

The verb phrase in Kemtuik

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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 one is dealing with a rather simple phrase structure; but other texts reveal a quite differentiated verb phrase structure. In fact 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 verbs¹. 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 a variety of simple, bare and inflected forms regularly.

As an illustration, two VP-examples using bare verb roots:

<i>Nemot</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>klong.</i>	‘He left.’
3SG	already	go	
<i>Genam</i>	<i>klong</i>	<i>so.</i>	‘I am about to go.’
1SG	go	desiderative	

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

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

1. Verb Phrase

1.1 Definition

The verb phrase in Kemtuik is defined as the verb, optionally preceded by adverbials, and preceded and followed by a number of affixes and particles which specify the number, person, gender of the subject, tense, aspect, mood and direction of the predication. We will refer to these elements as pre- and post-auxiliary morphemes.

1.2 Basic Verb Phrase

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. Therefore, we will focus on explanatory texts first. This will provide us with a basic VP-structure, using mainly bare verb roots, followed by a restricted number of pre- and post auxiliaries. In a second stage we will focus on narrative texts that add a lot of detailed information on top of the basic VP-structure.

¹ 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).

1.3 Example

The following text is an example about Kemtuik marriage customs.² Analyzing this provides us with a list of basic features of the verb phrase (NB: the red printed words form the Verb Phrase).

Kabung drang so go nebut

Woman brideprice specific giv. talk
'Story about brideprice.'

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

I now giv. man giv. father with woman giv. father with meet desiderative
'I am going to meet with the father of the husband and the father of the bride.'

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

Woman child (=girl) 3ps giv. mother man giv. house to will come
'The mother of the girl will come to the house of the man.'

"At go duo go kunala du-duing / mot go duo no." (=equative clause)

1p.sg. giv. child giv. thought cont.think (=wish), 2psg. giv. child to.
'The wish of my child is towards your son.'

Ngga-nemot kalik pu go / nglangin nemot go danon go taut / mea idok.

that it like say giv., father he giv. boy giv. goods will collect
'Being said like that, the father of the man will collect the (bride price) goods for his son.'

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

Mother with father with giv. instr. valuables this will collect
'Mother and father will collect these valuables.'

wada ta-idi; yawang ta-idi; teguo ta-idi; ngga no ngoy seglue namon.
stone axe hand-side (five); (yellow) beads five; (blue) beads five; that to (black) beads two
'Five stone axes; five yellow beads, five blue beads and two black beads.'

Ngga-nemot no, nebut mea pu:

that it to talk will say
'Following that (he) will say:

"Mot usu se trok / genam usu mea trok, walop semu go nang."

You garden must pull out, I garden will pull out, celebration carry out in order to
'You and I should get food from the garden to carry out the ceremony.'

Ngga-nemot no/ sikabung sedue go sik so go / mea klong / kabung go yakena no.

that it to people man giv. origin spec. giv. will go, woman giv. village to
'Following that the people of the man's (village) will go to the village of the woman (bride).'

Ngga-nemot no / ten / way-way / mea de-dam.

that it to food each other will cont. eat
'Following that (they) will eat together.'

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

each other eat giv., 3psg. giv. gift, 3psg. giv. friends to will give
'Having eaten together, he (=the boy's father) will give his gift to his friends.'

Andua-andua / ten keba / yam so / ta go.

friends food stringbag complete to set giv.

² For additional texts with 'simple' verbs see the attachment of this paper.

‘The party (of the bride) will set-out all the strings with food.’

Nemot go sedue trang nemot lo / keba / nemu mea u-wet.

3p.sg giv. man eldest 3ps. instr. stringbag eye will cont. seek (=search)

‘Their leader will carefully check the stringbags.’

Menay tang kangok go / yam so yam tui go / yam / ngga-nemot no / keba / mea glung.

animal origin large giv. measure spec.(=compl. measure put giv. finish that it to stringbag will hang

‘When meat (originated from big cattle) is completely counted, the stringbags will be taken up (= deal)’

Kabung / woy ku no / li go no, ngga-no / wip / mea dok.

Woman sun earth to go down giv. to that-to skirt will tie up

‘When the woman has bowed to the sun, then the skirt will be put on the woman.’

Kabung ngga wip so dok go, nemot no go drang banom so mea iti:

woman that skirt spec. tie giv. 3p.sg. to giv. brideprice self spec. will give

‘The woman that put on the skirt, will be given a wedding gift herself:

teguo ey wada ey, kabung wip so dok go no go drang.

green beads with stone axe(s) with, woman skirt spec.tie-up giv. to giv. 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 giv.-focus will give this woman tie-up (=marry) way

‘That woman will be given the clothes; that (is) the way a girl is married.’

Nggeasui go keba glung go, yakena no mea u-weng.

now giv. stringbag hang on giv., village to will cont.come

‘Now the bag being tied up, (they) will come back to the (husbands) village.’

Ngga no nebut ngge kalik so mea pu: mot utep go sisua daguit-a se idok.

There to talk this like spec. will say: you tomorrow giv. betelnut-focus must pick-up (more than one)

‘(Having arrived) there, talk like this will be said: tomorrow you must collect betelnuts.’

Napu go genamnang kabung / wawi go / / gemang mea klong, kabung itak so go.

day after tomorrow giv. we (excl.) woman take giv., sit.-there will go, woman leave behind des. giv.

‘The day after tomorrow we will take the girl and be on our way to leave the girl behind.’

Kabung ngganemot wawi go klong go nang so go,

girl that take giv. go planning des. giv.

‘In order to take the girl and go (escort),’

nemot go nglangin no go wada klaya ngoy klaya mea iti

3rd ps.sg. giv. father to giv. axe one blue beadstring one will give

‘her father will be given one stone axe and one beadstring,’

nemot ta taling go nang, nemot go nglangin lo go taiti.

3rd ps.sg. hand show in order, 3rd p.sg. giv. father instr. giv. gift.’

‘to show him regards, that is a gift from his (the boy’s) father.’

Ngge tap lo i-itak go kabung.

this road instr. cont.leave giv. girl

‘In this way girls are married out.’

Ngga nemot no nevo ta lo pong go, yakena nevo,

That it to pig hand instr. look after giv. 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 giv. village to will present
 ‘he will take (this) and dancing while going, to celebrate in the village of the groom.’

Ngga nemot sedue nemot go demanon lo ngoy wada ta no iti go,
 that it man he giv. sister instr. beads stone axe hand to take giv.,
 ‘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 with dance
 ‘will play around with dances.’

