

Table of Contents

1.1. Consonants

1.1 Chart

1.2 Evidence

1.2. Vowels

2.1 Vowel Chart

2.2 Evidence

1.3. Word Structure and Stress

1.4. Syllable

1.5. Consonant and Vowel Distribution

1.5.1. Consonant Distribution

1.5.2. Vowel Distribution

1.5.3. Vowel Centralization

1.5.4. Reduplication

1.6. Diphthongs

1.7. Alphabet

1.1. Consonants

1.1.1. Chart

	bilabial	dental-alveolar	palatal	velar
voiceless plosive	π	τ		κ
voiced $\pi\lambda\sigma\tau\omega\epsilon$	β	δ		γ
voiceless fricative		σ		
nasal	m	n		N
lateral		λ		
approximant	ω		ψ	

1.1.2. Evidence

/p/ Bilabial voiceless unaspirated plosive
Occurs syllable initially and finally
(The final release of plosives goes through the nose.)

/puk/ [puk] ‘to break’

/pu/ [pu] ‘to tell’

/yap/ [yap] ‘house’

/b/ Bilabial voiced plosive
Occurs syllable initially only

/bu/ [bu] ‘water’

/nebut/ [nəm.'but] ‘story’

/m/ Bilabial nasal
Occurs syllable initially and finally

/miam/ [mi.'ʃoðmu] ‘many’

/mo/ [m□] ‘already’

/sruom/ [sru.'□m] ‘fork’

/w/ Bilabial approximant
Occurs syllable initially and finally

/woy/ [w□ψ] ‘φιρεα

/wew/ [wew] ‘to make asleep’

/kebew/ [kə.'bew] ‘name of village’

/t/ Dental- alveolar voiceless plosive
Occurs syllable initially and finally

(The final release of plosives goes through the nose.)

/ten/	[tɛn]	‘food’
/tuet/	[tũ.'ɛt]	‘to dig’
/tet/	[tɛt]	‘worm’

/d/ Dental-alveolar plosive

[ɖ] Voiced alveolar flap

Occurs only following /s/ (In some dialects: variation /l/ [r])

/usede/	[u.sə.'ðe]	‘to dance’
/sedue/	[sə.'ðö]	‘man’
/sedek/	[se.'ðek]	‘to sleep’

Compare:

/usle/	[u.'sre]	‘to dance’
/slue/	[srö]	‘man’
/slek/	[srek]	‘to sleep’

[d] Dental-alveolar voiced plosive

Slightly imploded, occurs syllable initially

/don/	[dɒv]	‘πθοωερə
/deng/	[dɛŋ]	‘dry’
/dok/	[dɒk]	‘το τιεə
/di/	[di]	‘tree’
/da/	[da]	‘times’
/duk/	[duk]	‘obey’

/s/ Dental-alveolar fricative

Occurs syllable initially

/sa/	[sa]	‘rain’
/sua/	[su.'a]	‘leave’
/iseng/	[i.'sɛŋ]	‘pain’
/suk/	[suk]	‘skin’
/sik/	[sik]	‘from’
/sak/	[s ɤ k]	‘dry’

/n/ Dental-alveolar nasal

[n] Occurs syllable initially and finally

/nan/	[nan]	‘soil’
/namon/	[na.mɒv]	əτωοə
/nu/	[nu]	‘stomach’
/nim/	[nim]	‘calm down’

[ɲ] syllabic dental-alveolar nasal

Occurs syllable initially, preceding dental plosives

/ndop/	[ɲ.dɒp]	‘smoke’
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/ntrui/	[<u>n</u> . 'trü]	‘to brush’
/ndruim/	[<u>n</u> . 'drüm]	‘wrist’

/l/	Dental-alveolar lateral	
	[ɾ] Trilled syllabic vibrant	
	Occurs preceding retroflexed lateral	
/ləlam/	[ɾ. l̠ ɸ m]	‘to play’
/ləlu/	[ɾ. 'lu]	‘to insist’
/ləlui/	[ɾ. 'lui]	‘to stir’
/ləlo/	[ɾ. l̠ □]	ἄτο μῶπεῖ

	[r] Flapped vibrant	
	Occurs following dental alveolar plosives and fricatives /t,d,s/	
/dlɔp/	[dr̠ □ π]	ἄτο δρῖνκῶ
/tla/	[tra]	‘to suffer/ to call’
/slom/	[sr̠ □ μ]	ἄσῶολλῆνῶ

