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3.1 General remarks

3.1.1. Relational postpositions

Coherence in Kemtuik texts is made visible by a specific class of relational postpositions taking care of the majority of grammatical relationships. These *relational* postpositions do not carry a specific meaning itself, like other spatial postpositions (e.g. *blo* = 'on top of') but their function is to mark the grammatical relations between referents and arguments. The distribution of these relational postpositions[1] is widespread throughout the text and fundamental for proper understanding. They follow: (pro)nouns; verbs; demonstratives, numerals, time and place indicators, phrases and clauses. In isolated positions or in layered sequences, they produce all sorts of grammatical relations: linkage within the NP; linkage between NP and AdjP, VP with AdvP, and interclausal relationships. The occurrences of these relational postpositions in Kemtuik syntax, where they relate to and their sequences are listed below. Of course, this provides us only with superficial information. The precise grammatical function has to be shown in their contexts. Some relational postpositions have polysemous instances; others can cluster or are in contrast. A basic gloss has been provided but reading these glosses one need to keep in mind a wide arrangement of meaning.

3.1.2 Chart
To this class belong[2]: P

go marks textual deixis 'given' >   (GIV)

so   marks intention following verbs; inessive elsewhere >   (IN)

lo   marks instigative/ instrumental >   (INST)

no marks allative >   (TO)

ey marks comitative >   (COM)

or layered sequences of them.

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[1] A word count shows that relational post- positions (*go, so, lo, no* and *ey*) belong to the most frequent used words in Kemtuik text.

[2] Clitic *–a* 'focus' is in fact a different feature, but it often occurs in a contrastive role with some relational postpositions.

Relational postpositions				

Deixis Givenness	**Inessive Intentional Specific**	**Instigative Instrumental Pathway**	**Allative**	**Comitative**
Gloss= GIV	**Gloss= IN / INT**	**Gloss = INST**	**Gloss = TO**	**Gloss = COM**
marks: - noun - demonstrative - adjective - verb - clause - time	marks: - verb - adverb - object - proposition - demonstrative - numeral - subject - color	marks: - tr.subject (in case of disambiguity) - intr. subjects - instruments - demonstrative - pathway - interclausal	marks: - goal - recipient - interclausal - demonstrative	marks: - demonstrative - noun - color - verb

3.1.3. General illustration

To give an overall picture of relational postpositions, 'color' offers an interesting example. Depending on their marking, a color can occur in different grammatical positions (i.e. as adjective, adverb, verb), with its specific relational postposition (#, *so, ey*). Consider the following examples:

(1) Ngge / { [kin]   so} go.
    this   blood   IN   GIV
'This is red'

(2){ Ngge / [kin]   ey} go.
    this   blood   COM GIV
'This is reddish.'

(3){ [Genam go amka] naklay} / [klaut] so gemang.
     1ps.   GIV clothe all   white   IN ex. there
'All my clothes (overthere) are white.'

(4) Wi nok / [nemot go dit]   [kiki -kiki] so / mo   pling.
   bird baby   3ps. GIV feather green-green IN   already fly
'The baby bird with the dark-green feathers flew already.'

(5) Sam ngga / {nemot suk [bom-bom]} mo   nega.
   book that   3ps. skin red-red   IN already disappeared
'The red-covered book disappeared.'

(6) {Buensani suk so [bom-bom] ey   go amka -a} kabung lo   gemang kok.
     violet   skin IN red-red   COM GIV clothes-foc. woman INST ex.there wear
'That girl had a dress of a dark-reddish violet color.'

*(7) {Sip [**kuim** **-kuim**] no degut so} go / genam mo   -i-   so.*
    place burn   -burn TO enter INT GIV 1ps.   already count INT
'To go into black places, I don't want.'

*(8) [Ngga ba no didon tip   pung] go / no [**yangu**] go / kua kangok.*
    that in dir. fruit sprout arrive GIV TO yellow GIV not big
'In there a sprout came up, but being dried out (litt. 'yellowed'), (it did) not ripen.'

*(9) {[Wengkabui blo]   no} go / {srem   [**yangu**] so go} ey / mo   kut.*
    head   on top of TO. GIV ornament yellow IN GIV COM already cover
'The head was covered with (a) yellow ornament.'

3.2. Relational postposition => deictic *go*.
Now we will discuss the relational postpositions in more detail, starting of with *go* (GIV). This postposition marks textual <u>deixis</u>. It carries the meaning 'given', but in a wide general sense. It attaches to Word classes, Phrase and Clause, marking 'givenness'. In Kemtuik the major word classes are nouns (including personal names and place names), verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The minor classes are pronouns and demonstratives. The *go* can be post-positioned to all these word classes. It is glossed as GIV.

3.2.1. Some examples of thís function of 'givenness' are:
- Attached to a (pro)noun = 'possessive'
*(1) Udui   ngge / [nemot] **go**.*
    banana this   3ps   GIV
    'This banana is his.'

(2) *Ngge / [aya]* ***go*** *yap.*
    this   father GIV house
'This is father's house.'

- Attached to a qualifier
(2) Yap   ngge / [seguay] ***go***.
    house this   small GIV
    'This house is small.'

- Attached to qualifier forming an adjective
(3) {Nemot go duo [seguay] ***go***} / *sadui so.*
    3ps   GIV child small GIV sick IN
    'His little child is sick.'

- Attached to an adverb
(4) {Yap ngga [banim[3]] ***go***} *koy lo   mo   kuim.*
    house that   before GIV fire INST already burn
    'The house was burnt down formerly.'

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[3] *Banim* has two meanings: 'old' and 'before'

- Attached to noun forming a time indicator
*(5) Genam {[**wadi**] go} ngge lo   mo   srek.*
   1ps   night GIV this INST already sleep
   'Last night I slept here.' (general indication of <u>whole</u> night)

-Attached to a Directive Verb root
*(6) Nemot [**na**] go   no?*
3ps   go_there. GIV TO
'Where to did he go?'

- Attached to any verb root; (creating nominalization of verb or verbal
compound) in subordinated clauses)
*(7) {Sedue [nemu **pung**]   go} / **pali** go.*
     man   eye   go out GIV   heal GIV
'A blind man was healed'

*(8) {[Kota - yakena] [klong-weng] so } **lemoy**   go   / be?*
      town   village   go   come IN   happen GIV exist (he/she)
'Is (he/she) somebody who comes and goes to town?'

