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Commented [JHB1]: Here in the Table of Contents the number all have a full stop at the end e.g. 2.1.4.2., but in the text they sometimes have this final full stop, sometimes not. Please check all sub-section numbers for consistency.

Commented [JHB2]: I would be inclined to think that this should also have a hyphen, as in the sub-titles following.

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2.1. Word Classes: some general observations

2.1.1. Identical words can function in different word classes.

Consider e.g. the qualifier *suey* ‘good’:

- qualifier functioning as head of the Verbal Phrase;
- qualifier (+ *go* ‘given’) > nominalizer;
- qualifier (+ *so* ‘inessive’) > adverb;
- noun + qualifier (+ *go* ‘given’) > adjective;
- noun + qualifier > adjective.

Examples:

(1) as noun,

[*Suey go -a***]** *se iti go klong.*
 good GIV foc. neces. give GIV go
 ‘Go and give the good one!’

Commented [JHB3]: A very minor thing, but the opening bracket is bold and the closing one is not. Cf. example (8), the other way round.

(2) as verb:

Yap ngge tandali [mo suey].
 house this again already good
 ‘This house has been improved again.’

(3) as adverb

[Suey] so pen-san -d -o ya!
 good IN talk-return-fut.-2ps. imp.
 ‘You have to answer well.’

(4) as adjective

Mot [tasam suey go] mo semu.
 2ps. action good GIV already do
 ‘You did the good thing.’

Consider also the function of the word *way* ‘turn’:

(5) as noun

[*Mot lo go way***]** *ya kong- na- l- o?*
 2p INST GIV turn imp . put down-sit_down-fut-1p
 ‘Are you going to give your reaction?’

Commented [JHB4]: Is this / supposed to be there? Also, where does the 1p at the end come into it?

(6) as verb

Tap ngge/ bu lo / ngga ba so no/ [way] go.
 road this water INST that in IN TO turn GIV
 ‘In that (place) this road is washed out by water.’

(7) as adverb

Nemot go ta keba[li way so] gabe iti.
 3p GIV hand work turn IN ex. here give.
 'He is giving his work back.'

Nemot go andua-andua duing-ne- t- o- n/[way-way so] gemang pe-pen, '..'
 3p GIV friend friend think- pl.-ptdur-masc-3p turn-turn IN ex. there red-say
 'His friends were thinking and said to each other (in turn) , '....'

(8) as adjective

{Nemot go sam [way]} genam lo maning kua ikum.
 3p GIV letter turn 1p INST ongoing not see
 'I have not yet seen his return letter.'

2.1.2. Grouping

A grouping of **identical nouns, qualifiers or verbs** serves basically three different purposes:

- to indicate plurality
- to indicate intensity
- to indicate a new concept (compounding)

The following example shows different purposes in one identical context:

[Moy -ay / aka- sat yap / desui-menggo / andua-andua] lo / klayta / mea kedui.
 mother father old.si. yg.si. house nephews friend-friend INST violence will tie
 'Your parents, brothers and sisters, cousins, friends will tie violence (= harm you).'

The preceding example shows how grouping occurs in several ways by using:

- doubling nouns or qualities, i.e: *andua-andua*;
- adding *yap* 'house (hold)', i.e: *aka-sat yap*;
- a noun with qualifier e.g.: *desui menggo* 'all nephews from mothers' side';
- two opposite partakers e.g. : indicate a particular group: *moy-ay, aka -sat¹*;
- *sing* (everyone) and *lak* (all) as addition to a verb;
- morphological properties in the VP, i.e. gender combined with plural.

2.1.3. Plurality

Plurality can be considered to be a specific form of grouping:

- by adding a numeral to a noun / pronoun
- by adding plural marker *nang*² to a noun / pronoun
- by using dual / plural markers in the verb string³

¹ The last two examples indicate not only the nucleus family, but also relatives at the same level. So: father, mother, uncles and aunts; brothers, sisters and cousins).

² Numeral (dual) and plural marker *nang* can also be added to pronouns. *Nemot namon* 'they two' and *nemot nang* 'they' (= 3 or more).

³ See discussion on Verb Phrase in this chapter.

Commented [JHB5]: 'identical' here suggests that the grouping involves repetition of words, but the subsequent discussion includes other types of 'grouping'.

Commented [JHB6]: I'm not clear on what these two points are referring to. The opening sentence ('The preceding example...') indicates that they refer to things in the example sentence, but I don't see what that is.

Examples:

(1) *Nemot lo [wi ta idi so namon] play lo mo puik.*
 3ps INST bird hand side IN two (= 5+2) rifle INST already hit
 ‘He has shot 7 birds with his rifle.’

(2) *Aya [nang], mia [nang]! Suey gemang!*
 father pl mother pl good ex. there
 ‘Ladies and gentlemen, welcome!’ (Literally: fathers, mothers stay well there!)

In the string of the verb root there are two morphological properties that can be (both together) related to the concept of plurality in the nominal phrase (NP-agent):

- single (#) vs. dual/plural (*kle; ke; mle/me ; e; ne ; i⁴*)
- VP-final: *lak* ‘all’(group of people) or *sing* ‘every-one’(number of individuals).

2.1.4. Doubling

2.1.4.1. Doubling of nouns indicates plurality of a restricted number of same words, nouns or qualities. Words like man, woman, house, and others can be doubled to indicate plurality, while trees, animals, body parts, can not be doubled. The most common examples are:

woy-woy ‘restricted number of leaders’
wengkabui-wengkabui ‘restricted number headmen’
andua-andua ‘restricted number of friends’
sedue-sedue ‘restricted number of men’
kabung-kabung ‘restricted number of women’
sam-sam ‘traditional markings on wooden shield or poles’ ; ‘restricted number of books’
yap-yap ‘restricted number of houses’

Example in context:

[Klay-klay] sang mo kebong.
 one one pity already die
 ‘Pity, a few have died.’

2.1.4.2 In secondary arguments doubling of nouns indicate intensity of qualities:

(1) *dabui-dabui lo*
 heart heart INST
 ‘deeply’

(2) *bom-bom ey go*
 red red COM GIV
 ‘dark reddish’

⁴ Idem.

(3) *bom-bom so go*
 red red IN GIV
 ‘dark red’

(4) *da klaya-da klaya*
 turn one turn one
 ‘incidentally’ / ‘occasionally’

In context:

Sikabung miam ey {[nemot] go [da] so [da] so} gemang weng-lak.
 people many COM 3ps GIV turn IN turn IN ex.there come-all
 ‘Many people came all in great crowds’.

2.1.5.Compounding

Quite often two or more words belonging to the same semantic field are combined to indicate a new concept to which all words contribute.

2.1.5.1 Noun compounding

In the case of nouns compounding shows ‘totality’.

Examples:

(1) *Duo ngga /at go [kin- kedong] lo.*
 child that 1p.excl GIV blood flesh INST
 ‘That child is my blood relative (‘through my flesh and blood’).’

(2) *I go so go / [si kabung] gabe semu-ng- a- m.*
 count GIVIN. GIV person woman ex.here make- rem.past.dur-masc.-3ps.
 ‘Finally people were created here.’

(3) *[Me sru - ma sru⁵] pluep go.*
 male person female person gather GIV
 ‘Many people gathered together.’

(4) *Mot nang { [ngengam-yakay] no} se su- suing.*
 2p pl. peace happiness TO imp. red.sit
 ‘Live peacefully!’

(5) *[Ngguot- kaguit] usre so wata- ne- t- o- n*
 young boys-young women dance IN dance-pl.-ptdur-masc.-3p
 ‘The young people are dancing.’

Other examples are:

<i>kon-keba-mling</i>	‘dirt’+ ‘string’+ ‘dirt’ = ‘sin’
<i>ta – masi</i>	‘hand’ + ‘foot’ = ‘total of organs in the body’
<i>ta iti- klum</i>	‘hand’ + ‘give’ + ‘affection’ = ‘blessing’
<i>ta iti- wali- pega</i>	‘hand’ + ‘give’ + ‘life’ + ‘responsibility’ = ‘grace-gift’
<i>iram-tegay</i>	‘clan leader’ + ‘assistant’ = ‘leadership’

⁵ The literal meaning of *me* and *ma* is unclear. The combination means ‘many’.

<i>nebut – mang</i>	‘talk’ + ‘advice’ = ‘admonition’
<i>aka-sat</i>	‘brother’ + ‘sister’ = ‘group of brothers, sisters, cousins’
<i>tap-masi</i>	‘road’ + ‘foot’ = ‘travel’
<i>saysuk-waglo</i>	‘body’ + ‘so <u>u</u> al’ (= outside + inside)

2.1.5.2. Verb compounding

Compounding can also occur through combinations of verbs producing a new concept. For instance: ‘hear’ + ‘follow’ = ‘obey’. Other examples in context are:

(1) *Tup duk so go denok lo wali mea suing.*
 hear follow IN GIV child INST life will sit/stay
 ‘An obedient child will live a long time.’