	[ɭ] Retroflexed lateral	
	Occurs following labial and velar plosives	
/klaya/	[klæya]	‘one’
/blo/	[bl̠ □]	‘ἄβῶπεῖ
/ple/	[ple]	‘bow’

	[ɭ] Flapped retroflexed voiced continuant	
	Occurs syllable initially	
/luagit/	[lu. 'a. git]	‘leech’
/isuali/	[i. su. 'a. li]	‘cassowary’
/lo/	[l̠ □]	‘through’
/lek/	[lek]	‘washed away’
/la/	[la]	‘relief’

/y/	Palatal approximant	
	Occurs syllable initially and finally	
/yap/	[yap]	‘house’
/woy/	[w̠ □ ψ]	ἄσῶνῶ

/k/	Velar voiceless plosive	
	Occurs syllable initially and finally	
	The final release of plosives goes through the nose.	
/ku/	[ku]	‘time/day’

/klak/	[kl ɤ k]	‘to raise’
/koy/	[k ɔ ψ]	əφɪpɛə
/ke.bui/	[‘ke.bü]	‘something that brings peace’
/king/	[ki ŋ]	‘to follow’
/kebong/	[kə.‘b ɔ ŋ]	‘to die’

/g/ Velar voiced plosive
Occurs syllable initially

/guon/	[gũ.‘ ɔ v]	‘name of tree’
/gemang/	[gə’m ɤ ŋ]	‘to exist there’
/gum/	[gum]	‘fog’
/gamung/	[‘ga.muŋ]	‘to call together’
/git/	[git]	‘to sharpen’

/ŋ/ Velar nasal
Occurs syllable initially and finally

/ŋoy/	[ŋ ɔ ψ]	‘brideprice beads’
/ŋe. ŋam /	[‘ŋe.ŋ ɤ m]	‘to live in peace’
/ŋuok/	[ŋũ. ‘ ɔ k]	‘to teach’
/ŋap/	[ŋ ɤ p]	‘to shine’
/ŋit/	[ŋit]	‘dizzy’
/keŋ/	[keŋ]	‘to follow’
/kiŋ/	[kiŋ]	‘to fill’

1.2. Vowels

1.2.1. Chart

	Front	Central	Back
High	ɪ		ʊ

Mid	ε		o
Low		α	

1.2.2. Evidence

/i/ Front high vowel

[ü] High front rounded vowel

Occurs syllable nucleus following a rounded vowel.

/udui/	[ʊ.'dū]	‘banana’
/ului/	[u.'lū]	‘to prepare pepeda’
/unuik/	[u.'nük]	‘to fold’
/unuim/	[u.'nüm]	‘spirit/zest’

Compare [ũ] syllable initial:

/wisi/	[ũi.'si]	‘to stand’
/dewi/	[dɛ.ũi]	‘prayer’

Compare also [ũ] with [u] :

/usi/	[ũ'si]	‘to call, ask’
/wisi/	[ũi.'si]	‘to stand’
/imuik/	[i.'mük]	‘raspberry’
/ibui/	[i.'bū]	‘to stiffen/ blind’
/alui/	[a.'lū]	‘wave’
/suiŋ/	[sũŋ]	‘to sit’

Compare:

/siŋ/	[siŋ]	‘seedling/to take out’
/suŋ/	[suŋ]	‘ashes, trash’
/puit/	[püt]	‘to burn’
/buit/	[büt]	‘pain’
/nuik/	[nük]	‘tree trunk’
/kui/	[kü]	‘animal droppings’

[ɪ] High front lower rounded vowel

Occurs in unstressed closed syllables.

/banim/	[bɑ.nɪ m]	‘old’
/demeniŋ/	[ðə'mɛ.nɪ ŋ]	‘new’

[ɪ] High front upper unrounded vowel

Occurs in all other contexts

/besik/	[bə.'sik]	‘drooping’
/ip/	[ip]	‘to stand’

/iti/	[i.'ti]	‘to take, to get’
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/e/ Front mid vowel

Occurs only rarely, word finally following /l/ .

/ple/	[ple]	‘bow’
/damle/	[d ɤ m.le]	‘name of tree’
/daley/	[da.leɪ]	‘rank of soldiers’
/ikle/	[i.'kle]	‘gossip’
/ide/	[i.'de]	‘heavy’

[ɛ] Lower mid front vowel (see the main discussion on stress pattern)

Occurs occasionally in word final unstressed syllables, with [a] or [ɛ] in the preceding stressed syllable.

