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

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

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2.1. Word Classes: some general observations

2.1.1. Identical words can function in different word classes.

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

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

Examples:

(1) as noun,

[Suey *go -a]* *se iti go klong.*

good GIV foc. neces. give GIV go

‘Go and give the good one!’

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

(2) as verb:

Yap ngge tandali [mo suey].

house this again already good

‘This house has been improved again.’

(3) as adverb

[Suey] *so pen-san -d -o ya!*

good IN talk return fut. 2p imp.

‘You have to answer well.’

(4) as adjective

Mot [tasam suey go] mo semu.

2p action good GIV already do

‘You did the good thing.’

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

(5) as noun

[Mot *lo go way]* *ya kong- na- l- o?*

2p INST GIV turn imp . put down sit_down-fut-**lp**

‘Are you going to give your reaction?’

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

(6) as verb

Tap ngge/ bu lo / ngga ba so no/ [way] go.

road this water INST that in IN TO turn GIV

‘In that (place) this road is washed out by water.’

(7) as adverb

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

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

(8) as adjective

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

2.1.2. Grouping

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

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

The following example shows different purposes in one identical context:

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

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

- doubling nouns or qualities, i.e: *andua-andua*;
- adding *yap* 'house (hold)', i.e: *aka-sat yap*;
- a noun with qualifier e.g.: *desui menggo* 'all nephews from mothers'side';
- two opposite partakers e.g. : indicate a particular group: *moy-ay, aka -sat*¹;

Note that in the string of the verb root there are two morphological properties that can be (even both together) related to the concept of plurality and or grouping in the nominal phrase (NP-agent)²:

- single (#) vs. dual/plural (*kle; ke; mle/me ; e; ne ; i*³)
- VP-final: *lak* 'all'(group of people) or *sing* 'every-one'(number of individuals).

2.1.3. Plurality

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

- by adding a numeral to a noun / pronoun

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

² See for further discussion and examples Chapter IV: Verbal Phrase..

³ Idem.

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

- by adding plural marker *nang*⁴ to a noun / pronoun
- by using dual / plural markers in the verb string⁵

Examples:

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

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

2.1.4. Doubling

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

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

Example in context:

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

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

(1) *dabui-dabui lo*
 heart heart INST
 'deeply'

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

⁴ Numeral (dual) and plural marker *nang* can also be added to pronouns. *Nemot namon* 'they two' and *nemot nang* 'they' (= 3 or more).

⁵ See discussion on Verb Phrase in this chapter.

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

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

In context:

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

2.1.5.Compounding

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

2.1.5.1 Noun compounding

In the case of nouns compounding shows ‘totality’.

Examples:

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

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

(3) *[Me sru - ma sru⁶] pluep go.*
 male person female person gather GIV
 ‘Many people gathered together.’

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

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

Other examples are:

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

⁶ The literal meaning of *me* and *ma* is unclear. The combination means ‘many’.

aka-sat
tap-masi
saysuk-waglo

'brother' + 'sister' = 'group of brothers, sisters, cousins'
 'road' + 'foot' = 'travel'
 'body' + 'soul' (= outside + inside)

2.1.5.2. Verb compounding

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

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

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

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

Another kind of compounding is where the main verb is combined with a more specialized ('intensifier') verb root, like *sing* 'pick out one by one'; *dap* 'finish'; *lak* 'complete'; *sre* 'fill', or a motion verb root, like *san* 'return at same level'. Compare the following examples, functioning as simple verb (black + underlined) and in a compound situation (black).

(1) *Begoy so/ genam / [(ga) be sing- tug- u].*
 sweet potato IN 1ps. ex.here pick ptdur 1p
 'I am picking out potatoes (of the fire).

Commented [JHB6]: 'potato'?

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

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

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

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

(7) *Genam [pen⁷- dap t -u] go.*

⁷ The verbs *pen* and *pu* are not related, but their meaning is close. *Pen* 'speak' (general); *pu* 'talk, order' (specific).

