

---

*Table of Contents*

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

## 5. Kemtuik Clause

## 5.1. Verb valency

Kemtuik verb, with all its grammatical functions, has been discussed in Chapter 4.2. (Verbal Phrase). But here we will focus on the verb, as event with its arguments, operating in a clause. In linguistics, verb valency refers to the number of arguments controlled by a verbal predicate<sup>1</sup>. On this basis a distinction needs to be made between transitive and intransitive verbs. Doing so, we will notice an ergative-absolutive system in arguments of the transitive and intransitive verbs

**Commented [JHB1]:** I'm not sure about this, but is it properly 'ergative-absolutive' (as in nominative-accusative)?

## 5.2. Transitivity

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

**Commented [JHB2]:** This confused me at first, as I was wondering what the first argument was, but then I figured out that it is the subject NP. Do you expect that your readers will know this?

## 5.2.1. Examples: Transitive verb

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

3ps pig big GIV IN red.cut\_up  
'He is cutting up a big pig.'

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

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

(3) *[Waklap blo ut] ey sapu lo [sengan]!*

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

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

wood that mother INST put- sit\_up-pt-fem-3p GIV  
'That wood has been put up there by mother.'

(5) *Mia lo [bu bot] ey wengkabui no kong go*

mother INST water bucket COM head TO put GIV  
'Mother carried the water bucket on (her) head.'

**Commented [JHB3]:** I would consider 'the water bucket' to be a direct object, and therefore that this verb is transitive. No?

(6) *{[Yatap] pu<sup>2</sup>} ey / [ntok]!*

<sup>1</sup> See: Wikipedia on Valency (linguistics)

<sup>2</sup> *Yatap put* 'door' is phonologically contracted to: /*yataput*/

door COM close  
 ‘Close the door!’

(7) [Amblekeba] # bu ey [lu]!  
 Clothes water COM wash  
 ‘Wash the clothes with water!’

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

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

### 5.2.2. Intransitive verbs examples:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 5.3. Ergativity

Kemtuik operates with a (split) ergative system<sup>3</sup>. The basic clause order in Kemtuik is *Subject – Object – Verb*. Ergativity can be found in both morphological and syntactic behavior in the Kemtuik clause. It is expressed by:

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

**Commented [JHB4]:** Is this a Kemtuik word? If so, probably good to include a gloss.

In the next two examples intransitivity and transitivity are being compared. Note that the object of the intransitive (*genam* ‘I / me’) is treated like the object of the transitive verb. Note that the inflection of the (hybrid) verb root is different and supplies us with the needed information (i.e. *dap-l-u* vs. *dap-y-u-n*)

**Commented [JHB5]:** Is this ‘order’ supposed to be here? In this context it does not make sense to me.

**Commented [JHB6]:** I find the positioning of the parentheses identifying the subject of the intransitive and the object of the transitive confusing. My opinion is that they would be better placed directly after the term they identify: ‘the subject (*bu* ‘water/river’) of the intransitive clause order is identical with the object (*genam* ‘I / me’) of the transitive clause.

#### Intransitive construction:

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

#### Transitive construction:

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

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

**Commented [JHB7]:** Isn't *dap-a-y-u-n* the VP rather than the NP?

So, the object of the transitive verb (*genam* ‘me’) and the core argument of the intransitive verb (*genam* ‘I’) are treated alike. The agent of the transitive verb is

<sup>3</sup> A definition in Wikipedia explains: An ergative-absolutive language (or simply an ergative language) is a language that treats (i.e. case-marks) the argument (“subject”) of an intransitive verb like the object of a transitive verb, but differently from the agent (“subject”) of a transitive verb.

marked differently with ergative case (i.e. *lo* 'INST'). (A 'confusing' element is the marking of the secondary argument in the intransitive example: *bu* 'water' with *lo* 'instrumental'. But agreement in the verbal structure clears up that problem (i.e. *genam* 'I' is in agreement with First Person in the verb string: *-u* 1p.).

Commented [JHB8]: Italicize?

#### 5.4. Active / Passive

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

(1) *Nggeasui / genam lo / lema / mo but<sup>4</sup>.* (transitive and active)  
 now 1ps INST snake already kill  
 'I just killed a snake.'