(2) *Ngga / put ba lo / kerlam so / nemot-namon / mea [kapot-dak].*
 that hole in INST together IN 3p dual will fall- step
 ‘(If) that (is so) / they will collapse together in the hole.’

(3) *{[Iti -tui] ey go} tap masi kua klong!*
 take-put COM GIV road foot not go
 ‘If you are hesitating, don’t go!’

Another kind of compounding is where the main verb is combined with a more specialized (‘intensifier’) verb root, like *sing* ‘pick out one by one’; *dap* ‘finish’; *lak* ‘complete’; *sre* ‘fill’, or a motion verb root, like *san* ‘return at same level’.

Compare the following examples, functioning as simple verb and as compound.

(1) *Begoy so/ genam / [(ga)be sing- t- ug- u].*
 sweet potatoe IN 1ps. ex.here pick – pt- dur-1p
 ‘I am picking out potatoes (of the fire).’

Commented [JHB7]: ‘potato’?

(2) *Sip suing [sey sing lak] ya!*
 chair sit cover pick all imp.
 ‘Cover every chair!’

(3) *Nemot / bu lo mo dap.*
 3ps river INST already finish
 ‘He was suffocated by water / river’

(5) *Sogo [pluok- dap- y- o] go lo / ngge kalik/ lemoy?*
 what perform finish-past.-2p GIV INST this like happen
 ‘What did you do to end up like this?’

(6) *E...danon nemot yam so [kangok- dap- ng- -a- m] go.*
 Till child 3ps complete big finish remote past-masc-3p GIV
 ‘till the child had grown up completely (had become mature).’

(7) *Genam [pen⁶- dap t -u] go.*
 1ps say finish pt.-1p GIV
 ‘This is all what I have to say.’

(8) *Imot kua [ikum- dap i⁷ sre w- o- n].*
 1p.pl. incl not see finish proces pl. fill pt- masc. 3p
 ‘We have searched all around but did not see (it,him,3psr).’

(9) *Isuali kedong-a [dam-sre -t- u].*
 Cassowary meat -focus eat- fill- pt- p
 ‘I want to eat cassowary meat now.’

(10) *Blang ba so no / bu so [sre- t- ug- u- n].*
 cooking pot in IN TO water IN fill- pt-dur.-fem.-3p
 ‘She is filling the cooking pot with water.’

Commented [JHB8]: ‘searched’?

Commented [JHB9]: In the previous examples the illustration of the simple verb appears to come first, then the compound, but Examples (9) and (10) appear to be the other way round.

2.1.6. Noun-verb constructions

A common construction is the use of a general verb combined with a specific noun preceding the verb phrase as object, giving it a specific meaning, like:

<i>koy-bu-ta-semu</i>	‘fire’ + ‘water’ + ‘hand’ + (verb) ‘do’ = ‘slave’
<i>tendam-budrop</i>	‘food’ ‘eat’ + ‘water’ ‘drink’ = ‘groceries’
<i>demu- sam-klik</i>	‘stone’ + ‘carving’ + ‘write’ = ‘chalk’
<i>ta-bu-wit</i>	‘hand’ + ‘water’ + ‘shake’ = ‘splash’ / ‘bless’

Consider the also the following examples in their contexts:

(1) *Si-kebong so go / sung usene mea suing.*
 person die IN GIV ashes sleep will sit
 ‘When a person has died, (people) will mourn.’

(2) *Ngge / nemot go ten -dam bu -drop sip / gabe.*
 this 3ps GIV food –eat water –drink place / it is
 ‘This is the place for food and drinks.’

(3) *Nggeasui go / imot ten dam / so.*
 now GIV/ 1p pl incl. food eat / IN
 ‘We are going to eat now.’

(4) *Nando lo u ku -kluo?*
 who INST song red.sing
 ‘Who is singing?’

(5) *[Demu sam klik] lo sam se klik.*
 stone sign write INST. sign imp. write.
 ‘Write a letter/sign with (a piece of) chalk.’

⁶ The verbs *pen* and *pu* are not related, but their meaning is close. *Pen* ‘speak’ (general); *pu* ‘talk, order’ (specific).

⁷ The occurrence of *i* (plural marker) is quite special. So far, only *e* has found in the same slot.

(6) [At so no] mot lo [susu bu se wit- san- d- o].
 1p.excl. IN TO 2p INST neck water imp shake_water_out-return-ft-2p
 'It is you that must show reference to me.'

2.1.7. Reflexivity

2.1.7.1 Reflexivity in transitive constructions

Reflexivity of the pronoun can occur in different ways:

- by adding *tang so* (origin / 'spec') 'self' in transitive constructions

For example:

[Nemot **tang so**] ngga mo semu.
 3p origin IN that already do.
 'He did that himself.'

- or by adding *way* 'turn' in an adverbial position (*way so*)

For instance:

Nemot go ta keba*li* /way so gabe iti.
 3ps. GIV hand work turn IN ex.here give
 'His work was returned.'

2.1.7.2 Reflexivity in intransitive constructions

Intransitive verbs do not need additional information (i.e. *tang* 'origin' or *way* 'return'. See the following paradigm:

pronoun	object	verb	plural	fut. tense	gender/ person	rel.postp. intention	English translation
Genam /at 1p	bu	lu	#	-l	-u	so	I want to wash myself
Mot 2p	bu	lu	#	-l	-o	so?	You want to wash yourself?
Nemot masc.3p	bu	lu	#	-y	-o	-n --	He will wash himself.
Nemot fem.3p	bu	lu	#	-y	-u	-n --	She will wash herself.
Imot (nang) 1p pl incl	bu	lu	-e	-y	-o	-n --	We will wash ourselves.

2.2 Nouns

A/The Kemtuik noun functions as head of the Noun Phrase. On itself it can not easily be defined as such by formal properties. For instance, it does not have articles or morphological prefixes. A noun can be replaced by a pronoun, or suffix *go* 'GIV' can function as nominalizer. In this way it does provide us at least with some formal properties.

Commented [JHB10]: This does not sound right to me, but since I can't be sure what it is supposed to mean, I'm afraid I can't give you a suggestion, sorry! Unless, perhaps, However, it cannot ...'

Although a Kemtuik noun can refer to a wide scale of arguments like *person*, *place*, *thing*, *event*, *substance*, *quality*, *quantity*, or *idea*, a semantic definition of a noun is not easily given either. A noun can not function as head of a verbal- or adverbial phrase, but it does function as head of a phrase in subjects, objects or in secondary arguments. And as subject, it does concord with gender, person, aspect, and plurality in the verb string.

Commented [JHB11]: I personally would prefer a colon to a comma before the list.

2.2.1. Sub-classes

2.2.1.1. Sub-class on basis of animate versus inanimate

Animate categories can concord with inflections in the verb stream, while inanimate categories can not. Consider the following examples, showing how animals like human beings are in concord with verb inflections.

Commented [JHB12]: This is somewhat ambiguous; I imagine the intended meaning is 'animals, e.g. human beings...', but it could be taken to mean 'animals that are like human beings...'

(1) *Uduo* / *nemot go seguong so/nebut got- ne-w- o- n go no/gemang pen-ne-t- o n*,
dog 3p GIV only IN talk stay-pl-pt-masc-3p GIV TO ex.there say-pl-ptdur-masc-3p
'The dogs, among themselves, having a meeting, they said (to each other), "...".

(2) *Wi* / *ut ba lo pling go u-weng go/ di kali-kali temoy no weng go*,
bird heaven in INST fly GIV red.come GIV tree branch-branch allover TO come GIV
'The birds of heaven come flying, and come all-over the tree branches

ut gemang klik- ne-na- w- o- n.
nest ex.there build-pl- there-pt-masc-3p
and build their nests over there.

2.2.1.2. Sub-class on basis of gender

Kemtuik nouns can be sub-divided in two sub-classes on basis of gender, i.e. masculine and feminine. These classes are made overt by concordance in the suffix stream of the verb. They are expressed by either *o* (masc.) and *u* (fem.) in 3rd person single position. In case of 3rd person plural, 'collectivity' (e.g. people, crowd) is expressed by gender depends on speakers' choice. Examples are:

Commented [JHB13]: 'either' requires a following 'or'.

Commented [JHB14]: I have a feeling this should be 'depending'.

Commented [JHB15]: If multiple speakers are in view this is correct, but if one speaker it should be '(the) speaker's choice'.