1p say finish pt 1p GIV
 ‘This is all what I have to say.’

(8) *Imot kua [ikum- dap i⁸ sre w- o- n].*
 1p.pl incl not see finish pl fill pt masc 3p
 ‘We have searched all around but did not see (it,him,her).’

Commented [JHB7]: ‘searched’?

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

Commented [JHB8]: In the previous examples the illustration of the simple verb appears to come first, then the compound, but Examples (9) and (10) appear to be the other way round.

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

2.1.6. Noun-verb constructions

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

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

Consider the also the following examples in their contexts:

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

(2) *Ngge / nemot go ten -dam bu -drop sip / gabe.*
 this 3p GIV food_eat water_drink place / it is
 ‘This is the place for food and drinks (groceries).’

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

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

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

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

⁸ The occurrence of *i* (plural marker) is quite special. So far, only *e* has found in the same slot.

2.1.7. Reflexivity

2.1.7.1. Reflexivity in transitive constructions

Reflexivity of the pronoun can occur in different ways:

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

For example:

[Nemot tang so] ngga mo semu.

3p origin IN that already do.

'He did that himself.'

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

For instance:

Nemot go ta keballi [way so] gabe iti.

3p GIV hand work turn IN ex.here give

'His work was returned.'

2.1.7.2. Reflexivity in intransitive constructions

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

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

2.2 Nouns

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

Although a Kemtuik noun can refer to a wide scale of arguments like *person*, *place*, *thing*, *event*, *substance*, *quality*, *quantity*, or *idea*, a semantic definition of a noun is not easily given either. A noun can not function as head of a verbal- or

Commented [JHB9]: This does not sound right to me, but since I can't be sure what it is supposed to mean, I'm afraid I can't give you a suggestion, sorry! Unless, perhaps, However, it cannot ...'

Commented [JHB10]: I personally would prefer a colon to a comma before the list.

adverbial phrase, but it does function as head of a phrase in subjects, objects or in secondary arguments. And as subject, it does concord with gender, person, aspect, and plurality in the verb string.

2.2.1. Sub-classes

2.2.1.1. On basis of animate versus inanimate

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

(1) *Uduo / nemot go seguong so/nebut got- ne-w- o- n go no/gemang pen-ne-t- o n,*
dog 3p GIV only IN talk stay-pl-pt-masc3p GIV TO ex.there say pl pt dur masc 3p
'The dogs, among themselves, having a meeting, they said (to each other), "...".

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

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

2.2.1.2. On basis of gender

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

Masculine, e.g.:

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

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

Feminine, e.g.:

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

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

Commented [JHB11]: This is somewhat ambiguous; I imagine the intended meaning is 'animals, e.g. human beings...', but it could be taken to mean 'animals that are like human beings...'

Commented [JHB12]: 'either' requires a following 'or'.

Commented [JHB13]: I have a feeling this should be 'depending'.

Commented [JHB14]: If multiple speakers are in view this is correct, but if one speaker it should be '(the) speaker's choice'.

The younger sister realising (that), started to shout, ‘Hello ...!’

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

2.2.1.3. On basis of lack of difference between singular and plural

The following words belong to this sub-class:

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

Consider the following examples:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.2. Noun types

2.2.2.1. Simple noun

NOUN / PRONOUN

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

Commented [JHB15]: This sub-section does not appear in the Table of Contents at the top.

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

Clan chief inaugurate GIV purp feast will celebrate

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

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

tree man INST already cut down .

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

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

coconut this already dry GIV-focus

'This coconut has already dried out.'

(4) *Nemot /gemang.*

3p ex.there

'He/she is there.'

(5) *Nemot / mo kebong.*

3p already die

'He/she died already.' ('He/she is dead')

Commented [JHB16]: Is this / supposed to be here?

