A grammar of Mualang : an Ibanic language of Western Kalimantan, Indonesia
Tjia, J.

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5   PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

This chapter describes the prepositional phrase, which comprises a preposition as the head and its headed noun phrase. The simple prepositions available in Mualang are given first and explained individually in terms of their function. For the sake of convenience, the prepositions are categorized as locative prepositions (5.1), which are *da*, *ka*, *ari*, *ntara*, *sampay,* and *nyantuk*; and non-locative prepositions (5.2), which are *ngaw*, *aba'*, *ulih*, *upa*, *nuna'*, and *ngusung*. Locative prepositions share a common semantic feature expressing location or direction of the noun or noun phrase they head, although, their function can be extended to other uses as well. Some of the prepositions have clearly developed from verbs and still co-exist with their verbal counterparts, which occasionally may lead to semantic ambiguity, notably when they are used with another verb in a serial verb construction (SVC). Grammatical features of SVC's will be discussed later in Chapter 10. However, in this chapter it will be shown that there are at least three grammatical clues that are associated with the prepositional function, namely coreferentiality of clausal arguments, word order, and morphological reduction. In SVC's, both verbs share the same subject, but such an interpretation does not apply to prepositions, thus (5-1) cannot be interpreted as 'he ate and followed me somewhere'.

(5-1)   *Ia   N-pakay   aba'   ku.*
             3s   ACT-eat   with/follow 1s
             'He ate with me.'

   Typically as an adjunct, the word order of a prepositional phrase within a clause may be changed (for focus), as in (5-2) or (5-3):

(5-2)   *Ia   aba'   ku N-pakay.*
             3s   with   1s ACT-eat
             'It was with me, that he ate.'

(5-3)   *Aba'   ku   ia N-pakay.*
             with   1s   3s ACT-eat
             'He ate with me (rather than with someone else).'

Several prepositions even now retain the inflected prefix of the verb as in *ngusung* (from *gusung* 'to meet, to go after') and *nuna'* (from *tuna'* 'to follow').[1]

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[1] It is hard to make any comments about *aba'*, *ngaw* and *sampay* since they always appear in their bare form.

After discussing the locative and non-locative prepositions in 5.1 and 5.2 respectively, I will proceed to complex prepositions in 5.3.

5.1   Locative prepositions

5.1.1   The preposition *da*

The preposition *da* 'LOC' has *di* as its variant. Their phonological manifestations have been discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.5). Its functions are as follows:

a)   to express a locative role of the headed noun or noun phrases. Pronouns, names and demonstratives may be headed as well.

(5-4)   *Ia   diaw   da   padung.*
            3p   stay   LOC   attic
            'He stayed quiet in the attic.'

(5-5)   *Amang ku, utay ia'   aday da   ia/Apay Aluy.*
            think   1s   thing that   exist LOC   3s/AA
            'I think, the thing is on him/Aluy's father.'

(5-6)   *Agi'   nam   da   ku.*
            still   six   LOC   1s
            'There are still six of them with me.'

(5-7)   *Nya',   da   ia'/da   tu'.*
            that   LOC   that/LOC   this
            [while pointing] 'There it is.' (lit. 'at that/at this')

b)   to specify a particular point in time:

(5-8)   *Udah   ia',   ku   diaw   ditu',   da   tawun   1970.*
            already   that   1s   stay   here   LOC   year   1970
            'After that, I lived here, in 1970.'

(5-9)   *Da   jaman   kelia'   tih, naday   isi'   semprut.*
            LOC   time   old.time   *tih*   NEG   content   spray
            'In the past, there was no pesticide.'

c)   to mark a locative oblique participant:

(5-10)   *Sida'   N-pesaw   da   ku tih.*
            3p   ACT-order   LOC   1s   *tih*
            'They told me the message.'

(5-11)   *Jadi, ia'   da-ke-ingat   kah,   bayik   da   di',*
           so   that PASS-INCH-remember   *kah*   good   LOC   2s.fem.

           n'u',   m'ih,   gas, ...
           TOA   2s.masc TOA
           'So, remember that, whether it's on you, young lady, or you, young
           man, ….' [if your body gets sick, your bones get tired, you take a rest]

5.1.2   The preposition *ka*

The preposition *ka* can be pronounced as [*ka*], [*kə*], or [*k*] (see Chapter 2 section 2.5). It has three functions: directional, temporal and marking non-argument participants of the clause.

a)   As a directional preposition, it expresses locational orientation of the headed noun or noun phrase, e.g.:

(5-12)   *urang   Mualang   k=ili'/k=ulu*
           person   M   to=downstream/to=upstream
           'the Mualang from the downstream/upperstream (area)'

(5-13)   *Ku ka'   kin,   ka   rumah   sida'   ia'.*
           1s   want thither.far   to   house   3p   that
           'I want to go over there, to their house (there).'

