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Phrase classes

A phrase as a syntactic structure has properties derived from its head. They are divided into different phrase classes:

a) Nominal phrases having a noun as head

b) Verbal phrases having a verb as head

c) Adverbial phrases having a qualifier as head

4.1. Nominal Phrase (NP)

4.1.1. NP-structure

A Noun can be preceded by a Possessive and / or followed by an Adjective, a Numeral, a Demonstrative and / or Focus (*-a*)

± (PRO)NOUN go + NOUN ± ADJ ± NUM ± DEM ± FOC

Compare a basic form *(1)* with an elaborate form *(2)* of a noun phrase:

(1) *[Yap]* yam   so / mo   togut.
    house measure spec. already destroy
'(The) house is complete destroyed.'

(2) */ [Genam go] [yap   suey go] [namon][ngga nemot] [-a] / yam   so /   mo   togut.*
      1ps.   giv.   house good giv. two   that 3ps. focus   measure spec.already destroy
'Those two good houses of mine are completely destroyed.'

4.1.2. NP-types

The basic NP-types, as described below, occur in different arguments: subject; object; recipient; instrument; location; time; goal; source. Some examples are:

- NP functioning in subjects:

[Duo namon lo]   gemang usi, "Aya!   Bu   nago yam   so ya?"
 child two   INST ex.there ask, "Father! Water where measure IN neces."
'The two children asked, "Father! How far will the water (raise)?" '

- NP functioning in objects:

Ulu   blo sik   so sa [blue] gemang pu -bi   -w -o- n.
bread tree top squeeze IN rain magic   ex.there call-motion_up-pt-masc-3p
'From the top of the bread tree (he) said magic to cause rain.'

- NP functioning in recipients:

[Duo ngga no] nemot lo   sam mo   iti.
child that TO 3ps   INST letter already give
'He has given the letter to the child already.'

- NP functioning in instrumental arguments:
Bu ke- klak go lo / danon ey denun ey **[bu lo]** *kenok go*
water rep. go up GIV INST boy with girl WITH water INST attack GIV
'As the water was raising, (the) boy and girl were touched by the water.'

- NP functioning in pathway arguments:
[Bu ke- klak go lo] *danon ey denun ey bu lo kenok go*
water rep. go up GIV INST boy with girl WITH water INST attack GIV
'As the water was raising, (the) boy and girl were touched by the water.'

- NP functioning in location arguments:
Sa pu go tong-a! / Bu **[kui yam no go]** */ se!*
rain say GIV cut-focus water waist measure TO GIV imp.
'Cut off calling rain! The water is already coming to (the) waist!'

- NP functioning in time arguments:
[Ku meno so] *danon ey denun ey go wawi go buo so gemang klong./*
day certain IN boy WITH girl WITH GIV take GIV pick INT ex. there go
'On a certain day, having taken (his) boy and girl, (and) (the father) went to pick (fruit).'

- NP functioning in goal arguments:
Ngga ey / nglangin-a / **[ulu blo so no]** *klak –bi –w – o- n go /*
that WITH father-foc. bread fruit tree top IN TO climb-up –pt. –masc.-3ps.GIV
'Then the father having climbed to the top of the breadfruit tree ...'

- NP functioning in source arguments:
... [ulu blo sik so] sa blue / gemang pu -bi -w -o- n./
....bread tree top squeeeze IN rain magic ex. call-motion_up-pt-masc-3p
'from the top of the bread tree he said magic to cause rain.'

4.1.3. Possessive constructions
A NP-type shows 'possession' between two nouns or between a pronoun, noun or demonstrative if indicated by deictic *go* in between. It has the following formula:

NOUN (Pron.)(Dem.) ± (so; lo; no) + go + NOUN

Examples:

*(1) {[**Si- kebong]** go [don]}* *kua seni.*
person death GIV power not content
'The power of death is bad.'

(2) Ngga / **[nemot nang go mlena- srang]** *} dali.*
that 3p pl. GIV offspring root also
'He there is one of their descendants too.'

*(3) [**Wi   ngga**] go [dit]   soguo so.*
     bird that   GIV feather black IN
'The feathers of that bird are black.'

But there are different 'varieties' of possessiveness possible, depending on the occurrence of other relational postpositions preceding *go*: *lo* (instrumental / instigative / pathway), *no* (directive*)* or *so (*specific / intentional / inessive).

*(4) Ngge / {[**genam #]**} go   [yap].*
     this   1ps   giv. house
'This is my house.' (possessive)

*(5) Ngge / {[**genam lo**] go [yap]}.*
     this   1ps   instr. giv. house
'This was my house.' (where I lived)

*(6) Ngge / {[**genam no**] go   [yap]}.*
   this   1ps   to giv. house
'This will be my house (to be given to me).' (fut.)

*(7) Ngge / {[**genam so**]   go [yap]}.*
     this   1ps   spec. giv. house
'This is my (intentional) house.'

*(8) {[**Ibut-ibut so**]   go [**kabung**]} / saysuk don   kua.*
     fat   fat inessive giv. woman   body   strong not.
'Women having obesity aren't strong.'

4.2. Verbal Phrase
4.2.1. Definition and formulas
The verbal phrase in Kemtuik is defined with a verb as head, optionally preceded by an Adverbial, Modal(s), Negative, and / or followed by a number of affixes and particles which specify the Number, Person, and Gender of the subject; Tense, Aspect, Direction, and Focus of the predication. We will refer to these elements as pre-auxiliary (PRE-AUX) and detail adjunct morphemes (DET-ADJUNCT).
The predication may consist of a serial verb (cf. Chapter 2) or a compound verb. The main verb may be reduplicated (cf. Chapter 2).
The following VP-formulas are established:

$$\boxed{V \pm INT \pm FOC}$$

$$\boxed{PRE\text{-}AUX + V \pm INT \pm FOC}$$

$$\boxed{PRE\text{-}AUX + V \pm INT + DET\text{-}ADJUNCT}$$

$$\boxed{\pm PL + V_{motion} + DET\text{-}ADJUNCT_{tense/aspect/person} \pm INT \pm FOC}$$

4

4.2.2. Introduction

The first impression one gets, analyzing some texts in Kemtuik language, is that we are mainly dealing with a rather simple VP-structure; but other texts reveal a quite differentiated VP-structure. In fact, we notice simple, bare, and fully inflected verbs. To get a better understanding, we will explore some texts in different kinds of discourse. If one takes e.g. a narrative versus explanatory or descriptive discourse, a sharper picture will show up. Explanatory and descriptive discourses (rule giving, customs, letters, reports, etc.) show mainly bare structure, with only once in a while an inflected verb, while narrative discourse with a lot of interaction exploits a wide range of simple, bare and fully inflected verbs[1]. Apparently, rule-giving, customs, (*'How we do things in Kemtuik'*), and also e.g. letters do not need inflection (or very incidentally), while tales with a lot of specific (inter)action and situations use a variety of simple, bare and inflected forms. Differentiation in style shows up in any language, but in Kemtuik the difference between bare and inflected texts in VP-structure is quite remarkable. Therefore, we will focus on explanatory texts first. This will provide us with a 'basic' VP-structure, using mainly bare verb roots, preceded by pre-auxiliaries (PRE-AUX). In a second stage we will focus on *narrative* texts that will supply us with detailed information, additional to the basic VP-structure (DET- ADJUNCT). And finally we will focus on Motion verbs, showing slightly different inflections from non-Motion verbs.

4.2.3. Overview of Kemtuik predicate

Predicate					
any verbal predicate			motion predicate		
bare verb root and iterative forms	inflected verb root		Motion verb root + inflection 'going' (up-down-same) 'coming' (up-down-same) 'situation' (up-down-same)		bare verb root *klong* 'go' *weng* 'come' *suing* 'sit'
(1)	(2)		(3)		(4)

Each of these four possibilities is illustrated as follows:

(*1*) *Genam ten   dam so.*
　　1p　　food eat   IN
'I am going to eat.'

(*2a*) *Aya   nang ngga so go / suey so / mo   su-suing / gemang /*
　　　father pl   that IN GIV good IN   already red.sit   ex.there
'While father's family overthere is staying well,

(2b) *genam nang ngge so go / suey dali so / gabe   su-suing*.
1p   pl   here IN GIV good also IN ex.here rep.sit
we here will also are staying well.'

(3) *Wabedong go / kamso wet -a   -t- o- n,   / kua ikum- sre -w- o-   n.*
     midday   GIV in vain seek-focus-pt.dur-masc 3p not see   fill   pt masc 3p
'Midday he/she sought without success; he/she did not find (= see + fill).'

(4) *Taidi tete be   t-   u- n go no, ...*
     five time move down pt.dur fem 3p GIV TO
'After she went for the fifth time, ...'

(5) *Demanon lo /   betedon nemot degu so / klong go / ta   idi   yam   so.*
     sister   INST brother 3p   room IN go   GIV hand side measure IN
'The sister went to her brother's room, five times.'

4.2.4. Basic Verbal Phrase

As stated above, in non-narrative discourses verb structure looks rather simple.
However, the meaning of a text using exclusively simple verb structure is often
hard to grasp. In fact, a lot of information needs to be drawn from the wider
context. For instance, it is unclear sometimes if a subject is masculine or feminine,
single, dual or plural; or where the place of activity is, and who the referents are.
Consider these examples (verb phrase is printed between brackets):

VR   *Ngga nemot kalik so [lemoy]*   go nang / *[gabe]*
gabe   that 3ps   like IN happen GIV purp. ex. here
                      'It is, what will happen like that.'

mea + RED.VR   *Nemot lo   keba   nemu [mea u- wet]*.
                      3ps   INST stringbag eye   will rep. seek
                      'He will inspect the stringbag(s).'

mea + VR   *Negui walop nang so go so [mea pu]:* ...
                      drum feast purp. INGIV int. will call
                      'In order to use the drum at the feast, will be called: "..." '

mea kua + VR   *Negui tebadali go [mea kua kluing]*.
                      drum invain   GIV will not sound.
                       'The drum will not be beaten without a purpose.'

mea ya kua + VR   *Salam   bata so   go   a   [mea ya   kua pung]*.
                      salam-tree wide spec-GIV-focus will possible not appear
                       'It is impossible that a 'salam' tree with a wide trunk appears.'

mo + VR   *Di srang blo no [mo   pu] go dia   no [kua pen]!*.'
                      tree root above TO already talk GIV open TO not say
                      'What is said in secret above the tree root, must not be said in the open.'

se + VR   *Mot usu [se trok].*
                       2ps garden must pull out
                       'You should get food from the garden.'

gemang + mea + VR   *Genam nang kabung [wawi] go, / [gemang mea klong].*
                       1ps.ex. pl. woman take GIV ex.there will go
                       'We (excl.) having taken the woman with us, will be on our way.'

(ge)mang + ne + ya   *... nemot lo kiki so [(ge)mang ne ya dam].*
                       3ps INST green IN. ex.there irrealis imp eat
                       ' ...she will not be able to eat till vomit.'

(ge)mang + mo   *Mang mo kalik / genam [kua senong].*
                       ex.there already like 1ps not know
                       'Possibly, I don't understand.'