1.4 Overview

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 (RED as elements to be discussed on Verb Phraselevel and BLUE as elements to be discussed on Clause level.):

<i>mea + VR.</i>	<i>Negui walop nang so go so mea pu: ...</i> drum feast purp. spec.giv. int. will call ‘In order to use the drum at the feast, will be called: ...’ <i>Nemot lo keba nemu mea u-wet.</i> 3 rd ps instr. stringbag eye will cont. seek ‘He will inspect the stringbag(s).’
<i>mea kua + VR.</i>	<i>Negui tebadali go mea kua kluing.</i> drum invain giv. will not sound. ‘The drum will not be beaten without a purpose.’
<i>mea yakua + VR</i>	<i>Salam bata so-go-a mea yakua pung.</i> salam-tree wide spec-giv.-focus will possible not appear ‘A ‘salam-tree’ with a wide trunk, will not appear.’
<i>(se/mea) + VR + go nang</i>	<i>“Mot usu /se trok/, genam usu /mea trok/ walop semu /go nang.”</i> You garden must pull out , I garden will pull out , celebration prepare giv. purpose ‘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> 1 st ps. pl. woman take giv. sit. there will go ‘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 lemo y go.</i> Aip with Meikali-with-giv. focus sit. that like spec. happen giv. ‘If the villages Aip and Meikali are together, the same will happen.’
<i>go nang gabe (be)</i>	<i>Ku ngge no imot namon /yakena tasam semu / go nang / gabe</i> day this to we two village deed carry out in order to sit. here ‘On this day we two will be present here in order to hold this village celebration.’
<i>be</i>	<i>Ngge nemot so pu go be: “....”</i> This it spec. say giv. sit. here ‘This is what we say: ‘....’
<i>gabe</i>	<i>Yam so gabe mo semu!</i> complete sit. here completed carry out ‘Everything here is carried out!’
<i>VR + go + nang + so go</i>	<i>Kabung ngga nemot /wawi/ go, klong go nang so go.</i> girl that it take giv. go giv. purpose spec.giv., ‘In order to take the girl and go (escort)’
<i>VR / go nang gabe</i>	<i>Ku ngge no imot namon yakena tasam semu / go nang / gabe.</i> day this to we two village deed carry out giv.purpose it is here ‘On this day we two will hold this village celebration.’
<i>VR + so go</i>	<i>Genamnang kabung wawi go, gemang mea klong, kabung itak so go.</i>

	we (excl.) woman take giv., sit. there will go woman leave des. giv. 'We will take the girl and be on our way to leave the girl behind.'
VR + so	At nggeasui go sedue go nglangin ey tegu so . I now giv. man giv. father with meet desiderate 'I am going to meet with the father of the husband.'
mo + VR go	'... di srang blo no mo pu go .' tree root above to completed talk giv. '..what is said in secret (litt. 'above the tree root').' 'Ngganemot mo kenong mo , mea tuet. that completed fall possibility , will bury. 'If that falls down, it will be buried.'
mo + VR + mo	Nggano ayanang tandali Belanda no mo klong ne , ... and father pl. again Netherlands to completed go irrealis 'If you and your family would not have gone to the Netherlands, ...
VR + go	Mesam lo sedue ngge yai suing go , mesam instr. man this care stay giv.
VR(or: mang ne)	nemot lo kiki so (ge)mang ne ya dam. 3 rd ps.sg. instr. green spec. sit. irrealis imp. eat 'If Mesam takes care for this man, she will not be able to eat till she vomits.'
VR + mo	Mang mo kalik / genam kua senong. sit. possibility like saya tidak mengerti. 'Possibly, I don't understand'
pla + VR	Mot lo pla but-a! 2ps. instr. please kill-focus ' Please go ahead and kill it!'
ba + VR	Mot lo ba but? 3 rd ps.sg. instr. surprise kill 'Did you kill it?'
na + VR + so go	Mot na klong go so go , 2 nd ps. sg. should not go giv. desiderative-giv. (=planning) If you are planning to go that way, then (warning)
na se + VR	Negui walop nang so go so mea pu: "Denok negui na se klong- tutuo! " drum festivity purpose des-giv. des. will say!: young men drum must go cut wood 'To have a drum for the feast, it will be said: 'Boys must go, cut wood for drums.'
mea + VR go +VR	Imot go way mea klong go / pla . 1 st ps.pl. incl. fact turn will go giv. celebrate 'We will go and celebrate on our turn.'
se +VR and VR+ go nang	"Mot usu / se trok/ genam usu mea trok / walop semu go nang/ ." 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.'
gabe (be) gabe + VR	Ku ngge no imot namon /yakena tasam semu genang/ gabe day this to we two village deed carry out in order to sit. here 'On this day we two will be present here in order to hold this village celebration.' Ngge nemot so pu go be : "...." This it spec. say fact sit. here 'This is what we say: '....'
VR + go nang	Ku ngge no imot namon yakena tasam semu genang / gabe . day this to we two village deed carry out for be in a situation 'On this day we two will hold this village celebration.'
VR + so go	Genamnang kabung wawi go, gemang mea klong, kabung itak so go . we (excl.) woman take fact, sit. there will go woman leave des. fact 'We will take the girl and be on our way to leave the girl behind.'
VR + so	At nggeasui go sedue go nglangin ey tegu so . I now fact man fact father with meet desiderate 'I am going to meet with the father of the husband.'

1.5 Some general comments

1.5.1 In this kind of discourses the verb root structure looks rather simple. However, stating this one can easily be mistaken. The meaning of a text, using exclusively simple verb structure, is on the contrary often hard to grasp. In fact, a lot of information needs to be drawn from the wider sentence structure and context. For instance, it is unclear sometimes if a (pro)noun masculine or feminine, single, dual or plural is; or where the place of activity is, and who the referents are.

1.5.2 Looking at the overview (1.3) we notice that quite often a verb root is being followed by postpositions, like *so, go, so go, go so, go lo, go no, so go so and nang*. Also Modals (*ya, mo, mea, ba, ne, se, pla, na*), the Negative (*kua*), Sit.s (*gabe, gemang*) and Adverbs (e.g. *suey* ‘good’) also occur as independent Clause final Predicates, or as Inter Clausal relationship (*ya, mo, ne, se, -a*). Although a number of those will be discussed as Modals, Adverb and Sit. within the Verb Phrase, because of their wider function than VP, they will be discussed at Clause level as Postpositions and as Inter Clausal Relationships (see over there).

2. Verb structure

The Verb consists of a (reduplicated) Root (VR), non obligatory preceded or followed by a set of auxiliaries. Other important features of verb structure are ‘serial verb construction’, ‘verb compounding’ and ‘noun-verb construction’. Of each of those occurrences I will give some explanation and a few examples.

2.1 Reduplication of the VR.

The verb root can indicate ‘duration’ by reduplication the initial consonant and vowel of the root, like this: CV- C(C)V(C) e.g. *ko-klong* ‘going’ or in vowel initial case, the first vowel will be repeated, like this: V- V(C)(V) e.g. *i-iti* ‘giving, taking’³. If duration is expressed in this way, the Verb Root (VR) will occur as a bare VR (i.e. there is no verb inflexion).

2.2 Word class with different grammatical functions

A number of verbs belong to a word class that also can function as adjective, adverb, negation⁴ and modal. Some examples using *suey* ‘good’ and *kua* ‘negative’ are):

Motnang go du- duing / suey.
2p.pl giv. cont – think good
‘Your opinion is good.’ (as bare verb root)

Yap ngge tandali mo suey.
house this again already good
‘This house has been improved.’ (as bare verb root)

Suey so pen-san-do ya!
good spec. talk-dir.reverse-2p.f. imp.
‘You have to talk correctly!’ (as adverb)

Ta-iti suey go-a se iti go klong.

³ See for more detailed discussion the section on Phonology.

⁴ See for further examples at the chapters on Adjectives, Adverbials, Modals and Negation.

hand give good giv.-focus imp. give giv. go
 'You have to go and give the good present.' (as adjective)
Ten kua kua go: usu so maning, yap so maning.
 food not there is not giv.: garden spec. ongoing house spec. ongoing
 'Food never / runs out, it is always something in the garden, something in the house.'

Tasam kua-seni go / kua pluok.
 action not-content giv. not perform
 'Don't do what is meaningless.'

2.3 Clause final independent predicates consisting of an adverb, sit. or negative.
maning 'ongoing', *gemang* ('sit. there'), *(ga)be* ('sit. here'), *kua*.