(5-14)   *Ia ba-jalay   mansang ka   pian   bang ka jalay.*
           1s   ANPAS-road   go.to   to   bathing.place   part to road
           'He walked going toward the bathing place of the part leading to the
           road.'

(5-15)   *Da-buay   ka   ia.*
           PASS-throw   to   3s
           '(It was) thrown to him.'

(5-16)   *N-tebuk   kayu,   tama'   ka   ia' ...*
           ACT-make.hole   wood   enter   to   that
           'He made a hole in a tree, (and) entered into it ...'

b)   As a temporal preposition, it describes a direction to a particular point in time, e.g.:

(5-17)   *ari   jaman   kelia'   sampay   ka tu'*
           from   time   old.time   until   to   this
           'from olden times until the present'

(5-18)   *ari   lam-lam   sampay   ka   malam   ari*
           from   morning-RED   until   to   night   day
           'from early morning until night'

c)   The preposition *ka* is also used to indicate semantic roles of non-argument or oblique participants. Its allative function is apparent as in (5-19 – 5-21), in which it shows the direction toward a participant upon which the event or action is carried out (semantic roles are further explained in Chapter 7):

(5-19)   *Semua   ti   ku padah   ka kita'   nya' ....*
           all   REL   1s say   to 2p   that
           'All that I have told to you all ….'

(5-20)   *Baru'   sida'   N-kisah   ka   ia.*
           then   3p   ACT-story   to   s
           'Then they told the story to him.'

(5-21)   *... baru' bar-anak   ka   utay   ia', ...*
              then   ANPAS-child   to   thing that
           '... then she gave birth to that thing, …'

     The use of *ka* in the following examples is interesting, as its function is more bleached. Such cases will be dealt with in more detail in sections 7.2.8 and 7.3 of Chapter 7.

(5-22)   *Udah   ia'   da-bungkus   ka dawun pisang, baru'*
           already that PASS-wrap   to leaf   banana   then

           da-jua'   ka miak ia'.
           PASS-give   to child that
           'After that (it) was wrapped in a banana leaf, then given to the child.'

(5-23)   *Naday   antu   te-inum   ka   darah.*
           NEG   ghost   MID-drink   to   blood
           'The ghosts were not able to drink (up) the blood.'

(5-24)   *Kami   dulaw   beri' ka darah.*
           1p.excl first   give   to blood
           'We first were given the blood.'

e)   The preposition *ka* is used in syntactic verbal reduplication to indicate continuity (see section 8.3.2), e.g.:

besay 'big'	*besay ka besay*	'become bigger and bigger'
mit 'small'	*mit ka mit*	'become smaller and smaller'
ting'i' 'high, tall'	*ting'i' ka ting'i*	'become higher/taller and higher/taller'
ba-jalay 'ANPAS-road'	*bajalay ka bajalay*	'keep walking and walking'
rari 'run'	*rari ka rari*	'keep running and running'
N-sabak 'ACT-cry'	*nyabak ka nyabak*	'keep crying and crying'

5.1.3 The preposition *ari*

The basic meaning of the preposition *ari* 'from' is to express source, a departing point, from which something comes or is removed. Prepositional phrases with *ari* may indicate:

a) location:

(5-25)   *PeN-jawuh   ah Balay Sepuak   ari   Tabu'?*
NOM-far   *ah* B   S   from T
'Is Balai Sepuak far from Tabuk?'

(5-26)   *Ku   ari   Ijuk.*
1s   from   I
'I am from (the village of) Ijuk.'

(5-27)   *Lekas kita   angkat ari   tu'!*
fast   1p.incl go   from this
'Let's quickly go from here!'

(5-28)   *Baru' sida' angkat,   ili'   ari   ia'.*
then   3p   go   go.downstream   from that
'Then they started off, going downstream from there.'

b)   time:

(5-29)   *Ari   masa ia'   agama   mulay datay.*
from time   that religion   begin   come
'Since that time religion began to come in.'

(5-30)   *Ari   dulaw   sampay   ka tu'.*
from past.time   until   to this
'From former times until now.'

c)   a participant, from which the event or action takes place:

(5-31)   *Ia N-tapuk   diri' ari   bini   ia.*
        3s ACT-hide   self   from   wife   3s
        'He hid himself from his wife.'