VR / gabe   *[Ku ngge no][imot namon] [yakena tasam] [semu] go / nang / [gabe]*
                       day this to 1p.incl two village deed carry out GIV purp. ex.here
                       'On this day we both are here, in order to hold the village celebration.'

gabe + mo + VR   *Yam so [gabe mo semu].*
                       measure IN ex.here completed carry out
                       'The preparations here are carried out!'

pla + VR   *Mot lo [pla but-a]!*
                       2ps. INST open kill-focus
                       'Please go ahead and kill it!'

ba + VR   *Mot lo [ba but]?*
                       3rd ps.sg. INST come kill
                       'Did you come and kill it?'

na + VR   *Mot [na klong] go so go, ...*
                       2ps consequence go GIV IN GIV
                       'If you had gone that way, then ....' (warning)

kua + VR   *Nemot maning [kua klong].*
                       3ps ongoing not go
                       'He hasn't gone yet.'

If we put together the different occurrences of the above examples we get the following <u>order</u> of the <u>possible</u> components of a Basic Verb Phrase. As will be illustrated, not all elements co-occur. All the pre-auxiliary adverbials can occur on their own, clause finally.

ADVERBIALS	VERB	ADVERBIAL

EXIST *(ge)mang* *(ga)be*	ASPECT *mea* *mo*	MODE *ya* *se* *ne* *na* *ba* *pla*	NEG *kua*	RED *(C)V-*	ROOT[2] *(C)(C)V(C)*	INTENSIFIER *sing* *lak* *dap* *ram*

4.2.5. Pre-auxiliary adverbials

All PRE-AUX elements are considered to be adverbials. These adverbials are different from other adverbs, in that they function in the Verbal Phrase (discussed here) and not in the Adverbial Phrase (discussed in Chapter II).

4.2.5.1. Existential adverbs: *gabe* and *gemang*.

(Glossed as 'ex.here' and 'ex.there').

Preverbal 'existence' *gabe* and *gemang* is not easy to grasp. This arrangement covers general concepts as: 'function', 'event', 'action', 'exist', 'in process'. There are a number of aspects:

a) Form

They consist of the following two forms: *gabe* 'exist here' and *gemang* 'exist there'. The words *gabe* and *gemang* have shorter forms, i.e. *be* 'it is this' and *mang* 'it is that'.

b) Reference

Gabe refers to situation/event, here and now; *gemang* refers to a situation/event over there, coming into action.

c) Position

Often sentences are finished with a predicate containing an adverbial *gabe / gemang*, or as independent predicate clause finally: 'it/he/she is'. In pre-verbal position, they both can optionally be preceded by other adverbials with the formula: [qualifier + *so*], or followed by other adverbs: *mea*[3] (certain action); *ya* (imperative) and *mo* (completed action).

d) Function

In pre-auxilary position they combine with bare- and inflected verbs, and as 'stand alone' verbs, clause finally.

Consider the following examples:

*(1) Genam nang kabung wawi go / [**gemang** mea klong].*

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[2] This includes compound verbs, consisting of two roots.

[3] One example of *gemang* (sit. over there) followed by *mea* ('will') has been found. Combinations COM *ya* (imperative; interrogative) and *mo* (completed action) occur regularly.

    1ps excl pl.   woman take GIV   ex.there will go
'Having taken the woman , we will be on our way.'

*(2) Nemot namon lo   pu   go / yam so   [**gabe**   mo   semu].*
   3p   dual   INST order GIV completely ex.here already carry out
'What they have ordered, (we) here have already carried out completely.'

*(3) Nggano tasam-tasam / mata so [**gemang** mo   lemoy] dali.*
   that TO action action   much IN ex.there already happen too
'And many incidents have been happening there too.'

*(4) Ble, genam mot no [**gabe**   ya suing]. Imot namon [**gabe**   ya kap-mle –y—o-   n]*
      1p   2p TO ex.here imp stay.   1p   dual   ex.here imp run dual ft masc 3p
'Ble, I have to stay with you (= marry you). We both have to run off now!'

*(5) Ngge nemot so pu   go / [**be**]: nali ngga dali[4] kua go, nali meno iti-klong mea tuk.*
    this 3p   IN order GIV it is: bird that ready not GIV, bird other take-go will kill
'This (is) ordered: if that bird of paradise is not ready, another bird of paradise will be taken, brought and killed.'

*(6) Aip ey   Meykali ey   go-a / [**gemang**], ngga nemot kalik so / [**lemoy**] go.*
   Aip COM Meykali COM GIV-foc. ex. there that 3ps   like IN happen GIV
'When Aip and Meykali (village) are (together), like that will be performed in the same way.'

*(7) Ku ngge no / imot   namon / yakena tasam semu   go nang   / [**gabe**].*
   day this TO 1p(incl) two   village sign carry out GIV purpose ex. here
'On this day we are here to perform a village sign (celebration).'

*(8) Nemot go konsep genam ba so / [**gabe**].*
   It   GIV concept 1ps   in IN ex.here
'Its concept is in myself (heart or thought)'.

*(9) Ngga sedue, nemot go   mot   so te- tra go / [**gemang**].*
    that man   3ps   GIV order IN red.call GIV ex. there
'That man is doing his public call.'(shouting information).'

4.2.5.2. Aspectual adverbs: *mea* and *mo*

Mea 'will' applies 'certainty' in Kemtuik. It can refer to an action that will be, or ought to be taken. For instance, in a text about customs (c.f. Chapter VI), *mea* indicates the 'proper step' that <u>ought</u> to be taken in an exchange of bride prices. Consider the following examples:

*(1) Genam wadi so ngge lo   [**mea** srek].*
   1p   night IN here INST will sleep
'I (certainly) will sleep here the coming night (= not other nights).'
*(2) Utep so   genam / tandali [**mea** klong].*

---

[4] *Dali* has two unrelated meanings: 'also' and 'ready'.

Tomorrow IN 1p   agai n   will go.
'I (certainly) will go again tomorrow.'

*(3) Genam go   dabui ba no   go   yakay /   kangok so [**mea** tra].*
    1ps   GIV heart in   TO GIV happiness big   IN will feel
'I will feel great happiness in my heart.'

Occasionally the aspectual adverbial *mea* may occur without a verb. Or *mea* may be followed by adverbs of mode and negative adverbs, e.g.

*(4) Salam bata so go-a   [**mea** ya   kua pung].*
salam-tree wide IN-GIV-foc will fut. not   appear
'A 'salam-tree' with a wide trunk, will not appear.'

*(5) Ngga naklay [**mea**].*
 that all   will
'That all will happen.'

- Certainty (past): *mo* 'already'
Mo 'already' refers to a completed action with consequences now.
*(1) Genam / wadi go / ngge lo /   [**mo**   srek].*
    1ps   night GIV   this INST already   sleep
'I have slept here last night.'

*(2) Wadi / genam lo   / lema / masi lo /   [**mo**   but].*
    night   1p   INST snake   foot INST already kill
'Last night I killed a snake with my foot.'

*(3) Ngga no / tasam-tasam mata   so /   gemang [**mo**   lemoy dali].*
    that   TO. actions   many   IN   ex.there already happen also
'And many incidents have happened there also.'

 *(4) Genam [**mo**   i]   so.*
    1p   already count IN
'I don't want!' (Literally something like: 'I have already taken into account')

A special case is the following utterance, where an embedded VP functions as adverbial (compare ex. *(4)* and *(5)*.

*(5) Genam {[**mo**   i]   so} [ya   kua klong].*
    1p   already count IN   imp not go
'I don't want to go!'

4.2.5.3. Modal adverbs: *pla; ba; se; na; nase; ya.*

- Permission: *pla*
*(1) Mot lo   [**pla**   but-a]!*

2ps INST permission kill-focus
'Please, you kill it!'

*(2) [**Pla**   ikum]!*
   permission look
'Please, look!'

\- Surprise: *ba*
Ba supplies the verb with an aspect of 'surprise'. As independent predication means: 'come, here'.

*Ye ... babu   wamoy so [**ba**   mlue-na   -t - u- n] / son   -a   [kua]!*
   Wow grandmother lie   IN surprise lie   sit.down-pt.- fem- 3p mosquito focus   not
'Wow, grandmother down there is lying, there are no mosquitoes!'

\- Necessity: *se*
Se carries the meaning of something that has to happen or is happening towards something. It occurs not only preceding verb roots, but also clause finally, carrying the same meaning as the pre-auxiliary modal 'necessary'. (Glossed as:'neces').

*(1) Mot [**se**   klong]!*
   2ps   neces. go
'You must go!'

*(2) Way so [gabe   pen -a- si-   tug-   u] / kunala temoy no/ [**se**]!*
   turn IN ex. here say-foc-down-pt.dur-1p thought middle TO neces.
'In turn I here say strongly, "Be careful!" '

*(3) Ku yam   so [**se**   ki-klik], ...*
   day measue IN neces. red.dark
'When it had become completely dark, ...'

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

*(5) Lema lo   som go no / kekay so bu   no [**se**   gluik-na- w- o-   n].*
   snake INTR wrap GIV TO straight IN water TO neces. draw-dir-pt-masc-3p
'Wrapped by the snake, (she) was drawn all at once to the water.'

*(6) Denok ngga nemot / dabui ba / suali / [**se**   tra- t-   o-   n].*
   child   that 3p   heart in   afraid neces feel ptdur masc 3p
'That child began to feel afraid in his heart.'

*(7) Nali wabu piam go   pung go / kap go/ sedue ngga [**se**   suey dap-   na- w- o- n].*
    spirits   wrong GIVarrive GIV run GIV man   that   neces.good complete there pt masc 3p
'The evil spirits having come out and having run away, that man was healed completely there.'
\- Consequence: *na* (Glossed as: 'cons'.)

*(1) Itak   go, kerlam so / [**na**   walong - a- te-   na- y-   u- n].*
    leave behind GIV together IN cons. grow long   focus-duration-there-past- fem 3p.
'The left-over need to grow up there together.'

*(2) Ngga so no genam-a / [**na** kebong]!*
    that   IN TO.1ps-focus cons. die
'I may die there on the spot!' (curse)

*(3) Mot go kadon idi no pang go, kadon idi itak   go / [**na**   pang dali].*
    2ps GIV cheek side TO hit   GIV cheek side leave behind GIV cons.   hit   also
'If you are hit on one cheek, the other cheek let be hit also.'

*(4) Aya, ngge so mot [**na** su-suing] go /   at   go kemdet [kua kebong] / [be].*
    Father, this IN 2ps cons. red.stay GIV 1ps excl.GIV brother   not die   it is
'If you had been here, my brother here would not have died.'

*(5) Mot [**na**   klong] go   so go, ...*
    2p   cons. go   GIV IN GIV
'If you are planning to go that way, then ....' (warning)

*(6) ... ntaton kebong go tete   so   go duo [**na** tui].*
     brother die   GIV possesion IN GIV child cons. give
'... to cause the birth of a 'back-up' child to (his) dead brother.'

- Strong consequence (*na* 'consequence' + *se* 'necessity')

*(1) Mot go amka   kangok go mo   lek   go, amka meno / [**na se**   itak] dali.*
    2ps GIV clothing big   GIV already carry GIV, clothes other cons.necessity leave too
'If your large clothing is already taken away, your other clothes must be left behind too.'