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

NOUN1 + NOUN2(attributive)

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

Examples:

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

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

2p GIV hand branch IN GIV INST

'What happened with your finger(s)?'

Commented [JHB17]: / needed?

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

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

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

Commented [JHB18]: bold].

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

Commented [JHB19]: hyphen?

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

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

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

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

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

NOUN 1 (attributive) + NOUN 2

Examples:

<i>kin suk</i>	(blood; skin)	'red'
<i>yap demat</i>	(house; spirit)	'house spirit(s)'
<i>duo kabung</i>	(child; woman)	'daughter-in-law'
<i>duo kaguik</i>	(child; girl)	'girl'
<i>sisi⁹ put</i>	(person; hole)	'small place with window at the top of a house'
<i>ibuip yakena</i>	(name ; village)	'Ibub village'

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

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

(3) { *[Ibuip yakena]* } *Klesi so.*
Ibub village Klesi IN (= specifically Klesi)
'Ibub village is Gres area.'

Commented [JHB20]: Should this be 'in Gres area'?

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⁹ si 'egg / person' is probably the basic form for 'man'. In the language family, it is related to words like: [s.ɔru]; [s.ɔrū] or [s.ɔdō] all meaning 'man'.

2.3. Pronouns

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

2.3.1 Pronoun system: free pronouns

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

2.3.2. Subject gender suffixes

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

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

Commented [JHB21]: I'm not familiar with this word.

(Verbal suffixes for gender subject)

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

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

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

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

Nemot lo ut nan beap wi-dasi ngga naklay {mo [semu- ng- a- m] gabe}.
 He INST heaven earth sea bird-fish that all already make rem past masc3p ex.here
 ‘He created heaven, earth, see and all the creatures (represented by birds and fishes).’

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

In (1): the subject is considered to be one group > (3p singular fem)

in (2)- (5) the subject is considered to be ‘many people’ > (3p plural masc):

(1) *Ku meno no / sedue kabung naklay / walop so / gemang yaluim-a¹⁰ – na – t- u- n.*
 day other TO man woman all feast IN ex.there gather foc sit_down-pt-fem-3p
 ‘On a certain day all the people (=one group) were gathering for a feast.’ (singular construction)

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

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

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

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

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

2.4. Adjectives

There are three classes of adjectives:

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

This last class is a special one, **on a par with** intransitive verbs.

2.4.1. Classification

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

¹⁰ Although *a* ‘focus’ refers to the subject, is not ‘single marker’ contrasting *ne* ‘plural’, but it gives focus to the verb.

Commented [JHB22]: I don't know what 'pars' are, sorry.

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ADJ + NOUN

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

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

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

with that in example (2) NOUN + ADJ

(1) *Imot nang* / [**Kemtuik** *duo*¹¹].

1p.incl. pl Kemtuik child
‘We all are Kemtuik people. (classification)’

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

man woman Kemtuik many IN not
‘There are not many Kemtuik people.’ (descriptive; see: 2.4.2)

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

that Holland from GIV foreign child
‘That foreigner is from Holland.’

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

man one child sun rise from arrive GIV. will come
‘A particular man, arriving from the east, will come.’

2.4.2. Descriptive

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

NOUN + ADJ

Examples:

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

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

day other TO man woman all feast IN. ex.there gather-foc down_there pt fem 3p
‘One a certain day all the people gathered together there to have a feast.’

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

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

¹¹ duo ‘child’ but also ‘person classified to a certain group’

Commented [JHB23]: I believe the natural English would be either: ‘Compare the word order in example (1) ... with that in example (2) ...’. OR: ‘Compare the word order in examples (1) ... and (2) ...’.

(3) [Kung **senang**] ngge / nebut pen ey go.
 Banyan tree very old this talk say COM GIV
 ‘There’s a story about this very old banyan tree.’

4) [Denok **dato**] ngga nemot / [amblang dato¹²] / ey lo.
 child little that 3p character special with INST
 ‘That particular little boy has a strong character.’

