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### 3. Grammatical relationships

#### 3.1. General remarks

##### 3.1.1. Relational postpositions

Coherence in Kemtuik texts is made visible by a specific class of relational postpositions taking care of the majority of grammatical relationships. These *relational* postpositions do not carry a specific meaning themselves, like other spatial postpositions (e.g. *blo* = ‘on top of’) but their function is to mark the grammatical relations between referents and arguments. The distribution of these relational postpositions<sup>1</sup> is widespread throughout the text and fundamental for proper understanding. They follow: (pro)nouns, verbs, demonstratives, numerals, time and place indicators, phrases and clauses. In isolated positions or in layered sequences, they produce all sorts of grammatical relations: linkage within the NP; linkage between NP and AdjP, VP with AdvP, and interclausal relationships. The occurrences of these relational postpositions in Kemtuik syntax, what they relate to and their sequences are listed below. Of course, this provides us only with superficial information. The precise grammatical function has to be shown in their contexts. Some relational postpositions have polysemous instances; others can cluster or are in contrast. A basic gloss has been provided but reading these glosses one needs to keep in mind a wide range of meaning.

##### 3.1.2. Chart

To this class belong:

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

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

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

## 3.1.3. General illustration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.2. Relational postposition => deictic *go*.

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

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

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

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

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

- Attached to a qualifier

(3) *Yap ngge / [seguay] go.*  
 house thi s smal l GIV  
 ‘This house is small.’

- Attached to qualifier forming an adjective

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

- Attached to an adverb

(4) {*Yap ngga [banim<sup>2</sup>] go*} *koy lo mo kuim.*  
 house that before GIV fire INST already burn  
 ‘The house was burnt down formerly.’

<sup>2</sup> *Banim* has two meanings: ‘old’ and ‘before’

- Attached to noun forming a time indicator

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

-Attached to a Directive Verb root

- (6) *Nemot* {[**na**] *go*} *no*?  
 3p go\_there GIV TO  
 ‘Where to did he go?’

- Attached to any verb root;

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

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

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

### 3.2.2. *Go* as INroduction of direct sense in a general- referential way

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

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

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

### 3.2.3. *Go* as topic-hood indicator

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.3. Relational postposition => inessive *so*

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

#### 3.3.1. *So* marks intention

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

(1) Aka / {usu kebali<sup>3</sup>} **so**.  
 Ol.brother garden work IN  
 ‘Older brother wants to rework the garden.’

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

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

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

(4) {*Genam / ten dam<sup>44</sup>*} *so*.  
 1p food chew IN  
 ‘I am going to eat.’

(5) “*Mot namon-a yakot so suing-a / {genam mea li -si- l- u} so!*”/  
 you two-foc. quiet IN sit-foc. 1p will climb move\_down ft 1p IN  
 ‘You two sit quiet there, I will climb down.’

(6) {*Nggeasui go genam lema but*} *so*.  
 now GIV 1p snake kill IN  
 ‘I will kill the snake today.’

(7) *Genam {mot wawi} so / gabe*.  
 1p 2p take IN ex.here  
 ‘I am here to take you.’

(8) *Ble, mot denok ngga iti go / masi-masi so/ ya klong?*  
 Ble 2p child that take GIV foot-foot IN imp go  
 ‘Ble (name of lady), do you take that child for a walk?’

### 3.3.2. *So* marks objects, time, space and demonstratives as specific

Following noun *so* marks object as ‘specific’. Compare the slight difference with object followed by # ‘neutral’ and followed by *so* marking object as ‘specific’. Note also the difference between ‘Intention’ (*so*) and ‘purpose’ (*nang*).

(1) *Genam [ten] # te- tra*.  
 1p food red.feel  
 ‘I am hungry.’

(2) *Genam [ten] so du-duing*.  
 1p food IN red.think (=wish)  
 ‘I am longing for food.’

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

(4) *Sikabung [nemot] so bu-bung*.  
 people 3p IN red.wait for  
 ‘The people are waiting for him.’

<sup>44</sup> *Dam* has several related meanings: ‘cover’; ‘chew’; ‘cut\_up (kill)’.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*So* marks spatial propositions as specific:

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

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

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

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

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

Consider the three following contrasting examples:

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

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

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

*So* also marks demonstratives as specific:

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

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

### 3.3.4. Special functions and combinations

#### 3.3.4.1. *So* marks qualifier as adverb

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) *Nemot boy ba [sik<sup>5</sup>] so pung go.*  
 3p prison inside squeeze out IN arrive GIV  
 'He is released from prison.'

(2) *Inenga go nemot Yaneblang [sik] so.*  
 Yesterday GIV 3p Nimboran squeeze\_out IN  
 'Yesterday he (came) from Nimboran.'

