	marks:	marks:
- verb	- tr.subject (in	- goal	- noun	- demonstrative	-verb
- adverb	case of	- recipient	- demonstrative	- noun	-noun
- object	disambiguity)	- inter cl.	- adjective	- colour	-
- postposition	- intr. subjects		- verb	- verb	demonstrative
- demonstrative	- instruments		- clause		
- numeral	- demonstrative		- time		
- subject	- pathway of				
- colour	movement				
	- inter clausal				

Relational postpositions and their layered sequences

<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.'

The use of color within its context forms an interesting illustration of the use of these relational postpositions. A color can occur in different grammatical positions (adjective, adverb, verb, depending on the occurrence of a relational postposition (#, *go*, *so*, *ey*).

1. Ngge / *kin so go*. (idem: *yangu* 'yellow'; *klaut* 'white'; etc.)
this blood spec. giv.
'This is red'

2. Ngge *kin ey go*.
this blood with giv.
'This is reddish.'

3. Genam go amka naklay / *klaut so gemang*.
1p.s. giv. clothe all white spec. exist
'All my clothes are white.'

4. Wi nok / nemot go dit *kiki -kiki so* / mo pling.
bird baby 3p.s. giv. feather green-green spec. already fly
'The baby bird with its dark-green feathers flew already.'

5. Sam ngga / nemot suk *bom-bom so* / mo nega.
book that 3p.s. skin red-red spec. already disappeared
'The red-covered book disappeared.'

6. Buen- sani suk so bom-bom ey go amka -a kabung lo gemang kok.
kind of fruit inner(=violet) skin spec. red-red with giv. clothes-foc. woman instr. exist wear

‘That girl had a dress of a dark-reddish violet color.’

7. {[Sip *kuim-kuim #*] no} degut sogo / genam mo -i- so.
place burned-burned dir. enter int. giv. 1p.s. already int. (= not want)
‘I don’t like going into black places.’

8. Ngga ba no didon tip pung go, no *yangu go* kua kangok.
that in dir. fruit sprout arrive giv. dir. yellow giv. not big
‘In there a sprout came up, but yellowed, (it did) not (become) big.’ (=ripen).’

9. {Wengkabui blo no go [srem (*yangu so*) go] ey} mo kut.
head on top of dir. giv. ornament yellow spec. giv. with already cover
‘On the head (he) was covered with (a) yellow ornament.’

2.2 Relational postposition = *so*

What these instances have in common is ‘specific’, with either an intentional or qualifying aspect. Following verbs, ‘intention’ fits best, in other cases ‘specific’ serves better.

Consider this example:

Nemot go duo / *boy ba so* / *su- suing* / go.
3p.s. giv. child prison in spec. rep.stay giv.
‘His child is staying in prison.’

Here *so* has the function of ‘specific/now’

2.2.1 Following verbs *so* marks ‘intention / now’.

Aka / usu *kebali so*.
Ol.brother garden work int.
‘Older brother is working in the garden.’

Sa / *pu so*.
rain say int.
‘It is raining.’

Genam / ten *dam so*.
1p.s. food eat int.
‘I am going to eat food.’

“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), do you take that child for a walk?'

Consider the following –more complex- forms with a serial verb construction (*sik* 'squeeze' + *pung* 'arrive' / *weng* 'come'). And in the third example a referential cluster 'derivate' (referring to a general verb like *weng* 'come').

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

2. *Inenga go nemot Yaneblang sik so (weng go)*
Yesterday giv. 3p.s. Nimboran squeeze out spec. (come)
'Yesterday I (came) from Nimboran'

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

Compare in the following three examples developing from intention to purpose and plan:

(1) *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)

(2) *Mia usu no [ten ikak genang] mo klong.*
mother garden to food collect purpose already go
'Mother has already gone to the garden to collect food. (purpose)

(3) *Mia usu no [ten ikak genang so go] mo klong.*
mother garden to food collect purpose int. 'giv' already go
'Mother has already gone to the garden in order to collect food.' (plan)

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'.

2.2.2 Following time *so* indicates: ‘specific’. In a present or past context *so* can not be post-posed to a time indicator.

Compare these examples (specific *so* vs. general *go*):

(1) *Nemot nang utep go ya klong?*

3p pl tomorrow giv. interr. go

‘Are they going tomorrow?’ (open question: tomorrow, later?)

(2) *Utep so nemot nang mea klong.*

tomorrow spec. 3p. pl. will go

‘Tomorrow they will certainly go.’ (answer contains certain intention)

(3) *Utep so nemot nang klong go nang.*

tomorrow spec. 3p pl go giv. purpose

‘Tomorrow they plan to go’. (answer contains that planning is certain)

(4) *Utep go nemot nang klong go nang.*

tomorrow giv. 3p. pl go giv. purpose

‘They are planning to go tomorrow.’ (answer contains that planning exist but is not a specific)

(5) *Utep go nemot nang klong go naning.*

tomorrow giv. 3p. pl go giv. neg.purpose

‘In order they will not go tomorrow (near future).’