/gabe/	[ga.bɛ]	‘exist here’
/yense/	[yɛn.sɛ]	‘kind of vegetable’
/nase/	[na.sɛ]	‘must’

Occurs occasionally also, word initially in stressed position.

/yense/	[yɛn.sɛ]	‘kind of vegetable’
/keli/	[kɛ.li]	‘kind of fruit/rose apple’
/kelui/	[kɛ.lui]	‘juicy’
/mekui/	[mɛ.kü]	‘to fold’
/belui/	[bɛ.lü]	‘panic’

[ö] Mid front rounded vowel

Occurs following a rounded high back vowel

/blue/	[blö]	‘magic’
/nue/	[nö]	‘leave it’
/pluep/	[plöp]	‘gather’
/pue/	[pö]	‘untie’
/ulue/	[u.'lö]	‘to empty’
/tuep/	[tũ.'ɛp]	‘stump of tree’
/tuen/	[tũ.'ɛn]	‘to slant’
/tuet/	[tũ.'ɛt]	‘to dig’

Compare [e] [u] and [ü] in same positions:

/ble/	[ble]	‘name of woman’
/plet/	[plet]	‘to dislocate’
/pu/	[pu]	‘to talk’
/pui/	[pü]	‘to fall’
/tup/	[tup]	‘to hear’

/a/ Central low vowel

[ɤ] Upper low short central vowel

Occurs in closed syllables

/mlap/	[ml ɤ p]	‘name of language’
/sat/	[s ɤ t]	‘tail’

/sak/	[s ɤ k]	‘dry’
/nan/	[n ɤ n]	‘earth’
/kay/	[k ɤ y]	‘to forget’
/kuat/	[kũ.' ɤ t]	‘frog’

Compare:

/yatap/	['ya.t ɤ p]	‘door’
/bauk/	['ba.uk]	‘porch’

[æ] Front low long vowel

Occurs following [l] and preceding [y] or following [ũ] [i] and [e].

/naklay/	[na.kl'æy]	‘all’
/klaya/	['klæ.ya]	‘one’
/blay/	[blæy]	‘diarroeā’
/mlay/	[mlæy]	‘oil’
/pīam/	[pi.'æm]	‘wrong’
/teguan/	[tə'gũæn]	‘stomach’

Compare:

/dlang/	[dr ɤ ŋ]	‘wealth/bride price’
/bla/	[bla]	‘hut/cottage’
/semlea/	[sə'mlɛa]	‘pepeda’
/mea/	[mɛa]	‘will’

[a] Lower long vowel

Occurs in stressed syllables

/mla/	[mla]	‘rest’
/banom/	['ba.n□μ]	‘self’
/kadiŋ/	['ka.dɪ ŋ]	‘behind’

/u/ Back high vowel

[ũ] High centralized and compressed rounded vowel

/tuep/	[tũ.'ɛp]	‘stump of tree’
/tuen/	[tũ.'ɛn]	‘slant’
/tuet/	[tũ.'ɛt]	‘dig’
/utep/	[ũ.'tɛp]	‘tomorrow’
/usi/	[ũ.'si]	‘ask’

Compare: [ũ'e] and [ö]

/suey/	[sũ'ey]	‘good’
/ulue/	[u.'lō]	‘empty’

[u] Back high rounded vowel

Occurs elsewhere

/babu/	['ba.bu]	‘grandfather/mother/ swollen’
/napu/	['na.pu]	‘day after tomorrow’
/banu/	['ba.nu]	‘moon/month’
/yangu/	['ya.ŋu]	‘yellow’

/wosu/	['w□.συ]	ἄρρε κανγαρού
/su/	[su]	'worm'
/mu/	[mu]	'hole'
/ku/	[ku]	'day/time/earth'
/ulue/	[u.'lö]	'empty'
/u/	[u]	'to sing'
/kabuŋ/	['ka.buŋ]	'woman'

/o/ Back mid vowel

[o] Upper mid rounded vowel

Occurs very rarely and only in an open syllable, following [r] and [ɾ.l]

/kaysruo/	['k ʔ y.srüo]	'eel'
/sruo/	[srüo]	'earthenware crock'
/rlo/	[ɾ.lo]	'to move'

[□] Lower mid rounded vowel

Occurs in all other positions.