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

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

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

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

(2) *Mia usu no [ten ikak go nang<sup>6</sup>] mo klong.*  
 mother garden TO food collect GIV purp already go (purpose)  
 'Mother has gone to the garden in order to collect food.'

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

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

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

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

<sup>5</sup> *sik* is in fact a verb, meaning 'squeeze out'. Although *so* is following a verb, (according to my opinion) the meaning here is not 'intention' but 'specific'. In context the combination *sik + so* always carries the meaning 'from'.

<sup>6</sup> *genang* is a contraction of *go + nang*. In texts it is written as *genang*, following the stress pattern in such combinations. Besides purpose, *nang* carries also the meaning of 'plural'. E.g. *nemot nang* '3p Plural'

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

### 3.4. Relational postposition => instrumental *lo*

The postposition *lo* is instigative but marks also ‘instrumental’, ‘pathway’. Kemtuik is a SOV language, but depending on active / passive structures, subject and object may change in clause order. The postposition *lo* marks subject (obligatory in passive, non-obligatory in active construction)<sup>7</sup> and is glossed as INST. Examples showing the different functions of postposition *lo* are:

#### 3.4.1. *Lo* marks specific subjects

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

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

(2) *Nggeasui [genam] lo lema mo but<sup>8</sup>.*  
       now       1p       INST snake already kill  
 ‘I just killed a snake.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> See: Chapter 5 for further discussion

<sup>8</sup> *but* = 1. hit ; 2. kill

3.4.2. *Lo* marks instrumental use:

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

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

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

3.4.3. *Lo* marks pathway:

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

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

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

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

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

(6) *Denok dato<sup>9</sup> ngga nemot /{ [amblang dato] ey} / lo.*  
 child small that 3p / character strong COM INST  
 ‘That small child shows a strong character.’

3.4.4. *Lo* marks an event as instigative

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

<sup>9</sup> The Kemtuik word *dato* has several related meanings: ‘special’, ‘small’, ‘strong’

(2) *Genam go saysuk yam so mo gang. [Amble<sup>10</sup> lo demun but go] lo.*  
 1p GIV body measure IN already hurt foreigner INST stone hit GIV INST  
 ‘My body is hurting all over. Because the police beat me up.’

(3a) *[Bu ke- klak go] lo / danon ey denun ey bu lo<sup>11</sup> kenok go /*  
 water red-rise GIV INST boy COM girl COM water INST overflow GIV  
 ‘Because the raising of the water, the boy and the girl were overflowed by the water,

(3b) *bu suing lo<sup>12</sup> se lek.*  
 water rubbish INST imp drag away  
 and were threatened with being dragged away.’

### 3.4.5. Contrast between neutral #, *lo* and *so*<sup>13</sup>

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

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

(2a) *[Nemot nang] lo [sedue ngga nemot] # mlak go /*  
 3p pl INST man that 3p arrest GIV  
 ‘They having arrested that man,

(2b) *[nemot nang] # [sedue ngga nemot] so u-wet.*  
 3p pl man that 3p IN red.seek  
 they questioned that man.’

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

### 3.5. Relational Postposition => Comitative *ey*.

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

#### 3.5.1. *Ey* marks qualification as adverb

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

<sup>10</sup> *Amble* ‘foreigner’ is also indicating ‘official; ‘police’

<sup>11</sup> This use of *lo* is to mark subject in passive construction.

<sup>12</sup> *Idem*

<sup>13</sup> The markers *lo* and *so* mark the ergative /absolutive contrast in Kemtuik language (see: Chapter 5.3).

(2) *Suona kawi sengin / [tom] ey.*

suona kawi ripe taste COM

‘Ripe *suona kawi*’s are delicious.’

(3) *Mot go duo / kata yam so? Genam go duo / [namon] ey.*

2p GIV child how many measure IN 1p GIV child two COM

‘How many children do you have? I have two children.’

(4) *Nemot lo {kabung [nangglik] ey} mo iti.*

3p INST woman three COM already take

‘He is married to three wives.’

### 3.5.2. *Ey* marks accompaniment or grouping

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

good father COM mother COM

‘Greetings, father and mother!’

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

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

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

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

Wow! 1p GIV grandmother spicy fruit stringbag COM 1p COM imp chew?

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

### 3.5.3. *Ey* marks admonition in clause final position

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

1p INST focus 2p afraid not feel COM

‘It is me, don’t feel afraid!’

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

thought middle to fall down COM +GIV

‘Be thoughtful; you may fall down!’

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

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

this TO not come fall GIV lest

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

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

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

1p food COM already feel

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



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

1p food red.feel (= right now)

‘I am feeling food (= I’m hungry).’