Masculine, e.g.:

sedue 'man'
aya 'father'
betedon 'older brother.'

[*Sedue meno-a*] *weng go / gemang pen-a- na- w- o- n*:
man other-foc. come GIV ex.there say-foc.-there- pt.- masc.- 3p
'A certain man came and said: ...

Feminine, e.g.:

kabung 'woman'
demanon 'younger sister'
sikabung naklay 'as whole group of people'

(1) *Demanon* *senong-na- t- u- n go no / gemang we- t- ug- u- n, 'Ye ...!'*
 Yo.si know- there-pt-fem-3p GIV TO ex.there shout-pt-dur.-fem.-3ps Hello, ...!
 The younger sister realising (that), started to shout, 'Hello ...!'

(2) *Yakena sikabung naklay sagui lo se piam- a- na- t- u- n.*
 village people all angry INSTimp. wrong-foc-there-pt.-fem.-3ps.
 'All the village people came in turmoil through angriness.'

2.2.1.3. Sub-class on basis of lack of difference between singular and plural

The following words belong to this sub-class:

nok 'seedling'; *sua* 'leaf'; *suk* 'skin'; *glang* 'branch'; *kabung* 'woman'; *sedue* 'man'; *duo* 'child'.

Consider the following examples:

(1) *Genam senim nok idok so go mea klong.*
 1p spinach seedling pl pick_up IN GIV will go
 'I am going to get some spinach seedlings.'

(2) *Sua dagon ngga dasi dok go nang.*
 leaf dry that fish wrap GIV purp
 'Those dry leaves are used to wrap fish.'

(3) *Udui suk nasrok no se betep.*
 banana skin trash TO imp throw
 'Throw the banana skins in the trash.'

(4) *Usu di tuo go /glang ey suey so se ibot.*
 garden tree cut_down GIV branch COM good IN imp cut
 'When chopping down a tree, you have to cut the branches into sections.'

(5) *Kabung denok ngga masi-masi so mo klong.*
 woman child that foot-foot IN already go
 'The young girls went window-shopping.'

(6) *Sedue sebut si go ta keballi / seni kua.*
 Man jahit people GIV hand work content not
 'The actions of killers have no content (= meaningless).'

(7) *Genam go duo / namon ey.*
 1p GIV child two COM
 'I have two children.'

2.2.2 Noun types

2.2.2.1. Simple noun

NOUN / PRONOUN

Commented [JHB16]: This sub-section does not appear in the Table of Contents at the top.

This type is expressed by a simple noun, or a pronoun.

(1) *Deguenta temuit go nang /walop mea pla.*

Clan chief inaugurate GIV purp. feast will celebrate

‘In order to inaugurate the clan chief, (a) feast will be celebrated.’

(2) *Di / sedue lo / mo tuo.*

tree man INST already cut down .

‘(The) tree is already cut down by a man/men.’

(3) *Kim ngge/ mo iwa go-a.*

coconut this already dry GIV-focus

‘This coconut has already dried out.’

(4) *Nemot /gemang.*

3ps. ex.there

‘He/she is there.’

(5) *Nemot / mo kebong.*

3ps. already die

‘He/she died already.’ (‘He/she is dead’)

Commented [JHB17]: Is this / supposed to be here?

2.2.2.2. Noun co-ordination: two nouns, the second one being attributive.

NOUN1 + NOUN2(attributive)

This type of NP has two nouns, of which NOUN1 is head and NOUN2 attribute. If Noun 1 is followed by Noun 2 as attribute, it indicates: ‘belonging to; related to’; element of’; ‘descriptive’ in a specific way. The attribute is ambiguous: depending on the context, it can be both singular or plural.

Examples:

<i>wi nok</i>	(bird ; offspring)	‘Young bird(s)’
<i>uduo nok</i>	(dog ; offspring)	‘Puppy / puppies’
<i>udui nok</i>	(banana ; sapling)	‘Banana sapling(s)’
<i>senim nok</i>	(spinach ; seedling)	‘Spinach seedling(s)’
<i>udui sua</i>	(banana ; leaf)	‘Banana leave(s)’
<i>udui suk</i>	(banana ; outside/skin)	‘Banana skin(s)’
<i>ta glang</i>	(hand ; branch)	‘Finger(s) ’
<i>nali blong</i>	(feather/spirit ; light / glory)	‘Glorious crown’
<i>nali kabung</i>	(spirit ; female /woman)	‘Female guardian(s) / spirit(s)’
<i>nali duo</i>	(spirit; male/child)	‘Male guardian(s) / spirit(s).’

(1) *Mot go [ta glang] / so- go lo?*

2ps. GIV hand branch IN GIV (‘what’) INST

‘What happened with your finger(s)?’

Commented [JHB18]: / needed?

(2) *Ut {[woy sut]} idi no} use go / [kin suk] kalik / mea ikum.*

heaven sun put out side TO afternoon GIV red skin like will see

‘In the afternoon to the side where the sun goes down, the heaven will be seen like a red skin.’

Commented [JHB19]: bold].

(3) *Iram temuit go nang [nali- blong] mea kok.*
king install GIV purp feather glory will wear
'In order to be installed a king will wear a glorious crown of feathers.'

Commented [JHB20]: hyphen?

(4) *Sedue kabung [nali kabung] lo mea mlue.*
man woman spirit women INST will trick
'People are tricked by (female) ghosts.'

(5) { *[Nali duo] ey sedue ngga / ta kedui* } *go.*
spirit male with man that hand shake GIV.
'That man shakes hands with ghosts.' (i.e. he was friendly with the guardians of the forest)

(6) *Usu [damoy suot] mo kabam.*
garden 'gedi' leaves already old
'The garden gedi- leaves are already old (can not be eaten anymore).'

(7) *Ta lo go bale [kabung kaguit] lo / mea puik.*
hand INST GIV ball woman young girl INST will hit
'Volleyball will be played by young girls.'

2.2.2.3 Noun co-ordination: two nouns, the first one attributive, describing the head noun in a general way, have the following formula:

NOUN 1 (attributive) + NOUN 2

Examples:

<i>kin suk</i>	(blood; skin)	'red'
<i>yap demat</i>	(house; spirit)	'house spirit(s)'
<i>duo kabung</i>	(child; woman)	'daughter-in-law'
<i>duo kaguit</i>	(child; girl)	'girl'
<i>sisi⁸ put</i>	(person; hole)	'small place with window at the top of a house'
<i>ibuip yakena</i>	(name ; village)	'Ibub village'

(1) { *[Sisi put] tong go* } *ba lo / nemu luik go nang.*
person hole cut GIV in INST eye watch GIV purp.
'The small window at the top of the house is used to monitor (the situation outside).'

(2) *[Yap demat] / yap kua / no, nemot gemang.*
house spirit house not TO 3ps. ex.there
'The house spirit doesn't own a house, but he's there.'

(3) *[Ibuip yakena] / Klesi so.*
Ibub village Klesi IN.
'Ibub village is Gresi area.'

Commented [JHB21]: Should this be 'in Gresi area'?

2.-3. Pronouns

⁸ si 'egg / person' is probably the basic form for 'man'. In the language family, it is related to words like: [s.ɔru]; [s.ɔrū] or [s.ɔdō] all meaning 'man'.

Kemtuik has free pronominal sets in a minimal-augmented system. There are four person categories: first, second, third and first + second, and three numbers: singular, dual and plural. The combinations give us special forms for inclusive (same group); inclusive (all groups), and exclusive first person pronouns.

2.3.1 Pronoun system: free pronouns

person	singular	dual	plural
1	genam	genam namon	genam nang
1 (excl)	at	at namon	at nang
1 (incl)	---	imot namon	imot (nang)
2	mot / ko (imp.)	mot namon	mot nang
3	nemot	nemot namon	nemot nang

2.3.2. Subject gender suffixes

The free pronouns (and also nouns) do not distinguish gender **mono -** **phormologically**, but the subject verb suffixes; they are in concord with, do. That is to say: only in the 3rd person (single, dual, and plural) and 1st Person inclusive, gender and person are split out. The 1st Person uses always a ‘feminine’ ending and the 2nd Person a ‘masculine’, without marking gender separately.

Third-Person plural-markers can use either feminine or masculine forms, depending on speaker’s choice. And verbal suffix marker *-a* occurs to indicate masculine gender in **3** person *remote past*.)

Commented [JHB22]: I'm not familiar with this word.

Commented [JHB23]: '3rd'?

