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 verbs[1]. 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 <u>bare</u> verb roots:

Nemot	*mo*	*klong.*		'He left.'
3SG	already	go		

Genam	*klong*	*so.*	'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:

Motnang	*mea*	*pen-ke-lo.*	'You (pl) will talk.'
2PL	will	talk-pl-FT.2P	

1.   Basic Verb Phrase

1.1 Definition
The verb phrase in Kemtuik is defined as the verb, 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 Example of Basic Verb Phrases
Differentiation in style shows up in any language, but in Kemtuik the difference between hardly inflected and fully inflected texts in VP-structure is quite remarkable. 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 adds a lot of detailed information on top of the basic VP-structure.

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[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).

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

Kabung drang so   go nebut
Woman brideprice specific fact talk
'Story about brideprice.'

At / nggeasui go/ sedue go nglangin ey kabung go   nglangin ey / tegu so.
I   now   fact man fact father   with woman fact 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   fact mother man fact 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. fact child fact thought cont.think (=wish), 2psg. fact 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 fact, father   he   fact boy   fact 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 fact 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   genang."
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 fact origin spec. fact will go,   woman fact 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 fact, 3psg. fact gift, 3psg. fact 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 fact
'The party (of the bride) will set-out all the strings with food.'

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

Nemot go sedue trang nemot lo /   keba   / nemu mea u-wet.
3p.sg fact 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   fact measure spec.(=compl. measure put fact finish that   it   to stringbag will hang
'When meat (originated from big cattle) is competely 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 fact 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 fact 3p.sg. to fact 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 fact to fact wedding gift
'Green beads and stone axes, the wedding gift for the woman that puts on the skirt.'

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

Nggeasui go keba   glung   go, yakena no mea u-weng.
now   fact stringbag hang on fact, village 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 fact 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 fact we (excl.) woman   take fact, event-there will go,   woman leave behind des. fact
'The day after tomorrow we will take the girl and be on our way to leave the girl behind.'

Kabung ngganemot wawi go klong genang   so   go,
girl   that   take fact go   planning des. fact
'In order to take the girl and go (escort)',

nemot   go nglangin no go wada klaya ngoy   klaya mea iti
3rd ps.sg. fact father   to fact axe one   blue beadstring one will give
'her father will be given one stone axe and one beadstring,'

nemot   ta   taling genang, nemot   go nglangin lo   go taiti.
3rd ps.sg. hand show in order, 3rd p.sg. fact father   instr. fact 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 fact girl
'In this way girls are married out.'

Ngga nemot no nebo ta lo   pong go,   yakena nebo,
That it   to pig hand instr. look after fact village pig
'Then a domesticated pig from the village,'

nemot /mea dok go, usre ey   ko-klong / sedue go   yakena no   mea pla.
3psg. will tie up   dans with cont. go, man   fact 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   fact sister   instr. beads stone axe hand to take fact,
'Then the sister of the man (groom) after being given the beads and axe in her hands,'

mea i-igot   usre ey.
will cont. play around with dance
'will play around with dances.'