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

1p food IN red.feel (longing for food)

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

### 3.6. Relational Postposition: => Allative *no*

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

#### 3.6.1. *No* marks recipient or goal:

(1) *Nemot lo [genam] no duoy iti go.*

3p INST 1p TO money give GIV

‘He gave me some money.’

(2) *Kebali semu go nang so go, mot [genam] no se tebok!*

work do GIV purp IN GIV 2p 1p TO must help

‘In order to perform that job, you must assist me.’

(3) *Inenga genam {[denok segway] go no} nebut mo pen.*

yesterday 1p child small GIV TO talk already say

‘Yesterday I spoke to a small child.’

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

sister come GIV mother COM father COM GIV TO say focus pt fem 3p

‘His sister came and spoke to the parents.’

(5) *Deguenta lo {[sikabung naklay Saplung so go] no} nebut so pe-pen.*

Clan leader INST people all Sabron IN GIV TO talk IN red. say

‘The clanleader is speaking to all the people of Sabron.’

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

(1) *Nemot lo / yap / [ngge] no / mo klik.*

3p INST house this TO already build

‘He has already build the house here.’

(2) *Genam [ku] no li so.*

1p below TO go down IN

‘I am going down to the toilet.’

(3) *[Ku selasa] no genam [Jayapura] no mea klong.*

day Tuesday to 1p Jayapura TO will go

‘On Tuesday I will go to Jayapura.’

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

(4) [Ku ngga nemot] # / genam [Braso] no mea srek.  
 day that 3p 1p Braso TO will sleep  
 ‘On that day I will sleep in (the village) Braso.’

(5) [Ku ngga nemot] no / genam / Braso lo / gemang srek.  
 day that 3p TO 1p Braso INST ex.there sleep  
 ‘On that day I slept in Braso.’

(6) [Nemot sadui ey tra go ku] no / genam gabe klong.  
 3p ill COM feel GIV day TO 1p ex.here go  
 ‘The day he felt ill, I was on my way.’

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

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

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

### 3.6.3. No marking major contrast in discourse

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

Consider these examples:

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.7. Layered sequences of Relational Postpositions

#### 3.7.1. Introduction

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

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

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

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

The following chart shows all sequences that do occur:

## Relational postpositions and their layered sequences

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

A first –superficial– conclusion is:

- Deictic *go* ‘given’ can follow or precede other relational postpositions;
- Deictic *go* ‘given’ differs from all the other relational postpositions by forming layered sequences with any of them;
- Even longer layered sequences with –*go* are possible: *so – go – so – go – so*.

We will discuss all these sequences and their consequences in detail and in their specific contexts.

### 3.7.2. Layering structures: examples

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

Example 1 shows how the deictic *go* (GIV) and the instrumental *lo* (INST) not only *refer to* preceding information but also to not-mentioned but understood events from the wider context.

Note that in (1a) [*aya lo iti go*] ‘given (sent) by father’, the reference to the sending of the letter itself is, while in utterance (1b) [*aya lo go*] refers to a wider concept, i.e. the reaction of the receiver to the given information written by the author and sent by email. [*aya lo go*] is in fact a shorter form for [*aya lo (iti)go ngga ikum go*], meaning: ‘what you have sent, having read that, ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(a) *Ten ngga / nemot* [EQ CL]

food that 3p

‘That food is it (= OK).’

(b) {[*Ten ngga nemot*] **so** *dam go*} *sedue*, etc. [Subordinated CL] > [NP]

food that 3p IN chew GIV man

‘That food eating (litt. food-chewing) men, etc.’

(c) {[*Ten ngga nemot*] **so** *dam go sedue*} [*seguong-a*] *i go* / 4 *ribu yam so*.

food that 3p IN chew GIV man only-focus count GIV 4 thousand measure IN

‘That food eating men only counted, were 4 thousand people.’

### 3.7.3. Deictic *go* preceded by other relational postpositions

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

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

this 1p GIV house

‘This is my house.’

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

this 1p INST GIV house

‘This was my house.’

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

this 1p TO GIV house

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

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

this 1p IN GIV house

‘This will be the house for me.’

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

#### 3.7.3.1. Discussion sequence: *so – go*

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

(1) *Sikabung [mata] so weng lak go.*  
 people quantity IN come all GIV  
 ‘Many people came together.’

(2a) *[Sikabung mata so go] lo [genam so] no mea usi, “Aya deguena!”*  
 people quantity IN GIV INST 1p IN TO will call Father clan leader.  
 ‘The crowd will call me, “Father, clan leader!”’

(2b) *[Sikabung mata so go] so genam gabe pu-pu: ...*  
 people quantity IN GIV IN 1p ex.here red.say  
 ‘I am talking in view of the crowd ....’