*(9) Kabung ngga {[sedue lo   **iti-itak**]   go } lo /   mo   mlay.*
    woman that   man   INST take-leave_behind GIV INST already experience
'That woman has experience with several relationships with men.'

3.2.2. *Go* as introduction of direct sense in a general- referential way
Compare the function of *go* with *gemang* in the following examples. We see here
a contrast between 'givenness' ('reflection'), and 'introduction to an event'.

*(1) Nemot lo usi **go**, "Mot no genam tebok go nang, so go-a   duing-t-og-o-y?"*
3ps INST ask GIV you TO 1ps   help GIV purp IN GO-foc think-pt-dur-masc-2ps
'He asked, "What do you wish me to do for you?"'

*(2){ [Ngga no pung go] no} go / sedue no ngge kalik nemot nang lo   **gemang** usi, "...".*
    that   TO arrive GIV TO GIV man   TO this   like 3p   pl   INST ex.there ask, "...."
'Arriving there, they began asking the man like this, "...."'

3.2.3. *Go* as topic-hood indicator

(1) *Blubu   lemoy **go**. Mia   Orpa lo   go   nebut pen.*
    Lake Sentani create GIV mother Orpa INST GIV talk   say
'How Lake Sentani came into existence.' (Told by mother Orpa.)

3.2.4. *Go* marks textual deixis 'given' on Clause and Phrase level

 *(1) [Ngga utep]   **go** [nemot namon ip]   **go** / yakena no **gemang**   klong.*
    that   tomorrow GIV 3p.   two   stand up GIV village to ex.there go
'The next day they two stand up and went to the village.'

(2) [Ngga utep #   pung] **go** */ sedue ngga gemang ikum na- w- o-   n.*
    that   tomorrow arrive GIV man   that ex. there see   there-pt-masc-3p
'When the next day appeared, he saw that man going there.'

3.2.5. Contrast between *go* as general indication and *so* as specific indication:

*(1) [Utep]   * **go**   *mot mea klong.*
    tomorrow GIV 2ps will go.
'Tomorrow (or so) you will go.' (general focus on the day of tomorrow, or later)

*(2) Nemot nang [utep]   * **go**   *ya   klong?*
    3p   pl   tomorrow GIV imp go
'Are they going tomorrow?' (open question: tomorrow, later?)

*Yang! [Utep]   * **so**   *mot mea klong.*
 Yes!   tomorrow IN 2ps   will go
'Yes, tomorrow you will go'. (focus on tomorrow not any other day)

(3) Kabung no pu go, "Sedue kalik **go**,   *kua!"*
    woman TO say GIV man   like GIV not
'(We) say to women, "Don't (act) like men!" (general)

(4) Kabung no   pu go, "Sedue kalik **so** *ya kua semu!"*
    woman TO say GIV man   like IN imp. not do
'(We) say to women, "Imitating men is not allowed!"'

(5) Gemang **go** */ gemang* **so** *se   pu!*
    ex.there GIV   ex.there IN neces. tell
'If (something) is there, it needs to be told: it is there.'

3.3. Relational postposition => inessive *so*
The relational postposition *so* is polysemous. What these instances -probably-
have in common is something <u>specific</u>, either *intentional, qualifying or inessive.*
It is glossed as IN.

3.3.1. Following verbs or verb phrases, *so* marks 'realized intention' to the clause.
It relates with the present continuing tense or immediate future. Compare the
difference between (1) and (2), i.e. 'intention' vs. 'specific'.

(1) Aka   /   {usu   kebali[4]} **so**.
    Ol.brother garden work   IN
'Older brother wants to rework the garden.'

*(2) Aya [usu] * **so** *kebali*.
    father garden IN work
'Father is reworking the garden.'

---

[4] This example is a little bit 'tricky' because *kebali* 'work' occurs both as noun and verb.

*(3) {Sa / pu} **so**.*
    rain   say IN
'It starts raining.'

*(4) {Genam / ten   dam} **so**.*
    1ps   food eat   IN
'I am going to eat food.'

*(5) "Mot namon-a   yakot so suing-a / {genam mea li   -si-   l- u} **so**!"/*
     you two-foc. quiet   IN sit-foc. 1ps   will climb move_down-ft- 1ps IN
 'You two sit quiet there, I will climb down.'

*(6) {Nggeasui go   genam lema but} **so**.*
     now   GIV 1ps   snake kill   IN
'I will kill the snake today.'

3.3.2. Following embedded clauses, *so* marks intention.

*(1) Genam {mot wawi} **so** /   gabe.*
    1ps   2ps take   IN   ex.here
'I am here to take you.'

*(2) Ble, mot denok ngga iti   go / masi-masi **so**/ ya   klong?*
   Ble, 2ps   child that take GIV foot-foot IN   interr. go
'Ble (name of lady), do you take that child for a walk?'

3.3.3. Following noun *so* marks object as 'specific'
Compare the slight difference with object followed by # 'neutral' and followed by *so* marking object as 'specific'. Note also the difference between 'intention' (*so*) and 'purpose' (*nang*) in example 5.

(1) Genam [ten] # te- tra.
    1ps   food   red.feel
 'I am hungry'

*(2) Genam   [ten] **so** du -duing.*
    1ps   food IN   red.think (=wish)
'I am longing for food'

*(3) Sogo / [kebali] **so** semu-t- og- oy?*
    what   work   IN do- pt.dur-2p
'What work are you doing?'

*(4) Sikabung [nemot] **so**   bu- bung.*
    people   3ps   IN   red.wait for
'The people are waiting for him.'

(5) Mot [yakena wengkabui] ***so*** *kuoy   go / yakena yay   su-suing go* ***nang***.
    2ps   village head   IN choose GIV village guard red.sit   GIV purp
'You have been chosen as village leader, to look after the village.'

(6) Genam [wi namon] ***so***   *mo   iti.*
    1ps   bird two   IN   already take.
'I have taken two birds.'

(7) Duo ngga [nemot go sui Yohanes] ***so*** */ se   temuit.*
    child that 3ps   GIV name Yohanes IN necess.name
'That child must be named: Yohanes'.