Ten kua kua go: usu so / maning /, yap so / maning.
 food not there is not giv.: garden spec. ongoing house spec. ongoing
 'Food never / runs out, it is always something in the garden, something in the house.'

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

Ku ngge no imot namon yakena tasam semu genang / gabe.
 day this to we two village deed carry out for sit. here
 'On this day we two will hold this village celebration.'

Kabung kaguit meno / gemang // Nemot go sui Ble.
 woman young other exist there/ 3ps giv. name Ble
 'There was a certain woman. Her name was Ble.'

2.4 Verb compounding

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

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

Kabung ngga / sedue / iti-itak go lo / mo mlay.
 woman that man take-leave giv.-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 giv.
 'Highland people are always going up and down the mountains.'

Ngga / put ba lo / kerlam so / nemot-namon / mea kapot-dak.
 that, hole in instr. together spec. 3ps.du. will fall-collaps
 '(If) that (is so) / they will fall down together in the hole.'

Mot go taut ba⁵- iti!
 you giv. possessions come-take
 'Come here and take your possessions!'

⁵ *Ba* as verb means 'come'; however, as pre-auxiliary modal it carries the meaning: 'surprise'. Sometimes these words occur in the same position, what makes its interpretation somewhat confusing. On top of that: *ba* functions also as postposition, meaning 'inside'.

Iti-tui ey-go / tap masi kua klong!
 take-put with giv. road foot not go
 'If you are hesitating, don't go!'

2.5 Serial verb construction within the VP

Serial verb construction mainly occurs on Clause level. In that case the argument is being build up by the use of *go* 'given', *so* 'specific', *ey* 'with', *nang* 'purpose' and combinations thereof⁶. But in a one case *go* should be considered to be part of the VP. That is the case, where two verb roots are combined by *go* 'given'. This often occurring combination gives a fixed meaning to the serial construction. And as construction it follows the rules of the VP.

Daguit suk go ngga / mea iti go li.
 betelnut pick giv. that / will take giv. go down
 'That picked betelnut will be carried down.'

Mot ngge sik so / se iwot go klong.
 2ps. this origin spec. must return giv.go
 'You have to return from here.'

2.6 Noun-verb construction

A very common construction is the use of a 'general' verb combined with a 'specific' noun preceding the verb phrase as object, giving its specific meaning, like: 'eat', 'drink', 'mourn', 'sleep'. Literally: *bu-drop* 'water-drink'; *ten-dam* 'food-chew'; *usene sre* 'dull-stretch out'

Si-kebong so go sung / usene mea suing.
 person die spec. giv. ashes sleep will stay
 'Mourning because someone has died.'

3. Basic Verb Phrase Components

An overview of the basic verb phrase is provided in the following chart.

PRE-AUXILIARY			VERB	POST-AUXILIARY	
SITUATION	MODAL	NEG	CONTINUATION	VERB ROOT	INTENSIFIER
<i>gabe</i> <i>gemang</i>	<i>se</i> <i>na</i> <i>ya</i> <i>ne</i> <i>pla</i> <i>ba</i> <i>mea</i> <i>mo</i>	<i>kua</i>			<i>sing</i> <i>dap</i> <i>lak</i> <i>-a</i>

3.1 Situation

The preverbal Auxiliary 'Sit.' *gabe* ('sit. here') and *gemang* ('sit. there') is not easy to grasp. This arrangement covers general concepts as: 'in the process of', 'function', 'happen', 'exist' or 'sit.'. There are a number of aspects:

⁶ For further details see the discussion on Clause Structure

- Form

They consist of the following two forms: *gabe* (in a shortened form: *be*), and *gemang*.

- Reference

Gabe refers to situation, here and now; *gemang* refers to a situation over there.

- Position

In pre-auxiliary position, they both occur non-obligatory preceded by adverbs or followed by these modals: *mea*⁷ (certain action); *ya* (imperative; interrogative) and *mo* (completed action). *Gabe* and *gemang* also function as independent predicate.

Consider the following examples functioning as a pre-auxiliary elements in verb phrases:

Genamnang kabung wawi go / gemang mea klong.

1p.excl. pl. woman take giv. sit. there will go
'Taking the woman with us, we will be on our way'

Nemot namon lo pu go / yam so gabe mo semu.

3rd ps. dual instr. ordered giv. completely sit. here already carry out
'What they have ordered, we already carried out.'

Nggano tasam-tasam / mata so gemang mo lemoy / dali.

And incident pl. many spec. sit. completed happen too
'And many incidents happened there too.'

Nemot go don no go tang so / sam 28-30 no / gabe iti / dali.

3ps giv. power dir. giv. origin spec. chapter 28-30 dir/ sit. here give also
'Because of his power, up to chapter 28-30 is given (by me) also. Or: (I) give here also.'

and functioning as independent predicates in clauses like:

Nggenemot so pu go be: nali ngga dali⁸ kua go, nali meno iti-klong mea tuk.

This spec. order giv. sit. here: bird that ready not giv., bird other take-go will kill
'This is ordered overhere: if there is no bird of paradise ready, another bird must be taken, brought and killed.'

Aip ey Meykali ey go-a gemang, ngga nemot kalik so lemoy go.

Aip with Meykali with giv.-foc. sit. there that 3ps like spec. happen giv.
'When the villages Aip and Meykali are together, they will perform in the same way.'

Ku ngge no / imot namon / yakena tasam semu go nang / gabe.

day this towe(incl) two village celebration carry out giv. purpose sit. here
'On this day the two villages will hold their village (partnership) celebration.'

Nemot go konsep genam ba so / gabe.

It giv. concept I in spec. sit. here
'It's concept is in myself (heart or thought).'

Ngga sedue, nemot go mot so te-tra go / gemang.

that man he giv. order spec. calling giv. sit. there
'That there is the man who does the public call (shouting information).'

⁷ One example of *gemang* (sit. over there) followed by *mea* ('will') has been found. Combinations with *ya* (imperative; interrogative) and *mo* (completed action) occur regularly.

⁸ *Dali* has two unrelated meanings: 'also' and 'ready'.

3.2 Mood

The modal component of the VP can appear as Pre-auxiliary, as indicated in the scheme above.

3.2.1 Imperative / interrogative

Notice the following examples:

Genam *ya* *klong?*
1pg. imperative go
'Can I go?'

Ngga *ya* *kua* *lemoy.*
that imperative neg. happen
'It will not happen!'

Ngga *blo* *lo* *go*, / *i* *go* *so* *go* *ku* / *gemang* *ya* *pung.*
that on top of instr. giv. / count giv. spec. giv. day sit. there imp. arrive
'On top of that (=finally), the last day will appear.'

Ngga *no* *don* *ey* *gemang* *ya* *po-plong*, "Ngga, *kua* *de-dam* *go!*"
That dir. power with sit. there imp. rep.forbid, that not rep.eat giv.
'And then strongly will forbid overthere, "That should not be eaten!"'

Banim *temu* *no* *Kemtuik* *go* *iram-a* *gabe* *ya* *pung.*
front remains dir Kemtuik giv. leader-focus sit. here imp. appear
First of all, the Kemtuik leader (himself) will appear here.

3.2.2 Contradiction: *ne*

Sogo *so* *mot* *ngge* *so* *no* *ne* *weng?*
why spec. 2psg here spec.to contradiction come
'Why have you come here?'

Namon *so* *pu* *go*, *nangglik* *ey* *ne* *iti.*
two spec. say giv., three with contradiction give
'He ordered two, instead he was giv. three.'