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

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

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

2.4.3. General specification

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

NOUN + ADJ *go*

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

Examples:

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

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

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

¹² *dato* has two different meanings: ‘tiny, little’ and ‘special’

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

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

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

(5) *Wom semu go so / ntaton lo / **suey** go.*
 theft do GIV IN ol.br. INST good GIV
 ‘Because (he/she/they) stole, (he/she/they) was (were) punished by older brother.’

2.4.4. Nominalization

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

QUALIFIER + (SO) GO

Examples:

(1) [*Seguay go- **babu** go*] *naklay se wasey.*
 small GIV big GIV all neces divide.
 ‘The little ones and the grown-up’s, all must be divided.’

(2) [*Keduong so go*] *ngga banom so se tui.*
 begin IN GIV that self IN neces put
 ‘The first fruits must be set aside.’ (Note: *keduong so* = ‘in the beginning’; *keduong so go* = ‘first’)

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

(3) [*Wali tap*] *lo kua keng go, [piam ey go] lo mea keng.*
 life road INST not follow GIV wrong COM GIV INST will follow
 ‘If (people) don’t follow the life-road, (they) will follow the one with bad (deeds).’

2. 5. Demonstratives

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

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

Examples:

[*Yap **ngge***] *mo togut.*
 house this already destroy
 ‘This house is already destroyed.’

Commented [JHB24]: Have you explained somewhere the difference between ‘qualifier’ and ‘adjective’?

Commented [JHB25]: In previous sections you have (more or less) repeated the sub-headings that appeared in the Table of Contents, but not in this one. The table of contents has: 2.5 Demonstratives (in line with ‘Adjectives’, ‘Pronouns’, etc. In subsection 2.5.1. the heading is shortened, which may be OK, but in 2.5.2. and 2.5.3 the headings are missing completely.

[*Sedue ngga*] *lo mo semu.*
 man that INST already do
 '(It) is done by that man.'

2.5.1. Discussion: *ngga/nggenemot*

The equative clause *Ngga / nemot*. (that ; 3p) 'That (is) it' or 'That being so' functions as a demonstrative referring to an event in the preceding context. Consider for example the following sentence:

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

nemot namon senong- kle- na- w- o- n go no,
 3p two know- dual down-there pt masc3p GIV TO
 they two having understood,

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

2.5.2. Demonstrative + relational postposition

Combined with relational postpositions (*ngga so*, *ngga lo*, *ngga go*, *ngga ey*, *ngga no* and *ngga-a*) the demonstratives get their special function in the context¹³.

2.5.3. Discourse function

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

Commented [JHB26]: 'requiring' sounds odd to me here; I would have expected 'marking' or 'indicating'.

2.6. Quantifiers

2.6.1. Cardinal numbers

In Kemtuik the counting system is quinary and is body wise expressed by bowing down fingers of a stretched hand, one by one. While counting the speaker points to hands and feet. So: 1,2,3,4 are indicated with fingers; 5 is indicated by a hand; 6-10 by a combination of fingers and hand(s). And from 11-14 the toes of one foot will be counted, followed by 2 hands and 1 foot; the numbers 16-19 are

¹³ This will be discussed in more detail in the Chapter III on Relational Postpositions.

indicated by 2 hand, 1 foot, and 1,2,3,4 fingers. The number twenty is indicated by: 1 person. Some numbers have a metaphorical meaning as well: like the number 3, meaning ‘a few’ and the number 5, meaning ‘complete’. Nowadays, the Indonesian counting system is being used, with the exception of the numbers 1-5.

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

2.6.2. Indefinite quantifiers

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

- *seguay* ‘a little’
[Seguay so] aya ey mia ey ya tebok?
 little IN father COM mother COM imp add
 ‘Could you (both) help me a little?’