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

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

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

##### 5.4.1. Active construction

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

Consider the following SOV examples:

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

<sup>4</sup> *but* = 1. hit ; 2. kill

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

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

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

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

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

Commented [JHB9]: ‘nursery’?

Commented [JHB10]: Is it necessary to have the same footnote twice? (#3 and #4)

#### 5.4.2. Passive construction

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

$O - S_{lo} - V_{trans}$

$(IO) - S - V_{intrans}$

Consider the following examples:

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

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

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

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

### 5.5. Hybrid verbs

Some Kemtuik verbs can be considered to be hybrid verbs. If we consider the verb *iti*, the basic meaning will be ‘take’. The same verb added with the position *no* ‘to’, expresses ‘give’. So [*iti*] = ‘take’ and [*iti* + *no*] = ‘give’. Compare the active form (1) with the passive forms (2) (3). In all three examples the verb root *iti* is not inflected:

- (1) Yoram # [udui ngga] / [mia] **no** / mo iti. (transitive; active) (S-O-IO-V)  
 Yoram banana that mother to already give  
 ‘Yoram has given the banana to mother.’

- (2) [Udui ngga] [Yoram] **lo** / mo iti. (transitive; passive) (O-S-V)  
 Banana that Yoram INST already take  
 ‘That banana was taken by Yoram.’

- (3) Udui ngga / [Yoram] **no** / mo iti. (transitive; passive) (O-IO-V)  
 Banana that Yoram to already give  
 ‘That banana was already been given to Yoram.’

### 5.6. Clause types

The following basic CL- types are established:

- Equative CL: NP + NP<sub>eq</sub>
- Relational CL: NP + NP<sub>rel</sub>
- Existence CL: NP + NP + V<sub>ex</sub>
- Adjectival CL: NP + V<sub>adj</sub>
- Verbal CL: NP + VP<sub>intrans</sub> ± go  
 NP + NP + VP<sub>trans</sub> ± go  
 NP + NP + NP + VP<sub>bitrans</sub> ± go
- Purpose CL: NP + NP/VP + go + nang ± so ± go

**Commented [JHB11]:** What is NANG? If it is a Kemtuik word, should it not be in lower case letters like 'so' and 'go'?

#### 5.6.1. Equative clauses (EQ CL)

The following formula summarizes this clause type:

$$\text{EQ CL} = \text{S}_{\text{np}} + \text{PRED}_{\text{np}}$$

A S<sub>np</sub> may be equated with another NP by a non-overt predicate, carrying the meaning of ‘equative’. The two NP’s are juxtaposed.

(1) *Yosepina / genam go kabung.*  
Yosepina 1p. GIV woman  
‘Yosefina (is) my wife.’

(2) *Genam ngge / sedue dali!*  
1ps this man also  
‘I am (just) a human being too!’

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

### 5.6.2. Relational Clause (REL CL)

The following formula summarizes this clause type

REL CL = S <sub>np/cl</sub> + PRED <sub>rel.postpos.</sub>
--

S<sub>np/cl</sub> is identified with a predicate consisting of a noun, noun phrase or clause, post-positioned by a relational: inessive *so*, deitic *go*, allative *no*, instigative *lo* and comitative *ey* :

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

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

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

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

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

(5) *Kunala / temoy no! Nemot / kenong ey go!*  
thinking middle TO 3p fall COM GIV  
‘Be careful, lest he falls down!’

Commented [JHB12]: I don’t understand this sentence.

Commented [JHB13]: Are these two lines in italics by accident?

Commented [JHB14]: I think this should perhaps be ‘lest’.



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

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

(8) *Nemot go yap / namon ey.*  
 3p GIV house two COM  
 ‘He owns two houses.’

### 5.6.3. Existential Clause (EX CL)

The following formula summarizes this clause type:

$$\text{EX CL} = S_{\pm\text{np/cl}} \pm\text{Onp} + \text{PREDEX}$$

$S_{\text{np}}$  may be identified with an Existential Predicate ( $\text{PREDEX}_{\text{sit}}$ ), consisting either of *gabe*<sup>5</sup> ‘existence here’ or *gemang*<sup>6</sup> ‘existence there’.

(1) *Genam / Markus / gabe.*  
 1ps Markus ex.here  
 ‘I here am Marc.’