Nemot *lo* *kiki* *so* *(ge)mang* *ne* *ya* *dam.*
3rd ps.sg. instr. green spec. sit. contradiction should imp. eat
'She should not be in the situation (that she) eats till vomiting.'

No, *genam* *ngge* / *nando* *go* *senun* *ne?*
to, I here who giv. wife contradiction
'Whose (legitimate) wife then, I am?'

3.2.3 Permission: *pla*

Mot *lo* *pla* *but-a!*
you instr. permission kill-focus
'Please, you kill it!'

3.2.4 Surprise

Ye ... *babu* *wamoy* *so* *ba* *mlue-NA* *-t* *-un*, *son* *-a* *kua!*
Waw.grandmother lie spec. surprise lie sit.down-pt.3pf, mosquito focus not
'Waw, grandmother is lying down there, there are no musquitos!'

3.2.5 Necessity: *se*

Mot se klong!
2nd ps. sg. necessity go
'You must go!'

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

Lema lo som go no, kekay so bu no se gluik-nawon.
snake intr. wrap giv. dir. all at once water dir, necessity draw
'Wrapped by the snake, (he) drew (her) all at once to the water.'

Denok ngganemot dabui ba suali se tra-ton.
child that heart in afraid necessity feel-pt-3ps
'That child began to feel afraid in his heart.'

3.2.6 Consequence: *na*

Itak go, kerlam so na walong-a-te-na-yun.
leave behind giv. together spec. cons. grow long-focus-duration-there-pt3pf
'The left-overs need to grow up there together.'

Ngga so no genam-a na kebon!
that spec. dir. 1ps-focus cons. die
'I may die there on the spot!' (curse)

Mot go kadon idi no pang go, kadon idi itak go / na pang dali.
2ps. giv. cheek side dir. hit giv. cheek side leave behind giv.cons. hit also
'If you are hit on one cheek, the other cheek let be hit also.'

Aya, ngge so mot na susuing go / at go kemdet kua kebon / be.
Father, this spec. 2ps cons. rep.stay giv. 1ps giv. brother not die / sit. here
'If you were here, my brother here would not have died.'

Mot na klong go sogo,
2nd ps. sg. cons. go giv. des.giv. (=planning)
'If you are planning to go that way, then' (warning)

... ntaton kebon go tete so go duo na tui.
brother die giv. possession spec. giv. child cons. give birth
'... to cause the birth of a 'back-up' child to (his) dead brother.'

3.2.7 Strong consequence (*na* 'consequence' + *se* 'necessity')

Mot go amka kangok go mo lek go, amka meno na se itak dali.
2ps giv. clothing big giv. already carry away giv., clothes other cons.necessity leave too
'If your large clothing is already taken away, your other clothes must be left behind too.'

Negui walop nang so-go-so mea pu, denok negui na se klong- tu-tuo.
drum celebration purpose spec-giv.-des. will called, young men drum cons. necessity go- cont.cut
'In order to cut a drum for the festivities, will be ordered, 'Young men must go and cut.'

3.2.8 Certainty future: *mea*

‘Certainty’ in Kemtuik can refer to an action that will be / need to be completed. 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. Consider the following examples:

Genam wadi so ngge lo mea sreka.

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 spec. I again will go.

‘I (certainly) will go again tomorrow.’

Nggeasui genam tandali mea klong.

today I again will go

‘Today I will go again.’

Tebadali go walop mea kua iti.

in vain giv. 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.

1st ps. sg. poss heart in to-giv. happiness big spec. will feel

‘I -for sure- will feel great happiness in my heart.’

3.2.9 Certainty past: *mo*

Refers to an action that has been completed in the past, with the consequences still in force (*mo* ‘already’).

Genam wadi go ngge lo mo sreka.

I night giv.this instr. already sleep

‘I have slept here last night’

Wadi genam lo lema masi lo mo but.

night I instr. snake foot instr. already kill

‘Last night I killed a snake with my foot.’

Ngga no tasam-tasam mata so gemang mo lemoy dali.

that dir. actions many spec. sit. already happen also

‘And many incidents have happened also.’

3.3 Negation: *kua*

Negation in the VP is a special topic. Note that negation signaled by *kua* appears directly preceding the verb root ahead of several other MODAL ‘*ya*’ and ‘*mea*’. It can follow the adverb *maning* ‘continuing’. The negation *kua* can also occur like several other PRE AUX, as independent predication. In that case it follows *mo* ‘already’ as well.

Consider the following examples:

Genam moyso, ya kua klong!

I not willing imp. neg. go

‘I don’t want to go!’

Genam mo klong, nemot kua klong.

I already go he not go

‘I went, but he did not go.’

Genam *mea* *kua* klong.
 I certainl will neg. go
 ‘I definitely will not go’.

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

3.4 Intensifier

A verb root is not obligatory followed by an intensifier:
 The following forms have been noted:

- *sing* each one
- *lak* everyone as a group
- *dap* end of process
- *a* focus⁹

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 fact body snake instr. bone spec. brake giv. sit. divide in pieces
 ‘Then the bones of Waling’s body were divided into pieces by the snake.’

Wengkabui lo koybutasemu temu mot go, gemang ne- na- won lak dali.
 Headman instr. servant other order fact, sit. pl3p-there-ptsingle 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-3ps masc giv.
 ‘till the child had grown up completely/ or: had become mature.’

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

Genam *pen*¹⁰ *dap* *t-u* go.
 I speak finish proces pr.t.-1ps giv.
 ‘This is all what I have to say.’ (focus on the total speech)

Genam *nebut pen-a tu* go
 I speech speak focus pt.1p giv.
 ‘I am speaking’ (focus on speaking)

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

Imot kua ikum dap i¹¹ sre w on.

⁹ Focus –a occurs elsewhere in the clause as well and also inside the Verb Phrase.

¹⁰ The verbs *pen* and *pu* are not related, but their meaning is close. *Pen* ‘speak’ (general); *pu* ‘talk, order’ (specific).

we incl not see proses pl. result pt.-3pmasc.
'We have searched around but not see anything.'

Imot kua ikum ### e sre w on.
we incl. not see ### pl. result pr.t-3pmasc
'We have not seen it.' (Focus is on the result)

4. Inflected verbs

4.1 Introduction

As stated in chapter 1 some discourse types do not need fully inflection verbs. The facts are expressed mainly as bare verbs. But moving on to other kinds of discourse, e.g. narrative, we see immediately quite a differentiation of handling sit.s 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 story will be introduced with fully inflected verbs (section 4 >). That is where the action starts (blue):

4.2 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 to already 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 to leave giv.
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. cont.-shoot giv.-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 giv.
Dame Idam his string of beads, which his father had given him

kabung nang so- go gemang tong.
wife purp. des.-giv. sit. there cut
to get a wife, broke.

Dame 004

Wabedong go kamso wet-a-ton, kua ikum- sre- won.
midday giv. unsuccessfully look_for -focus-ptsit-3s. masc./not see- result- ptsingle-3smasc.
Midday he looked without success and did not find them.

Dame 005

Dame Idam ngganemot suali go, yap ba so got-ton.
Dame Idam being afraid, stayed in the house.

Dame 006

¹¹ The occurrence of *i* (plural marker) is quite special. Does it perhaps refer to the object? So far, only *e* has found in the same slots.

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

usu sik sogo *pung* go, *ten semu* go,
garden spec.-giv. arrive giv. food make giv.,
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. sit. there down-pt-3sf tell giv.
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 giv.: 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 giv. food will not eat
I am sick and will not eat.'