Commented [JHB27]: I’m curious about your use of ‘ordinal numbers’ to describe the following terms, which I thought were simply ‘quantifiers’. To me, ordinal numbers are words like ‘first’, ‘third’, ‘seventeenth’, ‘hundredth’. Is this terminology that I was not aware of?

- mata so ‘a lot’

Walop so go sikabung [mata so] pluep go.
 feast IN GIV people quantity IN gather GIV
 ‘Many people came for the feast.’

- nangglik ‘a few’

Inenga go / [nangglik dato so] yaluim go
 yesterday GIV three/few very IN gather GIV.
 ‘The ones that gathered together yesterday were just a few.’

- naklay ‘all’

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

- temu ‘a part’

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

- mun ‘complete’

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

2.7. Verbs

2.7.1. Verb structure

The verb consists of a Root (VR), non obligatorily preceded or followed by a set of auxiliaries. There are some formal properties that can define a verb (i.e. reduplication preceding the verb root, or the optional appearance of a verb string consisting of post-verbal auxiliaries. The verb is always in final position.

In some cases it is more difficult to decide (especially in compounding situations) if we are dealing with a verb or noun. For instance:

koy-bu- ta¹⁴- semu ‘slave’, but literally: ‘make ready fire and water.’
 fire water hand/ready do

We also have discussed the possibility of having identical words operating in different word classes (see: 2.1.1.). Other important features of verb structure are ‘serial verb construction’, ‘verb compounding’ and ‘noun-verb construction’¹⁵.

¹⁴ The word *ta* can either be: ‘hand’ or ‘to prepare’.

¹⁵ For each of those occurrences some explanation and a few examples are given in 2.1.5.2 and 2.1.6.

Commented [JHB28]: This sentence seems ungrammatical to me in that I don't know what is the relationship between the two clauses, partly because the parentheses do not close. Additionally, ‘if reduplication’ is one example of a formal property, the ‘i.e.’ should perhaps be ‘e.g.’ Finally, I believe ‘optionally’ should be ‘optional’.

2.7.1.1. Reduplication of the verb root

The verb root can indicate 'duration' by reduplication of the initial consonant and vowel of the root, like this: CV-C(C)V(C) e.g. *ko-klong* 'going'. In vowel initial case, the first vowel will be repeated, like this: V-V(C)(V) e.g. *i-iti* 'giving, taking'¹⁶. If repetition is expressed in this way, the Verb Root (VR) will occur as a bare VR (i.e. there is no verb inflexion).

Commented [JHB29]: I'm not sure exactly why, but I don't like this 'or'. How about a semi-colon?

2.7.1.2. Vowel-consonant distribution

In verbs the normal distribution pattern is followed, as discussed in Chapter 1.5/6.

A verb operates in different forms, such as:

- with a bare / iterative form
- with inflection

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

Commented [JHB30]: To me this sentence is ambiguous as to whether it is vowel centralization or the lack of vowel centralization that is common in all other word patterns. My recollection, such as it is, from previous sections is that vowel centralization is common, in which case you might like to consider: '...but without the vowel centralization that is common...'

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

2.7.2. Simple and compound forms

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

2.7.3. Serial verb constructions

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

Commented [JHB31]: In the Table of Contents, Subsection 2.7.3. is 'Verbal and motion predicates'.

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

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

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

¹⁶ See for more detailed discussion the section on Phonology.

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

(5) *Mot go taut [ba¹⁷- iti]!*
 you GIV possessions come take
 ‘Come here and take your possessions!’

2.8. Adverbials

The category of adverbials in Kemtuik functions to modify an event expressed by a predicate, or any part of speech other than nouns. So, they modify verbs, adjectives (including numbers), other adverbs, but also clauses and sentences. This class of adverbs occurs often in a stand-alone position, but is incidentally modified by the relational postposition (inessive) *so* ‘IN’, and/or (deictic) *go* ‘GIV’.