(Verbal suffixes for gender subject)

person	Kemtuik	English	singular	dual	plural
1	genam	‘I’			
1 (excl)	at	‘I’			
1 (incl)	imot	‘we’	---	-o	-o / -u
2	mot / ko	‘you’			
3 masc	nemot	‘he’	-o	-o (-a)	-o (-a)
3 fem	nemot	‘she’	-u	-u	-u

Example of a 3rd person masculine present tense *-won*:

Ditebok ey sray ey / Dame Idam lo / duik go [dam-w- o- n] go.
 tree_lizard COM cicak COM Dame Idam INST bake GIV eat- pt-masc-3p GIV
 ‘The tree lizard and the cicak both were cooked by Dame Idam and eaten.

Example of a 3rd person masculine in remote past tense *-ngam*:

*Nemot lo ut nan beap wi-dasi ngga naklay {mo [semu-**ng-** **a-** **m**] gabe}.*
 He INST heaven earth sea bird-fish that all already make-rem.t-masc-3p ex.here
 ‘He created heaven, earth, sea and all the creatures (represented by birds and fishes).’

Compare in the following identical examples how gender (only in 3p pl.) marks a difference to the meaning of the subject:

In (1): the subject is considered to be one group > (3p singular fem.),
 in (2)- (5) the subject is considered to be ‘many people’ > (3p plural masc):

(1) *Ku meno no / sedue kabung naklay / walop so / gemang yaluim-**a**⁹ – na – t- **u-** n.*
 day other TO man woman all feast IN ex.there gather-foc sit_down-pt-fem-3p
 ‘On a certain day all the people (=one group) were gathering for a feast.’ (singular construction)

(2) *Ku meno no / sedue kabung naklay / walop so / gemang yaluim – **ne** – na – w- **o** – n.*
 day other TO man woman all feast IN ex.there gather- pl.-sit_down-pt.- masc. 3p
 ‘On a certain day all the people (= many people) are gathered for a feast.’

(3) *Yakena no **unen** nang lo [usi **ne**-ba- w- **o-** **n**] go: ...*
 village TO mother pl INST ask-pl-sit_down-pt-masc-3p GIV
 ‘In the village women asked her, ...’

(4) *Nemot nang kam so u- wet / kua ikum-ne-ba- **ng-** **a-** **m**.*
 3p pl vain IN red.seek not see- pl- up_there-rem.past.dur-masc-3p
 ‘They (women) sought in vain, (but) did not see it down there.’

(5) *Ngga nemot so / kin nemon / kabung kaguit / bu so / wata- ne-t- **o-** **n** go /*
 that 3p IN blood smell woman young wather IN bathe-pl-ptdur-masc-3p GIV
 ‘That smell of blood, the young women, while they were bathing,

*nemot nang dop- ne-w- **o-** **n** dali.*
 3p pl smell-pl-pt-masc-3p again
 they smelt again.’

2.4. Adjectives

There are three classes of adjectives:

- Preceding the noun;
- Following the noun;
- Following a noun and postposed by the deictic *go* ‘GIV’.

This last class is a special one, forming **pars** with intransitive verbs.

Commented [JHB24]: I don't know what 'pars' are, sorry.

2.4.1. Classification

Adjective preceding the noun expresses ‘classification’. It has this formula:

ADJ + NOUN

⁹ Although *a* ‘focus’ refers to the subject, is not ‘single marker’ contrasting *ne* ‘plural’, but it gives focus to the verb.

The following examples classify the following noun with the adjective ‘foreign’:

<i>amble duo</i>	(foreign ; person)	‘Foreigner’
<i>amble keba</i>	(foreign ; clothing)	‘Textile’
<i>amble wep</i>	(foreign ; potato)	‘Taro’
<i>amble plesedue</i>	(foreign ; soldier)	‘Government soldier(s)’

Compare the word order in examples (1) ADJ + NOUN with (2) NOUN + ADJ

Commented [JHB25]: I believe the natural English would be either: ‘Compare the word order in example (1) ... with that in example (2) ...’. OR: ‘Compare the word order in examples (1) ... and (2) ...’.

(1) *Imot nang* / [**Kemtuik duo**¹⁰].

1p.incl. pl Kemtuik child

‘We all are Kemtuik people. (classification)’

(2) [*Sedue kabung **Kemtuik***] / *mata so kua*.

man woman Kemtuik many IN not

‘There are not many Kemtuik people.’ (descriptive; see: 2.5.2)

(3) *Ngga / Blanda sik so go* [*amble duo*].

that Holland from GIV foreign child

‘That foreigner is from Holland.’

(4) *Sedue [klaya duo]* *woy klak sik so pung go / mea weng*.

man one child sun rise from arrive GIV. will come

‘A particular man, arriving from the east, will come.’

2.4.2. Descriptive

Adjective following a noun expresses ‘description’. The attribute can be doubled to indicate intensity. It has the following formula:

NOUN + ADJ

Examples:

<i>udui sengin</i>	(banana ; ripe)	‘Ripe banana(s)’
<i>nebo bena</i>	(pig ; fat)	‘Fat pig’
<i>woy dalu</i>	(sun ; season)	‘Dry season’
<i>nebut meno- meno.</i>	(talk ; other- other)	‘Different issues’

(1) [*Ku meno*] *no* / [*sedue kabung **naklay***] / *walop so / gemang yaluim-a- na- t- u- n.*

day other TO man woman all feast IN. ex.there gather-foc-dir-pt- fem-3p

‘One a certain day all the people gathered together there to have a feast.’

(2) [*Tang **meno***]-a/ *kua ibot.*

origin other-foc. not cut

‘Don’t cut the other varieties (of plants).’

(3) [*Kung **senang***] *ngge / nebut pen ey go.*

Banyan tree very old this talk say COM GIV

‘There’s a story about this very old banyan tree.’

4) [*Denok **dato***] *ngga nemot / [amblang dato¹¹] / ey lo.*

¹⁰ duo ‘child’ but also ‘person classified to a certain group’

¹¹ dato has two different meanings: ‘tiny, little’ and ‘special’

child little that 3ps. character special with. INST
 ‘That particular little boy has a strong character.’

(5) *Nggeasui go* /*[sikabung **Kemtuik**] [da klaya-klaya] gabe te-tegu.*
 now GIV people Kemtuik turn one-one ex.here red-meet
 ‘At the moment (I) here am meeting occasionally with Kemtuik people.’

(6) *[Bu **inim**]-a genam no go se sre.*
 water fresh foc. 1ps TO GIV imp. fill
 ‘Get me some fresh water.’”

(7) *[Sedue-kabung **mata**] so] go ngga nemot / genam mo ikum.*
 man woman quantity IN GIV that 3ps. 1p already see.
 ‘That mass of people I have seen already.’

Commented [JHB26]: Should this curly bracket be removed, or else have a matching closing bracket (after *so*)?

2.4.3. General specification

A Noun + Adjective followed by deictic *go* belongs to a special class and has the following formula:

NOUN + ADJ *go*

The category of descriptive words like: *seguay* (‘small’); *babu* (‘big, swollen’); *suey* (‘good’); *piam* (‘bad’); *seni* (‘content’) belong to a general class of words that can form verbs, adverbs, nouns and adjectives (c.f. 2.2.1.) while the members of the preceding class (2.4.2) don’t. The deictic *go* ‘given’ (GIV) specifies grammatical definiteness.

Examples:

<i>yap seguay go</i>	(house ; small ; GIV)	‘The small house’
<i>tasam piam go</i>	(sign/action ; wrong ; GIV)	‘The wrong action’
<i>nebit warlok go</i>	(wind ; around ; GIV)	‘The cyclone’
<i>tasam suey go</i>	(action ; good ; GIV)	‘The good action’”
<i>senong teguop go</i>	(knowledge ; perfect ; GIV)	‘The proper knowledge’

(1) *Nemot go [duo **seguay go**] / sadui so.*
 3p GIV child small GIV ill IN.
 ‘His little child is sick.’

(2) *[Yap **seguay go**] ngga / mea togut.*
 house small GIV that will pull_down
 ‘That little house will be pulled down.’

(3) *Mot [tasam **piam go**] mo semu.*
 2p action bad GIV already do
 ‘You did the wrong thing.’

(4) *Mot [tasam **suey go**] mo semu. (suey = adjective)*
 2p action good GIV already do
 ‘You did the good thing.’

Compare (4) with (5) (*suey* = verb)

(5) *Wom semu go so / ntaton lo / suey go.*
 theft do GIV IN ol.br. INST good GIV

‘Because (he/she/they) stole, (he/she/they) was (were) punished by older brother.’

2.4.4. Nominalization

The same class of descriptive words (mentioned above) but not preceded by a noun, forms a noun in itself. Like in English: the ‘little-ones’. Its formula is:

QUALIFIER + (SO) GO

Examples:

(1) [*Seguay go-babu go*] *naklay se wasey.*
 small GIV. big GIV. all imp. divide.