(2) *Martin / Camat / gemang.*  
 Martin District chief ex.there  
 ‘Martin is a district chief overthere.’

(3) *Ngaynalo atamu lo mo luik / gabe.*  
 Aunt uncle INST already take away ex.here  
 ‘Aunt has been taken away by uncle.’ (refers to an ongoing situation here, started in the past)

(4) *Ngge / genam go atuia / gabe.*  
 this 1ps GIV plan ex.here  
 ‘This is my planning.’ (describes a situation)

(5) *Klum / genam ba so gabe.*  
 affection 1p.s inside IN ex.here  
 ‘Inside me there is affection.’

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

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

(6) *Aya yap so /gemang.*  
 father house IN ex.there  
 ‘Father is (there) in the house.’

#### 5.6.4. Adjectival Clauses (ADJ CL)

This clause type presents a qualitative, descriptive predication about a single referent (NP). The center of the clause is an ADJ predicate (PRED<sub>adj</sub>).

AD CL = Snp + PRED<sub>adj</sub>

(1) *Ngge / suey.*  
 this good  
 ‘This is good.’

(2) *Denok ngga go suong unen ey / kerlam.*  
 Child that GIV face mother COM same  
 ‘That child’s face is just like her mother’s.’

(3) *Sedue ngge / kateba.*  
 man this quick  
 ‘This man (is) quick.’

#### 5.6.5. Verbal Clause (VB CL)

VB CL = ± Snp/cl ± Obj.np/cl ± Ind.Obj.np/cl + PRED<sub>vp</sub>

(1) [*Klong*]-a! (V)  
 go foc  
 ‘Go!’

(2) *Bayi ngga / beap alui lo [iti-betep] go.* (O-S-V<sub>go</sub>)  
 prahu that sea wave INST take-throw GIV  
 ‘That boat was tossed to and fro by the waves.’

(3) *Imot namon / wadi go / duen ba lo [mea sreka- me- na- y- o- n].* (S-T-P-V)  
 we.incl. two night GIV bush in INST will sleep-dual-go\_down-fut-masc.3p  
 ‘Coming night we will sleep in the bush.’

(4) *Mamnebut / kantor no / Yakob lo [gabe iti] go / [mo klong].* (O-IO-S-V<sub>go</sub>-V)  
 tale office TO Yakob INST ex.here take GIV already go  
 ‘Here, Yakob has taken the tales and went to the office.’

**Commented [JHB15]:** Are these two lines supposed to be italicized?

(5) *Nggeasui go/ ngge no lemoy go no go nebut / mea pen-a- si- l- -u.* (T–O–V)  
 now GIV this TO happen GIV TO GIV talk will say foc go\_down fut 1p  
 ‘Now I will tell the story what happened here.’

(6a) *Nggano / duo neguot Kemtuik sik sogo/ gemang mo duing dali:*  
 and man young Kemtuik origin ex.there already think too:  
 ‘And young Kemtuik men began to think also:’

(6b) *kebali ngge /nemot nang ey / ibe so / mea lek.* (O – IO – P – V)  
 work this 3p pl. COM open IN will carry  
 ‘This work will be carried together in the open (will be openly supported).’

### 5.6.6. Purpose Clause (PURP CL)

Examples:

PURP CL = S<sub>np</sub> + PRED *go* + *nang* ± *so* ± *go*

**Commented [JHB16]:** Should NANG be in lower case letters like 'so' and 'go'?

In this clause type (Pred *go*/NP *go*) followed by the purpose indicator *nang*<sup>7</sup> indicates purpose / reason.

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

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

(3a) *Dunkoy Debui / nemot klong go itak go nang so /*  
 Dunkoy Debui 3p go GIV leave GIV purp. IN  
 ‘In order to let Dunkoy Debui go and leave (= getting married elsewhere),’

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

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

<sup>7</sup> *Nang* is both a plural and purpose marker. It follows both NP and VP. For that reason *go* + *nang* are interpreted as separate words and not as one word, i.e. [gɔ̌.ɔ̌n ɔ̌N] /go nang/.

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

### 5.7. Coordination of clauses

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

#### 5.7.1. Subordinated and embedded clauses

The shortest formula of a subordinated or embedded clause is:

VP + *go*

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

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

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

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

- (3) *Kabung usu sik so go pung go no / mesip so gabe kun- t- u.*  
 woman garden origin IN GIV arrive GIV TO behind IN ex.here come\_down pt 1p.  
 ‘Straight after the woman arrived from the garden, I came down here.’