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

Adverbials can function as

- head of an adverbial phrase (underlined)
- auxiliary in a verbal phrase (not-underlined)¹⁸

In this Chapter we will focus on adverbials of time, location, qualification, manner and intensity. In Chapter IV, 5 we will discuss the auxiliary adverbials operating in the Verbal Phrase.

2.8.1. Temporal adverbials

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

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

(2) [*Banim dega go*] *sedue meno / gabe got-a- k- a- m.*
 old very GIV people other ex.here stay-foc.rem.past-masc3p
 ‘Very long ago, a certain man stayed here.’ (= general time indication)

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

¹⁷ *Ba* as verb means ‘come’; however, as pre-auxiliary modal it carries the meaning: ‘surprise’. Sometimes these words occur in the same position, which makes its interpretation somewhat confusing. On top of that: *ba* functions also as postposition, meaning ‘inside’.

¹⁸ See Chapter IV,5 Kemtuik Phrases.

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

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

Commented [JHB32]: The gloss says ‘fish’.

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

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

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

(9) [*Wadi nesip go*] *kua u- wet!*
 night middle GIV not red.seek
 ‘Don’t walk round in the middle of the night!’

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

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

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

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

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

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

(16) [Nggeasui¹⁹] genam mea klong.

now 1p will go

‘I will go now.’

(17) [Nggeasui go] / ngge no lemoy go no go nebut/ mea pen-a- si- l- u.

today GIV this TO happen GIV TO GIV talk will say foc down ft 1p

‘Today I will say talk about what happened here.’

(18) [Ku ngga nemot no go] genam lo go Agus no go mo pen: ...

day that 3p TO GIV 1p INST GIV Agus TO GIV already say

‘At that day I had spoken to Agus, this’

(19) [Ku sabtu tanggal 1-8-1981 no go] amble ple sedue / Suayap no / mo degut.

day saturday date 1-8-1981 TO GIV foreign bow man Suayap TO already enter

‘On Saturday the 1st of August soldiers have entered the (village) of Suayap.’

(20) [Ku walong dato so] way-way sogo sam / imot kua klik.

time long special IN turn turn IN GIV letter 1p.pl incl not write

‘For a very long time we haven’t written letters to each other.’

(21) [Ku blung kong go] sik so / mo iti.

place beginning put_down origin IN already give

‘Given from the very beginning of the earth,’

2.8.2. Locative adverbials

The location of an event is expressed through the use of locative adverbials. They are mono-morphemic adverbs, modified by *so* ‘IN’. Locative adverbials occur in different clause positions. The basic formula for this type of adverbial is:

locative + *so*

(1) Coklat usu / [ket so].

cocoa garden far IN

‘The cocoa tree garden is far away.’

(2) Nemot go yap / seguola [dagu so].

3p GIV house school near IN

‘His house is near the school.’

(3) [Mesip so] sedue ngga ban- t- o- n

behind IN man that return_up- pt.dur-masc3p

‘That man is coming-up from behind.’

(4) Mot nang [ket so] no se klong!

2p pl far IN TO neces go

‘You have to go far from here.’

¹⁹ [Ngge-a sui] = now; [ngge-a sui go] = today.
this focus day this focus day GIV

2.8.3. Qualifying adverbials

As discussed earlier in this chapter (2.1.1. and 2.4.2), the category of descriptive words like: *seguay* ('small'); *babu* ('big, swollen'); *suey* ('good'); *piam* ('bad'); *seni* ('content') etc, belong to a general class of words that can form verbs, adverbs, nouns and adjectives. As adverbial they are mono-morphemic and their position in the clause is often preceding the Verbal Phrase, modified by *so* 'IN'. But they may take other positions. The basic formula for this type of adverbial is:

qualifier + so

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

(2) *[Suey so] pen-san- d-o ya.*
good IN talk-return_same_level-ft-2p imp
'You have to speak back properly.'

