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3. Grammatical relationships

3.1. General remarks

3.1.1. Relational postpositions

Coherence in Kemtuik texts is made visible by a specific class of relational postpositions taking care of the majority of grammatical relationships. These *relational* postpositions do not carry a specific meaning themselves, like other spatial postpositions (e.g. *blo* = ‘on top of’) but their function is to mark the grammatical relations between referents and arguments. The distribution of these relational postpositions¹ is widespread throughout the text and fundamental for proper understanding. They follow: (pro)nouns, verbs, demonstratives, numerals, time and place indicators, phrases and clauses. In isolated positions or in layered sequences, they produce all sorts of grammatical relations: linkage within the NP; linkage between NP and AdjP, VP with AdvP, and interclausal relationships. The occurrences of these relational postpositions in Kemtuik syntax, what they relate to and their sequences are listed below. Of course, this provides us only with superficial information. The precise grammatical function has to be shown in their contexts. Some relational postpositions have polysemous instances; others can cluster or are in contrast. A basic gloss has been provided but reading these glosses one needs to keep in mind a wide range of meaning.

3.1.2. Chart

To this class belong:

<i>go</i> marks textual deixis ‘given’ >	(GIV)
<i>so</i> marks intention following verbs; inessive elsewhere >	(IN)
<i>lo</i> marks instigative/ instrumental >	(INST)
<i>no</i> marks allative >	(TO)
<i>ey</i> marks comitative >	(COM)
or layered sequences of them.	

¹ A word count shows that relational post- positions (*go*, *so*, *lo*, *no* and *ey*) are the most frequently class of words used in Kemtuik text.

Relational postpositions

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

3.1.3. General illustration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2. Relational postposition => deictic go.

Now we will discuss the relational postpositions in more detail, starting off with *go* (GIV). This postposition marks textual deixis. It carries the meaning ‘given’, but in a wide general sense. It attaches to Word classes, Phrases and Clauses, marking ‘givenness’. In Kemtuik the major word classes are nouns (including personal names and place names), verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The minor classes are pronouns and demonstratives. Deictic *go* can be post-positioned to all these word classes. It is glossed as GIV.

3.2.1. Some examples of this function of ‘givenness’ are:

- Attached to a (pro)noun = ‘possessive’

(1) Udui ngge / [nemot] go.
 banana this 3ps GIV
 ‘This banana is his.’

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

- Attached to a qualifier

(3) Yap ngge / [sequay] go.
 house this small GIV
 ‘This house is small.’

- Attached to qualifier forming an adjective

(3) {Nemot go duo [sequay] go} / sadui so.
 3ps GIV child small GIV sick IN
 ‘His little child is sick.’

- Attached to an adverb

(4) {Yap ngga [banim²] go} koy lo mo kuim.
 house that before GIV fire INST already burn
 ‘The house was burnt down formerly.’

² *Banim* has two meanings: ‘old’ and ‘before’

- Attached to noun forming a time indicator

- (5) *Genam {[wadi] go} ngge lo mo srek.*
 1ps night GIV this INST already sleep
 ‘Last night I slept here.’ (general indication of whole night)

-Attached to a Directive Verb root

- (6) *Nemot {[na] go} no?*
 3ps go_there. GIV TO
 ‘Where to did he go?’

- Attached to any verb root;

- (7) *Sedue nemu [pung] go} / [pali] go.*
 man eye go out GIV heal GIV
 ‘A blind man was healed’

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

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

3.2.2. Go as introduction of direct sense in a general- referential way

Compare the function of *go* with *gemang* in the following examples. We see here a contrast between ‘givenness’ (‘reflection’), and ‘introduction to an event’.

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

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

3.2.3. Go as topic-hood indicator

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

3.2.4. Go marks textual deixis ‘given’ on Clause and Phrase level

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4) Kabung no pu go, “Sedue kalik **go**, kua!”
 woman TO say GIV man like GIV not
 ‘(We) say to women, “Don’t (act) like men!” ’ (general)

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

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

3.3. Relational postposition => inessive *so*

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

3.3.1. *So* marks intention

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

(1) Aka / {usu kebali³} **so**.
 Ol.brother garden work IN
 ‘Older brother wants to rework the garden.’

