

The verb phrase in Kemtuik

0. Introduction

The first impression one gets, hearing and analyzing texts in the Kemtuik language, is very dependent on the type of discourse that one is reading. Some texts give the impression that 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>Motmang</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., event-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. event 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 le moy go.</i> Aip with Meikali-with-giv. focus event 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 event 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. event here ‘This is what we say: ‘....’
<i>gabe</i>	<i>Yam so gabe mo semu!</i> complete event 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., event 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 <i>tegu so</i> . 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 <i>mo</i> <i>pu go</i> .' tree root above to completed talk giv. '..what is said in secret (litt. 'above the tree root').' <i>'Ngganemot mo kenong mo, mea tuet.</i> that completed fall <i>possibility</i> , will bury. 'If that falls down, it will be buried.'
mo + VR + mo	<i>Nggano ayanang tandali Belanda no mo klong ne, ...</i> and father pl. again Netherlands to completed go <i>irrealis</i> 'If you and your family <i>would not have gone</i> to the Netherlands, ...
VR + go	<i>Mesam lo sedue ngge yai suing go,</i> mesam instr. man this care stay giv. <i>nemot lo kiki so (ge)mang ne ya dam.</i> 3 rd ps.sg. instr. green spec. <i>event</i> <i>irrealis</i> imp. eat 'If Mesam takes care for this man, <i>she will not be able</i> to eat till she vomits.'
VR(or: mang ne)	<i>Mang mo kalik / genam kua senong.</i> <i>event possibility</i> like saya tidak mengerti. 'Possibly, I don't understand'
pla + VR	<i>Mot lo pla but-a!</i> 2ps. instr. please kill-focus ' <i>Please</i> go ahead and kill it!'
ba + VR	<i>Mot lo ba but?</i> 3 rd ps.sg. instr. <i>surprise</i> kill 'Did you kill it?'
na + VR + so go	<i>Mot na klong go so go, ...</i> 2 nd ps. sg. <i>should not</i> go giv. desiderative-giv. (=planning) If you are planning to go that way, then (<i>warning</i>)
na se + VR	<i>Negui walop nang so go so mea pu: "Denok negui na se klong- tutuo!"</i> 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 <i>must</i> go, cut wood for drums.'
mea + VR go +VR	<i>Imot go way mea klong go / pla.</i> 1 st ps.pl. incl. fact turn <i>will go</i> giv. <i>celebrate</i> 'We will go and celebrate on our turn.'
se +VR and VR+ go nang	<i>"Mot usu /se trok/ genam usu mea trok / walop semu go nang/."</i> You garden <i>must pull out</i> , I garden <i>will pull out</i> , celebration <i>prepare in order to</i> 'You and I should get food from the garden for the ceremony.'
gabe (be) gabe + VR	<i>Ku ngge no imot namon /yakena tasam semu genang/ gabe</i> day this to we two village deed carry out in order to <i>event here</i> 'On this day we two will be present here in order to hold this village celebration.' <i>Ngge nemot so pu go be: "...."</i> This it spec. say fact event here 'This is what we say: '....'
VR + go nang	<i>Ku ngge no imot namon yakena tasam semu genang / gabe.</i> day this to we two village deed carry out <i>for</i> be in a situation 'On this day we two will hold this village celebration.'
VR + so go	<i>Genamnang kabung wawi go, gemang mea klong, kabung itak so go.</i> we (excl.) woman take fact, event 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 <i>tegu so</i> . 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*), Events (*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 Event 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, event or negative.

maning ‘ongoing’, *gemang* (‘event there’), *(ga)be* (‘event 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* *event 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 sreka* '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
EVENT	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 Event

The preverbal Auxiliary 'Event' *gabe* ('event here') and *gemang* ('event there') is not easy to grasp. This arrangement covers general concepts as: 'in the process of', 'function', 'happen', 'exist' or 'event'. 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 spatial event, here and now; *gemang* refers to a spatial event 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. event there will go

‘Taking the woman with us, we will be on our way’

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

3rd ps. dual instr. ordered giv. completely event 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. is there 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/ event 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. this 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. is 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 is 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. is 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. event is there

‘That there is the man who does the public call (shouting information).’

⁷ One example of *gemang* (event 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 le moy.
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 event 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 event there imp. rep.forbid, that not rep.eat giv.
'And then strongly will forbid overthere, "That should not be eaten!"'

Banim temu no Kentuik go iram-a gabe ya pung.
front remains dir Kentuik giv. leader-focus event here imp. appear
First of all, the Kentuik 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. event-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 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.’

3.2.5 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 susuung go / at go kemdet kua kebon / be.
 Father, this spec. 2ps cons. rep.stay giv. 1ps giv. brother not die / is 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.’