1.3 Discussion

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

mea + VR.	*Negui walop nang so go so mea pu:* ...
	drum feast purp. spec.fact int. will call
	'In order to use the drum at the feast, will be called: ...''
	Nemot lo keba nemu mea u-wet.
	3rd ps instr. stringbag eye will cont. seek
	'He will inspect the stringbag(s).'
mea kua + VR.	*Negui tebadali go mea kua kluing.*
	drum invain fact will not sound.
	'The drum wil not be beaten without a purpose.'
mea yakua + VR	*Salam bata so-go-a mea yakua pung.*
	salam-tree wide spec-fact-focus will possible not appear
	'A 'salam-tree' with a wide trunk, will not appear.'
mea + VR go +VR	*Imot go way mea klong go / pla.*
	1st ps.pl. incl. fact turn will go fact celebrate
	'We will go and celebrate on our turn.'
se +VR and VR+ genang	*"Mot usu /se trok/, genam usu /mea trok / walop semu genang/."*
	You garden must pull out, I garden will pull out, celebration prepare in order to
	"You and I should get food from the garden for the ceremony."
gemang + mea + VR	*Genam nang kabung wawi go, /gemang mea klong.*
	1st ps. pl. woman take fact event there will go
	'We (excl.) having taken the woman with us, will be on our way.'
gemang	*Aip ey Meykali eygo-a gemang, ngganemot kalik so lemoy go.*
	Aip with Meikali-with-fact focus event that like spec. happen fact
	'If the villages Aip and Meikali are together, the same will happen.'
gabe (be)	*Ku ngge no imot namon /yakena tasam semu genang/ gabe*
gabe + VR	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.'
	Ngge nemot so pu go be: "...."
	This it spec. say fact event here
	'This is what we say: ' ....'
	Yam so gabe mo semu!
	complete event here completed carry out
	'Everything here is carried out!'
VR + go	*Kabung ngga nemot /wawi go, klong genang so go.*
	girl that it take fact go in order to spec.fact,
	'In order to take the girl and go (escort)'
VR + genang	*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, 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 tegu so.*
	I now fact man fact father with meet desiderate
	'I am going to meet with the father of the husband.'
mo + VR	*'... di srang blo no mo pu go.'*
	tree root above to completed talk fact
	'..what is said in secret (litt. 'above the tree root).'
mo + VR + mo	*'Ngganemot mo kenong mo, mea tuet.*
	that completed fall possibility, will bury.
	'If that falls down, it will be buried.'
mo + VR + ne	*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, ...
mane + VR(or: mang ne)	*Mesam lo sedue ngge yay suing go,*
	mesam instr. man this care stay fact
	nemot lo kiki so ma ne ya dam.
	3rd ps.sg. instr. green spec. event irrealis im.fut eat
	'If Mesam takes care for this man, she will not be able to eat till she vomits.'
mamo (or: mang mo)	*Mang mo kalik / genam kua senong.*
	event possibility like saya tidak mengerti.
	'Possibly, I don't understand'
pla + VR	*Mot lo pla but-a!*
	you instr. please kill-focus
	'Please go ahead and kill it!'
na + VR	*Mot na klong go so go, ...*
	2nd ps. sg. should not go fact desiderative-fact (=planning)
	If you are planning to go that way, then .... (warning)
nase + VR	*Negui walop nang so go so mea pu: "Denok negui nase klong tutuo!"*
	drum festivity purpose des-fact des. will sayl: 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."
ba	*Ngge ba, iti-a!*
	here come, take-focus
	'Come here, take this!.'
ba + VR	*Nemot lo ba but?*
	3rd ps.sg. instr. surprise kill
	'Did he kill it?'

1.4 Conclusion

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

However, stating this one can easily be mistaken. The meaning of a text, using exclusively simple verb structure, is often hard to grasp. In fact, a lot of information needs to be drawn from the wider text and context. For instance, it is unclear sometimes if 3rd ps. is male or female, single, dual or plural; and where the place of activity is, and who the referents are.

There is no 'plot' being built up. On the other hand, these texts with 'simple' verb structure provides us with a basic set-up of the Kemtuik verb phrase.

2.   Basic Verb Phrase

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

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

3.   Adverbials

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

<u>Consider the following examples:</u>

Nemot yap ngga suey[4] so mo klik.
3rd ps. house that good spec. already build
'He build that house well.'

Woy so-go,   umnali   mata so   mea pung.
sun spec.-fact, cane flower many spec. fut. come out
'Many cane flowers bloom in the hot season'.

Lemoy so   lemoy go /   mea san-yun.
happen-spec. happen-fact will move towards speaker-ft3pf
'She will arrive without a warning.'

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

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[3] This chart will not show the Detail Adjunct occurrences of the VP yet.
[4] There are different classes of phonological words that function in different syntactic positions as adverbs, verbs and adjectives, like *suey* 'good'.