*(8) Nemot [yakena Saplung Samon] **so** / su-suing.*
    3ps   village Saplung-Samon IN red.sit
'He lives in the village Saplung-Samon'.

*(9) Aya [yap]   **so** gemang.*
    father house IN ex. there
Father is there at the house.

3.3.4. Following <u>time</u> *so* indicates: specifically
Compare in these examples <u>specific</u> *so* vs. <u>general</u> *go* and neutral #

*(1) [Utep]   **so** nemot nang mea klong.*
    tomorrow IN 3p   pl   will go
'They will certainly go tomorrow.' (answer contains specific indication of time)

*(2) [Utep]   **so** nemot nang klong go   nang.*
    tomorrow IN 3p   pl   go   GIV purp.
'Tomorrow they plan to go'. (tomorrow's departure is certain)

*(3) [Utep]   **go** nemot nang klong go   nang.*
    tomorrow GIV 3p.   pl   go   GIV purp.
'They are planning to go tomorrow.' (answer: planning is there but no specific date.)

As an illustration: example *(4)* is not possible. '*Utep so*' should be used instead.

(4) #[*Utep]   **go** genam **mea** klong.#*
    tomorrow GIV 1ps   will go
#'Tomorrow (or so) I will go'.#

 *(5) [Utep]   **so** genam mea klong.*
    tomorrow IN 1ps   will go
'Tomorrow (for sure) I will go.'

(6) [Nggeasui] ***go*** *genam mea klong.*
    now   GIV 1ps   will go
'I am going today.'

9

(7) [Nggeasui] # genam mea klong.
  now   1ps   will go
'I will go now.'

*(8) [Inenga] **go** babu   nalo semlea ey   dasi ey   mo   dam.*
  Yesterday GIV grandmother old papeda COM rat COM already eat
'The other day grandmother ate (meat of the) rat with sago'.

3.3.5. Following demonstratives *so* indicates 'specific'

(1) Genam [ngge] so gabe   bu- bung.
  1ps   this IN ex. here red.wait
'I am here, waiting'.
*(2) Nemot / na go no / ya   suing? Ngga **so**.*
  3p.s dir. GIV TO interr. sit   that IN
'Where does he sit? There!'

3.3.6. Following spatial propositions *so* indicates 'inessive':

*(1) [Duen ku] **so** nebo mlak go / tandali gemang weng.*
  bush down IN pig catch GIV again ex.there return
'Deep down in the bush, he caught a pig and returned home.'

*(2) Genam nang [ta   idi]   **so**   klaya.*
  1p.   pl.   hand side IN one
'We (total) six people.'

*(3) No / mot nang ey   [kerlam] **so** genam lo   wasey go / ngga genam go ba **so**.*
  To 2p pl COM same   IN 1ps   INST divide GIV that 1p.s GIV in IN
'But if I share equally with you, that is my business (litt. that is in me).'

*(4) Seni   so! Mot nang [nesip] **so** / nemot gabe.*
  content IN   2p. pl middle IN 3ps   ex.here
'Indeed! In the middle of you, he is.'

*(5) Iram   nemot [blo dega] **so**   su-suing.*
  clanleader 3ps   high very IN   red.sit
'The leader, he takes a very important position (litt. high indeed sitting).'

Consider the three following contrasting examples:

*(6) Sam ngga meja [blo] **so***
  book that   table on IN
'That book is on the table.'

*(7) Sam ngga meja [blo] **so** su-suing.*
  book that table on IN rep. stay
'That book is staying (sitting) on the table.'

(8) Sam ngga meja [blo] **no** *mea suing. (**no** contrasting **so** = future)*
   book that table on   TO. will stay
'That book will stay on the table.'

3.3.7. Following a <u>qualifier</u>, *so* functions as adverbalizer.

(1) Sikabung [kam] **so** *bu-bung.*
    people   end   IN red.wait
'The people are waiting end-less (= in vain.)'

(2) [Suey] **so** */ pen-san-   d- o   ya!*
    good   IN talk-return-ft.2ps imp.
'You have to talk to me what is good.' ('Say it correctly to me!')

(3) Genam [suey] **so** *mo   ikum.*
     1ps   good   IN already see
'I watched carefully.'

*(4) Dabui lo   [seni]   **so** *se   u-wet!*
    heart   INST content/fruit IN imp. rep.seek
'Seek with your heart in-deed!'

(5) Aya! Ngge / sogo [kalik] **so** *ya   semu?*
    Father! this   what   like   IN imp do
'Father! How exactly are you doing this?'

(6) [Ke –kay] **so**   *sambui kalik pung   go.*
    rep.forget IN demon like   appear GIV
'He appeared suddenly, like a demon.'

(7) Yap   so no [kay] **so** *genam gabe   ko-klong.*
    house IN TO at once IN 1ps   ex.here red.go
'I immediately went home.'

*(8) Kebali [yam]   **so** / *at   -nang lo / mo   semu.*
    work   measure IN   1p.excl. pl.   INST already do
'We did the work completely.'

(9) Genam [tang] **so** *mo   ikum.*
     1ps   origin   IN   already see
'I have seen it myself'.

3.3.8. Special combinations

3.3.8.1. A special combination is *sik so* (squeeze + IN). As a sequence it is being translated 'from', but the <u>verb</u> *sik* 'squeeze' may be the original meaning. The postpositions *sik + so* express a source relation, whether it is locational, temporal or logical.

Consider also the close resemblance between *(1)* <u>with</u> the verb *pung*, and *(2)* <u>without</u> verb. And also the difference between (12) and (13) where *go* ('GIV') supplies a fixation from *sik so 'from'* to *'sik so go* 'origin'

*(1) Nemot boy   ba   [sik[5]]   **so** pung go.*
    3ps   prison inside   squeeze out IN arrive GIV
'He is released from prison.'

*(2) Inenga   go nemot Yaneblang [sik]   **so**.*
   Yesterday GIV 3ps   Nimboran squeeze out IN
'Yesterday he (came) from Nimboran'

(3) {Nemot Yanemblang [sik]   so}   go.
    3p.s   Nimboran   squeeze out IN   GIV
'He is a Nimboran.'