‘The little ones and the grown-up’s, all must be divided.’

(2) [*Keduong so go*] *ngga banom so se tui.*
 begin IN GIV that self IN imp put

‘The first fruits must be set aside.’ (Note: *keduong so* = ‘in the beginning’; *keduong so go* = ‘first’)

Consider the following sentence, showing two noun phrases with contrasting meaning, using different structures: *wali tap* and *piam ey go*. Note: the deictic *go* refers to *tap* ‘road’ in the preceding clause.

(3) [*Wali tap*] *lo kua keng go*, [*piam ey go*] *lo mea keng.*
 life road INST not follow GIV wrong COM GIV INST will follow

‘If (people) don’t follow the life-road, (they) will follow the one with bad (deeds).’

2. 5. Demonstrative

The demonstratives form a special word class. In fact, the class consists of two words:

- *ngga* ‘that’ referring backwards, forwards and away
- *ngge* ‘this’ referring to the place of action (here and now)

Examples:

[*Yap ngge*] *mo togut.*

house this already destroy

‘This house is already destroyed.’

[*Sedue ngga*] *lo mo semu.*

man that INST already do

‘(It) is done by that man.’

2.5.1. Discussion:

The equative clause *Ngga / nemot.* (that ; 3ps.) ‘That (is) it’ or ‘That being so’ functions as a demonstrative referring to an event in the preceding context.

Consider for example the following sentence:

Commented [JHB27]: Have you explained somewhere the difference between ‘qualifier’ and ‘adjective’?

Commented [JHB28]: In previous sections you have (more or less) repeated the sub-headings that appeared in the Table of Contents, but not in this one. The table of contents has: 2.5 Demonstratives (in line with ‘Adjectives’, ‘Pronouns’, etc. In subsection 2.5.1. the heading is shortened, which may be OK, but in 2.5.2. and 2.5.3 the headings are missing completely.

(1) [*Sikabung lo duing go ngga nemot*] = object
 people INST think GIV that 3ps.
 'The people thinking so, (=they were having special intentions)

nemot namon senong- kle- na- w- o- n go no,
 3p two know- dual-there- pt- masc-3p GIV TO
 they two having understood,

kangok so gemang nega- kle- na- w-o- n.
 big IN ex.there amaze-dual-there-pt-masc-3p
 they two were very shocked.'

2.5.2. Combined with relational postpositions (*ngga so*, *ngga lo*, *ngga go*, *ngga ey*, *ngga no* and *ngga-a*) the demonstratives get their special function in the context¹².

2.5.3. A major way of requiring cohesion in a text is linkage through repeating elements of the preceding clause, or by implementing specific information in the verb stream. But the demonstrative *ngga* combined with the relational post positions *no*, *ey*, or followed by *sik so go* ('from there') has also a special discourse function. It occurs clause initially and combines larger semantic units of the main event line. *Ngga no* indicates 'general continuation / 'and'; 'then', while *ngga ey* indicates comitative continuation 'with that'. (See for further discussion Chapter III on Relational Postpositions).

Commented [JHB29]: 'requiring' sounds odd to me here; I would have expected 'marking' or 'indicating'.

2.6. Quantifiers

2.6.1. Cardinal numbers

In Kemtuik the counting system is quintenary and is body wise expressed by bowing down fingers of a stretched hand, one by one. While counting the speaker points to hands and feet. So: 1,2,3,4 are indicated with fingers; 5 is indicated by a hand; 6-10 by a combination of fingers and hand(s). And from 11-14 the toes of one foot will be counted, followed by 2 hands and 1 foot; the numbers 16-19 are indicated by 2 hand, 1 foot, and 1,2,3,4 fingers. The number twenty is indicated by: 1 person. Some numbers have a metaphorical meaning as well: like the number 3, meaning 'a few' and the number 5, meaning 'complete'. Nowadays, the Indonesian counting system is being used, with the exception of the numbers 1-5. Probably because some of these numbers have symbolical use as well.

1 = *klaya*
 2 = *namon*
 3 = *nangglik*
 4 = *namon namon*
 5 = *ta idi*

¹² This will be discussed in more detail in the Chapter III on Relational Postpositions.

hand side ‘hand on this side’
 6 = *ta idi so klaya*,
 hand side IN one
 7 = *ta idi so namon*
 8 = *ta idi so nangglik*
 9 = *ta idi so namon namon*
 10 = *ta namon*
 hand two
 11 = *ta namon / masi so klaya*
 hand two foot IN one
 12 = *ta namon / masi so namon*
 13 = *ta namon / masi so nangglik*
 14 = *ta namon / masi so namon namon*
 15 = *ta namon / masi idi*
 16 = *ta namon / masi idi so klaya*
 17 = *ta namon / masi idi so namon*
 18 = *ta namon / masi idi so nangglik*
 19 = *ta namon / masi idi so namon namon*
 20 = *sedue si klaya*
 man person one
 30 = *sedue si klaya / sedue meno ta namon*
 40 = *sedue si namon*
 50 = *sedue si namon / sedue meno ta namon*
 60 = *sedue si nangglik*
 70 = *sedue si nangglik / sedue meno ta namon*
 80 = *sedue si namon namon*
 90 = *sedue si namon namon / sedue meno ta namon*
 100 = *sedue si ta idi*

2.6.2. Ordinal numbers

We define this type of quantifiers as a determiner that expresses a contrast in quantity. Some examples are:

- *seguay* ‘a little’

[*Seguay so*] *aya ey mia ey ya tebok?*

little IN father COM mother COM imp add

‘Could you (both) help me a little?’

- *mata so* ‘a lot’

Walop so go sikabung [mata so] pluep go.

feast IN GIV people quantity IN gather GIV

‘Many people came for the feast.’

- *nangglik* ‘a few’

Inenga go / [nangglik dato so] yaluim go

yesterday GIV three/few very IN gather GIV.

‘The ones that gathered together yesterday were just a few.’

- *naklay* ‘all’

Commented [JHB30]: I'm curious about your use of 'ordinal numbers' to describe the following terms, which I thought were simply 'quantifiers'. To me, ordinal numbers are words like 'first', 'third', 'seventeenth', 'hundredth'. Is this terminology that I was not aware of?

Usu ku lo {sikabung [naklay]} mo klong-lak
 garden ground INST people all already go all
 ‘All the people have gone to their gardens.’

- temu ‘a part’

Sat no go [temu] se betok.
 yg.br TO GIV part neces. cut
 ‘Cut off a part for your younger brother.’

- mun ‘complete’

Ngge lo [mun] gabe.
 this INST complete it is
 ‘With this it is complete.’

2.7. Verbs

2.7.1. Verb structure

The verb consists of a Root (VR), non obligatorily ~~proceeded~~ ~~preceded~~ or followed by a set of auxiliaries. There are some formal properties that can define a verb (i.e. reduplication; the optionally appearance of a verb string consisting of post-verbal auxiliaries). The verb is always in final position. But in some cases it is more difficult to decide (especially in compounding situations) if we are dealing with a verb or noun. For instance:

koy-bu- ta- semu. ‘slave’
 fire water hand/ready do

The word *ta* can either be: ‘hand’ ~~or~~ ~~for~~ ‘to prepare’.

We also have discussed the possibility of having identical words operating in different word classes (see: 2.1.1.). Other important features of verb structure are ‘serial verb construction’, ‘verb compounding’ and ‘noun-verb construction’¹³.

2.7.1.1. Reduplication of the VR.

The verb root can indicate ‘duration’ by reduplication of the initial consonant and vowel of the root, like this: CV-C(C)V(C) e.g. *ko-klong* ‘going’ ~~or~~ in vowel initial case, the first vowel will be repeated, like this: V-V(C)(V) e.g. *i-iti* ‘giving, taking’¹⁴. If repetition is expressed in this way, the Verb Root (VR) will occur as a bare VR (i.e. there is no verb inflexion).

2.7.1.2. Consonant - Vowel distribution

In verbs the normal distribution pattern is followed, as ~~is being~~ discussed in Chapter 1.5/6. A verb operates in different forms, such as:

- with a bare / iterative form
- with inflection

Commented [JHB31]: This sentence seems ungrammatical to me in that I don't know what is the relationship between the two clauses, partly because the parentheses do not close. Additionally, if 'reduplication' is one example of a formal property, the 'i.e.' should perhaps be 'e.g.' Finally, I believe 'optionally' should be 'optional'.

Commented [JHB32]: I'm not sure exactly why, but I don't like this 'or'. How about a semi-colon?

¹³ ~~Or For~~ each of those occurrences some explanation and a few examples are given in 2.1.5.2 and 2.1.6.