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

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

Genam maning   koklong.
1st ps.sg. progress cont.go
I am still going. (focus on action)

maning   so   maning
continuing spec. continue
'eternal'

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

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

4.   Event

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

Consider the following examples:

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

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

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

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

- functioning as main verb predication in sentences like:

Nggenemot so   pu   go be: nali ngga dali kua go, nali meno iti   klong mea tuk.
This   spec. order fact event this: bird that ready not fact, bird other take go   will kill

'This is ordered: if there is no bird of paradise ready, another bird must be taken, brought and killed.'
Aip ey Meykali ey go-a   gemang, ngganemot kalik so lemoy go.
Aip with Meykali with fact-foc. event is there, that   like spec. happen fact
'When the villages Aip and Meykali are together, they will perform in the same way.'

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

Nemot go konsep genam ba so   gabe.
It   fact concept I   in spec. event is here
'It's concept is in myself (heart or thought)'.

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

5.   Mood

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

Modal components in Kemtuik Verb Phrase

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

5.1 Volition

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[5] See for an overview the chapter on inter clausal relationships.

The volitional forms involve features as 'necessity', 'imperative', 'interrogative', 'planning' and 'desiderative'. In contrast with se the mild imperative interrogative ....*ya* occurs, and is to be distinguished from the other mild command *ya*....
Notice the following examples:

At nggeasui go   sedue go   nglangin ey   kabung go   nglangin ey tegu   so.
I   now   fact man fact father   with woman fact father   with meet desiderate
'I am going to meet with the father of man (groom) and the woman (bride).'

Kabung ngganemot wawi go, klong genang so.
woman   that   take fact   go   purpose desiderate
'(We), taking the woman with us, will be on our way.'

Klong ya!
go   mild imperative
'Go on!'

Genam ya   klong?
1pg. uncertain go
'Can I go?'

Ngga ya kua   lemoy.
that   fut. neg. happen
'It is impossible that it will happen.'

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

Notice the following examples:

Sogo so   mot ngge sono   ne   weng?
why des. 2psg here spec.to contradiction come
'On the contrary, why are you not coming here?'

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

Nemot   lo   kiki so   ma-ne   ya dam. (mane = mang ne = gemang ne)
3rd ps.sg. instr. green spec. event-contradiction should im.fut eat
'She will not be in the situation to eat till vomiting.'

No, genam ngge, nando go   senun ne?
contrast, I   here   who   fact wife   contradiction
'But, if that is so, of whom am I here the (legitimate) wife?'

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

Ku ngge no imot namon yakena tasam   semu   genang,   gabe.
day this to we   two   village ceremony carry out in order to event here
'On this day we are together to plan the village celebration.'

Mot   se   klong!
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, ...'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Compare these examples (mea versus genang; gemang; so)
Nggeasui # genam tandali mea klong.
today   I   again   will go
'Today I will go again.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.   Negation

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

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[6] See the discussion of modals in POST AUX

Consider the following examples:

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

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

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

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

7.   Verb Root

The verb root has a few specialties:

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

7.2 Many verbs belong to a word class that also can function as adjective, adverb, modal or negation[8].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[7] See for more detailed discussion the section on Phonology.
[8] See for examples at the chapters on Adjectives, Adverbials, Modals and Negation.

- *sing*   each one
- *lak*   everyone as a group
- *dap*   end of proces
- *a*   focus[9]

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 fact action devide in pieces
'Then the bones of Waling's body were devided into pieces by the snake.'

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

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

Notice the difference between dap and -a:

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

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

Notice also the difference between dap and #

Imot kua ikum dap i [10] sre w on.
we incl not see   proces pl. no result pr.t.-3psm
'We have searched around but not see anything.'

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

8.   Fully inflected verbs

8.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

Dame 001
Dame Idam, nemot go   unen   ey   nglangin ey   usu   no mo   klong.
Dame Idam he   (poss) mother with father   with garden to completed go
Dame Idam's mother and father have gone to the garden.

Dame 002
Dame Idam, nemot banom yap   no   itak go.
Dame Idam he   alone house to leave fact
They left Dame Idam alone in the house.