 *(4) Nggeasui go [sik]   **so** / nemot ta   semlea idi   so su- suing go / mea ikum -ke- lo.*
     Now   GIV sqeeze IN   3ps   hand right   side IN rep. sit   GIV will see- pl -2p
 'From now on you will see him sitting at the right hand (of the clan leader).'

3.3.8.2. A special use of *so* is: 'intention' following *go nang* 'purpose'. There is development from <u>intention</u> > <u>purpose</u> > <u>planning:</u>

*(1) Mia   usu   no [ten ikak]   **so** / mo   klong.*
   mother garden TO food collect IN already go
'Mother is already on her way to the garden to collect food.' (general intention)

*(2) Mia   usu   no [ten   ikak   **go   nang[6]**] mo   klong.*
   mother garden TO food collect GIV purpose already go   (purpose)
'Mother has gone to the garden in order to collect food.

(3) Mia   usu   no { [ten ikak go nang] so}   go[7] / mo   klong.
   mother garden TO   food collect GIV purp. INT GIV   already go   (her usual activity)
'Mother has already gone to the garden in order to collect food.'

3.3.9 Contrast between inessive *so* and comitative *ey*
Consider in examples *(2)* and *(3)* the contrast between 'specific' and 'comitative' in the use of the colour red (*red* versus *reddish*).

(1) Ngge / {[kin]   so} go.
   this   blood IN GIV
'This is red'

---

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

[6] *genang* is a contraction of *go* + *nang*. In texts it is written as *genang*, following the stress pattern in such combinations. *Nang* carries also the meaning either of 'plural'. Eg. *nemot nang* '3ps. plural

(2) Ngge / {[kin] ey} go.
   this   blood COM GIV
'This is reddish.'

3.4 Relational postposition => instrumental *lo*

The postposition *lo* is <u>instigative</u> but marks also 'instrumental', 'pathway'.
Kemtuik is a SOV language, but depending on active / passive structures, subject
and object may change in clause order. The postposition *lo* marks subject
(obligatory in passive, non-obligatory in active construction)[8] and is glossed as
INST.
Examples showing the different functions of postposition *lo* are:
3.4.1. *Lo* marks subject <u>that is in control</u> in active construction (S $_{\pm\,lo}$ – O – V)

(1) [Genam] lo   wadi lema gualing go.
    1ps   INST night snake smash GIV
'I smashed a snake last night.'

(2) Nggeasui [genam] lo   lema mo   but[9].
  now   1ps   INST snake already kill
'I just killed a snake.'

(3) {[Unen   ey   nglangin ey]   go} lo   [drang   ngge nemot] mea idok: ....
     mother COM father   COM GIV INST valuables this 3p   will pick_up
'Mother and father will pick_up these valuables: ....

3.4.2. In passive construction *lo* <u>marks subject</u> (O – S $_{lo}$ – V)

Compare example (1) and (2) (i.e. active vs. passive):

(1) Banim no [genam] # ngge mo   semu. (order SOV > *lo* not needed)
  before dir. 1ps   this already do
'First I did this.'

(2) Banim no / ngge / [genam] lo / mo   semu. (order OSV > lo is needed)
  before to   this 1ps   INST already do
'This was done by me first.' (focus on actor)

(3) Nemot / [aka] lo demun but go so / mo   kap.
    3ps   ol.br. INST stone hit GIV IN   already run away (*demun but* = punish)
'Because he was punished by his older brother, he ran away.'

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[8] See: Chapter V for further discussion
[9] but = 1. hit ; 2. kill

3.4.3. *Lo* showing instrumental use:

*(1) Inenga   genam lema [masi] **lo**   but go.*
    Yesterday 1ps   snake   foot   INST   kill GIV
 'Yesterday I killed a snake with my foot.'

*(2) Nemot [dabui] **lo**   mo   duing.*
     3ps   heart   INST already think
'He thinks with his heart'.

*(3) Nemot [bu] **lo**   mo   yane.*
     3ps   water INST already crazy
'He acts crazy by drinking (alcohol).'

3.4.4. *Lo* showing pathway:

*(1) Sikabung tandali [tap   suey go] **lo**   mo   ko- klong.*
     people   again   road good GIV INST already red-go
'People are going again over a good road' (= behave well again).

*(2) Duo ngga [sip   srek   blo]   **lo**   mo   srek.*
   child that place sleep on top of INST already sleep
'That child slept on the bed.'

*(3) Nemot lo   [duot   ngga nemot] [nesip] **lo**   mo   guik.*
     3ps   INST sagotree that   3ps   middle INST already cut
'He cut that sagotree through the middle.'

*(4)Ngga / [nemot]   **lo***.
    that   3ps   INST
'That is OK!'

*(5) Mot   suey gemang! [Suey] **lo***!
   2p.s. good ex.there   good INST (pathway)
'Good bye! May you path go well!

*(6) Denok dato   ngga nemot /{ [amblang dato] ey}   / **lo***.
   child   small   that   3ps /   character strong COM   INST
'That small child shows a strong character.'

3.4.5. *Lo* marks an event as instigative

*(1) Sikabung [ngga so su- suing go] **lo** /   wayang go.*
     people   that   IN rep-stay GIV INST insult   GIV
'Being insulted by the people staying overthere.'

*(2) Genam go saysuk yam   so   mo   gang. [Amble   lo   demun but go] **lo***.
    1ps   GIV body   measure IN already hurt   gov. people INST stone   hit GIV INST
'My body is hurting all over the place. Because the police beated me up.

(3) [Bu   ke- klak go] ***lo*** */ danon ey   denun ey   bu   lo10   kenok   go /*
    water red-rise GIV INST boy   COM girl   COM water INST overflow GIV
'Because the raising of the water, the boy and the girl were overflown by the water,

busuing   lo11   se   lek.
water rubish INST imp. drag away
and were threatened to drag away.'

3.4.6. Contrast between neutral # , *lo* and *so*12

Lo marking agent; *so* marking patient. *Lo* and *so* function mutually exclusive.

(1) [Sikabung] #   [nemot] ***so*** */ kam so   bung-ne-te-na- w- o   -n.*
    people   3ps   IN   end IN (=in vain) wait–pl-dur-dir-pt-masc-3ps
'The people were waiting for him in vain.'