Compare the contrast between *so*, *go* and (#) ‘neutral’ :

(6) *Inenga go, babu nalo semlea ey dasi ey mo dam.*

Yesterday giv. grandmother old papeda with rat with already eat

‘Yesterday grandmother ate (meat of the) rat with sago’.

(7) *Nggeasui # genam mea klong.*

now 1p.s. will go

‘I will go now.’ (now but open)

(8) *Nggeasui go genam mea klong.*

now giv. 1p.s. will go

‘I will go today’ (not tomorrow)

(9) *Utep so genam mea klong.*

tomorrow spec. 1p.s. will go

‘Tomorrow (for sure) I will go.’

(10) *#Utep go genam mea klong.#* (combination *go* and *mea* is not possible)

tomorrow giv. 1p.s. will go

‘Tomorrow I will go’.

(11) *Utep go nemot nang klong go nang².*

tomorrow giv. 3p. pl. go giv. purpose

‘Tomorrow they are planning to go’. (‘utep go’ means here ‘tomorrow or later’)

(12) *Utep so nemot nang klong go nang.*

tomorrow spec. 3p. pl. go giv. purpose

‘They are planning to go tomorrow.’ (‘utep so’ means here ‘definitely tomorrow’)

(13) *Nemot utep go ya klong? Yang! Nemot utep so mea klong.*

3p.s. tomorrow giv. interr. go yes 3p.s. tomorrow spec. will go

‘Is he going tomorrow? (unsure) ‘ Yes, he is going tomorrow. (for sure)

(14) *Nemot utep so ya klong? Yang! Nemot utep so mea klong.*

3p.s. tomorrow spec. interr. go yes 3p.s. tomorrow spec. will go

‘Does he has the intention to go tomorrow?’ Yes, he is going tomorrow. (for sure)

Consider also these examples: general (15) vs. specific (16, 17) information.

Note that *nggeasui* ‘now’ needs the addition of *go* in combination with *so* (intention / specific), and also the shift from intention to progress (16, 17).

(15) *Nggeasui # /nemot nang / dewi / mea pu.*

Now 3p pl. prayer will say

‘Now they will say prayers’. (general information about what is going to happen very soon)

(16) *Nggeasui go / nemot nang / dewi / pu so.*

now giv. 3p. pl. prayer say int.

‘Now they will say their prayers.’ (focus on starting of saying prayers)

(17) *Nggeasui go / nemot nang dewi so pu -pu.*

now giv. 3p pl. prayer spec. rep.say

‘Now they are saying prayers.’ (focus on the progress of saying prayers now)

2.2.3. Following a noun / demonstrative + proposition *so* provides an ‘specific now’ aspect to the clause. In fact *so* occurs in context with the present continuing form of the verb, or the ‘exist’ vorm (*gabe*, *gemang*). In some instances the main verb is not even mentioned, providing a shift in focus from the verb to the noun / demonstrative.

Consider the following examples showing contrast between two different postpositions: *so* ‘specific-now’ and *no* ‘directive’:

² *Nang* has two different meanings: plural or purpose.

(1) *Sam ngga meja blo so su-suing.* (present continuing)
 book that table on spec. rep. stay
 ‘That book is lying on the table.’

(2) *Sam ngga meja blo no mea suing.* (future)
 book that table on dir. will stay
 ‘That book will stay on the table.’

Consider the use of *so* in context of: ‘no verb’; ‘verb in pr. cont. tense’; or ‘exist’

(3) *Sam ngga / meja blo so* (at the present moment; focus on position)
 book that table on spec.
 ‘The book is lying on the table.’

(4) *Genam ngge so gabe bu- bung.*
 1p.s. this spec. exist rep. wait
 ‘I am here, waiting’.

(5) *Nemot / na go no / ya suing? Ngga so.*
 3p.s dir. giv. to interr. sit that spec.
 ‘Where does he sit? Overthere he is sitting.’

(6) *Aya / yap so / gemang.*
 father house spec. exist
 \xe Father is in the house (overthere).

Other examples focusing on positions using prepositions, like:
ku ‘down’; *ba* ‘in’; *mit* ‘with’; *idi* ‘side’; *nesip* ‘middle’; *dia* ‘outside’; *katang* ‘beside’; *mesip* ‘after’; *seboy* ‘in front of’; *seding* ‘end’; *nasong* ‘back’.

Some examples of those with *so*, focusing on a specific time or position:

(7) *Duen ku so, nevo 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.’

(8) *Nggeasui go sik so nemot / ta semlea idi so susuing go / mea ikum -ke- lo.*
 Now giv. squeeze 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).’

