

Table of Contents

- 5.1. Verb valency
- 5.2. Transitivity
 - 5.2.1. Examples: Transitive verbs
 - 5.2.2. Examples: Intransitive verbs
 - 5.2.3. Intransitivity with a second argument
- 5.3. Ergativity
- 5.4. Active / Passive
 - 5.4.1. Active constructions
 - 5.4.2. Passive constructions
- 5.5. Hybrid verbs
- 5.6. Clause-types
 - 5.6.1. Equative clause
 - 5.6.2. Relational clause
 - 5.6.3. Existence clause
 - 5.6.4. Adjectival clause
 - 5.6.5. Verbal clause
 - 5.6.6. Purpose clause
- 5.7. Coordination of clauses
 - 5.7.1. Subordination and embedded clauses
 - 5.7.2. Coordinated clauses
 - 5.7.3. Culminating clauses
- 5.8. Interclausal relationships

5. Kemtuik Clause

5.1. Verb valency

Kemtuik verb, with all its grammatical functions, has been discussed in Chapter 4.2 (Verbal Phrase). But here we will focus on the verb, as event with its arguments, operating in a clause. In linguistics, verb valency refers to the number of arguments controlled by a verbal predicate¹. On this basis a distinction needs to be made between transitive and intransitive verbs. Doing so, we will notice an ergative-absolute system in arguments of the transitive and intransitive verbs.

5.2. Transitivity

A distinction needs to be made between transitive and intransitive verbs. Transitive verbs can, but need not always, have an object (marked by #, *so*, *ey*, *-a*), whereas intransitive verbs cannot have a direct object, but can take a second argument marked by *no(go)* ‘allative’; *ey* ‘comitative’ or *lo(go)* ‘instrumental’.

5.2.1. Examples: Transitive verb

(1) *Nemot* / [*nebo kangok go*] *so* [*u-wok*].

3ps pig big GIV IN red.cut_up
‘He is cutting up a big pig.’

(2) *Nemot go duo* / [*yap ba lo go ut*] *so* [*se-sengan*].

3ps. GIV child house in INST GIV dust IN red.sweep
‘His child is sweeping the dust of the house.’

(3) [*Di ngga*] # *mia lo* [*kong-ba- t- u- n*] *go*.

wood that mother INST put- sit_up-pt-fem-3p GIV
‘That wood has been put up there by mother.’

(4) {[*Waklap blo ut*] *ey*} *sapu lo* [*sengan*]!

floor on top dust COM broom INST sweep
‘Sweep the dusty floor with the broom!’

(5) [*Yatap put*²] *ey* / [*ntok*]!

door COM close
‘Close the door!’

(6) *Amblekeba* [*bu*] *ey* [*lu*]!

Clothes water COM wash
‘Wash the clothes with water!’

¹ See: Wikipedia on Valency (linguistics)

² *Yatap put* ‘door’ is phonologically contracted to: /*yataput*/

(7) [Sedue Saplung so go] **ey** / [klong] / [but]-a!
 men Saplung IN GIV COM go kill-focus
 ‘Go and kill the men of the village Saplung.’ (= not all, but some of them)

(8) [Nebo kangok go] -a [but]!
 pig big GIV-foc. kill
 ‘Kill the big pig!’

5.2.2. Intransitive verbs examples:

(1) Nemot mo [klong].
 3ps. already go
 ‘He has gone.’

(2) Nemot [dabui] lo [mo duing].
 3ps. heart INST already think
 ‘He/she thought with his/her heart (=considered).’

(3) Nemot [bu] lo / yane go.
 3ps. water INST crazy GIV
 ‘He is drunk by (drinking) alcohol.’

(4) [Weng] so go] nemot nang [mo duing].
 Come IN GIV p pl already think
 ‘They were thinking about coming.’

5.2.3 Examples of intransitive verbs where besides the core argument, a second argument (**bold**) is controlled by a verbal predicate, are:

(1) [Banu Maret] **no** /genam [nemu] [mo tra].
 Month March TO ps eye already feel
 ‘In the month of March I suffered from my eye.’