/so/	[s□]	'intention/inessive'
/sok/	[σ□κ]	'take off'
/klong	[κλ□ŋ]	'to go'
/koy	[k□ψ]	'fire'
/wosu/	['w□.συ]	'tree kangaroo'
/blo/	[bl□]	'above'
/sluakuon/	[sru.'a.kũ□v]	'name of tribe'

1.3. Word structure and stress

The phonological word (PW) provides a useful construction for specifying underlying stress and syllable patterns. PW- s are of two general contrastive classes: ultimate stress and penultimate stress and are basically constructed of 1 to 3 syllables. As follows:

Ultimate stress PW > CVC . 'CCVC
 Penultimate stress PW> 'CCVC . CVC

Stress is predictable and is not written. The ‘shewa’ [ə] is interpreted as /e/. Consider the following examples:

LOW VOCOID [a] [ɤ] [ɛ] [ò] Stressed penultimate syllable (CV). 'CV(C). CV(C) No centralization	HIGH VOCOID [i] [e] [u] [ó] Stressed ultimate syllable CV(C). 'CV(C) Centralization [ə]	English gloss	HIGH VOCOID Stressed ultimate syllable V. 'CV(C) No centralization	English gloss
/damoy/ ['dá.mɔy]		full	/use/ [u.'se]	afternoon
/banim/ ['bá.nim]		old	/udui/ [u.'dū]	banana
/gabe/ ['gá.be]		exist here	/utep/ [u.'tɛp]	tomorrow
/katui/ ['ká.tū]		axe	/iseng/ [i.'sɛŋ]	pain
/kama/ ['ká.ma]		ear		
/kemtuik/ ['kɛm.tük]		name of tribe		
/kebali/ [kə.'ba.li]		work		
/demening/ [de.'mɛ.niŋ]		new		
/betodop/ [be.'tɔ.dɔp]		again		
/betedon/ [be.'tɛ.dɔn]		younger sibling		
/demanon/ [de.'ma.nɔn]		older sibling		
	/meduim/ [mə.'dūm]	hill		
	/nebo/ [nəm.'bɔ]	pig		
	/nebut/ [nəm.'but]	story		
	/gemang/ [gə.'m ɤ ŋ]	exist there		
	/nebit/ [nəm.'bit]	wind		
	/kebet/ [kə.'bet]	finish		

1.4. Syllable

The syllable (S) functions in the PW in accordance with the existing stress patterns as described above. A vowel (V) functions as obligatory nucleus of the syllable, preceded by one or more non-obligatory consonants (C). Syllables in Kemtuik have the *basic* shape:

CVC . 'CVC. CVC

The underlined *basic* CV combination is obligatory.

The following words are illustrative:

1 syllable	[bu]	‘water’
	[tɛn]	‘food’
	[u]	‘song’
	[i]	‘count’
2 syllables	[mə.'nɔ]	‘other’
	[‘wa.lɔp]	‘feast’
	[‘da.bü]	‘heart’
	[i.'ti]	‘give, take’
3 syllables	[tʃən.'da.li]	‘again’
	[kə.'ba.li]	‘to work’
	[wəŋ.'ka.bü]	‘head’
	[wʃə.'la.ka]	‘lobster’
	[ku.'na.la]	‘thinking’

1.5. Consonant and vowel distribution

1.5.1. Consonant distribution

The following numbering of the basic CV- string will help us to specify the set of consonant members in a numbered class, as follows:

C V C . C C V C. C V C (underlined CV pattern is obligatory)
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

C1 > Includes all consonants

C2 > Includes all nasal consonants

C3 > Includes all consonants

C4 > Includes only /l/

C5 > Includes voiceless plosives, nasals, and semivowels

C6 > Includes all consonants

C7 > Includes voiceless plosives, nasals, and semivowels

The co-occurrence may be stated in the following set of conditions:

Condition 1: Only one consonant cluster can be formed: C + /l/

Condition 2: In the case of C1 being a nasal, and C3 is a voiced plosive, there will be assimilation (printed bold in examples) to the point of articulation of the following C3.

Consider these examples:

/nebut/	[nə m .'but]	‘story’
/nebo/	[nə m .'bɔ]	‘pig’

/meduim/	[mən.'düm]	‘mountain’
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Condition 3: Syllabic consonants are interpreted as CV sequences. They consist of continuant consonants (r, s, m, n, ŋ) and occur in a pre-stressed syllable position.