*(2) Negui walop   nang so go so   mea pu,   denok   negui / [**na se** klong- tu-tuo].*
    drum celebration purp.IN GIV IN will called, young men drum   cons. nec. go-   red.cut
'In order to cut a drum for the festivities, will be ordered, "Young men must go and cut." '

*(3) [Negui walop nang so go] so mea pu: Denok negui [**na**   **se**   klong] / [tu-tuo]!"*
    drum festivity purp. IN GIV IN will say: boys   drum certain neces. go   red.cut
'To have drums for the feast will be said: "Boys must go cutting drums." '

- Imperative / interrogative : *ya*
 The position of modal *ya* 'imperative' is like *se* 'necessity' different from other
modals, in that they can be preceded by other modals.
Consider the following examples:

*(1) ... nemot lo   kiki so [mang **ne**   **ya**   dam].*
     3ps   INST green IN. ex.there irrealis imp. eat
' ...she will not be able to eat on till (she) vomits.'
*(2) Salam   bata so go- a [**mea ya** kua pung].*

salam-tree wide IN-GIV-foc will imp. not   appear
'A *salam-* tree with a wide trunk, will certainly not appear.'

*(3) Nemot [**ya**]   weng?*
    3p   imp come
    'Does he come?'

*(4) Ngga naklay mea [**ya** kua].*
     that   all   will imp disappear
'That all will not disappear.'

4.2.5.4. Negative adverbs: *kua* and *ne*

- The negative *kua* as contradiction
Negation in the VP is a special topic. It is signalled by *kua* and appears directly preceding the verb root. The negation *kua* itself can be preceded by other aspectual adverbials, like *mea* 'will'and *maning* 'continuing'; *gabe* 'exist here' and *gemang* 'exist there'. The negation *kua* can also occur (like several other pre-auxiliaries) as independent predication. It that case *mo* 'already' can precede *kua* as well.

Consider the following examples:

*(1) Genam [ya   **kua** klong]!*
     1ps   imp. not   go
'I will not go!'

*(2) Genam [mo   klong] / nemot [**kua** klong].*
    1ps   already go   3ps   not go
'I went, but he did not go.'

*(3) Genam [mea **kua**   klong].*
    1ps   will   not   go
'I definitely will not go'.

*(4) Genam maning [**kua** klong].*
I   continuing not   go
'I have not gone yet.'

- Negative as disapproval: *ne* ; glossed as 'contradiction'
The negation *ne* refers to a non-wishful action /position, as expressed in the English clause: 'you should not have'. The modal element can occur in pre-auxiliary position within the verbal phrase, or clause finally. *Ne* can be followed by the (mild) imperative *ya*. It is glossed as 'contradiction'.

*(1) Sogo so mot ngge so no / [**ne**   weng]?*

why IN 2ps here IN TO   contradiction come
'Why have you come here?'

(2) *No, genam ngge / nando go   senun / [**ne**]?*
   but 1ps   here who GIV wife   contradiction
'But I here, whose (legitimate) wife, then (I am)?'

*(3) Namon so pu go,   nangglik ey /   [**ne**   iti].*
    two   IN say GIV, three   COM contradiction give
'(He/she) ordered two, instead three were given.'

*(4) Nemot lo   kiki   so / [gemang **ne**   ya dam].*
    3ps   INST green IN   ex.there contradiction imp eat
'She should not be in the situation (that she) eats till vomiting.'

*(5) Usu   no sagot pung   go nebut benuey / ngga so-go   [**ne**] ?*
    garden TO corn arrive GIV talk   hidden   that IN GIV (= what) contradiction
'What is the meaning of that hidden talk (= parable)?' (Other people are not allowed to hear).

4.2.6. Post-auxiliary adverbials: sing; dap; lak; ram
A verb root can be followed by an intensifying adverbial:

The following forms have been noted:
sing   'each one'
dap   'complete process'
lak   'all', as a group
ram[5]   'together', as a group and in a peaceful way

Consider the following examples:
*(1) Sipsuing sey   [**sing**]!*
   chair   cover each 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 divide each one
'Then the bones of Waling's body were divided into pieces by the snake.'

*(3) Wengkabui lo   koybutasemu temu mot go /   gemang ne- na- w- o-   n [**lak**] dali.*
    headman   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 pen[6]- [**dap**]   t- u   go.*
    1p   speak complete proces pt   1p GIV
'This is all what I have to say.'
*(5) Kabung ngga nemot nang goy[7]-[**ram**]-   tug- u- n.*

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[5] *Ram* may be derived from *iram* 'clan leader' and phonological contracted to *ram*.
[6] The verbs *pen* and *pu* are not related, but their meaning is close. *Pen* 'speak' (general); *pu* 'talk, order' (specific).

    woman that 3p   pl   stay together ptdur fem 3p
'Those women they are staying together.'

4.2.7. Verbal Phrase with inflection

4.2.7.1 Textual evidence

As stated before, some discourse types do not employ fully inflected verbs. But moving on to other kinds of discourse, e.g. narrative, we see in the verb structure quite a differentiation in handling events. Look e.g. to the verb structures as they occur in the beginning of the tale *'Dame Idam[8]'*. If we compare sentences like, e.g. *Dame 001-003* with *Dame 004-012*, we see only bare verb roots (bold), giving us background information (situation, subject, object, plurality, etc.). But from there on, especially in line 005-006, verbs with inflection are being used: <u>number</u>, <u>aspect</u>, <u>directional</u>, <u>tense</u>, <u>person</u> and <u>gender (bold and underlined).</u>

Dame 001
*Dame Idam, nemot go   unen   ey   nglangin ey   usu   no [mo   **klong**].*
Dame Idam 3p   GIV mother COM father   COM garden TO already go
'Dame Idam's mother and father have gone to the garden.'

Dame 002
*Dame Idam, nemot banom yap   no **itak**   go.*
Dame Idam 3p   alone   house TO leave GIV
'They left Dame Idam alone in the house.'

Dame 003
*Wabedong Dame Idam go   andua_andua ey   isuo   ple so [**tu-tuk**]   go   no,*
midday   Dame Idam GIV friends   COM citrous_fruit bow IN rep.-throw GIV TO
'At midday, when Dame Idam was shooting a citrus fruit with his friends,

Dame Idam / nemot go   ngoydan   ey   nglangin lo
Dame Idam 3p   GIV beads (blue) thread COM father   INST
the string for the beads, which his father

*nemot no iti   go   kabung nang so go / [gemang   **tong**].*
3p   TO give GIV wife   purp IN GIV ex.there   cut
had given him to get a wife, broke.'

Dame 004
*Wabedong go   kam so [**wet-   a-   <u>t- o-   n</u>**], [**kua ikum- sre- <u>w- o-   n</u>**].*
midday   GIV vain IN look for focus pt masc 3p   not see-   real pt masc 3p
'Midday he looked without success (but) did not find (them).'

Dame 005

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*Dame Idam ngga nemot suali go,　yap　ba so [**got-**_t-　　o-　　n_].*
Dame Idam that 3p　afraid GIV house in IN　stay ptdur masc 3p
'Dame Idam being afraid, stayed in the house.'

Dame 006
Use　　　　　Dame Idam,/ nemot go　nglangin ey　　unen　　ey
late_afternoon Dame Idam he　　GIV father　　COM mother COM
'Late afternoon, Dame Idam's parents

 *usu sik so go　[**pung**] go /　ten [**semu**] go,*
garden IN GIV arrive fact　food make GIV
arrived from the garden and cooked the meal

*ngga no demanon / betedon nemot [**pu**] so/ [**gemang be-　　　t- u-　n**] / **pu**] go.*
that TO sister　　brother 3p　　tell IN　ex.there go_down pt fem 3p　　tell GIV
and told his sister to go down and call her brother.'

Dame 007
*Nggano betedon lo　　[**pu**] go: mot nang-a [**klong-dam**]-a*
then　　brother INST tell GIV: you pl.-foc go　　eat-focus
'Then the brother told (her), "You pl. go and eat,

 *genam sadui　ey　　go ten [**ya kua dam**].*
 I　sickness　COM GIV food imp not eat
 because I am sick and can not possible eat." '

Dame 008
*Demanon tandali [**weng**] go, nglangin ey　　unen　　ey　[**pu**] go so,*
sister　　again come fact father　　COM mother COM say GIV IN
'When (the) sister went back again, because father and mother told (her)

*demanon tandali betedon [**pu**] so　[**gemang be-　　t- u- n**].*
sister　　again brother say IN　ex. there go_down pt fem 3p
the sister goes down again to tell her brother.'

*Betedon lo　　ngga kalik so　[**gemang pu- na-　　　w- o-　n**] dali,*
brother INST that like　IN ex.there　tell down_there pt masc 3p again,
'He answered,

*'Genam ten [**ya kua dam**]'.*
 1p　　food imp not eat
" 'I can not possible eat" '.

Dame 009
*Unen ey　　nglangin ey　[**pu**] go no: mesip so go, ten-a [**ya　dam-y- o-　n**]?*
mother COM father　　COM told GIV TO behind IN GIV food foc imp eat　ft masc 3p.
'The parents reacted to (this), "Will he eat afterwards then?" '

Dame 010

Demanon lo   betedon nemot degu so   [klong] go / ta   idi yam   so.
sister   INST brother 3p   room IN go   GIV hand side measure IN
'The sister went to her brother's room five times.'

Dame 011
Ta   idi tete [be-   t- u-   n] go   no
hand side time go_up pt fem 3p GIV TO
'After she had gone_up for the fifth time,

Dame Idam lo   demanon nemot [gemang but-ba-   w- o   n] go   no,
Dame Idam INST sister   she   ex. there   hit- sit.high pt masc 3p GIV TO
'Dame Idam having hit his sister,

ngge kalik so   [gemang pen-ba-   w- o- n] demanon no:
this   like IN   ex.there say sit_high pt fem 3p sister   TO
said this to his sister,

"Mot / nando deguo lo   [pu] go / so / ten senang   so [u-weng]?
  you   who news INST tell GIV IN   food continuous IN red.come
"Because of who's order are you continuously coming to call for the meal?" '

Dame 012
Genam go   ngoy kabung nang so go   aya lo   [iti] go / [mo   tong-a-   t- u-   n],
1p   GIV beads wife   purp IN GIV father INST give GIV already cut   focus pt fem 3p
'My string of beads, that my father gave me to get a wife, has broken

isuo   ple so [tu-tuk]   go   no".
citrous_bow IN red.throw GIV TO.
while shooting citrus-fruit with my bow.'

4.2.7.2. Structure of the post-auxiliary verb string
Any inflected Verb is obligatorily followed by Tense / Aspect; Person / Gender.
Plural, Fulfil/Focus, Motion and Duration are optional. In this order:

VERB	Plural	Fulfil Focus	Duration	Motion / Situation	Tense / Aspect	Person / Gender
	optional	optional	optional	optional	obligatory	obligatory

Examples of verb + post-auxiliaries:

(1)Wabedong go   kam so [wet-   a-   t-   o-   n] / [kua ikum- sre- w- o-   n].
midday   GIV end IN   look for-focus-ptdur-masc-3p   not see- real-pt-masc- 3p
'Midday he looked endlessly, (but) did not find (them).'