(2) Mia lo [bu bot] **ey** [wengkabui] **no** kong go
 mother INST water bucket COM head TO put GIV
 ‘Mother carried the water bucket on (her) head.’

(3) [Mamtaton-yap] no go / babu / [klum dega] **ey**.
 Grandchildren – pl. dir. GIV grandparent love very COM
 ‘Grandparents are with great love to their grandchildren.’

(4) Ngga no / ditebok # / [nemot mit] **no** gemang [pung] dali.
 that to lizard 3ps with TO ex.there arrive also
 ‘And (the) lizard arrived also with him.’

5.3. Ergativity

Kemtuik operates with a (split) ergative system. The basic clause order in Kemtuik is *Subject – Object – Verb*. Ergativity can be found in both morphological and syntactic behavior in the Kemtuik clause. It is being expressed by:

- Change of clause order.
- Verbal agreement which is ergative.
(i.e. *gender* in: 3p. single/ dual / plural / 1p. plural inclusive).
- On morphological level by adding relational postpositions.
(like: *so*, *no*, *lo* and *ey*, and focus marker *-a*), that are ergative-absolute.

In the next two examples the subject of the intransitive (*bu* ‘water/river’) clause order is identical with the object of the transitive (*genam* ‘I / me’) clause, while the inflection of the (hybrid) verb root is different and supplies us with the needed information. Compare the two following clauses (1) and (2).

In (1) *bu* ‘river, water’ is an ergative marked by *lo*. It causes to ‘suffocate’ the **object** *genam* ‘me’ (absolute). This is marked by the *feminine 3ps.* in the NP: *dap-a-y-u-n* and is in agreement with the feminine noun class *bu* (‘river’).

(1) Utep go /*genam* # / ***bu*** *lo* / *mea dap* -a- y- ***u***- *n*. (=transitive and passive)
tomorrow GIV1ps water INST will suffocate-foc-ft-fem-3p. (*bu* ‘river’ = feminine)
‘Tomorrow the river will suffocate me.’ (*bu* ‘river’ is agent)

In (2) the **patient** is *genam* ‘I / me’ (absolute), who will suffocate with water /river. This is made clear by the way the verb is inflected: *dap-l-u* (suffocate-ft-1p).

(2) Utep *so* / ***genam*** # / *bu* *lo* / *mea dap-* *l-u*. (intransitive)
Tomorrow IN 1ps. river INST will suffocate-ft-1ps
‘Tomorrow I will suffocate with water.’ (instrumental use of *lo*)

So, the object of the transitive verb (*genam* ‘me’) in (1) and the core argument of the intransitive verb (*genam* ‘I’) in (2) are treated alike. The agent of the transitive verb is marked with ergative case. (A ‘confusing’ element is the marking of the secondary argument in (2): *bu* ‘water’ with *lo* ‘instrumental’. But agreement in the verbal structure clears that problem (i.e. *genam* ‘I’ and *-u* 1p.).

5.4. Active / Passive

Can we make a distinction between active and passive in Kemtuik? Consider the change of order in the following examples:

(1) *Nggeasui / **genam** lo / lema / mo but³.* (transitive and active)
 now 1ps INST snake already kill
 ‘I just killed a snake.’

(2) *Nggeasui / lema / **genam** lo / mo but.* (transitive and passive)
 now snake 1ps. INST already kill
 ‘The snake was just killed by me.’

(3) *Genam / duen ba so / **lema** lo / kuip go.* (transitive and passive)
 1ps. bush inside IN snake INST bite GIV
 ‘I, down in the bush, was bitten by a snake.’

In all three examples *lo* marks the actor that is in control. The change from the basic clause order S – O – V to O – S – V, with the use of *lo* (actor in control) gives evidence for a ‘passive’ construction.