(9) *Genam nang / ta idi so klaya.*
 1p. pl. hand side spec. one
 ‘We (total) six people.’

(10) *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).’

(11) *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.’

(12) *Iram nemot / blo dega so / su -suing.*
 Leader 3p.s high very spec. rep.sit
 ‘The leader, he is very important (litt. high indeed)’

2.2.4 Following a qualifier, *so* marks ‘completeness’

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 to me what is good.’ (‘Say it correctly to me!’)

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

Dabui lo seni so se u-wet!
 heart instr. content/fruit spec. imp. rep.seek
 ‘Seek with your heart in-deed!’

Aya! Ngge / so go kalik so ya semu?
 Father! this spec. giv. like spec. interr. do
 ‘Father! How exactly are you doing this?’

Ke -kay so / sambui kalik/ pung go.
 rep.forget spec. demon like appear giv.
 ‘He appeared suddenly, like a demon.’

Kebali / yam so / at -nang lo / mo semu.
 work measure spec. 1p.excl. pl. instr. already do
 ‘We have finished work.’

Genam tang so mo ikum.
 1p.s. origin spec. already see
 ‘I have seen it myself’.

2.2.5 Following an object *so* indicates ‘specific now’.

Consider the element ‘specific’ in (1) vs. (2):

(1) *Genam ten # te-tra.*

1p.s. food rep. feel

‘I am feeling food’ (‘I am hungry’)

(2) *Genam /ten so/ du-duing.*

1p.s. food spec. rep.think (=wish)

‘I am wishing food’ (‘I would like to eat’)

Some other examples:

(3) *So go keballi so semu-togoy?*

spec. giv. work spec. do -2p.s. pr.t. dur.

‘What work are you doing?’

(4) *Sikabung /nemot so/ bu-bung.*

people 3p.s. spec. rep-wait for

‘The people are waiting for him.’

(5) *Mot /yakena wengkabui so/ kuoy go /yakena yay su-suing go nang.*

2p.s. village head spec. choose giv. village gard rep-sit giv. purpose

‘You have been chosen (as) village leader, to look after the village.’

(6) *Genam /wi namon so/ mo iti.*

1p.s. bird two spec. already take.

‘I have taken two birds.’

(7) *Duo ngga nemot go sui /Yohanes so/ se temuit.*

child that 3p.s. giv. name Yohanes spec. imp. name

‘That child must be named: Yohanes’.

2.2.6 Following location *so* indicates ‘specific’ / ‘ongoing’

Nemot /yakena Saplung Samon so/ su-suing.

3p.s. village Saplung-Samon spec. rep.sit

‘He lives in the village Saplung-Samon’.

2.3 Postposition = *lo*

The postposition *lo* is instigative. Sometimes it indicates ‘pathway’. It is glossed as ‘instr.’ Kemtuik is a SOV or OSV language, depending on information structure (topic). The postposition *lo* plays an important part in it. As

instrumental *lo* points to the subject or (indirect) object. It provides a general aspect. It is being used to contrast subject and object.

2.3.1 *Lo* clause finally

Consider some examples:

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.’

2.3.2 *Lo* marking transitive subject or intransitive subject that is in control. But if the actor shows his intention instrumental *lo* needs not to be added.

1. *Genam lo wadi lema gualing go.*

1p.s. instr. night snake smash giv.

‘Last night I shashed a snake.’

2. *Nggeasui genam lo lema mo but³.*

now 1p.s. instr. snake already kill

‘Now I killed a snake.’

3. *Nemot / aka lo demun but go so / mo kap.*

3p.s. ol.br. instr. stone hit giv. spec. already run away (*demun but* = punish)

‘He ran away because he was punished by his older brother.’

4. *Banim no genam # ngge mo semu.* (order SOV > *lo* not needed)

before dir. 1p.s. this already do

‘First I did this.’

5. *Banim no ngge genam lo mo semu.* (order OSV > *lo* is needed)

old dir. this 1p.s. instr. already do

‘I did this first.’ (focus on actor)

2.3.3. *Lo* as ‘instrument’, ‘general pathway or ‘general location.

1. *Inenga genam lema masi lo but go.*

Yesterday 1p.s. snake foot instr. kill giv.

‘Yesterday I killed a snake with my foot.’

³ but = 1. hit ; 2. kill

2. *Nemot dabui lo mo duing.*

3p.s. heart instr. already think
'He thinks with his heart' (He / she is emphatic).

3. *Nemot bu lo mo yane.*

3p.s. water instr. already crazy
'He acts crazy by drinking (alcohol).'

4. *Mot suey gemang! Suey lo!*

2p.s. good exist there good instr. (pathway)
'Good bye! May you path go well!'

5. *Sikabung tandali tap suey go lo mo ko- klong.*

people again road good giv. instr. already rep.go
'People are going again over a good road' (Behave well again).
(They started in the past and are still doing so.)