Dame 008

Demanon tandali weng go, nglangin ey unen ey pu go so,
sister again come giv. father with mother with say giv.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 des. / sit. there go_down-pt.3sf.
the sister went down again to her brother.'

Betedon lo ngga kalik so gemang pu-na-w-on dali,
brother instr. that like spec. sit. there say-dir-ptsingle 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-y-on?
mother with father with say giv.cont. afterwards food focus question eat-ft-3ps.m.
The parents answered, 'Will he eat afterwards then?'

Dame 010

Demanon lo betedon nemot degu so klong go ta-idi yamso
sister instr. brother he room sit. go giv. hand-side complete
The sister went to her brother's room five times.

Dame 011

Taidi tete be-tun go no
five time go_down-pt3sf giv. dir.
After she had gone for the fifth time,

Dame Idam lo demanon nemot gemang but-ba-won go no,
Dame Idam instr. sister she sit. hit from low to high giv. dir.
Dame Idam hit his sister

ngge kalik so gemang pen-ba- w- on demanon no:

this like spec. *sit. there speak- from low to high-pt.single 3ps.m* sister dir.
(and) said like this to his sister,

mot nando deguo lo pu go so, ten senang so u-weng, genam ten moysogo
you who news instr. *say* giv.-int. food continuous spec. *rep.come* I food *refuse*
'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-t-un,
I (poss) beads wife purp. int. giv.father father instr. *give* giv. *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* giv.-cont.
when shooting jeruks with my bow.

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 Building up the argument

If we compare e.g. Dame 001-003 with Dame 004, we see an information load at the beginning of a discourse (situation, subject, object, plurality, etc.), often just expressed by bare verb roots, or the predicates exist out of verb roots with inflection.

4.3.2 Grouping of post-positions and morphemes

As being stated before, bare verb roots are being alternated with fully inflected verbs. Inflection means an addition with elements like number, mode, directional, tense/aspect, person and gender. They are grouped together in different strings of post positions and morphemes as:

- a) An elaboration of the root
- b) Independently of the root, using a Directional Verb

The following scheme shows the occurrences of both bare and inflected verbs:

		Predicate		
	any verbal predicate		motion predicate	
verbroot+ inflection	bare verb root		directional verb with inflection	bare verb root <i>klong</i> 'go' <i>weng</i> 'come' <i>suing</i> 'stay'
(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)

Each of these four possibilities is illustrated as follows:

- (1) *Wabedong go kamso wet -a -t -on, / kua ikum- sre -w- on.*
midday giv. unsuccessfully look_for -focus-prt.dur-3ps.masc. / not see- result- prt.single-3p.m.
'Midday he looked without success; he did not find (them).'

- (2) *Genam ten dam so.*

I food eat desiderative
'I am going to eat.'

- (3) *Taidi tete be t -un go no,*
five time directional verb-ptdur-3pf giv. dir.
'After she went for the fifth time,
- 4) *Demanon lo betedon nemot degu so klong go ta idi yamso*
sister instr. brother he room sit. go giv. hand side complete
'The sister went to her brother's room five times.'

Note that in slot (4) of the predicate scheme only *klong* 'go', *weng* 'come' and *suing* 'stay' occur.

4.4 Overview of the Verb Phrase with Post-auxiliary inflection:

ADVERB	PRE-AUXILIARY			VERB		POST-AUXILIARY	
	SIT.	MODAL	NEG.	REP.	ROOT	INTENSIFIER	STRING of DETAILS

4.5 Inflated Verbs are obligatory followed by Tense / Aspect; Person / Gender.
Plural, Mood, Duration and Direction are optional.

Plural	Mood	Duration	Direction	Tense / Aspect	Person / Gender
optional	optional	optional	optional	obligatory	obligatory

4.6 Directional Verbs are either expressed as bare verbs: *klong* 'go'; *weng* 'come' and *suing* 'stay' or in inflected form. In the last case an obligatory DIR is *optionally preceded* by a plural, and *obligatory followed* by Tense / Aspect; Person / Gender. Mood and Duration do NOT occur.

It is important to note that with this kind of verbs *slightly different* forms of inflection are being used for *plural* and *directional* verbs (see the discussion there).

Plural	Directional Verb	Tense / Aspect	Person / Gender
optional	obligatory	obligatory	obligatory

5. Inflection: Plural Markers

5.1 PLURALITY in the verb phrase concords with PERSON. First, second and third person singular are added with *-namon / nang* to form plurality. The one exception is 1stps. dual / plural inclusive (*imot-namon / imot(nang)*). This form follows the 3rdps sg form. Consider the following example:

Imot namon duen ba lo mea srek-me-na-yon.
we two bush in somewhere will sleep-dual-dir-ft-3pm
'We two (male) will sleep somewhere in the bush.'

Or the other way around: an obligatory plural marker in the verb phrase indicates the kind of plurality of the subject without an overt occurrence of that subject, and a third possibility is a plural marker in the VP that refers to a single form of the subject, indicating it as dual of plural. Consider the examples,

Tap logo ngga kalik gemang pen-*kle-kun-tug* -un.
road inst. giv. that like sit. talk-dual-dir-prt.dur.-3pf
That is what (the two) were discussing under way. (subject is not mentioned overtly)

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

5.2 Classes of plural markers

There are two classes of plural markers,

- (a) functioning in a Directional Predicate
- (b) functioning in a Verbal Predicate

Consider the following example:

Ngga no kabung namon woy su-sut *IP* -*kle-sa-t-* un go
that dir women two sun going down start to walk dual dir pt 3psf giv.

e ... dun idi lo gemang ke -BE -t- un go
till ...Cyclops side instr. sit. there dual-(going) up-pt.3pf giv.
e ... woy klak no gemang PUNG-kle-ba -t- un.
till ... sun rise dir. sit. there arrive-dual-upthere-pt.-3pf

(a) Person functioning with a Directional Predicate

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

(b) Person functioning with a Verbal Predicate

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

Consider the following part of a story that shows a typical alternation between verbal- and directional predicates. The blue colored (*ke, kle* ‘dual’) alternate with each other as well:

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

e ... dun idi lo gemang ke-BE -tun go,

till ... north side sit. dual-DIR-prt.3pf giv.
'and the two went all the way via the north (=Mount Cyclops),'

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

*Ngga sik so, negui kukluing go, seguo popong go gemang **tup -kle -kun -tun**.*
From there, drum cont. beat giv., music cont.play giv. sit. 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 sit. dual-DIR-pt.3pf, till...Dalom to sit. 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 giv., this where from people instr. music play-plural-pt. 3pm.
'They thought, 'The people who sing, where do they come from?'

Consider these examples also:

*Yakena kungap mang i-ikum; nggano **ke-NA-tug-un**.*
Village outlook exist cont.see; there to dual-there-ptdur-3pf
'The outlook of the village appeared and (they) went to there.'

*Sogo kalik go nebut mo **tup-kle-t-o?***
what like giv. talk already hear-dual-pt-2p
'What talk did you two hear?'

*Imot namon gabe ya **kap-mle-y-on!***
we two sit. im.fut run away dual-im.fut- 3pm
'Let we run away'

*... imot namon **kebleng klik-me-y-on go nang**.*
... we two stretcher make-dual-ft-3pm purpose
'... in order for us to make a stretcher.'