5.4.1. Active construction

In active construction (both transitive and intransitive) the word order S OV functions as a standard clause order. Ergativity is not only expressed by morphological markers (i.e. *lo*), but can also be marked by prominence and verbal agreement. Objects of transitive verbs are marked by either # (neutral), *ey* (comitative), *so* (inessive / specific) and *-a* (focus); while secondary arguments or indirect objects are marked by *no* (directive). It is the verb that dictates the kind of absolute marking.

Consider the following SOV examples:

(1) *[Aya ngga] [kabung namon] **ey** / mo iti.* (Transitive)
 father that woman two COM already take
 ‘That man has taken two wives.’

(2) *[Duo ngga] [nglangin] **ey** / mo kerlam.* (Intransitive)
 child that father COM already equal
 ‘The child looks like his father.’

(3) *{[Duo saysuk ide ey] go} [nemot go sepatu] # / mo nega.* (Intransitive)
 child body heavy COM GIV 3ps GIV shoe already loose
 ‘The child with the heavy body lost his shoe.’

(4) *[Aya ngga nemot] [nemot go yap] **so** / ki-klik.* (Transitive)
 father that 3ps 3ps GIV house IN red.build
 ‘That man is building his house.’

³ but = 1. hit ; 2. kill

(5) [Yap no de-dagu] [Dame Idam] # [kim betui ba] **no** / gemang itak- t- u- n.
 house TO red.close Dame Idam coconut nurse in TO ex.there leave-pt-fem-3p
 ‘Coming close to the house, she left Dame Idam behind in (a) coconut nurse.’

(6) Nggeasui genam lo lema mo but⁴. (lo INST > focus on actor)
 now 1ps INST snake already kill
 ‘I just killed a snake.’

5.4.2. Passive construction

Passive construction in Kemtuik changes the main clause order and adds, if a transitive verb is being used, an ergative marker to the subject: *lo* ‘INST’. This is different from the active form. The formulae are:

O – S_{lo} – V_{trans}

(IO) – S – V_{intrans}

Consider the following examples:

(1) [Nemot nang ngga] [mia nalo] **lo** babu go. (Transitive)
 3p pl that mother old INST rear GIV
 ‘Those (children) there were reared by the old lady.’

(2) Koy [at] **lo** [blon-na- t- u] go. (Transitive)
 fire 1ps.excl INST lit- down_there-pt-1p GIV
 ‘(The) fire is lit by me.’

(3) [Banim dega go] [sikabung] # / got- ne-a- k- a- m go / miam kua. (Intransitive)
 before very GIV people stay -pl-foc -r.past- masc-3p GIV / many not
 ‘The people that lived very long ago were not many.’

(4) [Ku meno so] [nglangin] # / buo so gemang klong. / (Intransitive)
 day certain IN father pick INT ex. there go
 ‘On a certain day, father went to pick (fruit).’

5.5. Hybrid verbs

Some Kemtuik verbs can be considered to be hybrid verbs. If we consider the verb *iti*, the basic meaning will be ‘take’. The same verb added with the position *no* ‘to’,

⁴ but = 1. hit ; 2. kill

expresses ‘give’. So *[iti]* = ‘take’ and *[iti + no]* = ‘give’. Compare the active form (1) with the passive forms (2) (3). In all three examples the verb root *iti* is not inflected:

(1) *Yoram # [udui ngga]/ [mia] no / mo iti.* (transitive; active) (S-O-IO-V)

Yoram banana that mother to already give
‘Yoram has given the banana to mother.’

(2) *[Udui ngga] [Yoram] lo / mo iti.* (transitive; passive) (O-S-V)

Banana that Yoram INST already take
‘That banana was taken by Yoram.’

(3) *Udui ngga / [Yoram] no / mo iti.* (transitive; passive) (O-IO-V)

Banana that Yoram to already give
‘That banana was already been given to Yoram.’