Consider these examples:

/ndop/	[n.'dɒp]	‘grasshopper’
/nson/	[n.'sɒn]	‘to cough’
/ngga/	[ŋ.'ga]	‘there’
/rlam/	[r.'lam]	‘play’
/ntaton/	[n.'taton]	‘brother’
/mtam/	[m.'tam]	‘sago trail’
/semlea/	[s.'mlea]	‘sago porridge’

Condition 4: If C2 is a syllabic nasal, the point of articulation of C2 will be predicted by the following C3.

1.5.2. Vowel distribution

Two PW-types were described in 1.3 based on stress and contrast. Observing those PW-types, vowel occurrences are stated below in terms of monosyllabic, disyllabic and occasionally trisyllabic PW’s.

- Monosyllabic PW Vowels : C C 'V C includes all vowels or diphthongs
- Disyllabic PW Vowels: C V C . C C 'V C

1 2

V1 > obligatory unstressed centralized vowel /e/ [ə]

V2 > obligatory stressed vowel; includes all vowels or diphthongs.

- Trisyllabic PW Vowels: V. C C 'V C. C V C

1.5.3. Vowel centralization

There is an interesting contrast between HIGH centralized [ə] vocoid and the LOW vocoids [a] [ɛ]. They form two contrasting PW-classes.

For example: /damoy/ ['da.moy] ‘full’ versus /demu/ [də.'mu] ‘stone’

In two and three syllable PW’s, a vocoid in stressed position is preceded by a neutralized vocoid: CV(C). 'CV(C). It is neutralized towards the vocoid [ə], with a slight ‘coloring’ of the vocoid in the following stressed syllable.

Consider the following examples:

/ne.'but/	[nəm.'but]	‘story’
/ge.'mang/	[gə.'mɒŋ]	‘being there’

If that syllable string (occasionally) occurs as: V. 'CV, the vocoid in unstressed position is not centralized.

Consider the following example:

/i.'seng/ [i.'sɛŋ] 'pain'

LOW vocoids (mainly [a], sometimes [ɛ] or [ò]) in stressed position require NOT centralized vocoids in the following not stressed syllables.

Consider the following examples:

/'da.moy/ ['da.moy] 'full'

1.5.4. Reduplication

All word initial consonants and vowels can be reduplicated to indicate continuing action.

suang - susuang	[su.'sũ ɸŋ]	'long – longing'
klong - koklong	[kɰ.'kλɰŋ]	'go – going'
iti - iiti	[i.i.'ti]	'give – giving'
suing - susuing	[sũ.'sũŋ]	'sit – sitting'

1.6. Diphthongs

/ui/	[ũi] [ü]
/ue/	[ũe] [ö]
/uo/	[ũɰ]
/ua/	[ũ ɸ]
/ea/	[ɛæ]
/ia/	[i ɸ]

	Example	English
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	(verb)	gloss
[ũ]	<i>duing</i>	think
[ũi]	<i>wim</i>	swell
[ü]	<i>truik</i>	chase
[ũe]	<i>suey</i>	good
[syö]	<i>sue</i>	swim
[ũo]	<i>nguok</i>	teach
	<i>bluot</i>	mix
[ũ- ʃ]	<i>suang</i>	long
	<i>suali</i>	afraid
[i- ʃ]	<i>miam</i>	plenty
[ε-æ]	<i>mean</i>	chip
	<i>meam</i>	disappear

1.7. Alphabet

The Kemtuik alphabet contains 19 symbols, 14 consonants and 5 vowels:

- Consonants: t, k, p, d, g, b, s, n, ng, m, l, r.
- Semi-consonants: y, w

The following pairs contrast an initial approximant with initial full vowels:

yay	‘care’	iyay	‘caring’
wet	‘seek’	uwet	‘seeking’

- Vowels: i, e, a, u, o
- In borrowed words: /c/ --- [tʃ]; /j/ --- [dʒ] ; /h/ --- [h]

Examples from the national language: *coklat*, *baca*, *Jayapura*, *huruf*.

Dialectal influence from the Gresi (Klesi) language causes the use of [h] in a few cases. E.g. Kemtuik *sogo sogo so* ‘why’ is also being expressed with a different stress pattern as: [sɔgɔ.hɔgɔσ]. There are a few other isolated examples where [h] is used in stead of /s/.