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

³ This example is a little bit ‘tricky’ because *kebali* ‘work’ occurs both as noun and verb.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.2. So marks objects, time, space and demonstratives as specific
Following noun so marks object as 'specific'. Compare the slight difference with object followed by # 'neutral' and followed by so marking object as 'specific'. Note also the difference between 'intention' (so) and 'purpose' (nang) .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Following time *so* also marks specificity. Compare in these examples specific *so* vs. general *go* and neutral *#*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(16) *[Nggeasui] # genam mea klong.*
 now 1ps will go
 ‘I will go now.’

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

So marks spatial propositions as specific:

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

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

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

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

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

Consider the three following contrasting examples:

(23) Sam ngga meja [blo] **so**
 book that table on IN
 ‘That book is on the table.’

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

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

So also marks demonstratives as specific:

(26) Genam [ngge] **so** gabe bu- bung.
 1ps this IN ex. here red.wait
 ‘I am here, waiting.’

(27) Nemot / na go no / ya suing? [Ngga] **so**.
 3p.s dir. GIV TO imp sit that IN
 ‘Where does he sit? There!’

3.3.4. Special functions and combinations

3.3.4.1. *So* marks qualifier as adverb

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Consider also the close resemblance between (1) with the verb *pung*, and (2) without verb. And also the difference between (2) and (3) where *go* (‘GIV’) supplies a fixation from *sik so* ‘from’ to ‘*sik so go*’ ‘origin’

(1) *Nemot boy ba [sik⁴] so pung go.*
 3ps prison inside squeeze out IN arrive GIV
 ‘He is released from prison.’

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

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

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

3.3.4.2. A special use of *so* is: ‘intention’ following *go nang* ‘purpose’. There is development from intention > purpose > planning:

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

(2) *Mia usu no [ten ikak go nang⁵] mo klong.*
 mother garden TO food collect GIV purpose already go (purpose)
 ‘Mother has gone to the garden in order to collect food.’

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

3.3.5. Contrast between inessive *so* and comitative *ey*

Consider in examples (2) and (3) the contrast between ‘specific’ and ‘comitative’ in the use of the colour red (*red* versus *reddish*).

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

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

⁴ *sik* is in fact a verb, meaning ‘squeeze out’. Although *so* is following a verb, (according to my opinion) the meaning here is not ‘intention’ but ‘specific’. In context the combination *sik* + *so* always carries the meaning ‘from’.

⁵ *genang* is a contraction of *go* + *nang*. In texts it is written as *genang*, following the stress pattern in such combinations. Besides purpose, *nang* carries also the meaning of ‘plural’. E.g. *nemot nang* ‘3p. Plural’

3.4. Relational postposition => instrumental *lo*

The postposition *lo* is instigative but marks also ‘instrumental’, ‘pathway’. Kemtuik is a SOV language, but depending on active / passive structures, subject and object may change in clause order. The postposition *lo* marks subject (obligatory in passive, non-obligatory in active construction)⁶ and is glossed as INST. Examples showing the different functions of postposition *lo* are:

3.4.1. *Lo* marks specific subjects

3.4.1.1. *Lo* marks subject that is in control in active construction (S ± *lo* – O – V)

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

(2) Nggeasui [genam] **lo** lema mo but⁷.
now 1ps INST snake already kill
‘I just killed a snake.’

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

3.4.1.2. *Lo* marks subject in passive construction (O – S *lo* – V)

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

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

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

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

3.4.2. *Lo* marks instrumental use:

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

⁶ See: Chapter V for further discussion

⁷ but = 1. hit ; 2. kill

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

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

3.4.3. *Lo* marks pathway:

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

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

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

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

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

(6) *Denok dato⁸ ngga nemot /{ [amblang dato] ey} / lo.*
 child small that 3ps / character strong COM INST
 ‘That small child shows a strong character.’