5.6. Clause types

The following basic CL- types are being established:

- Equative CL: NP + NP_{eq}
- Relational CL: NP + NP_{rel}
- Existence CL: NP + NP + V_{ex}
- Adjectival CL: NP + V_{adj}
- Purpose CL: NP + NP/VP_{go} + NANG ± so ± go
- Verbal CL: NP + VP_{intrans} ± go
NP + NP + VP_{trans} ± go
NP + NP + NP + VP_{bitrans} ± go

5.6.1 Equative clauses (EQ CL)

The following formula summarizes this clause type:

$$\boxed{\text{EQ CL} = \text{S}_{\text{np}} \pm \text{O}_{\text{ey}} + \text{PRED}_{\text{np}}}$$

A S_{np} may be equated with another NP by a non-overt predicate, carrying the meaning of ‘equative’. The two NP’s are juxtaposed.

(1) *Yosepina / genam go kabung.*

Yosepina 1p. GIV woman
Yosefina (is) my wife.

(2) *Genam ngge / sedue dali!*

1ps this man also
‘I am (just) a human being too!’

(3) *Nemot go duo / klaya seguong.*
 3ps GIV child one only
 ‘He has only one child.’

5.6.2 Relational Clause (REL CL)

The following formula summarizes this clause type

$$\text{REL CL} = \text{S}_{\text{np/cl}} + \text{PRED}_{\text{rel.postpos.}}$$

$\text{S}_{\text{np/cl}}$ is identified with a predicate consisting of a noun, noun phrase or clause, post-positioned by a relational: inessive *so*, deitic *go*, allative *no*, instigative *lo* and comitative *ey* :

(1) *Mia / yap so*
 mother house IN
 ‘Mother is at home’

(2) *Udui ngge / aya no go*
 banana this father to GIV
 ‘This banana is meant to father.’

Compare REL CL (2) with (EQ CL) (3):

(3) *Ngge / aya no go udui*
 this father to GIV banana
 ‘This is father’s banana.’

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

(5) *Kunala / [temoy] no! Nemot / [kenong ey] go!*
 thinking middle to 3ps fall COM GIV
 ‘Be carefull, less he falls down!’

(6) *Yap ngge / seguay go.*
 house this small GIV
 ‘This house (is) small.’

5.6.3 Existential Clause (EX CL)

The following formula summarizes this clause type:

$$\text{EX CL} = \pm \text{S}_{\text{np/cl}} \pm \text{O}_{\text{np}} + \text{PREDEX}$$

S_{np} may be identified with an Existential Predicate ($PRED_{sit}$), consisting either of *gabe*⁵ ‘existence here’ or *gemang*⁶ ‘existence there’.

(1) *Genam / Markus / gabe.*

1ps Markus ex.here
‘I here am Marc.’

(2) *Martin / Camat / gemang.*

Martin District chief ex. there
‘Martin is a district chief overthere.’

(3) *Ngaynalo atamu lo mo luik / gabe.*

Aunt uncle INST already take away ex.here
‘Aunt has been taken away by uncle.’ (refers to an ongoing situation here, started in the past)

(4) *Ngge / genam go atuia / gabe.*

this 1ps GIV plan ex. here
‘This is my planning.’ (describes a situation)

(5) *Klum / genam ba so gabe.*

affection 1p.s inside IN ex. here
‘Inside me there is affection.’

(6) *Aya yap so / gemang.*

father house IN ex.there
‘Father is (there) in the house.’

5.6.4 Adjectival Clauses (ADJ CL)

This clause type presents a qualitative, descriptive predication about a single referent (NP). The center of the clause is an ADJ predicate ($PRED_{adj}$).

AD Cl = S_{np} + $PRED_{adj}$

(1) *Ngge / suey.*

this good
‘This is good.’

(2) *Denok ngga go suong / [unen] ey kerlam.*

Child that GIV face mother COM same
‘That child’s face is just like her mother’s.’

⁵ A short form of *gabe* ‘situated here’ is /be/ ‘here’. C.f. *Genam go atuia be!* ‘Here is my plan’.

⁶ Under influence of the neighboring language *Klesi* the longer Kemtuik form /gemang/ [gɛ.ʊm ɣN] is often replaced by the shorter form /mang/. Compare *Klesi*: *Nggi nege butu mang* with Kemtuik: *Ngga nogo butap gemang*. ‘Over there is a river.’