¹⁴ See for more detailed discussion the section on Phonology.

In ongoing events a reduplication of the verb stem is possible, but without vowel centralization, as is common in all other word patterns. In case of reduplication the stress pattern and distribution of consonants and vowels is as follows:

RED.	VERBROOT
(C)V-	'(C)(C) V (C)

2.7.2. Simple and compound forms

Kemtuik verb has no subject prefixation. But most verbs are optionally followed by auxiliaries, indicating focus, plurality, gender, person, and others (detailed discussion in chapter IV on Kemtuik phrases). Simple verbs are verbs consisting of one single stem; compound verbs are verbs that consist of a combination of two/three verbs, producing a new concept (see: 2.1.5.2.).

2.7.3. Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions occur through combinations of verbs with related (contrasting) meaning, producing a new concept. For instance:

(1) Kota yakena {[**klong-weng**] so} lemoy go, be?
town village go come IN happen GIV is it?
Has he become somebody who comes and goes to town?

(2) Kabung ngga / sedue / {[**iti- itak**] go lo} mo mlay.
woman that man take-leave GIV INST already used to
'That girl has a reputation of different relationships.'

(3) Duen sedue meduim-a [li- **klak**] go.
Bush people hill focus go down-go up GIV
'Bush people are always going up and down the hills.'

(4) Mot lo li go klong ikum- a!
2p INST climb_down GIV go see foc
'You having climbed down, go and see yourselves!'

(5) Mot go taut [ba¹⁵- iti]!
you GIV possessions come-take
'Come here and take your possessions!'

2.8. Adverbials

The category of adverbials in Kemtuik functions to modify an event expressed by a predicate, or any part of speech other than nouns. So, they modify verbs, adjectives (including numbers), other adverbs, but also clauses and sentences. This class of

Commented [JHB33]: To me this sentence is ambiguous as to whether it is vowel centralization or the lack of vowel centralization that is common in all other word patterns. My recollection, such as it is, from previous sections is that vowel centralization is common, in which case you might like to consider: '...but without the vowel centralization that is common...'

Commented [JHB34]: In the Table of Contents, Subsection 2.7.3. is 'Verbal and motion predicates'.

¹⁵ Ba as verb means 'come'; however, as pre-auxiliary modal it carries the meaning: 'surprise'. Sometimes these words occur in the same position, ~~what~~ **which** makes its interpretation somewhat confusing. On top of that: ba functions also as postposition, meaning 'inside'.

adverbs occurs often in a stand-alone position, but is incidentally modified by the relational postposition (inessive) *so* ‘IN’, and/or (deictic) *go* ‘GIV’.

They can be divided into adverbials of: time, location, qualification, aspect, mode, manner, negation, existence, intensity, ability.

Adverbials can function as

- head of an adverbial phrase (underlined)
- auxiliary in a verbal phrase (not-underlined)¹⁶

2.8.1. Temporal adverbials

The time of an event is expressed through the use of temporal adverbials. They are either mono-morphemic adverbs or phrasal constituents, occurring in most occasions in clause initial position. Temporal indicators are modified by either *go* ‘GIV’; *so* ‘IN’, or neutral #.

(1) [**Banim go**] *Yansu sik so / sikabung / gabe wasey.*
old GIV Yansu origing IN people ex.here devide
‘Formerly, the people split up at Yansu.’

(2) [**Banim dega go**] *sedue meno / gabe got-a- k- a- m.*
old very GIV people other ex.here stay-foc-rempast-masc-3p
‘Very long ago, a certain man stayed here.’ (= general time indication)

(3) [**Banim dega so**] *yakena ngga no / genam / klong go.*
old very IN village that TO 1p go GIV
‘Very long ago I went to that village.’ (= specific time indication)

(4) [**Banim no go**] *babu- nang / yakay ey / got- ne-a- k- a- m.*
old TO GIV grandparent pl happiness COM stay-pl-foc-rempast-masc-3p
‘In former times, (our) ancestors stayed with harmony.’ (= refers to a period)

(5) [**Inenga go**] *babu nalo semlea ey dasi ey mo dam.*
yesterday GIV grandmother old sago COM fish COV already eat
‘Yesterday grandmother ate rat with sago.’

Commented [JHB35]: The gloss says ‘fish’.

(6) [**Inenga- da go**] *mot nago sik so?*
yesterday turn GIV 2p where origin IN
‘Where were you a few days ago?’

(7) [**Wadi go**] *genam / mot go yap no mea klong.*
night GIV 1p 2p GIV house TO will go
‘I will go to your house tonight.’ (context > future)

(8) [**Wadi go**] *sedue kabung mata so!*
night GIV man woman many IN
‘Last night there were lots of people!’ (context > past)

(9) [**Wadi nesip go**] *kua u- wet!*

¹⁶ See Chapter IV Kemtuik Phrases.

night middle GIV not red.seek
 ‘Don't walk round in the middle of the night!’

(10) [Utep wadikua go] imot namon usu no mea klong.
 Tomorrow morning GIV 1p incl dual garden TO will go
 ‘We two will go to the garden tomorrow morning.’

(11) [Wabedong so] wate mea weng.
 midday IN uncle will come
 ‘Uncle will come at midday.’

(12) [Utep go] mot na go no?
 tomorrow GIV 2p there GIV TO
 ‘Tomorrow, you where to?’ (‘Where to do you want to go tomorrow?’)

(13) [Utep so] genam mea klong.
 Tomorrow IN 1p will go
 ‘I will go tomorrow’ (= specific intention)

(14) Genam go yap no [use go] mot se weng!
 1p GIV house TO afternoon GIV 2p imp come
 ‘Come to my house this evening!’

(15) [Ku meno so]
 day other IN
 ‘On a day,’ (= specific time indication)

(16) [Nggeasui¹⁷] genam mea klong.
 now 1p will go
 ‘I will go now.’

(17) [Nggeasui go] / ngge no lemoy go no go nebut/ mea pen-a- si- l- u.
 today GIV this TO happen GIV TO GIV talk will say- foc-down-ft-1p
 ‘Today I will say talk about what happened here.’

(18) [Ku ngga nemot no go] genam lo go Agustina no go mo pen: ...
 day that 3p TO GIV 1p INST GIV Agustina TO GIV already say
 ‘At that day I had spoken to Agustina, this’

(19) [Ku sabtu tanggal 1-8-1981 no go] amble ple sedue / Suayap no / mo degut.
 day saturday date 1-8-1981 TO GIV foreign bow man Suayap TO already enter
 ‘On Saturday the 1st of August soldiers have entered the (village) of Suayap.’

(20) [Ku walong dato so] way-way sogo sam / imot kua klik.
 time long special IN turn turn IN GIV letter 1p.pl.incl not write
 ‘For a very long time we haven't written letters to each other.’

¹⁷ [Ngge-a sui] = now; [ngge-a sui go] = today.
 this focus day this focus day GIV

(21) [*Ku blung kong go*] sik so / mo iti.
 place beginning put_down origin IN already give
 ‘Given from the very beginning of the earth,’

2.8.2. Locative adverbials

Nothing to say here to introduce the examples?

(1) *Coklat usu* / [*ket so*].
 cocoa garden far IN
 ‘The cocoa tree garden is far away.’

(2) *Nemot go yap / seguola [dagu so]*.
 3p GIV house school near IN
 ‘His house is near the school.’

(3) [*Ngga ku-ngga ku*] ko- klong go / yakena kua kay.
 that place that place red.go GIV village not forget
 ‘Where ever (you are) going, don’t forget (your own) village’.

(4) [*Mesip so*] sedue ngga ban- t- o- n
 behind IN man that return_up- pt.dur-masc-3p
 ‘That man is coming-up from behind.’

2.8.3. Qualifying adverbials

As discussed *earlier* in *the/this* chapter *before* (2.1.1. and 2.4.2), the category of descriptive words like: *seguay* (‘small’); *babu* (‘big, swollen’); *suey* (‘good’); *piam* (‘bad’); *seni* (‘content’) etc, belong to a general class of words that *can* (but not always cover all of those categories) form verbs, adverbs, nouns and adjectives. Their position in the clause is *often* preceding the Verbal Phrase. But it may take other positions. The basic formula for this type of adverbial is:

qualifier + so

(1) *Aya lo go nebut / [wamoy so] kua!*
 father INST GIV talk lie IN not
 ‘The talk of father is not deceiving.’

(2) [*Suey so*] pen-sando ya.
 good IN talk-return_same_level-ft-2p imp
 ‘You have to speak back properly.’

(3) *Mot nang [yakot so] glop ey nebut se pen.*
 2p pl quiet IN guest COM talk imp talk
 ‘You need to talk slowly with your guests.’