(2)Tap lo   go   ngga kalik gemang [pen- kle- kun-   tug- u- n].
   road INST GIV that like   ex.here talk- dual-come_down-pt.dur- fem-3p
'That is what **(the two)** were discussing under way.' (subject is not mentioned overtly)
(3) Sikabung mo   senong: ngge imot go   deguena / no kua [usi –ne-sre- na-w-o-   n].

people   already know   this 1p   GIV clanleader TO not ask   pl   result sit pt mas 3p
'The people realised: this is our clan leader, but they did not dare to ask.'

4.2.8. Motion predicates
Motion is not just expressed as an post-auxilary but also as predicate. Motion
(going; coming and staying) can be expressed by either:

- general Motion verbs without post-auxilaries (i.e. *klong* 'go'; *weng* 'come';
  suing 'stay; sit');
- specific Motion verbs (e.g. *ban* 'come_up'; *be* 'go_up') with post-auxilaries;
- general verbs, followed by post- auxilaries <u>including</u> a motion/directional
  (e.g. *-si-* 'go_down'; *-ba-* 'sit_up').

Motion verbs with post-auxilaries (going, coming, staying) act somewhat
differently from any other verb. They are *optionally* preceded by Plural, but
obligatorily followed by Tense / Aspect; Person / Gender. It is important to note
that Motion verbs take forms of inflection in a slightly different way from any
other verb. See the diagram:

Plural	MOTION VERB	Tense / Aspect	Person / Gender
optional		obligatory	obligatory

4.2.8.1. Main features

- *Move* <u>towards</u> (return); *move* <u>away</u>; or *situation*
- The level of the move compared with the level of the speaker.

It is important to realize that categories as 'same', 'higher' and 'lower' are not only
geographical features but depend heavily on the ideas of the Kemtuik people about
what is 'high', 'low' and 'same'. And the 'coming' and 'going' of <u>time</u> is also
expressed in these ideas. Moving is based upon the following preconceptions:

- The general impression concerning the geographical elevations
- The status of certain towns and villages

Thus: The Kemtuik area is divided into a higher part (the eastern villages) ; a lower
part (the western villages), and a neutral part (the villages alongside the road from
Buruway (Bloway) to Genyem). The Gresi area, of which the main village, Yansu,
is located on top of a low mountain range, is considered to be 'high', although
quite a few villages are located in the valley behind the range and are at a lower
altitude. The Nimboran area is considered neutral (same level), as other places in

Papua, e.g. Mamberamo, Wamena (although located high in mountains), etc. The coastal areas (including Jakarta the capital of Indonesia, the Netherlands or America, etc.) are considered to be low.

The status of certain towns is another important aspect. The whole of Jayapura, which is the provincial capital of Papua, is 'high' area. One goes 'up' to Jayapura and 'down' to Kemtuik / Gresi villages (although Yansu is on a higher location than Jayapura). It is interesting that the Kemtuik side of Lake Sentani is still 'low', but the village Yoka at the other side of the lake and close to the main town Jayapura, is already 'high'.

4.2.8.2. Different appearances

A Motion verb in 'stand-alone' position, expressing a specific motion[9], has in a number of cases, a different form in comparison with a Motion verb in serial construction. However: in case of <u>motion towards</u>, the same set of motion markers is used for general- and stand-alone Motion verbs.

These features of <u>coming</u>, <u>going,</u> and <u>situation</u> (general and specific); <u>up</u>, <u>down</u> and <u>same level</u> are summarized in the following scheme :

General Motion verb	**Specific Motion verb**	**Position of speaker**	**Down**	**UP**	**Same level**
weng 'come'	in serial construction / stand-alone verb	**Motion – towards**	*kun* come-down	*ban* come-up	*san* come same level
klong 'go'	stand-alone verb	**Motion – away**	*na* go-down	*be* go-up	*se* go same level
klong 'go'	in serial construction with general verb	**Motion – away**	*si* go-down	*bi* go-up	*se* go same level
suing 'sit'	in serial construction with general verb	**No motion = Situation**	*na* situation down	*ba* situation up	*sa* situation same level

Conclusion: there are two Motion verbal forms in the Verbal Phrase:

a) Motion verb in <u>stand-alone</u> position:

(1) Demanon tandali betedon pu   so   [gemang <u>be-</u>   t- u- n].
    sister   again   brother say IN. ex.there. go_up pt fem 3p
'The sister went down again to call her brother.'

b) Motion verb in <u>serial</u> position with general verb root:

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[9] Non-specific 'stand-alone' Motion verbs are *klong* 'go'; weng 'come'; suing 'sit/stay'

 Consider e.g. the verbs *degut* 'to enter' and *wuik* 'roll down' combined with a Motion verb.

*(1a) Ngga no tandali [**degut –sa-**   w- o-   n] go   no,*
     that   TO again   enter- sit.same level pt masc 3p GIV TO
'And when he (Woy Idam) entered (the hole) again,

*(1b) Banu Debui lo   demu kangok go   lo   demu put no [**wuik – si-**   t- u- n].*
     Banu Debui INST stone big   GIV INST   stone hole TO roll-   go_down pt fem 3p
Banu Debui rolled a big stone down before the hole.'

(2a) Ngga ey /   yap   so no ko-klong go / iram   so no go ta   iti   suey   ey / (>)
     that   COM house   IN TO rep.go   GIV clanleader IN TO GIV hand-give-good COM
'With that, while he was going home with thanks to the clanleader,

*(2b) [gemang **kong -si-**   t-   o-   n].*
     ex.there   praise go_down ptdur masc 3p
he was going down shouting praises.'

4.2.8.3. Examples (from the position of the speaker):
- Returning using Motion verb in stand alone position:

*(1) Genam [**mea san** - d^{10}- u].*
    I   will   come_same level ft   1p
'I will come back.' (move on the same level)

*(2) Genam [**mea kun-**   d- u].*
    I   will come_down ft 1p
'I will come down again.' (from high to low)

*(3) Genam [**mea ban-**   d- u].*
    I   will come_up ft 1p
'I will come up again.' (from low to high)

- Returning in serial with General verb:

*(1) Genam [**mea iti-san** -   d- u]*
    I   will give-return (same level) ft   1p
'I will return (it).'

*(2) Genam [**mea iti – kun-**   d- u].*
    I   will give-return (high to low) ft   1p
'I will return (it) down there.'

*(3) Genam [**mea iti-ban** -   d- u].*

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[10] The [d] in the form *–du* (ft1p) is in GIV an allophone of /l/, but being written as *d*.

    I   will give-return (low to high) ft 1p
'I will return (it) up there.'

- Move away – Stand alone Motion verb:

*(1) Genam [**mea se-   -l- u**].*
    I   will go same level ft 1p
'I will go overthere.'

*(2) Genam [**mea na-   l- u**].*
    I   will go_down ft 1p
'I will go down.'

*(3) Genam [**mea be-   l- u**].*
    I   will go_up ft 1p
'I will go up.'

- Move away; any verb in serial with Motion Verb:

*(1) Genam [**mea iti- se-   l- u**].*
    I   will give_same level ft 1p
'I will give (it) overthere.' (Same level)

*(2) Genam [**mea iti-   si- l- u**].*
  I   will give_down ft 1p
'I will take it down there.'

*(3) Genam [**mea iti-   bi- l- u**.]*
    I   will give_up   ft 1p
'I will give it up there.'

- No-motion: situation away from speaker; serial verb construction

*(1)[**Duing -na**   **w- o-   n**] go, "Ngga wi   lo   tu-tuot go   nebut wa?"*
  think   situation down pt masc 3p GIV   that   bird INST red.sing GIV sound, is it not?
'He was thinking down there, "Is not this the sound of a singing bird?"'

*(2) Ngga utep   wabedong go] demanon mit   no go so [gemang **ip- ba**   **w- o-   n**].*
  that tomorrow morning   GIV sister   COM TO GIV IN ex.there stand_up sit_up pt masc 3p
'The next morning he raise up to go to this sister.'

*(3) Genam lo   mot nang no go   nebut meno [**mea usi -sa-**   **l- u**].*
    I   INST you pl   TO GIV talk   other   will ask sit_same level ft 1p.
'I will you (pl) here ask another question.'

4.2.8.4. Contrasts

- Motion verb: *na* 'go down' and *na* 'situation down there'
(both in stand-alone and in serial verb construction)

(1) Ngga nemot so go   so, dokter so no [gemang **na-**   *w- o- n].*
    that   3psg. IN GIV IN doctor IN TO ex.there   go_down- pt masc 3p
'Therefore he went down to the doctor.'

*(2) Ku meno so [***na***   *-w -o- n]   go / gemang ikum,*
   day other IN   go_down -pt-masc 3p   GIV   ex. there see,
'On a specific day in the past he saw …'

*(3) Maso ngge lo   mot tra go no / temu mata so [***pung-lak-a***] [***na-***   *-t- u- n].*
   devil this   INST order give GIV TO other many IN arrive-all-focus sit.down pt fem 3p
'And after the devil gave orders, many other devils arrived down together.'

(4) Ye ... babu   *wamoy so [**ba**   **mlue-na**   -t -u- n] / son*   *-a   kua!*
   Waw.grandmother lie   IN surprise lie   sit.down pt fem 3p   musquito focus not
'Waw, grandmother down there is lying: there are no mosquitos!'

- Motion verb *na* and *si* both meaning: 'go down'
(in serial and stand-alone verb construction)

*(1) Mot namon-a   yakot so suing-a,   genam [**mea li-**   **si-**   *l- u] so!*
   2p dual-focus quiet IN stay-focus, 1p   will climb-go_down ft 1p   IN
'You two stay there quietly, I will climb down.'

(2) [Ngga nemot so go   so] dokter so no [gemang **na-**   *w- o- n].*
    that   3p   IN GIV IN doctor IN TO ex.there go_down pt masc 3p.
'Therefore he went down to the doctor.'

- Motion verb: *be* 'go up' and *ba* 'situation up'
(stand-alone and serial verb constructions in one sentence)

*(1a) Taidi tete [**be-**   *t- u- n] go   no*
    five time go_up pt fem 3p   GIV TO
'After she had gone up for the fifth time,

(1b) Dame Idam lo   *demanon nemot [**gemang but –ba-**   *w- o- n] go no,*
    Dame Idam INST sister   3p   ex.there hit   sit_high pt masc 3p GIV TO
Dame Idam having hit his sister up there, ...

*(1c) ngge kalik so [**gemang pen-ba-**   *w- o- n] demanon no: "..."*
    this like   IN ex.there say be_high pt masc 3p sister   TO
like this he (up there) said this to his sister, "..." '

- Motion verb *se* 'go there same level' and *sa* 'situation same level'

(in stand-alone and serial verb construction)

(1a) Sedue [__se__ -w- o- n] go, ngga no ikum go: e, nebo mo klak ba?
    man   go s.l. pt masc 3p GIV that TO see GIV: hey pig already climbed surprise
'After the man had gone over there and then saw this: Waw! Did the pig already climb up?'

(1b) Genam nebo gabe kua but / ngge maso nemot [__gabe mo but- sa- t- u__].
    1p   pig ex.here not kill this devil 3p   ex.here already kill sit_same level pt-1p
'I have not killed a pig, it is the devil I killed here.'