(2) [Nemot nang] ***lo***   *[sedue ngga nemot]* **#**   *mlak go /*
    3p   pl   INST   man   that   3ps   arrest GIV

  [nemot nang] **#**   *[sedue ngga nemot]* ***so***   *u-wet.*
    3p   pl   man   that 3ps   IN red.seek
'They having arrested that man, they questioned that man.'

(3) Utep   so [sedue namon] ***lo*** */ [sedue ngga]* **#** */ mea wet.*
    Tomorrow IN   man   two   INST man   that   will seek
'Tomorrow two men will question that man.'

3.5. Relational Postposition => Comitative *ey*.

The Postposition *ey* carries the meaning of 'accompaniment' (related to persons, qualities and events) and has a Comitative function. It follows (Pro)Nouns, Verbs, Demonstratives and Adjectives (glossed as COM).

3.5.1. *Ey* marks qualification as adverb

(1) At nang   go yeule   /   [seni] ***ey.***
    1p.pl.excl. GIV rose apple   fruit COM
'Our rose apple tree (has) a lot of fruit.'

(2) Suona kawi sengin / [tom] ***ey.***
    suona kawi ripe   taste COM
'Ripe *suona kawi's* are delicious.'

(3) Mot go   duo / kata   yam   so?   Genam go   duo / [namon] ***ey.***
    2ps GIV child how many measure IN 1p.s   GIV child two   COM
'How many children do you have? I have two children.'

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[10] This use of *lo* is used to mark subject in passive construction.
[11] Idem
[12] The markers *lo* and *so* mark the ergative /absolutive contrast in Kemtuik language (see Chapter....).

(4) Nemot lo {kabung [nangglik] ey}   mo   iti.
    3ps   INST woman three   COM already take
'He is married to three wives.'

3.5.2. *Ey* marks accompaniment of grouping

(1) {Suey [aya] ey   [mia]}   ey.
    good father COV mother COM
'Greetings, father and mother!'
(2) Demanon lo   weng go, {[unen]   ey   [nglangin] ey}   go   no pen-a- t- u-   n.
    sister   INST come GIV father   COM mother   COM GIV TO speak-foc-pt-fem-3p
'(His) sister came to speak to her parents.'

(3) E ... [genam go babu]   / [leme   keba]   ey!   Genam ey   ya   dam?
    Wow! 1ps GIV grandmother spicy fruit nokeng COM 1p.s   COM imp. eat?
'Wow! My grandmother (has / carries) a bag with spicy fruits! Can I eat of it with (you)?'

3.5.3. *Ey* marks admonition in clause final position

(1) Genam lo   wa!   Mot / [suali kua tra] ey.
    1ps   INST focus 2p   afraid not feel   COM
'It is me, don't feel afraid!'

(2) {[Kunala temoy no]. [Kenong   ey]   go!}
    thought middle to   fall down   COM +GIV
'Be thougtfull; you may fall down!'

Compare this combination of [*ey go*] with [*go+ naning*] 'in order not' (= strong warning):
(3) Ngge no kua weng / pui go [naning]
    this   TO not   come   fall GIV lest
'Don't come to here; less you fall down!'

3.5.4. Contrast between comitative *ey*, inessive *so* and neutral *#*

(1) Genam [ten] ey   mo   tra.
    1ps   food COM already feel
'I have been feeling hungry' (= over a period).

(2) Genam [ten] # te- tra.
    1ps   food   red.feel (= right now)
'I am feeling food (= I'm hungry).'

(3) Genam [ten] so   te-tra.
    1ps   food spec red.feel (longing for food)
'I am longing for food (= I want to eat)'

3.6 Relational Postposition: --> Allative *no*
The Postposition *no* inside the clause marks <u>allative</u>: goal or recipient and points to time and place (glossed as: TO).

3.6.1 *No* marks recipient or goal:

*(1) Nemot lo   [genam] **no** duoy   iti   go.*
    3ps   INST 1ps   TO money give GIV
'He gave me some money.'

*(2) Kebali semu go   nang so   go,   mot [genam] **no** se   tebok!*
    work   do   GIV purp INT GIV 2ps.   1ps   TO must help
'In order to perform that job, you must assist me.'

*(3) Inenga   genam {[denok seguay] go   **no**} nebut mo   pen.*
    yesterday 1ps   child small   GIV TO talk already say
'Yesterday I spoke to a small child.'

*(4) Demanon weng go, {[unen   ey   nglanging ey]   go   **no**} pen-a-   t- u-   n.*
    sister   come GIV mother COM fathe r   COM GIV TO say focus pt-fem-3p
'His sister came and spoke to the parents.'

(5) Deguena   lo   {[sikabung naklay Saplung so go]   no} nebut so pe-pen.
    Clan leader INST   people   all   Sabron IN GIV TO talk red. say
'The clanleader is speaking to all the people of Sabron.'

3.6.2. *No* marks *place* or *time* in relation to the <u>event</u>:

*(1) Nemot lo / yap / [ngge] **no** / mo   klik.*
    3ps   INST house this   TO   already build
'He has already build the house here.'

*(2) Genam [ku]   **no** li   so.*
    1ps   below TO go down IN
'I am going down to the toilet.'

*(3) [Ku selasa] **no** genam [Jayapura] **no** mea klong.*
    day Tuesday to 1ps   Jayapura TO will go
    'On Tuesday I will go to Jayapura.'

Consider the contrasts between (4) and (5):

*(4) [Ku ngga nemot] **#** / genam [Braso] **no**   mea srek.*
    day that 3ps   1ps   Braso TO   will sleep
'On that day I will sleep in (the village) Braso.'

(5)[Ku ngga nemot] __no__ / genam / Braso __lo__ /   gemang   srek.
   day that 3ps   TO 1ps   Braso INST ex.there   sleep
'On that day I slept in Braso.'

(6) [Nemot sadui ey   tra go ku] __no__ / genam <u>gabe</u>   klong.
    3ps   ill   COM feel GIV day TO   1ps   ex.here go
'The day he felt ill, I was on my way.'

(7) [Sogo ku] __no__ mot ya   weng?
    what day TO 2ps imp. come
'What day you will come here?'

(8) [Banim] __no__   genam lo   ngge mea semu.
    before TO   1ps   INST this   will do
 'First I will do this.'