(3) *Sedue ngge / kateba.*

man this quick
'This man (is) quick.'

(4) *Nemot go yap / namon ey.*

3ps GIV house two COM
'He owns two houses.'

5.6.5. Verbal Clause (VB CL)

VB CL = \pm Snp/cl \pm Obj.np/cl \pm Ind.Obj.np/cl + PRED _{vp}

(1) *Klong-a!*

go foc
'Go!'

(V)

(2) *Bayi ngga / beap alui lo / iti-betep go.*

prahu that sea wave INST take-throw GIV
'That boat was tossed to and fro by the waves.'

(O - S - V_{go})

(3) *Imot namon / wadi go / duen ba lo / mea srek- me- na- y- o- n.*

we.incl. two night GIV bush in INST will sleep-dual-dir-fut-masc.3p
'Coming night we will sleep in the bush.'

(S - T - P - V)

(4) *Mamnebut / kantor no / Yakob lo / gabe iti go / mo klong*

tale office TO Yakob INST ex.here take GIV already go
'Here, Yakob has taken the tales and is on his way to the office.'

(O - IO - S - V)

(5) *Nggeasui go / ngge no lemoy go no go nebut / mea pen-a- si- l -u.*

now GIV this TO happen GIV TO. GIV talk will say-foc-dir-fut-1ps.
'Now I will tell the story what happened here.'

(T - O - V)

(6a) *Nggano / duo neguot Kemtuik sik sogo/ gemang mo duing dali:*

and man young Kemtuik origin ex.there already think too:
'And young Kemtuik men began to think also:

(6b) *kebali ngge / nemot nang ey / ibe so / mea lek.*

work this 3p pl. COM open IN will carry
'This work will be carried together in the open (will be openly supported).'

(O - IO - P - V)

5.6.6 Purpose Clause (PURP CL)

Examples:

PURP CL = S_{np} + PRED_{go} + NANG ± so ± go

In this clause type (Pred_{go}/NP_{go}) followed by the purpose indicator *nang*⁷ indicates purpose / reason .

(1) *Di ngganemot / sogo nang so?*
 Wood that 3p what purp. INT
 What is the purpose of that wood?

(2) *{[Duo ngge but go nang so] u-usey go woy} mo kebong.*
 Child this hit GIV purp. INT red-try GIV leader already die
 ‘The leader who tried to kill this child already died.’

(3a) *Dunkoy Debui nemot klong go itak go nang so*
 Dunkoy Debui 3ps go GIV leave GIV purp. INT

(3b) *[nemot go nglangin] [taut nemot no go nang so] semu-t -o -n*
 3ps GIV father goods 3ps to GIV purp IN make-pt-masc-3p
 ‘Her father prepared some things for her (trip).’

(4) *Ngge / walop ten dam go nang / anggul bu.*
 This celebration food eat GIV purpose wine water.
 ‘This is wine for the celebration.’ (= purpose)

(5) *Usu bala / woy suali - sa suali nang so go / lo.*
 garden hut sun.afraid- rain.afraid purpose IN GIV INST
 ‘The hut in the garden is there for protection from sun and rain.’ (= purpose + reason)

5.7. Coordination of clauses

The verbal clause type can occur as an embedded, subordinated, or coordinated clause. A special form is –what we will call- the ‘culminating verbal clause’.

5.7.1 Subordinated and embedded clauses

The shortest formula of a subordinated or embedded clause is:

VP + go

⁷ *Nang* is both a plural and purpose marker. It follows both NP and VP. For that reason *go* + *nang* are interpreted as separate words and not as one word, i.e. [g□.∪n φN] /go nang/.

Basically, this deictic relational postposition *go* points to an event, to use this as a ‘given’ argument in the further context (also as a title. See: example (1) and (2).

(1) *Bayi ngga / beap alui lo / iti-betep go.*
 prahu that sea wave INST take-throw GIV
 ‘That boat was tossed to and fro by the waves.’