- Motion verbs *sa* 'situation same level' and *si* 'go_down'

(1a) Tandali [__degut-sa__- w- o- n] go no,
    again   enter sit_same level pt masc 3p   GIV TO,
'When he (Sun Leader) entered (the hole) again,

(1b) Banu Debui lo / demu kangok go lo / demu put no [__wuik-si__- t- u- n].
    moon woman INST stone big   GIV INST stone hole TO roll down pt fem 3p
Banu Debui rolled a big stone down before the hole.'

- Motion verb: *bi* 'go up' and *ba* 'situation high'
(in serial constructions)

(1a) Ngga ey nglangin-a ulu blo so no [__klak -bi__ -w- o- n] go,
    that COM father-focus breadfruit tree top IN TO climb go_up pt masc 3p GIV
'Then father climbed up in the top of the breadfruit tree,

(1b) ulu so [__buo__- te- __ba__- w- o- n] go no,
    breadfruit IN pick dur. sit_up pt- masc 3p GIV TO,
while picking breadfruit up_there,

(1c) ulo blo sik so sa [__blue gemang pu - bi__- w- o- n].
    breadfruit tree on top squeeze IN rain curse ex.there call go_up pt masc 3p
from the top of the tree, he began to call magic for rain.'

- Motion verbs in stand-alone (1) and serial verb (2) constructions.
(Verb= *san* 'come to; same level')

(1) No, ku [__san__- t- ug- u- n] go no, seni mea senong-l- o.
    TO day com e to pt dur. fem 3p GIV TO content will know ft 2p
'But in the coming time, you will understand the content.'

(2) Kuduong sik so yam so genam [__mo pen-a- san__- y- u]
    Beginning squeeze IN measure IN 1p   already say focus come _same level. past 1p
'I have said everything from the very beginning.'

- *ban* 'come up' and *kun* 'come down' (in serial and stand alone construction)

(1) Nemot namon wop   sagoy so [__leguit__-ke -__ban__   -t- ug- u- n] go
   3p   two   shrimps torch IN   show-dual- return up pt dur fem 3p GIV
'The two (girls) were catching shrimps with torches, ...'

(2) Kabung usu   sik   so go pung go no / mesip so [gabe   kun   -t -u].
   woman garden squeeze IN GIV arrive GIV TO   behind IN ex.there come_down pt   1p
'After (my) wife has come back from the garden, afterwards I returned here (=down).'

4.2.9. Inflection markers
4.2.9.1. Result: *sre*
The verb *sre* means literally 'to fill'. But as inflection of another general verb, it
carries the meaning: 'result'. This is an example of verb compounding, i.e. general
verb + *sre* 'fill'= 'result')

Intensive adverbs can intervene between the general verb and *sre* 'fill'.
It has the VP-formula:

± gen. verb ± intens.adverb + **sre** ± dual/plural ± dur ± motion verb + tense/person

Consider the following examples (the serial verbs are underlined):

(1) Blang   ba so no / bu   so [sre- t- ug- u-   n].
   cooking pot in IN TO water IN   fill pt dur fem   3p
'The cooking pot is being filled up with water (by her).'

(2) Isuali kedong-a [__dam- sre-__   t- u].
Cassowary meat-focus eat result pt 1p
'The cassowary meat, I have eaten it all.'

(3a) Genam no bu [__wadong-sre-__   san-   t- o] go,
   1p   TO water ask   result come_same level pt-1p GIV
'If you had asked me for water,

(3b)[__gemang mo__   __iti- sre-__ sa-   t- u]!
    ex.there already give-result- sit_same level pt 1p
I would have given it.'

(4) Sikabung mo senong: ngge imot   go deguena, no [kua usi-ne-__sre-__ na-   w -o- n].
   people   already know: this 1p pl incl GIVheadman TOnot ask pl   result sit_down pt masc 3p
'The people realised: this is our headman, but they did not dare to ask.'

(5) Imot   [kua ikum-dap- i- __sre-__ w- o- n].
   1p pl incl   not see-   proces pl result pt- masc 3p
(After searching around) 'We have not found (it).'

(6) Sogoho[11]*goso nemot tang go lo   go sikabung bu [**kua tui- <u>sre-</u>   na-   w- o-   n**]?*
   Why   3p   self GIV INST GIV people water not touch result sit_down pt masc 3p
'Why are people not water-touched (= baptized) by himself?'

(7a) Dame Idam kim   betui ba no itak   go,
    Dame Idam coconut corral in TO leave GIV,
'(The fact that) Dame Idam was left behind in the corral of a coconut tree,

*(7b) nemot go   unen nang nglangin nang no go [**kua pen-<u>sre-</u>   te- ba-t- u-   n**].*
    3p   GIV father pl   mother   pl   TO GIV not say   result dur dir pt fem 3p
(the sister) did not dare to tell to her parents.'

*(8) Nabi   so go,   [**gemang mo   senong-<u>sre-</u> w- o-   n**]: ngge kamea   kabung!*
   prophet IN GIV ex. there already know   result pt masc 3p this prostitute woman
'If he were a prophet, he would have known: this is a prostitute.'

4.2.9.2. Single, Dual, Plural
1) Forms of plurality
In the string of the verb root there are two morphological properties that can be related to the concept of plurality in the Nominal Phrase (NP-agent). First, second and third person singular have *–namon / nang* added to form dual / plural. The one exception is 1p dual / plural inclusive (imot-namon / imot(nang). This form follows the 3p.sg form. Consider the following example:

*[**<u>Imot</u>   <u>namon</u>**] duen ba lo   [mea srek- **<u>me-</u>** na- y- o-   n].*
  1p. incl.dual   bush in INST will sleep-dual-dir-ft-masc. 3ps
'We two (male) will sleep somewhere in the bush.'

Alternatively: an obligatory plural marker in the verb phrase indicates the plurality of the subject without <u>overt occurrence</u> of the subject (1), and a third possibility is a plural marker in the VP that refers to a <u>single</u> form of the subject, identifying it as dual or plural (2).

*(1) Tap lo   go ngga kalik [gemang pen- **<u>kle-</u>** kun-   tug- u- n].*
   road INST GIV that like   ex.here talk **dual** come_down ptdur fem 3p
'That is what **(the two)** were discussing under way.' (subject is not mentioned overtly)

*(2a) Nali piam go nebut,[**<u>sedue</u>** go   lom   ba lo]*
    spirit bad GIV talk   man   GIV mouth in INST
'Through the mouth of **the two men**

*(2b) [gemang bega- **<u>kle-</u>** kun-   t-   o-   n], "..."*
     ex.there shout **dual** come_down ptdur masc 3p '
it was shouted, "...." '

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[11] *ho* is a phonetic variant of *so.* Probably dialectal influence from the Klesi language.

2) Classes of plural markers

There are two classes of plural markers with slightly different forms:

    (a) functioning in a Motion predicate

    (b) functioning in a Verbal predicate

Consider the following example showing references to the same subject with different markers:

(1a) Ngga no kabung namon / woy su-sut   */[ip*   *-**kle**- sa-*   *t- u- n] go*
    that   TO women two   sun going down   stand up   dual   sit_same level   pt   fem   3p   GIV
'And the two women when the sun had gone down, the two having stand up there,

(1b) e ... dun   *idi lo*   *[gemang **ke**- be-*   *t- u-*   *n] go*
    till ...Cyclops side INST sit.there   dual   go_up pt   fem   3p   GIV
to the Cyclops mountains (=northern direction) the two having gone up,

(1c) e ...   *woy klak no [gemang **pung**- **kle** - ba-*   *t- u-*   *n].*
    till ... sun rise TO sit. there arrive   dual   sit_up pt   fem   3p
till they both arrived to the east.'

The conclusion is that a Motion verb in stand alone position is preceded by the plural marker, while in the case of a serial verb construction with a general verb, the plural marker is in post position.

3) Functions of plurality

a) Functioning within a <u>Motion</u> predicate:

Person	Dual (*namon*)	Plural (*nang*)
First person excl. (1-2+3) *genam / at 'I'*	**ke** (genam namon at namon)	**i** (genam nang at nang)
Second person *mot 'you'*	**ke** (mot namon)	**ke** (mot nang)
Third person *nemot 'he','she', 'it'*	**ke** (nemot namon)	**ne** (nemot nang)
First person incl. (1+2-3) *imot 'we'*	**m** (imot namon)	**i** (imot nang)

b) Functioning within <u>any other</u> Verbal predicate:

Person	Dual (*namon*)	Plural (*nang*)
First person excl. (1-2+3) *genam/ at 'I'*	**kle** (genam namon at namon)	**e** (genamnang at nang)
Second person *mot 'you'*	**kle** (mot namon)	**ke** (mot nang)
Third person *nemot 'he','she', 'it'*	**kle** (nemot namon)	**ne** (nemot nang)
First person incl. (1+2-3) *imot 'we'*	**mle** (imot namon)	**e** (imot nang)

Consider the following (part of a) story that shows a typical alternation between <u>verbal</u> and <u>motion</u> predicates and their plural markers *ke, kle* 'dual'.

(1a) Nggano kabung namon, woy susut [ip-   <u>kle</u>- sa-   t- u-   n]   go,
   and   woman two   sun set   stand-up dual sit_same level pt fem 3p GIV
'And the two women stood up and walked from the west,

(1b) e ... dun idi lo   [gemang <u>ke</u>- be –   t-   u- n] go,
    till ... north side ex.there dual go_up pt fem 3p GIV
'and the two went all the way via the north (=Mount Cyclops),'

(1c) e ... woy klak no [gemang pung- <u>kle</u>- ba-   t-   n].
    till . sun rise to   ex.there arrive dual sit_up pt fem 3p.
'till they two arrived in the east.'

(2) Ngga sik   so seguo po-pong go [gemang tup -<u>kle</u> - kun   t- u- n].
   that sqeeze IN music red.play GIV ex.there hear dual   come_down pt fem 3p
'From there they heard playing of music.'

(3) Ngga no [gemang <u>ke</u>- san-   t- u-   n], e ...   Dalom no gemang   pung.
   that   TO ex.there dual come_to pt fem 3p   till... Dalom TO ex.there arrive
'and they went over there, till they arrived in the village Dalom.'

(4a) Nemot namon lo duing go:
    3p   dual   INST think GIV
'They thought:

(4b) Ngge nago sik   so go sikabung lo   seguo [pla -<u>ne</u> -   t- o-   n]?
   this   where squeeze IN GIV people   INST music   play plural   pt masc- 3p
Where do these people, who make music, come from?'

(5)Yakena kungap mang i-ikum; ngga no [<u>ke</u>- na-   t- ug- u- n].
   Village outlook exist red.see; there TO dual go_down pt dur fem 3p
'The outlook of the village appeared and (they; women) went to there.'

(6) Sogo kalik go   nebut [mo   tup- <u>kle</u> -t- o]?
   what like GIV talk   already hear dual pt 2p
'What talk did you two hear?'

(7) Imot namon [gabe   ya kap- <u>mle</u> -y- o-   n]!
   we   dual   ex.here imp. run   dual fut masc 3p
'Let we run away.'

(8) ... imot namon kebleng [klik- <u>me</u>[12]- y- o-   n] go nang.
.   .. we   dual   stretcher make   dual ft masc 3p GIV purpose
'... in order for us to make a stretcher.'

---

[12] Expected would be: mle (= dual following general verb).

*(9) Nemot namon [**klak- _ke_[13]- bi- t-   o-   n**] go, ...*
      They   dual   climb   plural-dir-ptdur masc 3p GIV
'While they two were climbing, ...'   etc.