(5) [Banim] __no__ mot   -a   besi -si –l- o se.
    before TO 2 p.s. focus walk-dir-ft-2p neces.
'You are the one who walks in front.' (specific reference to place)

3.6.3. *No* occurring clause initially marking 'contrast' in ongoing discourse.
In fact, this occurrence of *no* is special. Although it is a relational, it is not a
postposition. It occurs to indicate <u>contrast or an unexpected happening in the
discourse</u>. Often is can be translated by 'but'. In a few cases 'however' covers the
meaning better.
Consider these examples:

(1) __No__ / mia-a kua tup.
   TO mother-foc not hear
'But mother didn't hear (what was said).'

(2) __No__ / mot nang ey   kerlam so genam lo   wasey go / ngga genam go ba so.
   TO 2p. pl COM same   IN 1ps   INST divide GIV that   1ps   GIV in IN
'But, if I share equally with you, that is what is in me (is my business).'

3.6.4. Contrast: *no* versus # and *so,* using *banim*: 'old / before'.

(1) Sedue maning kua weng go   no go / kabung-a   [banim] <u>#</u> se pung.
   man   not yet not come GIV TO GIV woman-focus before   imp arrive.
'Since (the) men have not come yet, (the) women arrive first.'

(2) Genam [banim] __no__ mo   klong.
    1ps   before   TO already go
'I have gone ahead.'

(3) Genam [banim] <u>so</u>   mo   klong.
    1ps   before IN already go
'I have gone already, long before.'

3.7. Layered sequences of Relational Postpositions

3.7.1 Introduction

As we have seen Kemtuik grammar shows a wide variety of relational postpositions, responsible for all kinds of grammatical functions in the text. Because of its widespread occurrence, we may say: it is an important basic feature of Kemtuik language, but also rather complex. Many times they occur in sequence with other relational postpositions. These are layered sequences, referring to different grammatical aspects, and to text-units. Distribution of relational postpositions in Kemtuik text depends on rules of grammar and style. Of course, sequences of these relational postpositions have to be analyzed in their specific context. But an overall analysis shows that, due to their specific functions, not all sequences are possible. The following combinations - in both directions - do *not* show up in <u>direct</u> sequences:

so < - > lo   (inessive vs. instrumental)
so < - > ey   (inessive vs. comitative)
lo < - > no   (instrumental vs. allative)
lo < - > ey   (instrumental vs. comitative)
no <- > ey   (allative vs. comitative)

But with interjection of deictic *go* (GIV) some of those combinations do occur, others don't (printed in **#bold#**). And *lo* and *no* are most contrastive.

so – go – lo   and reversed: *lo – go – so*
so – go – ey and reversed: *ey – go – so*
 # lo – go – no # and reversed: # no – go – lo#
 # no – go – ey # but reversed: *ey – go – no*
 # lo – go – ey # but reversed: *ey – go – lo*
 # no – go – ey # but reversed: *ey – go – no*

The following chart shows all sequences that do occur:

> Relational postpositions
>
> and their layered sequences

so	*lo*	*no*	*go*	*ey*
can be followed by	can be followed by	can be followed by	can be followed by	can be followed by
go	*go*	*go*	*so*	*go*
no			*lo*	
			ey	
			no	

A first superficial conclusion is:
- Deictic *go* 'given' can follow or precede other relational postpositions;
- Deictic *go* 'given' differs from all the other relational postpositions by forming layered sequences with any of them;
- Even longer layered sequences with –*go* are possible: *so – go – so – go – so*.
We will discuss all these sequences and their consequences in detail and in their specific contexts.

3.7.2 Layering structures: examples
Especially, if sequences of three or even four relational postpositions occur, it is important to oversee the layering of those structures. A number of examples will show the variety of those structures.
Example 1 shows how the deictic *go* (GIV) and the instrumental *lo* (INST) not only *refer to* preceding information but also to not-mentioned but understood events from the wider context. Note that in (1a) *[aya lo iti go]* 'given (sent) by father', the reference to the sending of the letter itself is, while in utterance (1b) *[aya lo go]* refers to a wider concept, i.e. the reaction of the receiver about the given information written by the author and sent by email. *[aya lo go]* is in fact a shorter form for *[aya lo (iti)go ngga ikum go]*, meaning: 'what you have sent, having read that, ...

*(1a) [**Aya lo iti go** sam] mo iti gabe.*
    father INST give GIV letter already take ex.here
'The letter you gave (sent) has been taken (received).'

*(1b) Ku gabe go / [**aya lo** go] ngga ikum go / tandali mea iti.*
   day ex.here GIV father INST GIV that see GIV again will give
'If there is time here, [the letter sent by you], having seen it, (I) will return (it).'

Example 2 shows how clause final *lo* (INST) refers to something like: 'shows' / 'is gifted with'. Without *lo* (INST) the clause would mean this: 'That small child has a strong character.' So *lo* shows 'pathway'.

(2a) Denok dato ngga nemot / [amblang dato ey].
   child small that 3ps / character strong COM
'That small child **has** a strong character.'

*(2b) Denok dato ngga nemot / [amblang dato ey] **lo**.*
   child small that 3ps / character strong COM INST
'That small child **shows** a strong character.'

Example 3 shows how *sogo* (intention+givenness), introducing a question clause initially, derives the equivalent of 'what'. And the sequence *so go so* in post position: 'specific/intention + 'givenness' + intention', gives us the equivalent: 'reason'. (Or clause initially, introducing a question as: 'why'.)

(3a){*Sogo   kua go [so go so]}*   *nemot lo   kuoy go   sedue]*
    what   not GIV IN GIV IN (=reason) 3ps   INST chooseGIV man

[yakena Sawoy   no] ne-na-   w- o-   n?
   village   Sawoy.TO pl-sit_down-pt-masc-3p
'What was finished, <u>why</u> his chosen people went to the village of Sawoy?'

(3b) { *Nemot nang go   ten   [yam   so kua] go}   [so go so].*
      3ps   pl   GIV food measure IN not   GIV   IN GIV IN (= reason)
'<u>Therefore</u> that their food supplies were finished.'

Example 4 shows us how clauses can be <u>embedded in</u> the sentence by using a
relational postposition, or a sequence of relational postpositions.