(2) *Awe awe ngga / ‘balukuanom’ so / pu go.*
 King Frog that ‘balukuanom’ IN call GIV
 ‘The King Frog is called: ‘Balukuanom’.

Examples of subordinate clause (3) and embedded clause (4) are:

(3) *Kabung usu sik so go pung go no / mesip so gabe kun- t- u.*
 woman garden origin IN GIV arrive GIV TO behind IN ex.here come_down-pt-1p.
 ‘Straight after the woman arrived from the garden, I came down here.

(4) *Maso / sedue ngge nemot no keng go / gemang kun- w- o- n.*
 setan man this 3ps to follow GIV ex. there come down-pt-masc-3p
 ‘Setan followed this man and came down.’

The following example of a clause with this formula:

$O \pm IO + V_{go}$

is embedded in an Adjectival Clause:

{Snp [+ IO + V_{go}] PredAdj}

(5) *Amble wep / damun koy no duik go / tom kangok.*
 foreign taro stone fire TO roast GIV delicious besar
 ‘An (imported) taro roasted on the fire stones (is) very delicious.’

5.7.2. Coordinated clauses

Coordinated clauses show up as follows:

(1) *Nemot nang lo sedue ngga nemot mlak go / nemot nang sedue ngga nemot so u-wet.*
 3p pl INST man that 3ps arrest GIV 3p pl man that 3ps spec rep.seek
 ‘They having arrested that man, they questioned that man.’

(2) *Amos ten-a te-tra / ten dam moyso.*
 Amos food-focus rep-feel food eat not.want
 ‘Although Amos felt hungry, (he) did not want to eat.’

(3) *Nemot ngge no mo weng / ngga no tandali mo klong.*
 3ps this to already come that TO again already go
 ‘They have come here and they left again.’

5.7.3. Culminating clauses

A special type of coordinated verbal clause is what we will call a ‘culminating’ clause. This type of clause is prominent in Kemtuik narrative text. The arguments in the preceding subordinated clauses are culminating into a main clause:

$\pm \text{NP} + \text{VP} (\pm \text{gemang/ gabe} + \text{Verb Root} \pm \text{Inflection})$

The basic formula of such a verbal clause is:

$\text{NP/CL} + \text{VP}_{\text{go}\pm\text{no}} \pm \text{VP}_{\text{go}\pm\text{no}} \pm \text{VP}_{\text{go}\pm\text{no}} + \text{main-CL}$

The argument is carried on through different events, coming to a conclusion in the main clause. See the clauses (3 – 7) from the narrative, ‘The man and the devil’:

(1) *Ngge kalik so semu-kle-t- o- n:*
 this like IN do-dual-pt.dur-. masc- 3p
 ‘This (is) what both men did:

(2) *Sedue lo klong go / gemang tebok⁸-na-w-o- n.*
 man INST go GIV ex. fix -dir.pt-masc-3p
 ‘The one man went and to fetch the watching place.’

(3) *Sedue [duot tebok] so [se t- o- n]*
 man sago help IN go_s.l. -pt.dur-masc-3p
 ‘While the man was going to fetch the sago (place),

(4) *maso kateba kap go,*
 devil quick ran GIV
 the devil ran quickly,

(5) *nebo kalik so lemoy go,*
 pig like IN happen GIV
 became like a pig,

⁸ *tebok* carries the following meanings: ‘help, assist, add, fetch’

(6) *duot blo no klak go*
 sago on top of to climb GIV
 climbed on top of the sago,

(7) *duot so / dam-t -o- n.*
 sago spec eat-pt.dur-masc-3p.
 and he was eating sago.

And this example:

(8) *Dame Idam lo sray nemot but go / duik go / dam-ba- ng- a- m.*
 Dame Idam INST lizard 3ps. kill GIV bake GIV eat- sit_up rem.past-masc.3p.
 ‘Dame Idam he killed the lizard, cooked it, ate it.’