Consider a contrast between plural markers *i* and *e* in identical contexts:

*(10) Imot   [kua <u>ikum</u> <u>dap</u>   [14]**i**   sre   w- o-   n].*
        1p pl incl not see   finish proces plural result pt masc 3p
'We have searched around but not see anything.'

*(11) Imot   [kua <u>ikum</u> ###   **e**   <u>sre</u>   w -o-   n].*
      1p pl incl. not see   ###   plural result pt-masc 3p
'We have not seen it.'

4.2.9.3. Duration: *te*
Duration in the Kemtuik verb phrase can be expressed in several ways, with
slightly different meanings[15]. One possibility is expressed using the marker *te* in
the post-auxiliary verb string. Cf. *gemang got-**te**-ba-won* 'he is staying there'.
Its position in the verb string is as follows:

± gen. verb ± intens.adverb + sre ± dual/plural **± dur** ± motion verb + tense/person

It points to a durative situation providing new or specific information, while in
combination with tense a durative <u>aspect</u> is being expressed.
Consider the two sentences (a) and (b) below, taken from the same story.

*(a) Ngga nemot suali so go   so / yap   ba so [**got- t-   o-   n**].*
    that   3ps   afraid IN GIV IN house in IN stay- **ptdur**-masc-3p
    'Because of that being afraid, he is staying in the house.'

*(b) Ngga nemot suali so go   so / yap   ba so [**gemang got -te-   ba- w- o-   n**].*
    that   3ps afraid IN GIV IN house in IN   ex.there stay-**durative**-sit_up-pt-masc-3p
    'Because of that being afraid, he is staying in the house.'

Durative *–te-* does not occur if already expressed in present <u>durative</u> tense by *–og- /*
-ug (or vice versa). In schedule:

Person	**Gender**	**Present stative tense**	**Present durative tense**
3rd Person	Masculine	*- w-o-n*	*- t-og-o-n / - t-o-n*
3rd Person	Feminine	*- t-u-n*	*-t-ug-u-n*

---

[13] Expected would be: *kle* (= dual following general verb).
[14] Expected would be: *e* (= plural following general verb)
[15] Cf. preceding repetition of verb root C(V) and durative aspect / tense forms.

If the <u>specific durative</u> –*te* – occurs, it will be followed by a present <u>stative</u> tense.
Consider the shift from <u>general</u> durative to <u>specific</u> durative: i.e. [-*ton*-] to
[*(gemang) + te*] and vice versa:

*(1)[Be- t-   o-   n] go / tap no Yans u kaguit bu so [u-wata- ne- **te-** ba-   w- o-   n] go,*
   go_up ptdur masc 3p GIVroad TOYansu girl water IN red.bath pl **dur** sit_up pt masc3p GIV

[gemang ikum-ba-   w- o-   n].
  ex.there see   sit_up pt masc 3p
'Going up, on (his) way he saw girls (from the village) Yansu <u>bathing</u> over there.'

*(2a) Kaguit bu   so [wata-ne- **t**-   o-   n] go,*
    gir l   water IN bath pl **ptdur** masc 3p GIV
'While the girls were bathing,'

(2b) muey go   kinnemon   [dop- na-   t- u-   n lak] go,
    lizard GIV bloodsmell   smell   sit_down pt fem 3p all GIV
 and they all down there smelled the (cooked) blood of a lizard,

(2c) ngga no gemang pu- te- na-   w-o-   n,"Mm...muey penggu! Kinemon- a   be!
    that   to ex.there say dur-sit_down pt masc 3p, Mm..green lizard! Bloodsmell-focus ex. here!
then (they) began to say, "Mm ... a lizard! What a smell here is!

*(2d) Nago   so   [duik] go /   [dam-ne- **t**-   o-   n]?*
    Where IN   cook GIV   eat   pl **ptdur** masc 3p
Where precisely is this cooked, and are they eating?" '

Note the Durative Present tense *-togon* with the exclusive meaning 'eternal' versus
–*ton* = 'non- eternal durative'.
*Senang so mea got **-tog**-   -o-   n.*
old   IN will stay **ptdur.** masc. 3p
'For ever he will stay.'

4.2.9.4. Focus: –*a*
The clitic –*a* 'focus' occurs almost anywhere within the sentence. It is a
postposition, following (pro)nouns, adverbs, adjectives, numerals, verbs, but has
also an interesting function <u>within</u> the auxiliary verb string.
Its position in the verb string is as follows:

± gen. verb + **a** ± dual/plural ± motion verb + tense/person

Focus [–*a*] in that position functions in contrast with *sre* 'result', *te* 'duration'.
Consider the following two utterances:
(1) Didon temu tap ketang no bluim-   si-   t-   o-   n
  seed   part road side   TO sprinkle go_down ptdur masc 3p
'Part of the seed was sprinkled alongside the road.'

*(2) Didon temu tap   ketang no **gemang** bluim-**a**-si-t-**u**-n*
  seed   part   road side   TO ex.there sprinkle-foc go_down ptdur fem 3p
 'Part of the seed was being sprinkled alongside the road."

These are utterances of two witnesses. We notice a few differences. Example (1) is a <u>general statement</u>. Example (2) gives some extra flavour by adding *gemang* 'ex.there'. Actually *gemang* <u>describes</u> the beginning of an ongoing event. (The difference between the use of gender of 'seed'in 3rd. Person plural , is discussed in Chapter 2.3.2.). The occurence of [-*a*] following verb roots like in example (2) adds an element of 'attention' or even 'surprise'. It will be glossed as 'foc' (focus). Consider also the following example:

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

4.2.9.5. Tense
Strictly speaking there are only two tenses in Kemtuik: Past and Present. These two groupings are reflected in, among other things, the suffixing of –*m* in 3rd Person <u>past</u> *and* –*n* in 3rd Person n<u>on-past</u>. 'Non-past' is distinguished in <u>present</u>, that is 'what happened today', 'what is happening', and in <u>future</u>, that is 'what and how is going to happen'. See the following scheme where TENSE and ASPECT are integrated with PERSON and GENDER:

ASPECT / TENSE / GENDER / PERSON					
PAST(-m)			NON-PAST(-n)		
REMOTE stative	REMOTE durative	RECENT stative	PRESENT stative	PRESENT durative	FUTURE action
ASPECT					
1st Person *ku*	*ngu*	*yu*	*tu*	*tugu*	*lu / du*
2nd Person *ka*	*nga*	*yo*	*to*	*togoy*	*lo / do*
3rd Person **masc. (a/o)** *ka<u>m</u>*	*nga<u>m</u>*	*yo<u>m</u>*	*wo<u>n</u>*	*togo<u>n</u> (to<u>n</u>)[16]*	*yo<u>n</u>*
3rd Person **fem. (u)** *ku<u>m</u>*	*ngu<u>m</u>*	*yu<u>m</u>*	*tu<u>n</u>*	*tugu<u>n</u>*	*yu<u>n</u>*

Examples of Tense :

1) Remote past durative

*(1a) Seni   so, Ki Wali Iram lo   kukunan ngge [semu -**ng**   -**a**- m] go   no go,*
     content IN Green Life Leader INST earth   this   make rem.past.dur masc 3p GIV TO GIV
'Indeed, when God created this earth,

---

[16] See also: Chapter 4.2.9.3.

*(1b) [ikum-**ng-** **a-** **m**]* go no *[gemang pu-a-* **ng-** **a-** **m**]:
  see rem.pst.dur. masc 3p GIV TO ex.there tell-foc. rem.past.dur. masc 3p
seeing it, he said

(1c) "Naklay-naklay teguop kangok seni! '' '
all all perfect big content
"Everything is very good indeed!"

(2)Nggano bu yam so [gemang pang-a *-**ng-*** **u-** **m**].
  and water finish IN ex.there dry focus- rem.pastdur fem 3p
'And the water dried out completely.'

(3)Motnang mit so go no go
  2p pl COM IN GIVTOGIV
'While I (in the very beginning) stayed with you,

piam so mot nang lo go [kua semu-ke-na- **ng-** **a**].
wrong IN 2p pl. INST GIV not do pl sit_down rem.pastdur.2p
you did not wrong (to me).'

2) Remote past (stative)

(1) Banim dega go sikabung [got -ne-a **-k** *-**a-*** *m] go / miam kua.*
  before very GIV people stay pl focus-rempast stative masc 3p GIV many not.
'A long time ago the people that existed, were not many.'

3) Recent Past

(1a)Banim genam nang bu so u-wata go no,
  before 1p (excl.pl.) water IN red.bath GIV TO,
'Before we bathed in the water,

*(1b)genam go ngoy nemot lo iti go / [kok-na –**y-** **o-** **m**] go.*
  1p GIV necklace 3p INST take GIV hide dir past masc 3p GIV
he took my necklace and hid there.'

(2) Genam lo ngga ba no [itak- na- **y-** **u**] go.
  1p INST that in TO leave-sit_down past 1p GIV
'I left it in there.'

(3) Dame! Mot lo kabung nago no [itak- **y-** *o]?*
  Dame! you INST woman where TO leave past 2p
'Dame, where did you leave behind the woman (your wife)?'

*(4) Denok tiat nega go, nemot-a babu lo [ba teguok] go [dam-**y-** u- m]!*
  child group lost GIV, 3p-focus grandmother INST surprise brake GIV eat- past fem 3p
'The lost little children! Wow! They have been killed (lit. broken) and eaten by grandmother!'

4) Present tense (durative)

*(1) Dame Idam ey   Dunkoy Debui ey   nemot go   yakena so got- kle –t –**ug- u-   n**.*
   Dame Idam COM Dunkoy Debui COM 3p   GIV village IN stay dual ptdur   fem 3p
'Dame Idam stayed with Dunkoy Debui in her village.'

*(2) Ngga kalik [mea got- sa -   t- **og-   o-   n**[17]].*
      that   like   will stay sit_same level– pt dur   masc 3p
'He (God) will stay forever like that.'

*(3) Nggano Dame Idam lo   ngge kalik so [gemang pu-**t-   o-   n**], "..."*
      then   Dame Idam INST this   like   IN ex.there tell ptdur masc. 3p
'Then Dame Idam said like this, "..." '

*(4) Mot sogo so [wet-   **t- og- o-   y**]?*
   you what IN   search pt dur   masc 2p
'What are you looking for?'

*(5) Ngga nemot so go   so genam yap   ba so [gabe   got -**t- ug –u**].*
      that 3p   IN GIV IN 1p   house in IN ex.here stay pt dur 1p
'Therefore I stay inside the house.'

5) Present tense (stative)

*(1) Kabung nalo lo   ngge kalik so[gemang pu -**t – u- n**], Genam domdat [kua] go [be].*
      woman old INST this like   IN ex.there tell pt fem 3p 1p   grandchild not GIV ex.here
'And the old woman said like this, "I have no grandchild." '

*(2) Duen no, nebo uduo lo   [gemang segue-ne-sa-   **w- o - n**].*
   bush TO pig   dog   INST ex.there hunt   pl sit_down   pt masc 3p
'In the bush the dogs started to hunt pigs.'

*(3)"Kemdet! Mot, tap [kun   -t –og- o-   y] go   no / so go kalik [semu-ba-   **t- o**]?"*
     brother   you road coming pt dur masc 2p GIV TO IN GIV like   do   sit_up- pt 2p
'Brother, when you were on your way, what happened?'