Dame 003
Wabedong Dame Idam go   andua_andua ey   isuo   ple so   tu-tuk   gono,
midday   Dame Idam (poss) friends   with wild_citrous_fruit bow spec. cont.-throw fact-cont.
At midday, when Dame Idam was shooting a citrus fruit with his friends,

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

kabung nang   so- go   gemang   tong.
wife   purp. des.-fact in_a_state_of cut
to get a wife, broke.
===========
Dame 004
Wabedong go kamso   wet-a-ton,   kua ikum- sre-won.
midday   fact unsuccessfully look_for -focus-ptsit-3s. male/not see-neg.- ptsingle-3s.male
Midday he looked without success and did not find them.

Dame 005
Dame Idam ngganemot suali go,   yap   ba so   got-ton.
Dame Idam that   afraid fact, house in spec. stay-ptdur-3sm
Dame Idam being afraid, stayed in the house.

Dame 006
Use   Dame Idam, nemot go   nglangin ey   unen   ey
late_afternoon Dame Idam he   (poss) father   with mother with
Late afternoon, Dame Idam's parents ked

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

nggano demanon betedon nemot pu so   gemang   be-tun,   pu go.
then   sister   brother he   tell des. event there down-pt-3sf   tell fact
and told his sister to go down and call her brother.
Dame 007
Nggano betedon lo   pu go: motnang-a   klong-dam-a
then   brother instr. say fact: you pl.-focus go   eat-focus
Then (her) brother said, 'You there go ahead and eat!

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

Dame 008

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

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

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

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

Dame 009

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

Dame 010

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

Dame 011

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

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

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

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

Dame 012

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

isuo   ple so tu-tuk   gono.'
wild_citrous_bow int. cont.throw fact-cont.
when shooting jeruks with my bow.

8.3 Discussion

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

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

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

The following scheme shows the occurrences of the DET ADJ

		Detail Adjunct		
	any verbal predicate		motion predicate	
adjunct	non-adjunct		adjunct	non-adjunct
root+adjunct	root		adjunct alone (motion away) (motion towards)	*klong* (motion away) *weng* (motion towards)
(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)

Each of these four possibilities is illustrated as follows:

(1) *Wabedong go kamso   wet-a-ton,   kua ikum- sre-won.*
        midday   fact unsuccessfully look_for -focus-ptsit-3s. male not see-neg.- ptfact-3s.male
        'Midday he looked without success and did not find them.'
(2) *Genam ten dam so.*
        I   food eat desiderative
        'I am going to eat.'

(3) *Taidi tete be-tun   gono, ...*
        five time directional-pt-3pf   fact cont.
        'After she went for the fifth time, ...'

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

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

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

ADVERB	PRE-AUXILARY			VERB		POST-AUXILARY		
	EVENT	MODAL	NEG.	REPETITION	VERB ROOT	INTENSIFIER	DETAIL ADJUNCT	MODAL

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

DETAIL ADJUNCT

Plural	Mood	Duration	Direction	Tense / Aspect	Person / Gender

9.   Plural Markers

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

Consider these examples:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9.4 There seems <u>to have been</u> two classes of plural markers,
    - (a) independently of the root (as DET ADJ only)
    - (b) with the root (Root + DET ADJ)

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

    (a) independent of the root

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

(b) with the root

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Consider also these examples:

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

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

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

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

Nemotnamon klak-ke[12]-bi-ton   go
They two   climb-plural-dir-ptdur-3pm fact
While they two were climbing, ...'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10.   Mode in Detail Adjunct

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

Consider the following examples:

Isuali kedong-a dam-sre-tu.
Cassowary meat-focus eat-real-pt-1p
'I eat cassowary meat now.'

Genam no bu wadong-sre-san-to go, gemang mo iti-sre-sa-tu!
1p   dir water ask-real -dir-pt-1p event   already give-real-to1p
If you had asked me for water, I would have fact it

Sikabung mo senong: ngge imot   go   deguena, no kua usi-ne-sre-na-won.
people   already know: this   1pl.incl. poss headman but not ask-pl-real-dir-pt.3pm
The people realised: this is our headman, but they did not dare to ask.