(4) *Walop so go sikabung [mata so] pluep go.*
 feast IN GIV people much IN gather GIV
 ‘Many people came for the feast.’

Commented [JHB36]: I'm afraid I am not clear on what this parenthetical remark is supposed to be saying.

(5) [*Seguay so*] aya ey mia ey ya tebok?
 little IN father COM mother COM imp add
 ‘Could father and mother add a little (finances)?’

(6) {[*Ni so*] – [*no so*]} se ip- na- l- o!
 ? IN - consequence IN neces. stand sit_down ft 2p
 ‘You have to stand up bravely!’

2.8.4. Aspectual adverbs

(*mea* ‘will’ and *mo* ‘already’ to be discussed as part the Verbal Phrase)

Ongoing: *maning*

(1) [*Maning*] genam kebalī kua semu go.
 ongoing 1p work not do GIV
 ‘I am not working yet.’

(2) {*Denok ngga [maning] go no*} / *sedue mo iti*.
 child that ongoing GIV TO man already take
 ‘While still a child, (she) has taken a husband already.’

(3) *Mot nang ey tegu go nang ku ngga* / [*maning*] kua pung gabe.
 2p pl COM meet GIV purp day that ongoing not arrive ex.here
 ‘But that day to meet with you, has not yet arrived here.’

2.8.5. Adverbs of manner

English equivalents like : *again; in vain; in turn; reciprocally, completely, always, also; only, certain, other, like, equally*, are members of this word class.

(1) *Nggeasui* / *genam [tandali] mea klong*.
 now 1p again will go
 ‘Now I will go again.’

(2) [*Tebadali go*] walop / *mea kua iti*.
 in vain GIV festivity will not give (strong argument).
 ‘In vain a celebration will not be given.’

(3) *Nemot go ta kebalī [way so] gabe iti*.
 3p GIV hand work return IN ex.here give
 ‘I here give a reward to his work.’

(4) *Kukunan go kunala so [way-way so] tu-tui go*.
 world GIV thought IN turn turn IN red.put GIV
 ‘Laying down to and fro (= discussing) arguments of the world.’

(5) *Kebalī at nang lo [yam so] mo semu*.
 work 1p pl INST measure IN already do
 ‘We have done the work completely.’

Commented [JHB37]: But these are listed as 2.8.4.1. and 2.8.4.1 in the Table of Contents, and *maning* as 2.8.4.3.

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(6) [*Senang so*] *yakena so no nemot ko-klong*.

old IN village IN TO 3p red.go

‘He always goes home to the village.’

(7) [*Tandali*] *tegu go no / walong so mea pen [dali]*.

again meet GIN TO long IN will talk also

‘Having met again, (we) will also talk long.’

(8) *Mot nang naklay / suey [seguong] / gabe!*

2p pl all good only ex.here

‘I here (wish) you all: only good!’

(9) *Sedue klaya duo [meno] gemang*.

man one child other ex.there

‘There was a certain man, ...’

(10) *Ngga no duo ngguot (nenguot) [temu] (temung)] mo tebok dali*.

that TO child young other already help also

‘And other young men have helped also.’

(11) *Nemot go nebut bluem mot lo go [kalik]*.

3p GIV talk dialect 2p INST GIV like

‘His/her way of talking is the same as yours.’

2.8.6. Adverbs of mode

(to be discussed in Chapter IV: Verbal Phrase)

2.8.7. Negation adverbs: *kua* and *ne*

(to be discussed in Chapter IV: Verbal Phrase)

2.8.8. Existential adverbs (*gabe* and *gemang*).

(To be discussed in Chapter IV: Verbal Phrase)

2.8.9. Intensifying adverbs

(1) *Sikabung [mata dega so] gemang ko-klong*.

people much very IN ex.there red.go

‘Very many people were going.’

(2) *Amka batik ngge/ suey dato*.

clothe batik this good very

‘This batik clothe is very good.’

(3) *Ngga / teguop seni!*

that perfect content

‘That is perfect indeed!’

A verb root can be followed by an intensifying adverbial¹⁸.
The following forms have been noted:

sing 'each one' (as a verb: 'take out')
dap 'complete process' (verb)
lak 'everyone as a group'
*ram*¹⁹ 'complete as a group: in a peaceful~~ly~~ way'

Commented [JHB38]: The 'should' in this footnote suggests that you would like to discuss this in Chapter IV but haven't.

Commented [JHB39]: I'd prefer a comma to 'and' in this sentence in the footnote.

Consider the following examples:

(1) *Sipsuing sey [sing]!*
 chair cover one by one
 'Cover every chair!'

(2) *Ngga ey, Waling debui go temoy, lema lo don so bung go, gemang wasey-[sing].*
 that COM, Waling girl GIV body snake INST bone IN brake GIV ex.there. ~~die~~vide pick
 'Then the bones of Waling's body were ~~die~~vided into pieces by the snake.'

(3) *Wengkabui lo koybutasemu temu mot go, gemang ne- na- w- o- n [lak] dali.*
 3psadman INST servant other order GIV, ex.there. pl-there-pt-masc-3p all also
 'The headman ordered another group of servants to go all as well.'

(4) *Genam pen²⁰- [dap] t- u go.*
 1p speak finish proces pt.-1ps GIV
 'This is all what I have to say.'

(5) *Kabung ngga nemot nang goy²¹-[ram]- tug-u-n.*
 woman that 3p pl stay- together-ptdur-fem-3p
 'Those women they are staying together.'

Commented [JHB40]: It seems to me that in the footnote 'goy', 'got', 'ram' and 'iram' should also be in italics.

2.9. Interjections

There are a few interjections in Kemtuik speech of which *sang* 'pity' one of the most prominent interjections is. Combined with *ey* 'COM' (?) 'exclamation' (?) (*ey sang*) at the beginning of sentence, it means: 'Alas!' often ~~is it proceeds precedes~~ the VP, or occurs clause finally.

Commented [JHB41]: This sentence does not sound very natural to me. I suggest (assuming I am understanding the meaning correctly): 'There are a few interjections in Kemtuik speech; *sang* 'pity' is one of the most prominent.'

Commented [JHB42]: Should 'COM' have the quote marks? Also, are the (?) supposed to be there?

Commented [JHB43]: Should a new sentence start here: 'Often it precedes...'

Consider these examples:

(1) [*Ey ... sang*] / *ku Natal- yagui inim/ genam yakena no/ mo degut, ngga tang so ...*
 with pity time Christmas year new 1p village TO already enter that origin IN ...
 'Ay ... pity. At Christmas-and New Year's day I visited the village, that is the reason that ...'

¹⁸ This group of intensifying adverbs operating in the VP should probably be discussed in Chapter IV (Verb Phrase)

¹⁹ *Ram* may be derived from *iram* 'clan leader' and phonological contracted to *ram*.

²⁰ The verbs *pen* and *pu* are not related, but their meaning is close. *Pen* 'speak' (general); *pu* 'talk, order' (specific).

²¹ Probably *goy* is derived from *got* 'stay' and *ram* may be derived from *iram* 'clan leader'. So, a meeting with the clan leader is meant. The combination *got-iram* is a contraction to *goyram* 'stay together'.

(2) *Sedue lo dam go kukup net go-a / uduo lo go mea dam dali [sang]!*
 man INST eat GIV leftover throw away GIV-foc dog INST GIV will eat also pity
 ‘Left over food thrown away by men, will be eaten by the dogs, is it not?’

(3) ... *nemot go duoyap [sang] mo kua go no go.*
 3p GIV children pity already not (exist) GIV TO GIV
 ‘because her children are not there anymore.’ (they were killed).

(4) *Mot [sang] weng-a / nemot blo no ta-a pla.*
 2p pity come-foc 3p on top of TO hand-foc lay
 ‘Please come and lay hands on her!’

(5) *No maning kua suey [sang] / sadui-a tandali ne i-ide.*
 TO ongoing not good pity sick-foc again contradiction red.heavy
 ‘But the illness had –alas- still not improved; on the contrary it was becoming more serious.’

2.10. Questions

General questions are those using *mo* ‘already’ and *ya* ‘mild-imperative’ and *ka* ‘where’ with intonation clause - finally going up.

Consider the following examples:

(1) *Kabung ngga / nemot go seni mo senong?*
 woman that 2ps. GIV content already know
 ‘Does that woman understand the meaning of it?’

(2) *Nemot ya weng?*
 3p imp come
 ‘Does he come?’

(3) *Mot go bot / [ka]?*
 2p GIV bucket where
 ‘Your bucket, where (is it)?’