*(4a) Nemot namon ngga nemot so [kasa   -kle **t- ug-** u-   n] go,*
    3p   two   that   3p   IN   search- dual-<u>pt dur</u> fem 3p GIV
'While they were searching,

*(4b) Meki lo   Woy idam go   masi no [gemang tra- **t**- u- n].*
   Meki INST Woy Idam GIV foot TO ex.there feel <u>pt.</u> fem 3p
Meki touched the foot of Woy Idam.'

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[17] Although the form would suggest that *-togon* (present durative tense) is the regular form and *–ton* (also present durative tense) the exception, it is the other way around (*-togon* > eternal process; elsewhere occurs as durative: -*ton*).

4.2.9.6. Aspect

'Stative' versus 'durative' in <u>past</u> and <u>present</u> predications are distinguished. Recent <u>Past</u> Durative forms are not recorded anymore[18]. Probably, they are replaced by <u>Remote Past Durative</u> forms, or by <u>Present Tense Durative</u> forms. Since Aspect needs to be discussed with respect to Tense, examples will be given, where, in Durative Remote Past, Tense expresses more Aspect than Tense itself. First, we will reflect on the use of <u>durative</u> vs. <u>stative</u> in the Remote Past Tense; then the durative vs. stative in the Present Tense ; and finally we will look at the use of Aspect in the Remote Past Tense and Present Tense in the same sentence.

1) <u>Durative</u> versus <u>Stative</u> reflected in Remote Past

*(1) Ngga no   ngge kalik [**gemang** usi- na-   **ng-**   u- m]: "..."*
   that TO   this like   ex.there ask   sit_down <u>rem.past</u> **dur** fem 3p
'And she asked <u>for a long time</u> like this: "..." '

(2a) Banim no go tasam ngga/ sedue miam ey   go   lo
    Before TO GIVsign that   people many COM GIV INST
'<u>In the old days</u> many people

*(2b) [ikum] so / [**mo   du-duing**] [**bung-ne-a   -k-   a-   m**].*
     see   IN   already rep.think   wait pl focus-<u>rem past</u> **stative**   masc 3p.
had longed (to see) that sign <u>happen</u>.'

*(3) Ngga kalik go   demu mata so nemot nang lo   [**duk -ne-a- k-   a   -m**].*
   that like GIV rule many IN they   pl   INST obey pl focus <u>rem.past</u> **stative** masc 3p
'And like that they (ancestors) <u>obeyed</u> many customs.'

*(4) Sikabung temu dabui lo   [**mo   bung- ne-ng-   a- m**], no [kua tegu] sang.*
    people   other heart INST already wait for pl-<u>rem.past</u> **dur** masc 3p TO   not meet regret
'<u>For a long time</u> other people hoped (for it), but –alas- it did not happen.'

2) Durative <u>versus</u> Stative (in Remote Past and Present)

(1) Wabedong go kamso [wet-   a-   t-   o- n / [kua ikum- sre- w-   o- n].
    midday   GIV invain look_for focus-**pt.dur**- masc 3p   not see   result <u>pt.**stat**</u> masc 3p
'Midday he looked (for them) without success and did not find (them).'

(2) Dame Idam ngga nemot suali go,   yap   ba so [got -t-   o- n].
   Dame Idam that 3p   afraid GIV, house in IN stay <u>pt.**dur**</u> masc 3p
'Dame Idam, being afraid for that, stayed in the house.'

*(3) Ngga nemot nogo,   Banu Debui duo ngga nemot [kua senong se- **ng-**   u- m].*
    that 3p   TO GIV Banu Debui child that 3p   not know   neces <u>rem past dur</u> fem 3p
'Because of that, Banu Debui was not aware of that child for a long time.'

---

[18] In 1975 people told us that these forms were possible.

*(4) No, Woy Idam, nemot go duo ngga nemot so   [saboy-**t**-   o-   n].*
   TO Woy Idam 3p   GIV child that 3p   IN   feed   <u>ptdur</u> masc 3p/
'But Woy Idam was feeding that child.'

*(5) Ku no- ku no / nemot lo /   ngga kalik so/ nemot go   senun no / [mlue-**t**-   o-   n].*
  day TO-day TO 3p   INST that like IN 3p   . GIV wife TO   lie   <u>pt.dur</u> masc 3p
'Day after day he lied to his wife like that.'

(6a) E ... duo nggenemot yam   so kangok, yagui taidi   yam   no,
     till ..child this 3p   measure IN big   year   handside measure TO
'Till the child had grown up at the age of 5 years,

*(6b) nglangin lo   ple-ple [bin] go, duo ngge nemot no gemang iti- **w**-   o-   n.*
     father   INST arrows   cut GIV child this 3p   TO ex.there give <u>pt.stat</u> masc 3p
then (his) father cut arrows and gave it to this child.'

(7a) Duo nggenemot maning seguay go   no   go,
   child this 3p   ongoinglittle   GIV TO GIV
'Because this child was still young,

*(7b) Woy Idam lo   nemot tang so min [kok- **w**-   o-   n] go.*
    Woy Idam INST 3ps   self IN milk feed pt.stat masc 3p   GIV
Woy Idam himself fed it with milk.'

(8a) Ple-ple nglangin lo   iti   go, ngge nemot ey   [iti]   go,
   arrows   father   INST give GIV this 3p   COM   give GIV
'With the arrows (his) father had given him,

*(8b) yap   kading ba lo   [wet-   a- **t**-   o- n].*
    house back   in INST wander around focus <u>pt.dur</u> masc 3p
(he) wandered around at the back of the house.'

3) Remote Past Tense in combination with Present Tense Stative .
The Remote Past seems to refer to an <u>important</u> happening at a <u>place</u> and <u>time</u> <u>a</u>
<u>long time ago</u>. Once the reference is given, the aspect and tense are switched to the
Present Stative Tense. Consider the following examples:

*(1a) Woy Idam demu put ba so [**got- ng-**   a-   m] go   no go*
    Woy Idam stone hole in IN stay-<u>rem.past</u>.**dur** masc 3p GIV (TO GIV) = reason
'Since Woy Iram <u>stayed a long time</u> in the stone hole,

(1b) lema ey   nemot go tawon-masiwon ey   ten so go so / nemot lo   [dam] go,
    snake COM 3p   GIV handnail-footnail COM food IN GIV IN 3p   INST eat   GIV,
and because he had eaten snakes and his finger and footnails as food

*(1c) yam   so [**mot -w – o- n**].*
    measue IN   vomit <u>pt.stat.</u> masc 3p
he <u>vomited</u> (it) completely.'

(2a) Sualabon [iti- <u>w-</u>   o-   n] go,   ta   tong go   kin,
      pot   take-pt.stat. masc 3p GIV, hand cut   GIV blood,
'Having taken a pot, the blood of his hand cutting

*(2b) ngga ba no [gemang leguit-na-   **ng-**   a-   m].*
     that in TO ex.there store   sit_down rem.past **dur** masc 3p
and in there he stored (it) <u>for a long time</u>.'

Some variations in sentences 3-5 will be compared:

*(3a) Nemotnang kam so [u- wet- ne- <u>te-</u> na-   **w-**   o-   n]*
    3p   pl.   end IN red.seek pl   <u>dur</u> go_down pt.stat masc 3p;
'Going down they <u>searched in vain</u> there.

*(3b) [kua ikum-ne-ba-   **ng-**   a-   m].*
     not see   pl sit_up   <u>remote.past.**dur**</u> masc. 3p
but they <u>did not see</u> it up there.'

(4) Imot   [kua ikum-dap i sre- w-   o-   n].
    1p pl incl. not see   proces pl result   pt.stative masc 3p
'We <u>were not able to find</u> it.'

(5) Wabedong go kam so [wet-a-   t-   o-   n]/ [kua ikum sre- w-   o- n].
    morning   GIV end IN search-focus-ptdur-masc-3p not see   result pt.stative masc 3p
'In the morning they were searching all the way, but <u>they did not find</u> it.'

The auxiliary elements of these varieties of verb phrases are in overview:

	neg.	verb	finish	pl	result	sit_up	tense	masc	pers	English equival.
Ex. 3b	*kua*	*ikum*		*ne*		*ba*	**ng** rem.past. tense dur.	*a*	*m*	They –long ago – did not see it up-there.
Ex. 4	*kua*	*ikum*	*dap*	*i*	*sre*		**w** pr.tense stative	*o*	*n*	They were not able to find it.
Ex. 5	*kua*	*ikum*			*sre*		**w** pr.tense stative	*o*	*n*	They did not find it.

4.2.9.7. Gender and Person
It is not always easy to figure out the gender of the subject[19]. In Kemtuik there are two noun classes: masculine and feminine. Speakers have to learn by heart which nouns belong to which class.
In <u>group</u> situations, sometimes feminine, sometimes masculine forms are used depending on the speaker's choice.

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[19] See also: Chapter 2.3.2.

A complex factor is the conflation of Person and Gender. The only case where gender shows up is in 3rd Person situations and in the First Person plural inclusive. While the First Person is indicated by u and the Second Person by o, the Third Person symbols indicate the difference between masculine (indicated by *o*), and feminine (indicated by *u*). In the case *imot* 'we inclusive', the gender will depend on how the 'we' is composed: all male, all female or mixed. In the last case the dual form will follow masculine gender; and the plural form, feminine or masculine forms. Of course, the plural *imot* 'we inclusive' may refer to 'we all' as a group. In that case the feminine form may be followed by –*lak* 'all'.

Consider the following paradigm, using present tense durative forms of *got* 'stay' and showing both single, dual and plural forms:

Person	Masculine /feminin	Verb root	Single	Dual (namon)	Plural (nang)
1Person *genam / at*	masculine. / feminine	got	tugu	kle-tugu ke-tugu	e-tugu
2 Person *mot / ko*	masculine/ feminine	got	togoy	kle-togoy	ke-togoy
3 Person *nemot*	masculine	got	ton togon	kle-ton kle-togon ke-ton ke-togon	ne-ton ne-togon
	feminine	got	tugun	kle-tugun ke-tugun	tugun-lak
	masculine + feminine	got		kle-tugun	ne-ton
1 Person inclusive *imot*	masculine	got	-------	kle-ton	e-ton
	feminine	got	-------	kle-tugun	lak-neton
	masculine + feminine	got	-------	mle-ton	ne-ton tugun-lak

4.2.10. Verb Paradigms

Some comments: A distinction between General Verbs (GV) and Motion verbs (MV) is made, because of their different position and form of dual/plural attributes. As far as the First Person is concerned, a division can be made between *genam (dual /plural.)* 'I' (1-2+3) and *at* (dual/plural) 'I' (1-2-3). In the Second Person there is a distinction between *mot* ('you') and *ko* ('you' imperative). For the different masculine and feminine forms we refer to Chapters 2.3.2. and 4.2.9.7.

The durative *te* combines only with 'up and down' directive verbs, not with 'same level' Motion verbs (i.e. *san, sa* and *se*). Further: the rules of Motion verbs (stand alone or in serial construction) here illustrated in Future Tense, apply also for the other Tenses.