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

Commented [JHB17]: Should ‘end’ here perhaps be ‘and’?

The following example of an subordinated clause with this formula:

O ± IO + V<sub>go</sub>

is embedded in an Adjectival Clause:

{Snp [+ IO + V<sub>go</sub>] PredAdj}

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

## 5.7.2. Coordinated clauses

Coordinated clauses show up as follows:

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

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

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

## 5.7.3. Culminating clauses

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

± NP + VP ± *gemang/ gabe* + Verb Root ± Inflection

The basic formula of such a verbal clause is:

NP/CL + (VPgo± *no*) ± (VPgo± *no*) ± (VPgo± *no*) + main-CL

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

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

(2) *Sedue lo klong go / gemang tebok<sup>8</sup>-na- w- o- n.*  
 man INST go GIV ex. fix sit\_down pt masc-3p  
 ‘The one man went and to fetch the watching place.’

(3) *Sedue [duot tebok] so [se t- o- n]*  
 man sago help IN go\_same level ptdur-masc-3p  
 ‘While the man was going to fetch the sago (place),

<sup>8</sup> *tebok* carries the following meanings: ‘help, assist, add, fetch’

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

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

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

(7) *duot so / dam- t- o- n.*  
 sago spec eat ptdur-masc-3p.  
 and he was eating sago.'

And this example:

(8) *Dame Idam lo sray nemot but go / duik go / dam-ba- ng- a- m.*  
 Dame Idam INST lizard 3ps. kill GIV bake GIV eat- sit\_up rempast masc.3p.  
 'Dame Idam he killed the lizard, cooked it, ate it.'

### 5.8. Interclausal relationships

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

Commented [JHB18]: Is this 'the' needed?

Semantic Funtion	Kemtuik marker	English gloss
<b>1. Coordination</b>	<i>go</i>	and
<i>Wabedong imot dasi dam go kim bu gabe drop.</i> midday we (incl) fish eat GIV coconut water ex. here drink 'At midday we eat fish <u>and</u> drink coconut milk.'		
<b>2. Orientor – Content</b>	<i>go</i>	#
<i>Dame Idam lo pu go, "Genam sadui so be!"</i> Dame Idam INST ask GIV I sick IN ex. here 'Dame Idam said <u>that</u> he was feeling sick.'		
<b>3. Condition</b>	<i>( mo) --- go</i>	if / after

Commented [JHB19]: Is it standard to number this example (1) when there is no (2) (also several following examples.)?

(1) *Ngga naklay semu go, mea yam.*  
 that all do GIV will finish  
 ‘If all that has been done, it will be finished.’

(2) *Genam mo klong go, ningkuoy mot lo se tuet.*  
 Ips already go GIV potato you INST imp dig  
 ‘After I have gone, you have to dig potatoes.’

4.Cause (specific) – result	<i>go so</i>	because
(1) <i>Nglangin ey unen ey pu go so, demanon tandali</i> father and mother and said GIV IN younger.sister again		

*gemang be- t- u- n.*  
 ex. there go- pt- fem 3p  
 ‘Because father and mother told (her) specifically, the younger sister went up again.’

(2) *[[Ngga nemot] so] go so, [kota no go] genam kua klong.*  
 that 3ps IN GIV IN town TO GIV 1p not go  
 ‘Because of that, I am not going to town.’

(3) *[[Tom kua<sup>9</sup>] go] so mo lemoy go / nemot go seni mea kua dali.*  
 good\_tasting not-be GIV IN already happen GIV 3p GIV content will not-be too  
 ‘If it has become not tasty anymore, it lost its purpose as well.’

5. Ground – Result	<i>ngga sik so</i>	in that way
<i>Ngga sik so mea senong: mot sedue suey go!</i> that from IN WILL know you person good GIV		

‘In that way (we) will know that you are a good person!’

6. Source – reason	<i>tang so</i>	because
<i>Di peduing go tang so, sedue ngga mo kenong.</i> tree rot GIV origin IN man that already fall		

‘Because the tree was rotten, the man fell down.’