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

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

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

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

2.8.4. Aspectual adverbs

Aspectual adverbs can be divided into two categories: a) those functioning as head of the Adverbial Phrase, and those functioning auxiliary in the Verbal Phrase. (See Chapter IV, 5)

As head of the Adverbial Phrase functions the mono-morphemic word *maning* 'ongoing', modified either by # 'neutral' or *go* 'GIV'.

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

Commented [JHB33]: But these are listed as 2.8.4.1. and 2.8.4.1 in the Table of Contents, and *maning* as 2.8.4.3.

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

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

2.8.5. Adverbs of manner

The manner of an event is expressed through words expressing manner. They are mono-morphemic adverbials, modified by *so* ‘IN’; *go* ‘GIV’ or # ‘neutral’. They occur in different clause positions. The basic formula for this type of adverbial is:

qualifier (manner) + SO / GO / #

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

Consider the following examples:

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

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

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

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

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

(6) [**Senang so**] yakena so no nemot ko-klong.
 old IN village IN TO 3p red.go
 ‘He always goes home to the village.’

(7) [**Tandali**] tegu go no / walong so mea pen [dali].
 again meet GIN TO long IN will talk also
 ‘Having met again, (we) will also talk long.’

(8) *Mot nang naklay / suey [seguong] / gabe!*
 2p pl all good only ex.here
 ‘I here (wish) you all: only good!’

(9) *Sedue klaya duo [meno] gemang.*
 man one child other ex.there
 ‘There was a certain man, ...’

(10) *Ngga no duo ngguot (nenguot) [temu] (temung)] mo tebok dali.*
 that TO child young other already help also
 ‘And other young men have helped also.’

(11) *Nemot go nebut bluem mot lo go [kalik].*
 3p GIV talk dialect 2p INST GIV like
 ‘His/her way of talking is the same as yours.’

2.8.6. Intensifying adverbs

These adverbs consists of mono-morphemic words, intensifying other adverbs.

(1) *Sikabung [mata dega so] gemang ko-klong.*
 people much very IN ex.there red.go
 ‘Very many people were going.’

(2) *Amka batik ngge/ suey dato.*
 cloth batik this good very
 ‘This batik cloth is very good.’

(3) *Ngga / teguop seni!*
 that perfect content
 ‘That is perfect indeed!’

2.9. Interjections

Interjections play their own role in Kemtuik discourse.

a) Mainly in narrative we find exclamations expressing general amazement: [*ey*]; or more particular amazement: [*ye*]; or (amazing) conclusions (*se*); agreement (*yang!*); focussing (*seni so*).

b) In other types of discourse (e.g. exhortation) the interjection *sang* ‘pity’ is quite prominent. Often it precedes the VP or occurs clause finally. Combined with *ey>ey sang* (litt. ‘with pity’) at the beginning of sentence, it means: ‘Alas!’

Consider these examples:

(1) [*Se*] ! *Mot so go / mia so / ya pu-l- u?*
 neces 2p IN GIV mother IN imp call-ft-1ps
 ‘Well, do I have to call you: “mother”?’

(2) [*Ey*] ! *Mot Woy Idam go danon so go / no, genam nando go senun?*
 Hey! 2p Woy Idam GIV child IN GIV TO 1p who GIV spouse

Commented [JHB34]: Should a new sentence start here: ‘Often it precedes...’

Commented [JHB35]: This sentence does not sound very natural to me. I suggest (assuming I am understanding the meaning correctly): ‘There are a few interjections in Kemtuik speech; *sang* ‘pity’ is one of the most prominent.’

'Hey! If you are the child of Woy Idam, whose wife am I?

(3) [*Seni so*]! Ngga kebalì kangok go
content IN that work big GIV
'Indeed! That is a big job!'

(4) [*Yang*], ngga go Noe no go nebut ey mo kerlam.
sure, that GIV Noach TO GIV talk COM already equal
'For sure that is the same as the story about Noach.'