(4a) *Ngge naklay* **pe-pen** *go / seni   ey   gemang.*
    this   all   rep. say GIV content COM ex.there
    'This all being said is important   (This forms the basis to 4b)

(4b) {[*Ngga nemot*] *so } go so / sam ba no nase klik!*
        that   3ps   IN   GIV INT book in to must write
'<u>Therefore</u> (specific reason) it needs to be written in a letter.'

Example 5 shows the basis for reasoning between examples (5a) and (5b). In 5a
the verb *pay* 'turn' has been included, in 5b *go* indicates 'givenness'.

(5a) [*Ngga tang so*] **pay**   **go** / *way   so tap meno lo   gemang klong-lak.*
     that   root IN   turn around GIV   contrary IN road other INST ex.there go-all
'Therefore (necessity) having turned around, all went back via another road.'

(5b) {[*Dabui sadui tra go tang so*] **go***} so / ngga mo   lemoy.*
      heart   sick   feel GIV root IN GIV spec that already happen
'Because of jealousy, that happened. (necessity + reason)

Example 6 shows a sentence *(c)* consisting of a clause *(a)*, embedded in a wider
setting *(b)* and than expanded to *(c)*. As follows:

(a) *Ten   ngga / nemot* [EQ CL]
   food that 3ps
'That food is it (= OK).'

(b) {[*Ten ngga nemot*] *so dam* **go***}   sedue*, etc. [Subordinated CL] > [NP]
     food that   3ps   IN eat   GIV man
'That food-eating men, etc.

(c) {[*Ten ngga nemot*] **so**   *dam* **go** *sedue*} [*seguong-a*] *i   **go** / 4 ribu   yam   so.*
    food that 3ps IN eat   GIV man   only-focus count GIV 4 thousand measure IN
'That food-eating men only counted, were 4 thousand people.'

3.7.3 Deictic *go* preceded by other relational postpositions
As the above chart shows, the deictic *go* 'given' forms sequences <u>following</u> other relational postpositions, i.e. *so – go; lo – go; no – go; ey – go.* The question is: "What does the deictic *go* adds to the meaning of the text unit with a relational postposition, word-, phrase-, and clause finally, it is linked to,?" Just one example shows the complication of this sequence. Generally we may say: *go* adds an element of 'givenness /general fixation/ possessiveness' to the meaning of the preceding relational postposition. Consider the following examples:

(1) Ngge / [genam] # go   yap. (= general statement indicating ownership)
    this   1ps   GIV house
 'This <u>is</u> my house.'

(2) Ngge / [genam] lo go yap. (= statement indicating a past ownership)
    this   1ps   INST GIV house
'This <u>was</u> my house.'

(3)Ngge / [genam] no go   yap. (= statement indicating a future ownership)
    this   1ps   TO GIV house
'This <u>will be</u> my house (to be given to me).'

(4) Ngge / [genam] so go   yap. (= statement indicating the intention to live in the house)
    this   1ps   IN   GIV house
 'This <u>will be</u> the house for me.'

Note that in the above examples *lo* 'instigative/instrumental' followed by the deictic *go* 'given' refers <u>backwards</u>, to a 'given' situation or event (2), while *no* ('allative') and *so* ('specific/inessive/intention') refer to an <u>immediate or future</u> situation.

3.7.3.1. Discussion sequence : *so – go*
The deictive *go* makes the qualifier + *so* to a '<u>concept</u>'. Compare *mata so* (quantity IN) 'many' *(1),* becoming: 'crowd' *(2a and b)*:

(1) Sikabung [mata]   so weng-lak   go.
     people   quantity IN come-group giv
'<u>Many</u> people came together.'

(2a) [Sikabung mata   so go] lo   [genam so] no mea usi, "Aya   deguena!"
    people   quantity IN GIV INST 1ps   IN TO will call   Father clan leader.
'<u>The crowd</u> will call me, "Father, clan leader!" '

(2b) [Sikabung mata   so go] so genam gabe   pu-pu: ...
     people   quantity IN GIV IN 1p   ex.here red-say
'I am talking in view of the crowd ....'

*(3) [Walong **so]** **go** kunala ngge / kua duing: so go¹³ –a   ya   pen –a- na -l-u ?*
     long   IN GIV thought this   not think: IN GIV focus interr. say-foc-dir-ft-1ps.
'Don't think this thought <u>for a long period</u>, "What am I going to say there?" '

Following a verb the combination *so – go* implies 'intentional concept'.
See the following examples:

*(1) [Sikabung keng   go   **so]** **go** / genam ngge no   mo   weng.*
    people   follow GIV IN GIV   2ps   this   TO neces come
'I have come here <u>in order that people should believe</u>.'

*(2) Sam {[seguola denok nguok] **so} go**   iti   go.*
  book   school child teach   IN GIV   give GIV
'This book is given <u>to teach school children</u>.'

3.7.3.2. Discussion sequence: *lo – go*
In the following examples the combination *lo – go* indicates <u>a given pathway</u>.

*(1) {Seni [suey go]   di [piam   go] } **lo** / **go** mea kua tagot.*
    fruit good GIV   tree **wrong** GIV   INST GIV will not bear fruit
 'Good fruit will not be beard by a tree that is <u>rotten</u>**.**'

*(2) [Mia   Orpa **lo**   **go]** [nebut - pen].*
    mother Orpa INST GIV   talk   say
'A story <u>told</u> by mother Orpa'.

*(3) Ngge [nando go   duo **lo**   **go]** u   ku- kluo?*
    this   who   GIV child INST giv song red.cry
'<u>Through</u> whose child this crying <u>is being done</u>?'

*(4) {[Genam] **lo}**   **go** / ulu   blo   kleng-kleng.*
    1ps   INST GIV breadfruit above climb-climb
'I am <u>experienced</u> at climbing the breadfruit tree.'

3.7.3.3. Discussion sequence: *no – go*
The occurrence of the allative *no* followed by a deictic *go* produces a special meaning. When only allative *no* is used, the meaning is 'towards'. When the deictic *go* (*no – go*) is being added, the meaning becomes: 'about'.

*(1) Sa pu go tong -a!   Bu [kui [yam   **no] go}** se."*
  rain call GIV cut of – emphatic water waist measure TO GIV imp.
'Stop calling rain! The water has come <u>towards</u> our waist already.