3.4.4. *Lo* marks an event as instigative

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

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

(3) *[Bu ke- klak go] lo / danon ey denun ey bu lo⁹ kenok go /*
 water red-rise GIV INST boy COM girl COM water INST overflow GIV
 ‘Because the raising of the water, the boy and the girl were overflown by the water,

⁸ The Kemtuik word *dato* has several related meanings: ‘special’, ‘small’, ‘strong’

⁹ This use of *lo* is to mark subject in passive construction.

bu suing lo¹⁰ se lek.
 water rubbish INST imp. drag away
 and were threatened with being dragged away.'

3.4.5. Contrast between neutral # , *lo* and *so*¹¹

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

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

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

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

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

3.5. Relational Postposition => Comitative *ey*.

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

3.5.1. *Ey* marks qualification as adverb

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ Idem

¹¹ The markers *lo* and *so* mark the ergative /absolutive contrast in Kemtuik language (see: Chapter 5.3).

3.5.2. *Ey* marks accompaniment or grouping

(1) {*Suey* [*aya*] **ey** [*mia*]} **ey**.

good father COV mother COM

‘Greetings, father and mother!’

(2) *Demanon lo weng go*, {[*unen*] **ey** [*nglangin*] **ey**} *go no pen-a- t- u- n*.

sister INST come GIV father COM mother COM GIV TO speak-foc-pt-fem-3p

‘(His) sister came to speak to her parents.’

(3) *E ... [genam go babu] / [leme keba] ey! Genam ey ya dam?*

Wow! 1ps GIV grandmother spicy fruit nokeng COM 1p.s COM imp. eat?

‘Wow! My grandmother (has / carries) a bag with spicy fruits! Can I eat of it with (you)?’

3.5.3. *Ey* marks admonition in clause final position

(1) *Genam lo wa! Mot / [suali kua tra] ey.*

1ps INST focus 2p afraid not feel COM

‘It is me, don’t feel afraid!’

(2) {[*Kunala temoy no*]. [*Kenong ey*] *go!*}

thought middle to fall down COM +GIV

‘Be thoughtful; you may fall down!’

Compare this combination of [*ey go*] with [*go+ naning*] ‘in order not’ (= strong warning):

(3) *Ngge no kua weng / pui go [naning]*

this TO not come fall GIV lest

‘Don’t come to here; lest you fall down!’

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

(1) *Genam [ten] ey mo tra.*

1ps food COM already feel

‘I have been feeling hungry.’ (= over a period).

(2) *Genam [ten] # te- tra.*

1ps food red.feel (= right now)

‘I am feeling food (= I’m hungry).’

(3) *Genam [ten] so te-tra.*

1ps food spec red.feel (longing for food)

‘I am longing for food (= I want to eat).’

3.6. Relational Postposition: => Allative *no*

The Postposition *no* inside the clause marks allative: goal or recipient and points to time and place (glossed as: TO).

3.6.1. No marks recipient or goal:

- (1) *Nemot lo [genam] no duoy iti go.*
 3ps INST 1ps TO money give GIV
 ‘He gave me some money.’
- (2) *Kebali semu go nang so go, mot [genam] no se tebok!*
 work do GIV purp INT GIV 2ps. 1ps TO must help
 ‘In order to perform that job, you must assist me.’
- (3) *Inenga genam {[denok seguay] go no} nebut mo pen.*
 yesterday 1ps child small GIV TO talk already say
 ‘Yesterday I spoke to a small child.’
- (4) *Demanon weng go, {[unen ey nglanging ey] go no} pen-a- t- u- n.*
 sister come GIV mother COM father COM GIV TO say focus pt fem 3p
 ‘His sister came and spoke to the parents.’
- (5) *Deguenal lo {[sikabung naklay Saplung so go] no} nebut so pe-pen.*
 Clan leader INST people all Sabron IN GIV TO talk IN red. say
 ‘The clanleader is speaking to all the people of Sabron.’

3.6.2. No marks *place* or *time* in relation to the event:

- (1) *Nemot lo / yap / [ngge] no / mo klik.*
 3ps INST house this TO already build
 ‘He has already build the house here.’
- (2) *Genam [ku] no li so.*
 1ps below TO go down IN
 ‘I am going down to the toilet.’
- (3) *[Ku selasa] no genam [Jayapura] no mea klong.*
 day Tuesday to 1ps Jayapura TO will go
 ‘On Tuesday I will go to Jayapura.’