3.2.6 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.’

3.2.7 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 sre.
 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.'

3.2.8 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 sre.
 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. event 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. event 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, event 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 proses remote past-3ps masc giv.
'till the child had grown up completely/ or: had become mature.'

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

Genam pen¹⁰ dap t-u go.
I speak finish proses 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.
we incl not see proses pl. result pt.-3p masc.
'We have searched around but not see anything.'

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

⁹ Focus –*a* occurs elsewhere in the clause as well and also inside the Verb Detail Adjunct

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

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.

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 events in verbal structure. Look for instance at the verb structures as they occur in the beginning of the tale 'Dame Idam'. After an introduction using 'bare' verbs (red) (section 1-3), the 'plot' of the 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. event 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

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. event 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. / event 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. event 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 event 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. event 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, followed by inflected verb roots mainly in two present tenses (durative and single), carrying the argument all the way to the conclusion.

4.3.2 Grouping of post-positions

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 a string of post positions as:

- An elaboration of the root
- 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:

- 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).'
- Genam ten dam so.*
 I food eat desiderative
 'I am going to eat.'
- Taidi tete be t -un go no,*
 five time directional verb-ptdur-3pf giv. dir.
 'After she went for the fifth time,
- 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) 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	
	EVENT	MODAL	NEG.	REP.	ROOT	INTENSIFIER	STRING of DETAILS

4.5 The constituents of the post auxiliary string of details will occur in the following order.
Note that Mood and Duration are not obligatory, while the others are :

Plural	Mood	Duration	Direction	Tense / Aspect	Person / Gender
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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 event 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 event 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. event there dual-(going) up-pt.3pf giv.
e ... woy klak no gemang PUNG-kle-ba -t- un.
till ... sun rise dir. event there arrive-dual-upthere-pt.-3pf

(a) functioning in 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) functioning in 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 event 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 event 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. event hear-dual-to them-pt.3pf
'From there they heard the beating of the drum and playing of music.'

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

Nemotnang lo duing go, 'Ngge nago sik sogo sikabung lo seguo pla -ne -t on ?'
They instr. think 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 event 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, ...

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: event = ‘(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 event 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.’

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

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. Combinations are possible, while others are exclusive. Duration is expressed through:

- | | |
|--|---|
| a) repetition of the verb root | > <i>ko-klong</i> ‘going’ |
| b) use of marker <i>te</i> in the POST-AUX | > <i>gemang got-tebawon</i> ‘he is staying’ |
| c) use of duration marking in TENSE | > <i>tugu; (tyu); ngu</i> etc. |

Here we will discuss the marker *te* (b). It points to a durative event, providing new or specific information. Consider the following two sentences, taken from the same story, pointing to two different effects of the same event. The first utterance is spoken by the author using a present durative tense; the second one is spoken by a participant in the story, using *te* in combination with general present tense (-w-)¹⁴, explaining the strange behavior of the older brother.

(a) Ngga nemot suali sogo so yap ba so got-t-on.
 that 3ps afraid reason spec. house in spec. stay-ptdur-3pm
 ‘Because he was afraid, he stays in the house.’

(b) Ngga nemot suali sogo so yap ba so gemang got -te- ba-w-on.
 that 3ps afraid reason spec. house in spec. event stay-durative-in-pt-3pm
 ‘Because he was afraid and is staying in the house.’

Sometimes *te* is used in combination with *gemang*¹⁵ ‘event there’ or present tense, noting focus on a durative event in direct speech, or building up to a climax. (This is in contrast with *gemang* followed by a durative present tense, or with *gemang* followed by a durative in the form of repetition of the verb root, which are more general utterances without special attention.)

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

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

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

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

¹⁵ There are no occurrences of *te* (durative) in combination with *gabe* (‘event over here’)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. Directives in the DET ADJ

The general directive both in time and place is *no*¹⁶. But In Kemtuik speakers may specify a high degree of detail as to direction or motion in the verb. Consider eg.

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

The main features that distinguish the directionals are:

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

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

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

Thus:

- (a) The Kemtuik area is divided into a higher part (the eastern villages) ; a lower part (the western villages, and a neutral part (the villages alongside the road from Buruway (Bloway) to Genyem. The Gresi area, of which the main important village, Yansu, is located on top of a low mountain range, is considered to be ‘high’, although quite a

¹⁶ For a detailed discussion on general directive *no*, see ‘Overview on grammatical relations in Kemtuik’.

few villages are located in the valley behind the range and are on a lower altitude. The Nimboran area is considered neutral (same level), as are other places in Papua, eg. Mamberamo, Wamena (although high in mountains), etc. The coastal area (including the main capital of Indonesia Jakarta, the Netherlands or America, etc.) are considered to be low.