1) Future Tense : using General Verb (*pen* 'say') – stative tense

Person	Mode	Verb	Dual (*namon*)	Plural (*nang*)	Durat. aspect	Directional same level	Tense Aspect	Gender
First person *genam / at* 'I'	*mea / ya*	*pen*	*kle*	*e*	---	*sa*	*l*	***u***
Second person *mot / ko* 'you	*se / ya*	*pen*	*kle*	*ke*	---	*sa*	*l*	***o***
Third person masculine *nemot* 'he, it'	*mea / ya*	*pen*	*kle*	*ne*	---	*sa*	*y*	***on***
Third person feminine *nemot* 'she, it)	*mea / ya*	*pen*	*kle*	*ne*	---	*sa*	*y*	***un***
First person incl. *imot* 'we'	*mea / ya*	*pen*	*mle*	*e*	---	*sa*	*y*	***on***

2) Future tense: using General Verb (*pen* 'say') - durative aspect[20];

Person	Mode	Verb	Dual (*namon*)	Plural (*nang*)	Durat.-aspect	Directional away	Tense Aspect	Gender
First person *genam / at* 'I'	*mea ya*	*pen*	*ke*	*i*	*te*	*na* (down) *ba* (up)	*l*	***u***
Second person *mot / ko* 'you	*se ya*	*pen*	*ke*	*ke*	*te*	*na ba*	*l*	***o***
Third person masculine *nemot* 'he, it'	*mea ya*	*pen*	*ke*	*ne*	*te*	*na ba*	*y*	***on***
Third person feminine *nemot* 'she, it)	*mea ya*	*pen*	*ke*	*ne*	*te*	*na ba*	*y*	***un***
First person incl. *imot* 'we'	*mea ya*	*pen*	*m*	*i*	*te*	*na ba*	*y*	***on***

---

[20] Combination *te* (durative) and *sa / se* (motion/situation same level) is not recorded.

3) Future tense: Motion verb *NA* 'go down; *BE* 'go up' *SE* 'go same level'- durative aspect

Person	Mode *mea* – will *ya* – interr. *se* - imp	Dual	Plural	Durat.-aspect	MotionVerb (go down / up)	Tense Aspect	Gender
First person *genam / at* 'I'	*mea / ya*	*ke*	*i*	*te*	*NA* *BE* *SE*	*l*	*u*
Second person *mot / ko* 'you	*se / ya*	*ke*	*ke*	*te*	*NA* *BE* *SE*	*l*	*o*
Third person masculine *nemot* 'he, it'	*mea / ya*	*ke*	*ne*	*te*	*NA* *BE* *SE*	*y*	*on*
Third person feminine *nemot* 'she, it)	*mea / ya*	*ke*	*ne*	*te*	*NA* *BE* *SE*	*y*	*un*
First person incl. *imot* 'we'	*mea / ya*	*m(e)*	*i*	*te*	*NA* *BE* *SE*	*y*	*on*

4) Future tense: Motion verb *BAN / SAN / KUN* (motion towards, up / down / same level)

Person	Mode *mea* – will *ya* – interr. *se* - imp	Dual	Plural	Verb (motion towards)	Tense / Aspect	Gender
First person *genam / at* 'I'	*mea / ya*	*ke*	*i*	*BAN*[21] *SAN* *KUN*	*d*	*u*
Second person *mot / ko* 'you	*se / ya*	*ke*	*ke*	*BAN* *SAN* *KUN*	*d*	*o*
Third person masculine *nemot* 'he, it'	*mea / ya*	*ke*	*ne*	*BAN* *SAN* *KUN*	*y*	*on*
Third person feminine *nemot* 'she, it)	*mea / ya*	*ke*	*ne*	*BAN* *SAN* *KUN*	*y*	*un*
First person incl. *imot* 'we'	*mea / ya*	*m*	*i*	*BAN* *SAN* *KUN*	*y*	*on*

---

[21] The Motion Verbs BAN, SAN, KUN ('return movement') combined with Tense use the allophone [d] in stead of [l] (all other combinations).

5) Present Tense: stative aspect (*duing* 'think')

Person	Exist gabe 'here' *gemang* 'there'	Gen.Verb	Dual	Plural	Tense / Aspect	Gender
First person *genam / at* 'I'	*gabe*	*duing*	*kle*	*e*	*t*	***u***
Second person *mot / ko* 'you	-----	*duing*	*kle*	*ke*	*t*	***o***
Third person masculine *nemot 'he, it'*	*gemang*	*duing*	*kle*	*ne*	*w*	***on***
Third person feminine *nemot 'she, it)*	*gemang*	*duing*	*kle*	*ne*	*w*	***un***
First person incl. *imot 'we'*	*gabe*	*duing*	*mle*	*e*	*w*	***on***

6) Present Tense: durative aspect

Person	Exist gabe 'here' *gemang* 'there'	Gen.Verb	Dual	Plural	Tense / Aspect	Gender
First person *genam / at* 'I'	*gabe*	*duing*	*kle*	*e*	*tug*	*u*
Second person *mot / ko* 'you	-----	*duing*	*kle*	*ke*	*tog-y*	*o*
Third person masculine *nemot 'he, it'*	*gemang*	*duing*	*kle*	*ne*	*tog / t*[22]	*on*
Third peson feminine *nemot 'she, it)*	*gemang*	*duing*	*kle*	*ne*	*tug*	*un*
First person incl. *imot 'we'*	*gabe*	*duing*	*mle*	*e*	*t*	*on*

---

[22] See note 17

7) Recent Past Tense: stative aspect

Person	Exist	Mode	Gen.Verb	Dual	Plural	Tense / Aspect	Gender
First person *genam / at* 'I'	*gabe*	*mo*	---	*kle*	*e*	*y*	*u*
Second person *mot / ko* 'you		*mo*	---	*kle*	*ke*	*y*	*o*
Third person masculine *nemot* 'he, it'	*gemang*	*mo*	---	*kle*	*ne*	*y*	*om*
Third peson feminine *nemot* 'she, it)	*gemang*	*mo*	---	*kle*	*ne*	*y*	*um*
First person incl. *imot* 'we'	*gabe*	*mo*	---	*mle*	*e*	*y*	*om*

8) Recent Past Tense: durative[23] aspect

Person	Exist	Mode	Gen.Verb	Dual	Plural	Tense / Aspect	Gender
First person *genam / at* 'I'	*gabe*	*mo*	---	*kle*	*e*	*ty*	*u*
Second person *mot / ko* 'you		*mo*	---	*kle*	*ke*	*ty*	*o*
Third person masculine *nemot* 'he, it'	*gemang*	*mo*	---	*kle*	*ne*	*ty*	*om*
Third peson feminine *nemot* 'she, it)	*gemang*	*mo*	---	*kle*	*ne*	*ty*	*um*
First person incl. *imot* 'we'	*gabe*	*mo*	---	*mle*	*e*	*y*	*om*

---

[23] These have been provided by language informants but are not recorded in text so far. It may be that theoretically these forms exist, but that in practice speaker use a Durative Present Tense, or the Durative Remote Past Tense.

9) Remote Past Tense: stative aspect

Person	Mode	Gen.Verb	Dual	Plural	Tense / Aspect	Gender
genam / at 'I'	mo	---	kle	e	k	u
mot / ko[24] 'you'					*k*	*s*
nemot (masc.) 'he'	mo	---	kle	ne	k	on
nemot (fem.) 'she'	mo	---	kle	ne	k	un
imot					*k*	*on*

10) Remote Past Durative Past

Person	Mode	General Verb	Dual	Plural	Tense / Aspect	Gender
genam / at (I)	mo	---	kle	e	ng	u
mot / ko (you)					*ng*	*a*
nemot (masc.) 'he'	mo	---	kle	ne	ng	am
nemot (fem.) 'she'	mo	---	kle	ne	ng	um
imot					*ng*	*am*

11) Remote Past Tense: Motion verb in serial construction (*na* 'down')

Person	Mode	General Verb	Dual	Plural	Direct-ional 'down'	Tense / Aspect	Gender
genam / at (I)	mo	---	kle	e	na	ng	u
mot / ko (you)					na	ng	a
nemot (masc.) 'he	mo	---	kle	ne	na	ng	am
nemot (fem.) 'she'	mo	---	kle	ne	na	ng	um
imot (we incl.)					na	ng	am

12) Remote Past Tense: Motion verbs *kun, ban, san* 'come down, up, same level'

Person	Mode	General Verb	Dual	Plural	Directional	Focus -a-	Tense Aspect	Gender
genam / at (I)	mo	---	kle	e	kun/ban /san	-a-	ng / k	u
mot / ko (you)					kun/ban/san	-a-	ng / k	a
nemot (masc.) 'he'	mo	---	kle	ne	kun/ban/san	-a-	ng / k	am
nemot (fem.) 'she'	mo	---	kle	ne	na		ng / k	um
imot (we incl.)					na		ng	am

---

[24] *Occurrences in ITALIC are possible but not found yet in available texts*.

4.3.　Adverbial Phrase

Adverbials are non obligatory and can be divided into three classes based on their position:
a) As Adverbial Phrase, immediately preceding Verbal Phrase
b) Occurring in different positions in the Clause
c) Occurring as adverbials within the Verbal Phrase[25]

4.3.1. Clause level positioned adverbials
4.3.1.1. Connected with Verbal Phrase
They have the following formula:

NOUN / QUALIFIER + so

Consider the following examples:

(1) Nemot / yap　ngga/ [suey[26] so] mo　　klik.
　　　3p　　　house that　　good　IN　already build
'He built that house well.'

(2) Woy so-go /　umnali /　　[mata so] mea pung.
　　　sun IN- GIV　cane flower　many IN　will come out
'In the sun (hot season) cane flowers will bloom 'in plenty' '.

(3) Coklat usu　/　[ket so].
　　cocoa garden　　　far IN
'The cocoa tree garden is far away.'

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

4.3.1.2. Free distributed adverbials
They have the following formula:

QUALIFIER

(1) Kua [maning] /　suey　so　pu.
　　no　ongoing　　good IN　tell / call
'No, go on, call it correctly.'

---

[25] This class of adverbials is discussed in Chapter IV, 2.5.
[26] There are different classes of phonological words that function in different syntactic positions as adverbs, verbs and adjectives, like *suey* 'good'.

*(2) [**Maning**] kabung ngga nemot ey /   nebut so / pe-pen, ...*
      Ongoing woman   that   3p   COM talk   IN   red.speak
'While (he/she) was still talking to that woman, ...'

*(3) Genam / [**maning**] ko-klong.*
     1p   ongoing   red.go
'I am still going.'

*(4) Nan   Kemtuik no   go   tasam ngga kalik go [**maning**] kua ikum.*
    country Kemtuik TO GIV sign   that   like GIV ongoing not see
'In the Kemtuik area a sign like that has not been seen.'

*(5) Duo sat   nega   go / [**tandali**] pung go*
    child younger loose   GIV   again   arrive fact.
'How the younger brother arrived again.'

*(6) [**Tebadali**] kua semu.*
      in vain   not work
'Don't work in vain.'

*(7) Meno duo   no   go   klum / mot go saysuk no go / [**dali**] kalik se.*
    other child TO GIV love   2p   GIV body TO GIV also like   imp.
'You have to love others also like you love yourself.'

4.3.2. Verb Phrase positioned adverbials
(discussed in Chapter IV, 2.5.)