Imot   kua ikum-dap-i-sre-won.
1p pl incl not see-result proces-pl-real -pt-3pm
(After looking around) 'We have not seen it.'

Sogo ho goso nemot tang go-lo-go   sikabung bu kua tui-sre-na-won?
Why   3p   self fact-instr-fact people water not touch-real-dir-pt-3pm
'Why are the people not baptized by him self?'

Dame Idam kim betui ba no itak go, nemot go unennang nglanginnang nogo kua pen-sre-te-ba-tun.
Dame Idam coconut corral in dir leave fact, 3p poss father pl mother pl to not say-real-dur-dir-pt-3pf
'The fact that Dame Idam was left behind in a coconut corral, she did not dare to tell to her parents.'

Nabi sogo, gemang mo senong-sre-won: ngge kamea kabung!
prophet if, even already know-real-pt-3pm: this prostitute
If he were a prophet, he would have known: this is a prostitute.

11.   Duration

Duration in the Kemtuik verb phrase can be expressed in several ways, with slightly different meaning. Before analyzing one of those, an overview of all possibilities will be fact Combinations are possible, while others are exclusive.

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

Here we will discuss the marker *te* (c). It is points to a <u>durative event, providing new or specific information</u>. 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 <u>author</u> using a present durative tense; the second one is spoken by a <u>participant</u> in the story, using *te* in combination with general present tense (*-w-*), explaining the strange behavior of the older brother.

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

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

Sometimes *te* is used in combination with *gemang*[13] 'event over there' and general present tense, as a special marker noting focus on a durative event in a direct speech, or building up to a climax. (This is in contrast with *gemang* followed by a <u>durative</u> 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 fact, event   see-dir-pt-3pm
'Going up, on (his) way he saw girls (from the village) Yansu bathing over there.'

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

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

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

<u>Compare this use of *gemang* followed by durative present or general present,</u>

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

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

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

<u>Or *gemang* followed by durative in the form or repetition of the verb root:</u>

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

---

[13] There are no occurrences of *te* (durative) in combination with *gabe* ('event over here')

12. Directives in the DET ADJ

The general directive both in time and place is *no*[14]. 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 fact dir, BD instr. stone big fact 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 <u>time</u> is also expressed in these ideas. The directives of place are based upon the following:
  (a) Their general impression concerning the geographical elevations
  (b) The status of certain towns and villages
Thus:
  (a) The Kemtuik area is divided into a higher part (the eastern villages) ; a lower part (the western villages, and a neutral part (the villages alongside the road from Buruway (Bloway) to Genyem. The Gresi area, of which the main important village, Yansu, is located on top of a low mountain range, is considered to be 'high', although quite a few villages are located in the valley behind the range and are on a lower altitude. The Nimboran area is considered neutral (same level), as are other places in Papua, eg. Mamberamo, Wamena (although high in mountains), etc. The coastal area (including the main capital of Indonesia Jakarta, the Netherlands or America, etc.) are considered to be low.

  (b) The status of certain towns is another important factor. The whole of Jayapura, which is the provincial capital of Papua, is high area. One goes 'up' to Jayapura and 'down' to Kemtuik / Gresi villages (although Yansu is on a higher location than Jayapura). It is interesting that the Kemtuik side of Lake Sentani is still 'low', but the village Yoka at the other side of the lake and close to the main town Jayapura, is already 'high'.

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

Description 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

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[14] For a detailed discussion on general directive *no*, see 'Overview on grammatical relations in Kemtuik'.

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

Genam mea san-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)

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.

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)

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

Situation away from speaker, using Root + Det Adj
Genam mea iti- sa-lu.
I will give-sit.same level-ft1p
'I will give it overthere.' (Same level)

Genam mea iti-na-lu.
I will give-downwards-ft1p
I will give it overthere.' (Downwards)

Genam mea iti-ba-lu.
I will give-overthere-ft1p.'
'I will give it overthere.' (Upwards)

Consider also some examples shown in their fact 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 fact
  the meal, and told his sister to go down and call her brother.