- (b) The status of certain towns is another important 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’.

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

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

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

Genam *mea san-d¹⁷u*.

I will same level-ft1p

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

Genam *mea kun-du*.

I will down-ft1p

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

Genam *mea ban-du*.

I will high-ft1p

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

12.2 Movements (‘return’) toward the speaker, using Root + Det Adj

Genam *mea iti-san-du*.

I will give-return (same level)-ft1p

‘I will give (it) back.

Genam *mea iti-kun-du*.

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

‘I will give (it) back.

Genam *mea iti-ban-du*.

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

‘I wil give (it) back.

¹⁷ The [d] in the form –du (ft1p) is in giv. an allophone of /l/, but being written as *d*.

12.2 Movement away from the speaker using Det Adj only:

Genam *mea se-lu*.

I will tosame level-ft-1p

‘I will go overthere.’ (same level)

Genam *mea na-lu*.

I will todown-ft-1p

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

Genam *mea be-lu*.

I will toup-ft-1p

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

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

Genam *mea iti-# -lu*.

I will give-tosame level-ft-1p

‘I will give (it) overthere’ (same level)

Genam *mea iti-si-lu*.

I will give-down-ft1p

‘I will give it there.’ (Downwards)

Genam *mea iti-bi-lu*.

I will give-up-ft1p

‘I will give it there.’ (Upwards)

Situation away from speaker, using Root + Det Adj

Genam *mea iti-sa-lu*.

I will give-sit.same level-ft1p

‘I will give it overthere.’ (Same level)

Genam *mea iti-na-lu*.

I will give-downwards-ft1p

‘I will give it overthere.’ (Downwards)

Genam *mea iti-ba-lu*.

I will give-overthere-ft1p.’

‘I will give it overthere.’ (Upwards)

Consider also some examples shown in their giv. contexts:

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

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

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

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

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

Betedon lo ngga kalik so gemang pu-na-won dali, “...”

brother instr. that like spec. event there say-**tolow**-ptgiv. again,
He answered like that too, “...”

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

*Taidi tete **be-tun** gono*

five time **toup**-pt3sf giv. cont.

After she had gone for the fifth time,

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

*Dame Idam lo demanon nemot **gemang but-ba-won** gono, >*

Dame Idam instr. sister she event hit **from low to high** giv. cont.

Dame Idam hit his sister

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

*ngge kalik so **gemang pen-ba-won** demanon no: “...”*

this like spec. (event_mark) say-tohigh-pt.3sm sister to

(and) said this to his sister, “...”

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

*Kabung usu sik sogo **pung gono, mesip so gabe kun-t-u***

woman garden from spec.giv. arrive giv. dir, behind spec. event **down to here**-pt-1p

After (my) woman has come back from the garden, I have come here afterwards.

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

*Nggano genam nebo gabe kua but, ngge maso nemot **gabe mo but-sa-t-u.***

And I pig event not kill, this devil 3p event already kill-**tosame level**-pt-1p

‘And I am not the one who killed the pig, it is the devil who killed overthere.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Ku meno so **na-w-on** go **gemang ikum, kungdon so yagui lo pu-pung go, ngge mata so.***

day other spec. down in time-pt-3pm giv. event see, big tree spec. pigeon instr. cont.arrive giv., this many spec.

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

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

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

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

‘But in the future you will understand.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

3p two shrimps torch des. show-dual-return up-ptdur giv., stone hole that to arrive giv.
When the two (girls) were catching shrimps with torches, and they arrived at the stone hole,

(Move / Same level / Root + Det Adj = *sa* (11,12) ; Move / Down / Root + Det Adj = *si*) (3)
Nggano tandali degut-sa-won gono, Banu Debui lo demu kangok golo demu put no wuik-si-tun.
And again enter-same level-pt3pm giv. dir, BD instr. stone big giv. instr. stone hole to roll-down-ptf
And when he (Woy Idam) entered (the hole) again, Banu Debui rolled a big stone down before the hole.

(Move / Same level / Det Adj = *se*)
No, sedue se-won go, nggano ikum go: e, nebo mo klak ba?
But, man same level-pt 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 Introduction

As event before concepts of mood, tense, aspect, gender and duration conflate with each other. To keep a clear understanding, I will describe¹⁸ the notion of tense and aspect. Grammatical tense is a temporal linguistic quality expressing time at, during, or over which a event of action denoted by a verb occurs. Aspect on the other hand defines the temporal flow (of lack thereof) in the described event or event. It needs to be viewed in respect to time, rather than to its actual 'location' in time. See also Chapter 11 on Duration, which is related to tense and aspect.