6. *Duo ngga sip srek blo lo mo srek.*

child that place sleep on top of instr. already sleep
'That child slept on the bed.'

7. *Nemot lo duot ngga nemot / nesip lo mo guik.*

3p.s. instr. sagotree that 3p.s middle instr. already cut
'He cut that sagotree through the middle.'

2.3.4. *Lo* marks an event as instigative.

1. *Sikabung [ngga so su- suing go] lo / wayang go.*

people that spec. rep-stay giv. instr. insult giv.
'Being insulted by the people staying overthere.'

2. *Genam go saysuk yam so mo gang. Amble lo demun but go lo.*

1p.s. giv. body end spec. already hurt gov. people instr. punish giv. instr.
'My body is hurting all over the place. Because the police beated me up.'

3. *Bu ke- klak go lo danon ey denun ey bu lo kenok go /*

water rep.rise giv. instr. boy with girl with water instr. overflow giv.
'Because the raising of the water, the boy and the girl were overflowed by the water,

busuing lo se lek.

water rubbish instru imp. drag away
and were threatened to drag away.'

2.3.4. Contrast and co-occurrence between #, *lo*, *so*, #. Instrumental and specific do not occur together.

1. *Sikabung # /nemot so /kam so /bung-ne te na w on.*
 people 3p.sl spec. end spec. (=in vain) wait –pl. dur. dir. pr.t. 3p.s
 ‘The people were waiting for him in vain.’

2. *Nemot nang lo sedue ngga nemot # mlak go /nemot nang # sedue ngga nemot so u-wet.*
 3p pl. instr. man that 3p.s. arrest giv. 3p. pl man that 3p.s. spec.
 seeking
 ‘They having arrested that man, they questioned that man.’

3. *Utep so sedue namon lo sedue ngga # mea wet.*
 Tomorrow spec. man two instr. man that will seek
 ‘Tomorrow two men will question that man.’

2.4 Postposition = *go*

The postposition *go* marks textual deixis. It carries the meaning of ‘given’, but in a wide sense. It attaches to Word classes, Phrase and Clause, marking ‘givenness’, ‘topic hood’, possessor’. In Kemtuik the major word classes are nouns (including personal names and place names), verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The minor classes are pronouns and demonstratives. The deictic *go* can be postposed to all these word classes, except adverbs. It is being glossed as ‘giv.’

2.4.1 Some examples:

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.’

/Nemot go duo [seguay go] / sadui so.
 3p.s. giv. child small giv. sick spec.
 ‘His little child is sick.’

Yap seguay go ngge / mea togut.
 house small giv. this will pull down
 ‘This small house will be pulled down.’

Yap ngga banim⁴ go / koy lo / mo kuim.
 house that old giv. fire instr. already burn
 ‘The house was burnt down formerly.’

⁴ *Banim* has two meanings: ‘old’ and ‘before’

Genam wadi go ngge lo mo sreka.

1p.s. night giv. this instr. already sleep
'Last night I slept here.' (focus on the whole night)

Nemot na go no? Nemot ngga go.

3p.s. dir. giv. to 3p.s. that giv. (*na go* = where)
'Where to is he? He is there.' (general information)

Sedue [nemu pung go] / pali go.

man eye go out giv. heal giv.
'A blind man was healed'

2.4.2. Contrast between *go* and *so*:

Utep go mot mea klong.

tomorrow giv. 2p.s. will go.
'(Any time) tomorrow you will go.' (focus on the day of tomorrow)

Utep so mot mea klong.

tomorrow spec. 2p.s. will go
'Tomorrow you will go'. (focus on tomorrow not any other day)

Kabung no pu go, "Sedue kalik go, kua!"

woman to say giv. man like giv. not
'We say to women, "Don't (act) like men!"' (general)

Kabung no pu go, "Sedue kalik so ya kua semu!"

woman to say giv. man like spec. imp. not do
'We say to women, "To act like male is not allowed!"'

2.4.3. Distribution of *go*. Two expressions with almost the same meaning. The first example focuses on the next day; the second example focuses on arrival of the next day. In that case *go* is only used once.

/[Ngga utep go] nemot namon ip go / yakena no gemang klong.

that tomorrow giv. 3p. two stand up giv. village to exist go
'The next day they two stand up and went to the village.'

[Ngga utep # pung go] sedue ngga gemang ikum na w- on.

that tomorrow arrive giv. man that exist see there-pr.t.3p
'When the next day appeared, he saw that man going there.'

=====

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)

2. 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, disambiguation and instigation.

The following variations are regularly occurring:

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

3. 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 wamoymloe / 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 nang*⁵.

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

^{5 5} Compare this with its negative counterpart: *pui go naning!* (fall giv. purp-neg.)
 ‘in order not to fall.’

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.’