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

- (4) *[Ku ngga nemot] # / genam [Braso] no mea srek.*
 day that 3ps 1ps Braso TO will sleep
 ‘On that day I will sleep in (the village) Braso.’
- (5) *[Ku ngga nemot] no / genam / Braso lo / gemang srek.*
 day that 3ps TO 1ps Braso INST ex.there sleep
 ‘On that day I slept in Braso.’
- (6) *[Nemot sadui ey tra go ku] no / genam gabe klong.*
 3ps ill COM feel GIV day TO 1ps ex.here go
 ‘The day he felt ill, I was on my way.’

(7) [Sogo ku] **no** mot ya weng?
 what day TO 2ps imp. come
 ‘What day you will come here?’

(8) [Banim] **no** genam lo ngge mea semu.
 before TO 1ps INST this will do
 ‘First I will do this.’

(9) [Banim] **no** mot -a besi -si – l- o se.
 before TO 2p . focus walk-go_down ft 2p neces
 ‘You are the one who have to walk in front.’ (specific reference to place)

3.6.3. No marking major contrast in discourse

No occurring clause initially marks contrast in ongoing discourse.

In fact, this occurrence of *no* is special. Although it is a relational, it is not a postposition. It occurs to indicate contrast or an unexpected happening in the discourse. Often it can be translated by ‘but’. In a few cases ‘however’ covers the meaning better.

Consider these examples:

(1) **No** / mia-a kua tup.
 TO mother-foc not hear
 ‘But mother didn’t hear (what was said).’

(2) **No** / mot nang ey kerlam so genam lo wasey go / ngga genam go ba so.
 TO 2p. pl COM same IN 1ps INST divide GIV that 1ps GIV in IN
 ‘But, if I share equally with you, that is what is in me (is my business).’

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

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

(2) Genam [banim] **no** mo klong.
 1ps before TO already go
 ‘I have gone ahead.’

(3) Genam [banim] **so** mo klong.
 1ps before IN already go
 ‘I have gone already, long before.’

3.7. Layered sequences of Relational Postpositions

3.7.1. Introduction

As we have seen, Kemtuik grammar shows a wide variety of relational postpositions, responsible for all kinds of grammatical functions in the text.

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

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

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

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

The following chart shows all sequences that do occur:

Relational postpositions and their layered sequences

<i>so</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>ey</i>
can be followed by <i>go</i> <i>no</i>	can be followed by <i>go</i>	can be followed by <i>go</i>	can be followed by <i>so</i> <i>lo</i> <i>ey</i> <i>no</i>	can be followed by <i>go</i>

A first –superficial– conclusion is:

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

3.7.2. Layering structures: examples

Especially if sequences of three or even four relational postpositions occur, it is important to oversee the layering of those structures. A number of examples will show the variety of those structures.

Example 1 shows how the deictic *go* (GIV) and the instrumental *lo* (INST) not only *refer to* preceding information but also to not-mentioned but understood events from the wider context. Note that in (1a) [*aya lo iti go*] ‘given (sent) by father’, the reference to the sending of the letter itself is, while in utterance (1b) [*aya lo go*] refers to a wider concept, i.e. the reaction of the receiver to the given information written by the author and sent by email. [*aya lo go*] is in fact a shorter form for [*aya lo (iti)go ngga ikum go*], meaning: ‘what you have sent, having read that, ...’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3b) { Nemot nang go ten [yam so kua] go} [so go so].
 3ps pl GIV food measure IN not GIV IN GIV IN (= reason)
 ‘Therefore that their food supplies were finished.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.7.3. Deictic *go* preceded by other relational postpositions

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

(1) *Ngge / [genam] # go yap.* (= general statement indicating ownership)

this 1ps GIV house

‘This is my house.’

(2) *Ngge / [genam] lo go yap.* (= statement indicating a past ownership)

this 1ps INST GIV house

‘This was my house.’