(3) *[Walong so] go kunala ngge / kua duing: so go<sup>14</sup> -a ya pen -a- na - l- u ?*  
 long IN GIV thought this not think: IN GIV focus imp say- foc-go\_down -ft-1p  
 ‘Don’t think this thought for a long period, “What am I going to say there?”’

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

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

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

### 3.7.3.2. Discussion sequence: *lo – go*

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

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

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

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

<sup>14</sup> In this example we see the occurrence of *sogo* in an isolated position. It carries the meaning of ‘what’. See: Chapter 2, Kemtuik Word Classes (Interrogatives).

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

### 3.7.3.3. Discussion sequence: *no – go*

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.7.3.4. Discussion sequence: *ey – go*

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

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

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

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

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



3.7.4. Other relational postpositions following deictic *go*

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

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

*go* → *no*; *go* → *so*; *go* → *lo*; *go* → *ey*. Following phrases, relational propositions ‘add’ their usual grammatical function to the text units indicated by deictic *go*, i.e.: allative; inessive/intention; instigative/instrumental. But clause finally, following a verb, if deictic *go* is followed by another relational postposition, it will indicate an INterclausal relationship<sup>15</sup>.

Some examples of combinations within the clause:

(1) {*Sikabung [mata so] go} lo / nebut / pen go*.

people many IN GIV INST talk say GIV

‘A crowd of people spoke a word.’

(2) {*Tap [seguay go] kota [dagu so] go} lo / gemang klong*.

road small GIV town close IN GIV INST ex.there go

‘(He) went via a small road, close to town.’

(3) {[*Genam lo taling go tap*] [*kunala banim go*]} *ey* [*klay go no*] *ya kua klong*.

1p INST poIN out GIV road thinking old GIV COM one GIV TO imp not go

‘The direction poINed out by me, does not go together with the old perceptions.’

In (4b) *go* refers back to the main part of the preceding sentence (4a):

(4a) *Nemot nang lo pu go*, “*Seni so, amka ngga sebut go tang, kua*.”

3p pl instr say GIV content IN, clothing that sew GIV root not

‘They said, “Indeed, that cloth has no juncture.”’

(4b) [*Nemot nang go so*] *pu-ne-na- w- o- n go*, <<*Amka ngge kua ibot.*>>

3p pl GIV IN say pl there pt masc 3p GIV cloth this not cut.

‘They, having stated that, they said, “This cloth must not be cut.”’

## 3.8. The occurrence of clitic –a

Clitic [-a] is not a relational postposition in the same sense as *go*, *so*, *no*, *lo*, *ey*.

The clitic –a shows emphasis. It has an important function in the clause, and between clauses<sup>16</sup>. Actually, it can occur in almost any position. Clitic –a can

follow strings ending with deictic *go*. It also functions within the Verbal

Phrase<sup>17</sup>. It has preference over the ‘specific’ relation marker *so*.

For instance *nemot so* > *nemot-a* (#*nemot so-a*#). It is glossed as ‘foc’ (focus).

(1) *Ngga ey teguop way [nemot lo go- a] mea iti*.

that COM perfect in turn 3p instr GIV foc will give

‘With that he will give in return something perfect.’

<sup>15</sup> Further discussion: see Chapter V.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter 5.8 on Interclausal Relationships

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter 4.2.9.4.

(2) [Mot nang-**a**] ngga kalik kua pu-pluok!

you pl foc . that like not red.work

‘You (pl) should not handle like that!’

(3) [Walong so lek go dewi -**a**] tup go mea tebok.

long IN stretch request foc hear GIV will help

‘A continuous request, (he) will certainly hear and help.’

(4) [Nando -**a**] sip suing blo so? [Si- nok -**a**] [Wi- nok -**a**?]

who foc place sit above IN man offspring foc bird offspring foc

‘What (litt. ‘who’) is more important? People or birds?’

(5) No, at lo gabe pen -**a**- si-t- ug -u: di un / teguop dato seni!”

TO 1p excl INST ex. here say- foc dir.pt-dur-1p tree flower beautiful very indeed

‘But I say (strongly), “Trees and flowers are very beautiful indeed.” ’

(6) Plesedue tala no at pu go, “[Klong-**a**]!” Nemot mea klong.

soldier row to 1p excl. call GIV go foc 3p will go

‘If I order a soldier in the ranks, “Go!” he will go.’

(7a) Banim dega go, sikabung [got-ne -**a** - k- a- m] go: miam kua.

before long GIV people stay pl foc rem.past masc 3p GIV many not

‘Long ago the people that lived (they were) not many.’

(7b) [Nglangin-**a**],[danon ey denun ey go -**a**].

father foc boy COM girl COM GIV foc

‘Only a father, a boy and a girl.’