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¹³ In this example we see the occurrence of *sogo* in an isolated position. It carries the meaning of 'what'. (For further discussion, see: Chapter on Kemtuik Word Classes, Interrogatives).

(2) [Sedue ey   uduo ey   go] **no go** *nebut.*
    man COM dog COM GIV TO GIV talk
'A story about a man and his dog.'

(3a) Ngga sik so, uduo **no go** *nebut piam pu- ne- w- o-   n   go,*
    that origin spec dog TO GIV talk   wrong talk-dir- pt.-masc-3p GIV
'Because he spoke wrong talk <u>about</u> dogs,

(3b) [ta-   masi] nebo kalik gemang lemoy.
     hand-foot   pig   like ex. there happen
his limbs became like a pig.'

3.7.3.4.   Discussion sequence: *ey – go*
Examples of a comitative followed by a deictic, indicating a 'fixed situation' or 'quality'. Clause finally (following the verb) it indicates: 'admonition'.

(1) Mot nemu blo   so no kua yalap, {[son   kui kin] **ey   go}** *blo   so gemang.*
   2ps eye   above IN TO not stare musquito waist red COM GIV above IN ex.there
'Don't look ahead; there is a <u>swarm</u> of mosquitoes with reddish waists (= big ones) above.'

(2) Genam [sadui ey   go] / ten ya kua dam.
    1ps   sick COM GIV food imp not eat
'I am ill; can't eat food.'

*(3) {Mot ba sik   so deguena [sui **ey** **go** dega] klaya} mea pung-a- y -o-   n*
     2ps in origin spec clanleader name wih GIV very one   will arrive-foc-ft-masc-3p
'From your midst an <u>outstanding</u> clan leader will rise up.'

(4) [Dalip **ey   go** *ku] no lemoy go naning   / [mot nang kuek* **ey]**   **go**.
    cold COM GIVday TO happen GIV in_order_not you pl.   run   COM GIV
'<u>Let it not</u> happen that, when you are on the run, it does occur <u>during a cold period</u>.'

3.7.4. Other relational postpositions <u>following</u> deictic *go*
Sub-ordinated, embedded clauses and phrases are closed off by the deictic *go*. These units can be followed also by other relational postpositions i.e. *go –> no; go –> so; go –> lo; go –> ey.* Following phrases, relational propositions 'add' their usual grammatical function to the text units indicated by deictic *go*, i.e.: allative; inessive/intention; instigative/instrumental. But clause finally, following a verb, if deictic *go* is followed by another relational postposition, it will indicate an interclausal relationship[14] .
Some examples of combinations <u>within</u> the clause:

*(1) {Sikabung [mata so] **go} lo**   / nebut / pen go.*
    people   many IN GIV INST talk   say GIV
'A crowd of people <u>spoke</u> a word.'

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[14] Further discussion: see Chapter V.

(2 {Tap [seguay go] kota [dagu so] **go}** **lo** */ gemang klong.*
     road small GIV town close IN   GIV INST ex.there go
'(He) <u>went</u> via a small road, close to town.'

(3) {[Genam lo   taling   go tap] [kunala banim **go**]} **ey**   [klay go no] ya   kua klong.*
     1ps   INST point out GIV road thinking old   GIV COM one GIV TO imp not go
'The direction pointed out by me, does not go together with the old perceptions.'
In *(4b) go* refers back to the main part of the preceding sentence *(4a)*:

(4a) Nemot nang lo pu go, " Seni   so,   amka   ngga sebut go tang, kua."
    3p.   pl   instr say GIV   content IN, clothing that sew GIV root not
They said, "Indeed, that cloth has no juncture."

(4b) [Nemot nang **go** *so] pu-ne-na-   w- o-   n go, <<Amka ngge kua ibot.>>*
     3p   pl.   GIV IN say-pl-there-pt-masc-3p GIV   cloth this not cut.
<u>'They, having stated that</u>, they said, "This cloth must not be cut." '

3.8. The occurrence of clitic – a

Clitic-a is not a relational postposition in the same sense as *go, so, no, lo, ey*.
The clitic –*a*, shows emphasis. It has an important function in the clause, and in
between clauses. Actually, it can occur in almost any position. Clitic –*a* can
follow strings ending with deictic *go*. It also functions within the Verbal
Phrase[15]. It has preference over the 'specific' relation marker *so*.
For instance *nemot so > nemot-a (#nemot so-a#)*. It is glossed as 'foc' (focus).

(1) Ngga ey   teguop way [nemot lo go- **a**] *mea iti.*
    that   COM perfect in turn 3ps instr GIV-foc will give
'With that he will give in return <u>something perfect</u>.'

*(2) [Mot nang**-a**]   ngga kalik kua pu-pluok!*
    you pl. emph. that like not rep.work
'<u>You (pl)</u> should not handle like that!'

*(3) [Walong so lek go dewi   **-a**]   tup go mea tebok.*
     long   IN stretch request emph. hear GIV will help
'A continuous request, (he) will <u>certainly</u> hear and help.'

*(4) [Nando –**a**] sip suing blo   so? [Si- nok   **-a**] [Wi- nok   -**a**?]*
    who emph. place sit   above IN   man offspring emph. bird offspring emph.
'What (litt. '<u>who</u>') is more important? People <u>or</u> birds?'

*(5) No, at   lo gabe   pen –**a**- si-t- ug -u: di un / teguop   dato seni!"*
    TO 1ps excl INST ex. here say- foc dir.pt-dur-1p tree flower beautifull very indeed
'But I say (<u>strongly</u>), "Trees and flowers are very beautiful indeed."

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[15] See Chapter IV

(6) *Plesedue tala no at   pu   go, "[Klong-**a**]!   Nemot mea klong."*
    soldier   row to 1p.s excl. call GIV   go   emph. 3ps   will go
'If I order a soldier in the ranks, 'Go! He will go.'

(7a) *Banim dega go,   sikabung [got-ne –**a**   -k   - a-   m] go: miam kua.*
     before long GIV people   stay pl.emph. rem.past masc 3p GIV many not
'Long ago the people that lived (they were) not many.'

(7b) *[Nglangin-**a**],[danon ey   denun ey   go -**a**].*
      father   foc boy   COM girl   COM GIV foc
'Only a father, a boy and a girl.'