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

*usre se wata dali.*  
 jump imp dans too  
 ‘The district leader having taken a small drum, he danced as well.’

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

<sup>9</sup> Morphologically *kua* has different functions. It functions as a negative marker in the VP, but it also occurs (as in this case) as verb root. C.f. Chapter 2.1.1.

1ps Father TO prayer tell know GIV 1ps small GIV TO  
 ‘I know how to pray to Father, since I was a small (child).’

(3) [Leme mit no pung **go no**] kabung nalo lo gemang pen-a- na- t- u- n, “...”  
 leme tree at to arrive GIV TO woman old INTR ex.there say foc sit\_down pt fem 3p  
 ‘After arriving at the leme-tree, the old woman said, “...”.’

(4) [Wadi ku klik **go no**] buong go / ip- na- w- o- n go / nemot gemang kap.  
 night day rise GIV to awake GIV stand sit\_down-pt mas 3p GIV 3p ex.there run  
 ‘At day rise, he awoke, stood up and ran away.’

<b>8. Cause (general)- Result</b>	go no go	because
-----------------------------------	----------	---------

(1) [Nan babu kua **go** **no go**, didon ngga keda so gemang pung.  
 field dense not GIV TO GIV fruit that quick IN ex.there grow  
 ‘Because the field is not dense, it is bearing fruit quickly.’

<b>9. Means – purpose</b>	go nang	in order
---------------------------	---------	----------

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

seni iti **go nang**  
 result take GIV purp

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

<b>10. Means – neg.purpose</b>	go naning	in order not
--------------------------------	-----------	--------------

Ngga so no kua klong, mot nega **go naning!**  
 that IN TO not go you loose GIV in\_order\_that\_not  
 ‘Don’t go over there, lest you get lost!’

<b>11. Intentional</b>	so go	to
------------------------	-------	----

Sam seguola denok nguok **so go**, iti go.  
 book school child teach IN GIV take GIV  
 ‘The book is given to teach school children.’

<b>12. Comitative consequence</b>	ey go	lest
-----------------------------------	-------	------

(1) Ku so no kua yalung, mot kenong **ey go!**  
 Iow IN TO not watch you fall COM GIV  
 ‘Don’t look down, lest you fall down!’

(2) Mot nang-a klong dam, genam sadui **ey go**, ten ya kua dam  
 you (pl)-focus go eat I sick COM GIV food imp. not eat  
 ‘You go and eat, but I am sick and am not able to eat.’

<b>13. Simultaneity</b>	red.verb root	while
-------------------------	---------------	-------



--	--	--

(1) *Mia usu so te- trok, masi geningwong lo kerlok go.*  
 mother garden IN rep.cut foot thorn INST scratch GIV  
 ‘While mother was cutting the garden, she scratched her leg on some thorns.’

(2a) *Aya ngga so go suey so mo su-suing gemang.*  
 father thereIN GIV good IN already red.stay ex.there  
 ‘While you are having a good time over there,

(2b) *genamnang ngge so go suey dali gabe su-suing.*  
 we (incl.) here IN GIV good also ex. red.stay  
 we here have a good time as well.’

(3) *Genam go ngoy-dan mo tong,*  
*lps GIV marriage-gift-beads already cut*

*isuo ple so tu-tuk go no,*  
 lemon arrow IN red-shoot GIV TO  
 ‘I lost my beads, while I was shooting at lemons (with) bow and arrow.’

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

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

(2) *Mia semlea luik go, ngga ey at nang lo gabe dam.*  
 mother sago cook GIV that COM 1p excl.pl INST ex.here eat  
 ‘Right after mother finished cooking sago, we here start eating.’

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

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

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

**Commented [JHB20]:** The English word that would be most natural in this sentence and the next one is ‘manage’ rather than ‘succeed’, though one would say, ‘...he did not succeed in finding ...’.

<b>16. Disjunction</b>	<i>-a , -a</i>	or
------------------------	----------------	----

*Aya, kopi-a ya drop, te-a ya drop?*  
 father coffee foc imp drink tea-focus imp drink  
 ‘Sir, do you want to drink coffee or tea?’

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

*Amos ten-a te-tra, ten dam mo- i- so.*  
 Amos food-foc red-feel food eat already count IN  
 ‘Although he felt hungry, Amos was not willing to eat.’

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

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