 Dame 008 (Move away / Up / in Det Adj only = be) (6)
demanon tandali betedon pu so / gemang be-tun.
sister   again   brother say int. / event   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-ptfact again,
He answered like that too, "..."

Dame 011 (Move away / Up / in Det Adj only = be) (6)
Taidi tete be-tun   gono
five time toup-pt3sf fact cont.
After she had gone for the fifth time,

(Situation / Up / Root + Det Adj = ba) (8)
Dame Idam lo   demanon nemot gemang but-ba-won   gono, >
Dame Idam instr. sister   she   event   hit from low to high fact cont.
Dame Idam hit his sister

(Situation / Up / Root + Det Adj = ba) (8)
 ngge kalik so   gemang   pen-ba-won   demanon no: "..."
this   like spec. (event_mark) say-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.fact arrive fact dir, behind spec. event down to here-pt-1p
After (my) woman has come back from the garden, I have come here afterwards.

(Situation / Same level / Root + Det Adj = sa) (11,12)
Nggano genam 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 fact dir event climb-up-pt-3pm
'After hearing the crying, Woy Idam climbed up (in the house).'

(Situation / Down / Root + Det. Adj = na) (4)
Nggano maso ngge lo mot tra gono, maso temu mata so pung-lak-a-na-t-un.
And   devil this instr. order fact dir, devil other many spec. arrive-int-focus-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 fact event see,   big tree spec. pigeon instr. cont.arrive fact, this many
spec.
'On a specific day in the past he saw many pigeons arrive in the *beringin* tree.'

(Time setting / Future / Det. Adj = san) (9)
No, ku san-tugun   gono, seni   mea senong-l-o.
but day coming-pt3pf fact dir content will know-ft-2p
'But in the future you will understand.'

(Time setting / Past / Root + Det. Adj = san) (9)
Kuduong sik so   yam so   genam mo pen-a-san-yu,   e... nggeasui go-no gabe pung.
Begin   from spec. finish spec. I   already talk-focus-same level-pt1p till now   fact-dir event arrive
'I have said everything from the beginning till now.'

(Move back / Up / Root + Det Adj = ban) (5)
Nemot namon wop sagoy so   leguit-ke-ban-tugun go, demu luk ngganemot no pung go, ...
3p   two   shrimps torch des. show-dual-return up-ptdur fact, stone hole that to arrive fact
When the two (girls) were catching shrimps with torches, and they arrived at the stone hole, ...

(Move / Same level / Root + Det Adj = sa (11,12) ; Move / Down / Root + Det Adj = si) (3)
Nggano tandali degut-sa-won gono, Banu Debui lo demu kangok golo demu put no wuik-si-tun.
And   again   enter-same level-pt3pm fact dir, BD instr. stone big fact instr. stone hole 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 fact, and   see fact: waw pig   already climbed-up surprise?
'But after the man had gone over there and saw this: waw! Did the pig already climb up (sago storage)?'

13.   Tense and Aspect

13.1   Introduction

As stated before concepts of mood, tense, aspect, gender and duration conflate with each other. To keep a clear understanding, I will describe[16] the notion of tense and aspect. Grammatical <u>tense</u> is a temporal linguistic quality expressing time at, during, or over which a state of action denoted by a verb occurs. <u>Aspect</u> on the other hand defines the temporal flow (of lack thereof) in the described event or state. It needs to be viewed in respect to time, rather than to its actual 'location' in time. See also Chapter 11 on Duration, which is related to tense and aspect.