*Nemot namon **klak-ke¹²-bi-t-on** go*
They two climb-plural-dir-ptdur-3pm giv.
While they two were climbing,'

*Imot kua ikum **dap i sre w-on**.*
we incl not see **proses** pl. no result pt.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)

The following occurrence of **ke** (in the same context of Woy Idam) is hard to explain (**ke > kle**)?:

*Nemot namon wop sagoy so **leguit-ke -ban -tug - un** go, demu luk ngga nemot no pung go, ...*
3p two shrimps torch des. show-dual-return up-ptdur 3pf giv., stone hole that 3ps to arrive giv.
When the two (girls) were catching shrimps with torches, and they arrived at the stone hole,

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

Nemot namon ngga nemot so kasa -kle -tug-un.
 They two that 3ps spec. search-dual-ptdur3pf
 They start to search (that place with shrimps).

6. Mode: (ir)realis

There is one form occurring regularly in the string of POST AUX morphemes, very often combined with *kua* (negative). Probably, it may be best translated as: sit. = ‘(ir-)realis’
 Consider the following examples:

Isuali kedong-a dam-sre-tu.
 Cassowary meat-focus eat-real.-pt-1p
 ‘I would 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 sit. already give-real-to1p
 If you had asked me for water, I would have giv. 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 searching around) ‘We have not found it.’

Sogo ho¹³ goso nemot tang go-lo-go sikabung bu kua tui-sre-na-won?
 Why 3p self giv.-instr-giv. people water not touch-real-dir-pt-3pm
 ‘Why is it he himself, who does not baptized people?’

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 giv., 3p poss father pl mother pl to not say-real-dur-dir-pt-3pf
 ‘The fact that Dame Idam was left behind in the corral of a coconut tree, 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.

7. Duration: *te*

Duration in the Kemtuik verb phrase can be expressed in several ways, with slightly different meaning. In the VP it is expressed through:

- a) use of marker *te* in the POST-AUX > *got-te-ba-won* ‘he is staying’
 - b) use of duration marking eg. (-t-) in the tenses > *tugu; togoy, togon, ton, tugun, ngu, nga*
- The different position of *-te-* in the string of post positions points to a special aspect of duration in the VP. It points to a durative sit., providing new or specific information.

Consider the following two sentences, taken from the same story, pointing to two different effects of the same sit.. 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-)¹⁴, (explaining specific (strange) behavior).

¹³ *ho* is a phonetic variant of *so*. Probably dialectal influence from the Klesi language.

¹⁴ /w/ is a phonemic /w/, sometimes if preceded e.g by a nasal it functions as a glide between two nasals preceded by a round vowel. Example: *kun-won* > *kun-on*

(a) *Ngga nemot suli sogo so yap ba so got-t-on.*
 that 3ps afraid reason spec. house in spec. stay-ptdur-3pm
 'Because he was afraid, he is staying in the house.'

(b) *Ngga nemot suli sogo so / yap ba so gemang got -te- ba-w-on.*
 that 3ps afraid reason spec. house in spec. sit. stay-durative-in-pt-3pm
 'Because being afraid, he is staying in the house.'

Consider in this example taken from the story 'Dame Idam' the shift from *-ton-* (pr.dur.) to *te* and visa versa:

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. cont.bath-pl-dur-pt-3ps giv., sit. 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 giv. blood smell-dir-pt-3pf- all-giv.
 and they all smelled the (cooked) blood of a lizard,

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

NB. Other forms of duration in the VP are a general form of duration where the verb root is being repeated, and the occurrence of *no* following *go* ('given'):

Nggano denok meno, kabung nalo ikum go no, dabui ta teguey ey gemang pu-pu, "..."
 and boy other woman old see giv. dir. heart hand knock with sit. cont.say, "..."
 'and another boy, seeing the old woman, knocked on his breast (shows pity) and said, "...'

8. Directional

8.1 Main features

- (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 only 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 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 at 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 giv.or. 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’.

8.2 Form of Direction

The form in which Direction in Kemtuik can be expressed is rather complex. In the schedule of Chapter 4, the predicate was outlined as follows:

		Predicate		
	any verbal predicate		motion predicate	
verbroot+ inflection	bare verb root		directional verb with inflection	bare verb root <i>klong</i> ‘go’ <i>weng</i> ‘come’ <i>suing</i> ‘stay’

We see here a major difference between Any Verbal Predicates and Motion Predicates. Further on there are differences between verbs with inflection and bare verbs. And three ‘general motion’ verbs: *klong* ‘go’, *weng* ‘come’ and *suing* ‘stay’, can’t be inflected at all. The conclusion is that Directionals, obligatory followed by a Tense/Gender marker, can function as main verb or sometimes compounded to other verb stems. The compounds then are the result of a verb serialization. But in other cases directionals seem to be not verbs, but an addition to the main verb, (like all the other additional information in the POST AUX string).

The following observations need to be made:

- While all verbs do occur either as bare verb roots or as main inflected verb roots, three ‘general motion’-verbs, *klong* ‘go’, *weng* ‘come’ and *suing* ‘stay’ can’t combine with a Directional.
- Directional verbs expressing only motion (i.e. moving away) have a different set of directionals (*NA*, *BE* and *SE*) from general verbs. However: in case of motion towards, the same set of directionals is being used, both for general and directional verbs.

These features are summarized in the following scheme :

Description position of speaker	Down	UP	Same level	General Verb / Directional Verb
Motion – towards	kun	ban	san	General Verb / Directional Verb
Motion – away	na	be	se	Directional Verb
Motion – away	si	bi	#	General Verb

No motion (= situation)	na	ba	sa	General Verb
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There are two forms of direction in the Verb Phrase:

a) Directional verbs

Demanon tandali betedon pu so / gemang BE-tun.
 sister again brother say des. / sit. up high-pr.t.3sf.
 'the sister went down again to her brother.'

b) Direction as inflection of any verb root

Consider eg. the verb *degut* 'to enter' and *wuik* 'roll down'.

Ngga no tandali degut-sa -w-on go no, Banu Debui lo demu kangok go lo demu put no wuik-si-tun.
 that dir. again enter-sit.same level-pt3pm giv. dir, BD instr.stone big giv.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.'

8.3 Examples:

8.3.1 Movements ('coming') towards the speaker, using Directional Verb:

Genam mea SAN-d¹⁵u.
 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)

8.3.2 Movements ('return') toward speaker, using any Verb (here *iti* 'give'):

Genam mea iti-san-du.
 I will give-return (same level)-ft1p
 'I will go and return (it).'

Genam mea iti-kun-du.
 I will give-return (from high to low situation)-ft1p
 'I will go down and return (it).'

Genam mea iti-ban-du.
 I will give-return (from low to high situation)-ft1p
 'I will go up and return (it).'

8.3.4 Movement away from the speaker using Directional Verb:

Genam mea SE-lu.
 I will go to same level-ft-1p
 'I will go overthere.'

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

Genam *mea NA-lu*.

I will go down-ft-1p
'I will go down.'

Genam *mea BE-lu*.

I will go up-ft-1p
'I will go up.'

8.3.5 Movement away from the speaker using any verb with directional inflection:

Genam *mea iti-# -lu*.

I will give-same level-ft-1p
'I will give (it) overthere' (Same level)

Genam *mea iti-si-lu*.

I will give-down-ft1p
'I will take it down there.'

Genam *mea iti-bi-lu*.

I will give-up-ft1p
'I will give it up there.'

8.3.6 No-motion: situation away from speaker

Duing -na -w -on go, "Ngga wi lo tutuot go nebut wa?"
think situation down pt.3ps.masc. giv. that bird instr. singing giv. sound, is it not?
'He was thinking down there, "Is not this the sound of a singing bird?"'