5.8. Interclausal relationships

As we already noticed, in Kemtuik the far majority of the grammatical relations are marked by relational postpositions [*go*], [*so*], [*lo*], [*no*], [*ey*] included focus [*-a*]. Interclausal relationships contain a lot of input through these postpositions. A semantic chart gives us an overview how Kemtuik organizes these interclausal relationships.

Semantic Funtion	Kemtuik marker	English gloss
1. Coordination	<i>go</i>	and
(1) <i>Wabedong imot dasi dam go kim bu gabe drop.</i> midday we (incl) fish eat GIV coconut water ex. here drink ‘At midday we eat fish <u>and</u> drink coconut milk.’		
2. Orientor – Content	<i>go</i>	#
(1) <i>Dame Idam lo pu go, “Genam sadui so be!”</i> Dame Idam INST ask GIV I sick IN ex. here ‘Dame Idam said <u>that</u> he was feeling sick.’		
3. Condition	<i>(mo) --- go</i>	if / after
(1) <i>Ngga naklay semu go, mea yam.</i> that all do GIV will finish ‘ <u>If</u> all that has been done, it will be finished.’		
(2) <i>Genam mo klong go, ningkuoy mot lo se tuet.</i> 1ps already go GIV potato you INST imp dig ‘ <u>After I have gone</u> , you have to dig potatoes.’		
4.Cause (specific) – result	<i>go so</i>	because

(1) *Nglangin ey unen ey pu go so, demanon tandali*
 father and mother and said GIV IN younger.sister again

gemang be- t- u- n.
 ex. there go- pt- fem 3p

‘Because father and mother told (her) specifically, the younger sister went-up again.’

(2) *[[Ngga nemot] so} go so, [kota no go] genam kua klong.*
 that 3ps spec GIV spec town to GIV 1ps not go

‘Because of that, I am not going to town.’

(3) *[[Tom kua⁹] go} so mo lemoy go / nemot go seni mea kua dali.*
 good_tasting not-be GIV IN already happen GIV 3ps GIV content will not-be too

‘If it has become not tasty anymore, it lost its purpose as well.’

5. Ground – Result	<i>ngga sik so</i>	in that way
(1) <i>Ngga sik so mea senong: mot sedue suey go!</i> there from IN WILL know you person good GIV		
‘In that way (we) will know that you are a good person!’		

3.8. Source – reason	<i>tang so</i>	because
(1) <i>Di peduing go tang so, sedue ngga mo kenong.</i> tree rot GIV origin IN man that already fall		
‘Because the tree was rotten, the man fell down.’		

7. Explanation	<i>go no</i>	since ; after ; at ;
(1) <i>Camat negui seguiy go ta no iti go no,</i> district.leader drum small GIV hand TO take GIV TO		

usre se wata dali.

jump imp dans too

‘The district leader having taken a small drum, he danced as well.’

(2) *Genam [Aya no dewi pu] senong go / genam seguiy go no.*

1ps Father TO prayer tell know GIV 1ps small GIV TO

‘I know how to pray to Father, since I was a small (child).’

(3) *[Leme mit no pung go no] kabung nalo lo gemang pen-a- na- t- u- n, “...”*

leme tree at to arrive GIV TO woman old INTR ex.there say-foc-there-pt-fem-3p

‘After arriving at the leme-tree, the old woman said, “...”.

(4) *[Wadi ku klik go no] buong go, ip-na-w-o-n go, nemot gemang kap.*

night day rise GIV to awake GIV stand-dir-past-mas-3p GIV 3ps ex.there run

‘At day rise, he awoke, stood up and ran away.’

⁹ Morphologically *kua* has different functions. It functions as a negative marker in the VP, but it also occurs (like in this case) as verb root.

8. Cause (general)- Result	go no go	because
-----------------------------------	----------	---------

(1) [Nan babu kua **go**] **no go**, didon ngga keda so gemang pung.

field dense not GIV TO GIV fruit that quick IN ex. there grow

‘Because the field is not dense, it is bearing fruit quickly.’