(3) *Ngge / [genam] no go yap.* (= statement indicating a future ownership)

this 1ps TO GIV house

‘This will be my house (to be given to me).’

(4) *Ngge / [genam] so go yap.* (= statement indicating the intention to live in the house)

this 1ps IN GIV house

‘This will be the house for me.’

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

3.7.3.1. Discussion sequence: *so – go*

The deictic *go* makes the qualifier + *so* to a ‘concept’. Compare *mata so* (quantity IN) ‘many’ (1), becoming: ‘crowd’ (2a and b):

(1) *Sikabung [mata] so weng-lak go.*

people quantity IN come-group GIV

‘Many people came together.’

(2a) *[Sikabung mata so go] lo [genam so] no mea usi, “Aya deguena!”*

people quantity IN GIV INST 1ps IN TO will call Father clan leader.

‘The crowd will call me, “Father, clan leader!” ’

(2b) *[Sikabung mata so go] so genam gabe pu-pu: ...*

people quantity IN GIV IN 1p ex.here red-say

‘I am talking in view of the crowd’

(3) [Walong **so**] **go** kunala ngge / kua duing: so go¹² –a ya pen –a- na –l-u ?
 long IN GIV thought this not think: IN GIV focus interr. say-foc-dir-ft-1ps.
 ‘Don’t think this thought for a long period, “What am I going to say there?”’

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

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

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

3.7.3.2. Discussion sequence: *lo – go*

In the following examples the combination *lo – go* indicates a given pathway.

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

(2) [Mia Orpa **lo go**] [nebut - pen].
 mother Orpa INST GIV talk say
 ‘A story told by mother Orpa.’

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

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

3.7.3.3. Discussion sequence: *no – go*

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

(1) Sa pu go tong –a! Bu [kui [yam **no**] **go**] se.”
 rain call GIV cut of – emphatic water waist measure TO GIV imp.
 ‘Stop calling rain! The water has come towards our waist already.’

¹² In this example we see the occurrence of *sogo* in an isolated position. It carries the meaning of ‘what’. (For further discussion, see: Chapter on Kemtuik Word Classes, Interrogatives).

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

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

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

3.7.3.4. Discussion sequence: ey – go

Examples of a comitative followed by a deictic, indicating a ‘fixed situation’ or ‘quality’. Clause finally (following the verb) it indicates: ‘admonition’.

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

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

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

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

3.7.4. Other relational postpositions following deictic go

Sub-ordinated, embedded clauses and phrases are closed off by the deictic go.

These units can be followed also by other relational postpositions i.e.

go → no; go → so; go → lo; go → ey. Following phrases, relational propositions ‘add’ their usual grammatical function to the text units indicated by deictic go, i.e.: allative; inessive/intention; instigative/instrumental. But clause finally, following a verb, if deictic go is followed by another relational postposition, it will indicate an interclausal relationship¹³.

Some examples of combinations within the clause:

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

¹³ Further discussion: see Chapter V.

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

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

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

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

3.8. The occurrence of clitic –a

Clitic *-a* is not a relational postposition in the same sense as *go*, *so*, *no*, *lo*, *ey*. The clitic *-a* shows emphasis. It has an important function in the clause, and between clauses. Actually, it can occur in almost any position. Clitic *-a* can follow strings ending with deictic *go*. It also functions within the Verbal Phrase¹⁴. It has preference over the ‘specific’ relation marker *so*. For instance *nemot so* > *nemot-a* (#*nemot so-a*#). It is glossed as ‘foc’ (focus).

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

(2) [*Mot nang-a*] *ngga kalik kua pu-pluok!*
 you pl. foc .that like not rep.work
 ‘You (pl) should not handle like that!’

(3) [*Walong so lek go dewi -a*] *tup go mea tebok.*
 long IN stretch request foc hear GIV will help
 ‘A continuous request, (he) will certainly hear and help.’

(4) [*Nando -a*] *sip suing blo so?* [*Si- nok -a*] [*Wi- nok -a?*]
 who foc place sit above IN man offspring foc bird offspring foc
 ‘What (litt. ‘who’) is more important? People or birds?’

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

¹⁴ See Chapter IV

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

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

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