Ngga utep wabedong go, demanon mit no go so *gemang ip -ba -w -on*.
that tomorrow morning giv. sister with dir. giv. spec. sit. start to walk- sit.up pt.3ps. masc.
'The next morning he raise up to go to this sister.'

Genam lo mot nang no go nebut meno *mea usi -sa -l- u*.
I instr. you pl dir. giv. talk other will ask-same level situation ft.1ps.
'I will you (pl) here ask another question.'

8.3.7 Contrast between Directional Verb: NA ('move away down') and Direction attribute to the main verb: na ('situation down there')

Ngga nemot so go so, dokter sono *gemang -NA -w on*.
that 3psg. spec. giv. spec. dokter spec. dir sit. move away down- pt-3psmas.
'Therefore he went (somewhere down) to the dokter.'

Ye ... babu wamoy so *ba mlue-na -t -un*, son -a kua!
Waw.grandmother lie spec. surprise lie sit.down-pt.3pf, mosquito focus not
'Waw, grandmother is lying down there, there are no mosquitos!'

8.3.8 Contrast between Directional Verb NA ('go down') and si ('down') as attribute to the main verb ('climb').

Mot namon-a yakot so suing-a, genam *mea li -si -l-u* so!
2p. dual-focus quiet spec. stay-focus, 1psg. will climb-down-ft-1ps. des.
'You two stay there quietly, I want to climb down.'

Ngga nemot so go so, dokter so no *gemang -NA -w on*.
that 3psg. spec. giv. spec. dokter spec. dir sit. move down- pt-3psmas.
'Therefore he went (somewhere down) to the dokter.'

Consider also some examples shown in their contexts:

Dame 006 (Move away / Up / Directional Verb = be)

nggano demanon betedon nemot pu so gemang BE -tun, pu go.
then sister brother he tell des. sit. there go high-pt-3sf tell giv.
'then (the father) told the sister to go up to call her brother.'

Dame 008 (Move away / Up / = be) Contrast *be* and *na*.

demanon tandali betedon pu so / gemang BE-tun.
sister again brother say int. / sit. go high-pr.t.3sf.
the sister went up again to her brother.'

(Situation / Down / = na)

Betedon lo ngga kalik so gemang pu -na -w on dali, "..."
brother instr. that like spec. sit. there say- sit.low-pt 3pmasc. again,
'Brother answered (in situation down) like that too, "...'

Dame 011 (Move away / Up / Directional Verb = be) Contrast *be* and *ba*.

Taidi tete BE-t- un go no
five time go up-pt3sf giv. dir.
After she had gone up for the fifth time, ...

(Situation / Up / = ba)

Dame Idam lo demanon nemot gemang but -ba -w- on go no,
Dame Idam instr. sister she sit. hit sit. high pt.3pm giv. to
'After Idam began to hit his sister up there,

(Situation / Up / = ba)

ngge kalik so gemang pen-ba -w on demanon no: "..."
this like spec. sit. say- sit. high pt.3psmasc. sister to
like this he then said this to his sister, "...'

Contrast *bi* (move up) and *ba* (situation high)

Ngga ey nglangin-a ulu blo so no klak -bi -w- on go,
that with father-focus breadfruit tree top spec. dir. climb move up -pt. 3pmasc. giv.
'Then father climbed up in the top of the breadfruit tree,

ulu so buo -te -ba -w -on go no,
breadfruit spec. pick -dur. sit.high- pt- 3pmasc. giv. dir,
up there having started to pick breadfruit,

ulo blo sik so sa blue gemang pu -bi-w-on.
breadfruit tree from the top rain curse sit. call- move up -pt.3p masc.
from the top of the tree, he began to call magic for rain.'

(Move to speakers place ; Down; Directional Verb = kun)

Kabung usu sik sogo pung gono, mesip so gabe KUN -t -u
woman garden from spec.giv. arrive giv. dir. behind spec. sit. return down -pt-1p
'After (my) wife has come back from the garden, afterwards I returned here (=down).'

(Situation / Same level = sa)

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

(Move / Up / = bi)

Woy Idam nemot u no tup gono gemang klak-bi-w-on.
Woy Idam 3p cry to hear giv. dir sit. climb-up-pt-3pm

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

(Situation / Down / = **na**) (4)

Nggano maso ngge lo mot tra go no, temu mata so pung-lak-a -na -t-un.
And devil this instr. order giv. dir, other many spec. arrive-int-focus-sit. down-pt-3pf
‘And after the devil gave orders, many other devils arrived down together.’

(Time setting / Dir. Verb = **na**)

Ku meno so NA -w-on go gemang ikum, kungdon so yagui lo pu-pung go, ngge mata so.
day other spec. go down -pt-3pm giv. sit. see, big tree spec. pigeon instr. cont.arrive giv., this many spec.
‘On a specific day in the past he saw pigeons arrive in the *beringin* tree, they (were) many.’

(Time setting / Dir. Verb= **san**)

No, ku SAN -tug- un go no, seni mea senong-l-o.
but day come -pt dur. 3pf giv. dir content will know-ft-2p
‘But in the coming time you will understand.’

(Time setting / Same level = **san**)

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 giv.-dir sit. arrive
‘I have said everything from the beginning till now.’

(Move back / Up = **ban**)

Nemot namon wop sagoy so leguit-ke -ban -t ug un go, demu luk ngga nemot no pung go, ...
3p two shrimps torch des. show-dual-return up-ptdur 3pfem.giv., stone hole that 3ps dir. arrive giv.
When the two (girls) were catching shrimps with torches, and they arrived at the stone hole, ...

(Move / Same level / = **sa**; Move / Down / = **si**)

Tandali degut-sa -w -on go no, Banu Debui lo demu kangok go lo demu put no wuik-si-tun.
Again enter-same level-pt3pmasc. giv. dir, BD instr. stone big giv. instr. stone hole dir. roll-down-ptf
‘When he (Woy Idam) entered (the hole) again, Banu Debui rolled a big stone down before the hole.’

(Move / Same level / Dir. Verb = **se**)

No, sedue se -w on go, nggano ikum go: e, nebo mo klak ba?
But, man same level-pt 3pmasc. giv., and see giv.: 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)?’

9. Tense and Aspect

9.1 Schedule

Strictly speaking there are only two tenses in Kemtuik: Past and Present. 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’.

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

			TENSE			
			PAST (-m)		NON-PAST (-n)	
REMOTE	REMOTE	RECENT		PRESENT	PRESENT	FUTURE

single	durative	single		single	durative	action
ku	ngu	yu	1 st Person	tu	tugu	lu / du
ka	nga	yo	2 nd Person	to	togoy	lo / do
kam	ngam	yom	3 rd Person masc	won	togon (ton)	yon
kum	ngum	yum	3 rd Person fem.	tun	tugun	yun

9.2 Examples of Tense and Aspect:

9.2.1 Remote past (durative)

Seni so, Ki Wali Iram lo kukunan ngge semu -ng -am go no go,
indeed God instr. earth this make-durative-3m remote past giv. dir-giv.
'Indeed, when God created this earth,

ikum-ng-a-m gono gemang pu-a-ng-am: Naklay-naklay teguop kangok seni!
see-dur.-3pm-remote past giv. to sit. say-focus-dur.-3m rem. past all-all perfect big content
'Seeing it, he said, "All indeed is very good!"'

Nggano bu yam so gemang pang-a -ng -um.
and water finish spec. sit. dry-focus- dur rem.past.-3f
'And the water dried out completely.'