9. Means – purpose	go nang	in order
---------------------------	---------	----------

(1) At nang dia so gabe susuing, utep go uduong puit go,
1p exc. pl. rest IN ex.here stay tomorrow GIV field burn GIV

seni iti **go nang**

result take GIV purp

‘We are resting in order to have success in hunting tomorrow, after having burned the grass field.’

10. Means – neg.purpose	go naning	in order not
--------------------------------	-----------	--------------

(1) Ngga so no kua klong, mot nega **go naning!**

that IN TO not go you loose GIV in_order_that_not

‘Don’t go over there, lest you get lost!’

11. Intentional	so go	to
------------------------	-------	----

(1) Sam seguola denok nguok **so go**, iti go.
book school child teach INT GIV take GIV

‘The book is given to teach school children.’

12. Comitative consequence	ey go	lest
-----------------------------------	-------	------

(1) Ku so no kua yalung, mot kenong **ey go!**
Iow INTENS DIR not watch you fall COM GIV

‘Don’t look down, lest you fall down!’

(2) Mot nang-a klong dam, genam sadui **ey go**, ten ya kua dam

you (pl)-focus go eat I sick COM GIV food imp. not eat

‘You go and eat, but I am sick and am not able to eat.’

13. Simultaneity	red.verb root	while
-------------------------	---------------	-------

(1) Mia usu so **te- trok**, masi geningwong lo kerlok go.

mother garden IN rep.cut foot thorn INST scratch GIV

‘While mother was cutting the garden, she scratched her leg on some thorns.’

(2a) Aya ngga so go suey so mo **su-suing gemang**.

father thereIN GIV good IN already rep.stay ex. there

‘While you are having a good time over there,

(2b) genamnang ngge so go suey dali gabe **su-suing**.

we (incl.) here IN GIV good also ex. rep.stay

we here have a good time as well.’

(3) *Genam go ngoy-dan mo tong, isuo ple so*
Ips GIV marriage-gift-beads already cut lemon arrow IN

tu-tuk go no₂
 RED-shoot GIV TO

‘I lost my beads, while I was shooting at lemons (with) bow and arrow.’

14. Continuation	<i>ngga no</i> <i>ngga ey</i>	then right then
-------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------------

(1) *Imot nang ten dam go, ngga no usene mea srek.*
Ip. incl pl. food eat GIV that to sleep will lay-down
 ‘When we have eaten, then we are going to sleep.’

(2) *Mia semlea luik go, ngga ey atnang lo gabe dam.*
 mother sago cook GIV that COM we INST ex. here eat
 ‘Right after mother finished cooking sago, we here started eating.’

15. Contra-expectation	<i>kamso + present durative</i> <i>tense</i>	although
-------------------------------	---	----------

(1) *Kam so wet- t- o- n, nebo kua but-sre- w- o- n.*
 End IN search-pt-masc 3p pig not kill-real-pt-masc-3p
 ‘Although he tried, he did not succeed to find a pig to kill.’

(2) *Wabedong go kam so wet-a- t- o- n, kua ikum.*
 daytime GIV end IN seek-focus-ptdur-masc- 3p not see
 ‘Although he sought the whole day, he did not succeed to find (him/her/it).’

13.8. Disjunction	<i>-a , -a</i>	or
--------------------------	----------------	----

(1) *Aya, kopi-a ya drop, te-a ya drop?*
 father coffee-focus interr. drink tea-focus interr. drink
 ‘Sir, do you want to drink coffee or tea?’

17. Contrast	<i>-a</i>	but
---------------------	-----------	-----

(1) *Amos ten-a te-tra, ten dam moyso.*
 Amos food-focus rep-feel food eat not.want
 ‘Although he felt hungry, Amos did not want to eat.’

18. Disclosure	<i>No (CI-initially)</i>	but
-----------------------	--------------------------	-----

(1) *No, genam ngga kalik sesrok ey, kua.*
 TO I that like lazy COM not
 ‘But I am not lazy like that.’