9.2 Tense

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

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

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

¹⁸ The descriptions are giv. in Wikipedia

single	durative	single	durative ¹⁹		single	durative	action
ku	ngu	yu	tyu	1 st Person	tu	tugu	lu / du
ka	nga	yo	tyo	2 nd Person	to	togoy	lo / do
kam	ngam	yom	tyom	3 rd Person male	won	togon (ton)	yon
kum	ngum	yum	tyum	3 rd Person female	tun	tugun	yun

Consider the following examples:

13.2.1 Remote past (durative)

Seni so, Ki Wali Iram lo kukunan ngge semu-ng-am go nogo,
indeed God instr. earth this make-durative-3pm 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 event say-focus-dur.-3pm 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. event dry-focus-rem.past dur.-3pf
‘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).’

13.2.2. 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.’

13.2.3 Recent Past

Banim genamnang bu so u-wata gono, 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-topast giv.

Genam lo ngga ba no itak-na-yu go.
I instr. that in dir leave-dir-pt 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-yum!
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.’

¹⁹ The durative form of the Past Tense has not been recorded anymore. Apparently, the form is ‘technically’ possible, but in practice the durative form of the Present Tense is being used or the durative form of the Remote Past.

13.2.4 Present tense (durative)

Dame Idam ey Dunkoy Debui ey nemot go yakena so got-kle-tugun.

Dame Idam with Dunkoy Debui with 3p giv. village spec stay-dual-pt.dur.3p.f

‘Dame Idam stayed with Dunkoy Debui in her village.’

Ngga kalik mea got-sa-togon²⁰.

that like will stay-dir-pt.dur.3p.m

‘He (God) will stay forever like that.’

Nggano Dame Idam lo ngge kalik so gemang pu-ton, “...”

then Dame Idam instr. this like spec. event say-pt.dur.3p.m

Then Dame Idam said like this, “...”

Mot sogo so wet-togoy?”

you what spec. search-pt.dur.2p

‘What are you looking for?’

Ngganemot sogo so genam yap ba so gabe got-tugu.

therefore spec. I house in spec. event stay-pt.dur.1p

‘Therefore I stay inside the house.’

13.2.5 Present tense (single)

Nggano, kabung nalo lo ngge kalik so gemang pu-tun, Genam domdat kua go be.

and woman old instr. this like spec. event there say-pt3pf, ‘I grandchildren not giv. event here

And the old woman said like this, ‘I have no grandchildren.’

Duen no, nebo uduo lo gemang segue-ne-sa-won.

Bush to, pig dog instr. event there hunt-pl-dir-pt.single3pm

‘In the bush the dogs started to hunt pigs.’

“Kemdet! Mot, tap kun-togoy gono, sogo kalik semu-ba-to?”

brother you road coming-ptdur-2p, what like do-up-pt2p

‘Brother, when you were on your way, what happened?’

Nemot namon ngganemot so kasa-kle-tugun go, Meki lo Woy idam go masi no gemang tra-tun.

3p two those search-dual-pt.dur.3pf giv. Meki instr. Woy Idam giv.foot toe event feel-ptsingle.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. togiv. = reason

²⁰ Although the form would suggest that *-togon* (present durative tense) is the regular form and *-ton* (also present durative tense) the exception, it is the other way around (*-togon* > eternal process; elsewhere occurs as durative: *-ton*).

‘Because Woy Iram stayed a long time in the stone hole,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dame 004

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

Dame 005

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

=====

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

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

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

Banu Debui ten semu go Woy Idam pu go nemot lo wamoy mlue,
Banu Debui food prepare 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 event 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 (The information about the feeding and the lying is in focus > durative pr.t)

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

Woy Idam 015 (idem)

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

Woy Idam 016 (reference to single event)

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

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

Woy Idam 017

Duo nggenemot go sui: Woy Idam dali.
child this 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 giv. that a man gives milk to a child > single present tense.)

Duo nggenemot maning seguay go nogo, Woy Idam lo nemot tang so min kok-won go.
child this still little 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 nglangin 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.3p.sg.m
‘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: masculine and feminine. And speakers have to learn by heart which nouns belong to which class. Using group situations sometimes female forms are used, sometimes masculine forms are used. This depends on what the speaker decides as having focus.

A complex giv.or 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 masculine (indicated by o, and feminine indicated by u). And since First Person Inclusive (imot namon /nang) uses Third Person Masculine forms, the o also indicates gender in these forms. Since it is not

obligatory to use postposition *lo* to mark a noun as subject, or the possibility to have no subject at all, the gender indication in the Det. Adj makes clear who the actor is.