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[16] The descriptions are fact in Wikipedia

13.2   Tense

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

The 'past' is distinguished between <u>remote</u> and <u>recent past.</u> 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	PRESENT	FUTURE
single	durative	single	durative[17]		single	durative	action
ku	ngu	yu	tyu	1st Person	tu	tugu	lu / du
ka	nga	yo	tyo	2nd Person	to	togoy	lo / do
ka<u>m</u>	nga<u>m</u>	yo<u>m</u>	tyo<u>m</u>	3rd Person male	wo<u>n</u>	togo<u>n</u> (to<u>n</u>)	yo<u>n</u>
ku<u>m</u>	ngu<u>m</u>	yu<u>m</u>	tyu<u>m</u>	3rd Person female	tu<u>n</u>	tugu<u>n</u>	yu<u>n</u>

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 fact dir-fact
'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 fact 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.'

---

[17] 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.

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

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

13.2.3 Recent Past
Banim 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 fact dir, I   fact necklace 3p instr. take fact hide-topast fact

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

Dame, mot lo kabung nago no itak-yo?
Dame, you instr woman where 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 fact, 3ps.-focus grandmother instr. surprise brake fact eat-pt.3p.f
'The little children! They have been killed (lit. broken) and eaten by grandmother.'

13.2.4 Present tense (durative)
Dame Idam ey Dunkoy Debui ey nemot go yakena so got-kle-tugun.
Dame Idam with Dunkoy Debui with 3p fact village spec stay-dual-pt.dur.3p.f
'Dame Idam stayed with Dunkoy Debui in her village.'

Ngga kalik mea got-sa-togon[18].
that   like will stay-dir-pt.dur.3p.m
'He (God) will stay forever like that.'

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

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

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

13.2.5 Present tense (single)

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

---

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

Duen no, nebo uduo lo gemang segue-ne-sa-won.
Bush 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 fact Meki instr. Woy Idam factfoot toevent feel-ptsingle.3pf
'While they were searching, Meki touched the foot of Woy Idam.'

13.3   Aspect

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

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

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

Banim nogo tasam ngga sedue miam eygo   lo   ikum so mo   du-duing bung-ne-a-kam.
Before dir fact sign that   people many with-fact instr. see des. already 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 fact rule   many spec. they   instr. obey-pl.focus-rem.past single 3pm
'And like that they (ancestors) obeyed many customs.'

Nggano sedue kabung temu dabui lo mo   bung-ne-ngam,   no kua tegu sang.
and   people   other heart instr. completed wait for-pl-rem.past dur.   but not meet 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 fact, hand cut factblood, 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 <u>Present Durative Tense</u> and <u>Present Single Tense in 'Dame Idam'</u> and '<u>Woy Idam'</u>:
(RED is durative; BLUE is single; GREEN is bare verb root)

Dame 004
Wabedong go kamso   wet-a-ton,   kua ikum- sre-won.
midday   fact unsuccessfully look_for -focus-ptsit-3s. male/not see-neg.- ptsingle-3s.male
Midday he looked without success and did not find them.

Dame 005
Dame Idam ngganemot suali go,   yap ba so   got-ton.
Dame Idam that   afraid fact, house in spec. stay-ptdur-3sm
Dame Idam being afraid, stayed in the house.
=======
Woy Idam 012 <u>(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)</u>

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 <u>(Flash back using non-inflected verb roots)</u>

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

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

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

No, Woy Idam, nemot go duo ngganemot so saboy-ton.
But, Woy Idam he   fact 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. fact 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 fact 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   fact name: Woy Idam also
The name of this child was also Woy Idam.

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

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

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

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

14.   Gender

It is not always easy to figure out the gender of the subject. In Kemtuik there are two noun classes: masculin and feminin. And speakers have to learn by heart which nouns belong to which class. Using group situations sometimes female forms are used, sometimes masculin forms are used. This depends on what the speaker decides as having focus.
A complex factor is that Person and Gender do inflate. The only case where gender shows up is in the 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 (indiated by o, and feminin indicated by u). And since First Person Inclusive (imot namon /nang) uses Third Person Masculin forms, the o also indicates gender in these forms. Since it is not obligatory to use postposition lo to mark a noun as subject, or the possibility to have no subject at all, the gender indication in the Det. Adj makes clear who the actor is.