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

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

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

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

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

2.10. Questions

General questions are those using *mo* 'already' and *ya* 'mild-imperative' and *ka* 'where' with intonation clause - finally going up.
Consider the following examples:

(1) Kabung ngga / nemot go seni mo senong?
woman that 2p GIV content already know
'Does that woman understand the meaning of it?'

(2) Nemot ya weng?
3p imp come
'Does he come?'

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

Other questions are monomorphological indicated by either:

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

Commented [JHB36]: If *sogo* is a morpheme meaning ‘what’, is it correct that in the example sentences it is divided into *so go* and glossed as IN GIV?

2.10.1 Animate object questions (who)

[*Nando*] *bu gluik so go / kun- t- u- n?*
 Who water bail INT GIV come-pt-fem-3p
 ‘Who is coming to get water?’

2.10.2 Inanimate object questions (how; what like)

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

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

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

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

2.10.3 Locative questions (where)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.10.4 Temporal questions (when)

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

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

2.10.5 Quantity questions (how much)

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

2.10.6 Cause and reason questions (why; what)

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

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

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

(2a) { [*So go*] *kua go [so go so]* } / *nemot go denok / yakena no / ne-na- w- o- n?*
 what not GIV IN GIV INT 3p GIV child village TO pl-down_there-pt-masc3p
 ‘What was needed that his children went to the village?’ (reason)

(2b) *Nemot nang go ten yam so kua go [sogo so].*

3p pl GIV food measure IN not GIV what INT
 ‘Because their food supply was finished.’ (Answer)

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

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

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

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

(7) [*Sogo hó*] *go so*] *nemot bumu ketang so go got- te- na- w- o- n*?
 what INT GIV IN 3p well side IN GIV stay-dur- there_down-pt-masc3p
 ‘Why was he staying alongside the well? (asking for the specific cause)’

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

2.11 Spatial orientation

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

Examples are:

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

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

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

(3) *dagu* ‘close’ (= qualifier)

Commented [JHB37]: In most of these examples the word being exemplified is the one in bold, but not here nor in the following example (*ku*). Is this intentional? Or is the second example sentence under *blo* really supposed to be an example of the use of *idi*? (But see example sentence (9) for *idi*.)

Nemot go yap / seguola[dagu so].

3p GIV house school close IN
'His house is near the school.'

(4) *ket* 'far' (= qualifier)

Mot nang [ket so no] se klong!

2p pl far IN TO neces. go
'You have to go far from here!'

(5) *katang* 'edge, side' (= noun)

Denok tiat seguola so go /tap [katang lo] se klong.

child small school IN GIV road edge IN neces. go
'Small children going to school, have to walk at the edge of the road.'

(6) *mesip* 'behind' (=postposition)

[Mesip so] sedue ngga ban- t- o- n.

behind IN man that come_up-pt-masc3p
'That man is following along behind.'

(7) *ba* 'in' (= postposition)

Mot nang [ba so no] sedue ngga go wamoymlue / degut ey go.

2p pl in IN TO man that GIV lie enter COM GIV
'May the lies of that man not come into your midst.'

(8) *nesip* 'middle' (= qualifier)

Deguen a go yap / yakena[nesip so] gemang.

clan chief GIV house village middle IN ex.there
'The clan chief's house is in the middle of the village.'

(9) *idi* 'side' (= noun)

Keb leng [ku iji no] / nebo temu / mia lo gemang tui.

rafter down side pig part mother INST ex.there put
'Mother keeps the remainder of the pork in the lower rafters.'

(10) *mit* 'with' (= postposition)

Genam aya [mit no] klong so.

1p father with TO go IN
'I am going to my father.'

(11) *nasong* 'the back' (= noun)

Butui ngga / yap [nasong so].

enclosure that house back IN
'That water enclosure is at the back of the house.'

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

[Ngga sik so] nemot mo weng.

that squeeze out IN 3p already come
'He already came from there.'

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