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

9.2.2. Remote past (single)

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

9.2.3 Recent Past

Banim genamnang bu so u-wata go no, genam go ngoy nemot lo iti go kok-na -yom go.
Before we (excl.pl.) water spec cont.bath giv. dir, I giv. necklace 3p instr. take giv. hide-dir-past giv.

Genam lo ngga ba no itak-na- yu go.
I instr. that in dir leave-dir-pt.1ps giv.
'I left it in there.'

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

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

9.2.4 Present tense (durative)

Dame Idam ey Dunkoy Debui ey nemot go yakena so got -kle -t -ug- un.
 Dame Idam with Dunkoy Debui with 3p giv. village spec stay-dual-pt.dur.3p.f
 ‘Dame Idam stayed with Dunkoy Debui in her village.’

Ngga kalik mea got-sa -t- og- on¹⁶.
 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. sit. say-pt.dur.3p.m
 Then Dame Idam said like this, “...”

Mot sogo so wet- t- og-oy?”
 you what spec. search-pt.dur.2p
 ‘What are you looking for?’

Ngganemot sogo so genam yap ba so gabe got -t -ug- u.
 therefore spec. I house in spec. sit. stay-pt.dur.1p
 ‘Therefore I stay inside the house.’

9.2.5 Present tense (single)

Nggano, kabung nalo lo ngge kalik so gemang pu -t -un, Genam domdat kua go be.
 and woman old instr. this like spec. sit. say-pt.3pf, “I grandchildren not giv. sit. here
 And the old woman said like this, “I have no grandchildren.”

Duen no, nebo uduo lo gemang segue-ne-sa -w- on.
 Bush to, pig dog instr. sit. hunt -pl-dir-pt.3p.masc
 ‘In the bush the dogs started to hunt pigs.’

“Kemdet! Mot, tap KUN -t -og- oy go no, so go kalik semu-ba-t- o?”
 brother you road coming-pt.dur-2p giv. dir., spec. giv. like do -up-pt.2p
 ‘Brother, when you were on your way, what happened?’

Nemot namon ngga nemot so kasa -kle -t -ug- un go, Meki lo Woy idam go masi no gemang tra-t -un.
 3p two that 3p spec. search-dual-pt.dur.3pf giv. M. instr. Woy Idam giv. foot dir. sit. feel-pt.3pf
 ‘While they were searching, Meki touched the foot of Woy Idam.’

9.3 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 giv. to giv. = reason
 ‘Because Woy Idam stayed a long time in the stone hole,

¹⁶ Although the form would suggest that *-togan* (present durative tense) is the regular form and *-ton* (also present durative tense) the exception, it is the other way around (*-togan* > eternal process; elsewhere occurs as durative: *-ton*).

lema ey nemot go tawon-masiwon ey ten sogo so nemot lo dam go, yam so mot -won.
 snake with 3p giv. handnail-footnail with food purpose 3p instr. eat giv., complete spec. vomit-pt.single.3p.masc
 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 giv. sign that people many with-giv. instr. see des. already cont.long wait pl-focus-rem.single 3pm.
 '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 giv. rule many spec. they instr. obey-pl.focus-rem.past single 3pmasc
 '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 regretable
 '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 giv., hand cut giv.blood, that in dir sit. 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 dur.past'3pm
 'They searched in vain for a long time; they did not see it.'

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

Consider also Present Durative Tense (red) versus Present Single Tense (blue):

Dame 004

Wabedong go kamso wet -a -t- -on / kua ikum- sre -w- on.
 midday giv. unsuccessfully look_for -focus-ptdur-3s. male not see -real.- ptsingle-3p.masc.
 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 giv., house in spec. stay-ptdur-3p.masc.
 Dame Idam being afraid, stayed in the house.

Woy Idam 012 (beginning of new episode, with reference to REMOTE PAST durative tense. Notr 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 (green))

Banu Debui ten semu go Woy Idam pu go nemot lo wamoy mlue,
 Banu Debui food prepare giv., Woy Idam said giv. 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 sit. here. 1p dir giv. plate toput giv. take giv. come
 "I here feel sick. Put my food on a plate and take it here."

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

*No, Woy Idam, nemot go duo ngga nemot so **saboy-ton**.*

But, Woy Idam he giv. child that 3p spec. **feed-durative pr.t.3pmasc/**

But Woy Idam was feeding that child

Woy Idam 015 (idem)

*Ku no-ku no nemot lo ngga kalik so nemot go senun no **mlue-ton**.*

day dir.-day dir. 3p.sg. instr. that like spec. 3p.sg. giv. wife dir. **lie-dur.pr.t. 3pm**

‘Day after day he lied to his wife like that.

Woy Idam 016 (reference to single sit.)

*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.

*nnglangin lo ple-ple **bin** go, duo nggenemot no **gemang iti-won**.*

father instr. arrows cut giv. child that to sit. **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 giv. 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 odd fact that a man gives milk to a child > single present tense.)

*Duo nggenemot maning segway go nogo, Woy Idam lo nemot tang so min **kok-won** go.*

child this still little giv. 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 nnglangin lo iti go, nggenemot ey iti go, yap kading ba lo **wet-a-ton**.*

arrows father instr.give giv. this with give giv. house back in instr. **wander around-focus-dur.pr.t.3sg.masc.**

‘With the arrows (his) father had giv. him, (he) wandered around at the back of the house.’

10 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 3rd Person situations. Where the First Person is indicated by u 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 makes clear who the actor is.

11. 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.

Consider the following examples:

Nemot / yap ngga / suey¹⁷ so / mo klik.

3rd ps. house that good spec. already build
‘He built that house well.’

Woy so-go / umnali / mata so / mea pung.

sun spec.-fact, cane flower many spec. fut. come out
‘In the sun (hot season) cane flowers will bloom “in plenty”’.

+++++

Lemoy so lemoy go / mea SAN -y- -un.

happen-des. happen-fact will move towards speaker-fut.3p.fem.
‘She will arrive without a warning.’

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

town village go-come des. happen fact is it?
‘A town coming and going person (he) became, is (he)?’

+++++

The utterances *maning* indicating that the event expressed in the verb phrase (sometimes clause) is ‘still ongoing’; completion has not been reached yet and *tandali* ‘again’ indicating ‘repetitive action’, form a special category. They occur in different positions. Sometimes they are independent Clauses. The question is: what are these two forms? Are they Adverbs; or Verbs, or both? They occur in different positions in the Clause.

Kua / maning / suey so / pu.

No ongoing good spec. say
‘No, go on, correctly you call (it).’

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 / ko-klong.

1st ps.sg. progress rep.go
I am still going. (focus on action)

maning so / maning

ongoing spec. ongoing
‘eternal’

Yap klik genang di, demu, duoy, naklay mo? Maning?

House build in order wood stone money all completed? Ongoing?
Is the wood, stone and money to build the house complete?

Nan Kemtuik no go tasam ngga kalik go maning kua ikum.

country Kemtuik dir. giv. sign that like giv. ongoing not see
‘The country Kemtuik has not seen a sign like that yet.’

¹⁷ There are different classes of phonological words that function in different syntactic positions as adverbs, verbs and adjectives, like *suey* ‘good’.

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

11 Verb Paradigms

11.1 Future tense

Person	Modal ‘will’	Dual	Plural	Verb Root	Tense /Aspect	Gender
genam / at	mea			pen	1	u
mot / ko	mea			pen	1	o
nemot (masc.)	mea			pen	1	
nemot (fem.)	mea					
imot	mea					
genam / at namon	mea					
genam nang	mea					
mot namon	mea					
mot nang	mea					
nemot namon	mea					
nemot nang	mea					