Other questions are monomorphological indicated by either:

<i>nando</i>	‘who’ (animate object questions)
<i>sogo</i>	‘what’ (inanimate object questions)
<i>sogo kalik so</i>	‘how’
<i>sogo nang so</i>	‘why’ (purpose)
<i>nago</i>	‘where, which’ (spatial)
<i>kaning</i>	‘when’ (time)

Commented [JHB44]: If *sogo* is a morpheme meaning ‘what’, is it correct that in the example sentences it is divided into *so go* and glossed as IN GIV?

2.10.1 Animate object questions (who)

[Nando] bu gluik so go / kun- t- u- n?

Who water bail INT GIV come-pt-fem-3p
 ‘Who is coming to get water?’

2.10.2 Inanimate object questions (how; what like)

(1) *Nemot [way] / [so go kalik so] mo tenguo-na- w- o- n*
 3p turn IN GIV like INT already reply-there-pt-masc-3p
 ‘What-like did he reply specifically?’

(2) *[So go kalik go nebut] mo tup- kle—t- o?*
 IN GIV like GIV talk already hear-dual-pt-2p
 ‘What kind of talk did you both hear?’

(3) *Sedue lo [kabung ngga go tasam] / [so go kalik so go] mo pen-w- o -n?*
 man INSTwoman that GIV deed IN GIV like IN GIV already say- pt-masc-3p
 ‘What exactly said the man about the woman’s deed?’

(4) *Kabung ngga nemot lo [so go kalik so] mo pu- na- t- u- n?*
 woman that 3ps. INST IN GIV like INT already tell-there-pt-fem-3p
 ‘What kind of talk specifically did that woman tell over there?’

2.10.3 Locative questions (where)

(1) *Nemot nang ko-klong go ngga nemot / yakena [nago no] pluep-ne- na- w- o- n?*
 3p pl. rep-go GIV that 3ps. village where TO arrive-pl.-there-pt-masc-3p
 ‘Those who are going, to which village are they arriving? (Where to)’

(2) *Deguen ngga / [nago sik so go] sedue?*
 headman that where origin IN.GIV man
 ‘That clanleader, from which clan is the man?’ (Where from)

(3) *Nemot nang kota Jayapura no go so go / [nago tap lo] mo klong?*
 3p pl. town Jayapura TO GIV INT GIV where road INST already go
 ‘When they headed up to go to Jayapura, via which road did they go?’

(4) *[Nago lo] sedue ngga srek?*
 where INST man that sleep
 ‘Where (at) did that man sleep?’

(5) *[Nago no] nemot klong so?*
 where TO 3p go IN
 ‘Where (to) will he go?’

[
 (6) *[Nago so] nemot got- t- o- n?*
 where IN 3p stay-pt-masc-3p
 ‘Where (precisely) is he now?’

(7) *[Nago-a] { [mot no go] so } ya iti?*
 which-foc 2p TO GIV IN imp give
 ‘Where is the one, that ought to be given to you?’

2.10.4 Temporal questions (when)

[*Kaning so*] ya weng?
 When IN interr.. come
 ‘When are you coming?’

Ku [*nago no*] mot ya weng?
 day which TO 2p imp come
 ‘At what day are you coming?’

2.10.5 Quantity questions (how much)

(1) *Mot go ta ba sogo duoy* / [*kata yam so*]?
 2p GIV hand in IN GIV quantity measure IN
 ‘The money in your hand (is) how much?’

2.10.6 Cause and reason questions (why; what)

(The combination *so-go* in a question will be glossed as: ‘what’)

sogo so > asking for a reason
goso nang so > asking for a specific purpose
sogo-sogo so > asking for different specific purpose
sogo hó go so > asking for a specific cause in the past
sogo tang so > asking for a specific background (*tang* = origin)
sogo piam so > asking for a specific cause (*piam* = wrong deed)
sogo temoy no > asking for a general reason (*temoy* = trunk, body)

(1) *Wali bu ngga nemot* / [*sogo so*] *pu-na- w- o- n?*
 Life river that 3ps. what IN say-there_down-pt.-masc.-3p.
 ‘That life-water, why (is it) called that way?’ (intention)

(2a) {[*So go*] *kua go* [*so go so*]} / *nemot go denok* / *yakena no* / *ne- na- w- o- n?*
 what not GIV IN GIV INT 3p GIV child village TO pl.-down_there-pt-masc-3p
 ‘What was needed that his children went to the village?’ (reason)

(2b) *Nemot nang go ten yam so kua go* [*sogo so*].
 3p pl. GIV food measure IN not GIV what INT
 ‘Because their food supply was finished.’ (Answer)

(3) [*Sogo temoy no*] / *seni* / *nemot nang no go* / *kua lemoy?*
 what reason TO content 3p pl TO GIV not happen
 ‘For what (general) reason did success not happen to them?’

(4) *Ngga kalik go* / [---] *nemot mo pu?*
 that like GIV what purp. INT 3ps. already tell
 ‘If it is like that, for what purpose did he/she tell that?’

(5) *Masi kuo* / [*sogo piam lo*] *go?*
 foot wound what wrong INST GIV
 ‘What wrong caused the foot-wound?’

(6) [*Sogo tang so*] *nemot kua weng?*
 what origin INT 3p not come
 ‘What was the reason why he/she did not come?’

(7) [*Sogo hó*] *go so*] *nemot bumu ketang so go got- te- na- w- o- n?*
 what INT GIV IN 3p well side IN GIV stay-dur- there_down-pt-masc-3p
 ‘Why was he staying alongside the well? (asking for the specific cause)’

(8) [*Sogo- sogo so*] *kebal kua degut-sre- t- o?*
 what – what IN work not enter-real.-pt-2ps
 ‘Why are you not entering work? (reasons)’

2.11 Spatial orientation

Spatial nouns are used to specify the location of an object. These nouns are found following the head-(pro)noun /demonstrative of a phrase, and are optionally followed by an-other spatial postposition and/or a relational postposition.

Examples are:

(1) *blo* ‘top’ (= noun)
Genam lo go [ulu - blo] kleng-kleng.
 1p INST GIV breadfruit_tree top climb-climb
 ‘I am agile enough to climb the top of a breadfruit tree.’

Ngga [blo idi lo] / denun gemang kebong.
 that top side INST girl ex.there die
 ‘On top of that, the girl died.’

(2) *ku* ‘earth’ / ‘time’ (= noun)
Kebleng [ku iji no] nebo temu mia lo gemang tui.
 rafter earth side TO pig part mother INST ex.there put
 ‘Mother keeps pork in the down-rafter.’

(3) *dagu* ‘close’ (= qualifier)
Nemot go yap / [seguola dagu so].
 3p GIV house school close IN
 ‘His house is near the school.’

(4) *ket* ‘far’ (= qualifier)
Mot nang [ket so no] se klong!
 2p pl far IN TO neces. go
 ‘You have to go far from here!’

(5) *katang* ‘edge, side’ (= noun)
Denok tiat seguola so go / [tap katang lo] se klong.
 child small school IN GIV road edge IN neces. go

Commented [JHB45]: In most of these examples the word being exemplified is the one in bold, but not here nor in the following example (*ku*). Is this intentional? Or is the second example sentence under *blo* really supposed to be an example of the use of *idi*? (But see example sentence (9) for *idi*.)

‘Small children going to school, have to walk at the edge of the road.’

(6) *mesip* ‘behind’ (=postposition)

[*Mesip so*] *sedue ngga ban- t- o- n.*
 behind IN man that come_up-pt-masc-3p
 ‘That man is following along behind.’

(7) *ba* ‘in’ (= postposition)

[*Mot nang ba so no*] *sedue ngga go wamoymlue / degut ey go.*
 2p pl in IN TO man that GIV lie enter COM GIV
 ‘May the lies of that man not come into your midst.’

(8) *nesip* ‘middle’ (= qualifier)

[*Deguen a go yap / [yakena nesip so] gemang.*
 clan chief GIV house village middle IN ex.there
 ‘The clan chief’s house is in the middle of the village.’

(9) *idi* ‘side’ (= noun)

[*Kebleng [ku iji no] / nebo temu / mia lo gemang tui.*
 rafter down side pig part mother INST ex.there put
 ‘Mother keeps the remainder of the pork in the lower rafters.’

(10) *mit* ‘with’ (= postposition)

[*Genam [aya mit no] klong so.*
 1p father with TO go IN
 ‘I am going to my father.’

(11) *nasong* ‘the back’ (= noun)

[*Butui ngga / [yap nasong so].*
 enclosure that house back IN
 ‘That water enclosure is at the back of the house.’

(12) *sik* = (= verb > to squeeze out)

[*Ngga sik so*] *nemot mo weng.*
 that squeeze out IN 3p already come
 ‘He already came from there.’

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