(5-32)   *Kami   tu'   ba-labuh   ari   Bejit Manay.*
        1p.excl   TOP   ANPAS-fall   from   B   M
        '(As for us) we originated from (the ancestor) Bejit Manai.'

d)   a substance or entity something is made of or originated from:

(5-33)   *peti'   ari   buluh   aba'   ari   kayu*
        k.o.animal.trap   from   bamboo   and   from   wood
        '*peti'* (made) from bamboo and from wood'

(5-34)   *tincin   ari   mas*
        ring   from   gold
        'ring of gold'

(5-35)   *jimut   ari   pulut*
        k.o.snack   from   glutinous.rice
        '*jimut* made of *pulut*'

(5-36)   *din'ing   ari   kelibak*
        wall   from   bark
        'wall made of bark'

(5-37)   *Ku ka' N-kisah   sejarah   ari   kita   Mualang.*
        1s   FUT   ACT-story   history   from   1p.incl   M
        'I am going to tell the history of us, the Mualang.'

(5-38)   *ke-turun   ari   Am'un Menurun*
        NOM-descend   from   A   M
        'descendant of Am'un Menurun'

e)   an entity compared to which some other entity has a quality to a higher degree (discussed in section 6.1.2):

(5-39)   *Sapa   urang   menua   tu'   ti   ba-kuasa   ari   ia?*
        who   person   continent   this   REL   ANPAS-power   from   3s
        'Who is it in this world that is more powerful than he is?'

(5-40) *Nisi'   tuay   ari   ku.*
        EXIST.NEG   old   from 1s
        'Nobody is older than I am.'

(5-41) *Sampay dia'=m   gisah, nisi'   lebih ari nya' agi'.*
        until   there.near=m story EXIST.NEG more from that again
        'It's just until that point that the story goes, it doesn't go any further than that.'

5.1.4   The preposition *ntara*

The preposition *ntara* means 'between, among', e.g.:

(5-42) *S-iku'   ntara sida' menyadi' mimpi.*
        ONE-CLASS   among they siblings   dream
        'One among those siblings dreamt.'

(5-43) *N-dinga pia'   Aji Melayu ntara   dua peN-pikir.*
        ACT-hear like.that haji M   between two NOM-think
        'Hearing this, Haji Melayu was of two opinions.'

(5-44) *Sedang   aba' antu   ga' kita   se-peN-peda'   rumah,*
        whereas with ghost also 1p.incl ONE-NOM-see   house

        cuma   ntara   pian.
        only   between   bathing.place
        'Whereas with the ghosts, we lived close to each other.' (lit. 'we were of one house sight (we could see each other's house), only with the bathing place in between)

(5-45) *ntara   lam-lam   sampay tawas   ari*
        between morning-RED   until   day.time day
        'between early morning and noon'

5.1.5   The preposition *sampay* and *nyantuk*

Both *sampay* and *nyantuk* mean 'until'. *Sampay* is commonly used, whereas *nyantuk* is seldom found. It is still used mostly by the older generation. Both express location and time, e.g.:

(5-46) *Ia ba-jalay   ari Tabu' nyantuk Balay Sepuak.*
        3s ANPAS-road   from T   until   B   S
        'He walked from Tabuk to Balai Sepuak.'

(5-47)   *Ia' pia'   cara urang   Mualang   ba-uma–*
          that like.that way person   M   ANPAS-rice.field–

          bataya'   ari   lama'   kelia'   nyantuk   ka   pitu'   bah.
          PREC (?)   from   long   old.time   until   to   like.this *bah*
          'That's how the people of Mualang work their rice fields from long
          ago in the past until the present time.'

(5-48)   *Tung'u'   s-uti'   sampay   dua bulan.*
          wait   ONE-CLASS   until   two month
          'Wait for one or as much as two months.' (Lit. 'wait for one to two
          months')

(5-49)   *...kira-kira   lapan ratus   sampay   dua kilu mitir ari*
          approximate   eight hundred   until   two kilo meter from

          kampung.
          village
          '… about 800 meters to 2 kilometers from the village.'

Unlike *nyantuk*, *sampay* is also a verb and a conjunction (see 10.4.4). As a main
verb it means 'arrive', 'reach':

(5-50)   *Sampay   da   sabar   bubu   Aji Melayu, ...*
          arrive   LOC   fish.trapping.fence k.o.fish.trap   haji M
          'Arriving at/reaching the fish trap of Haji Melayu ....'

(5-51)   *Bila   sampay   ditu'?*
          when   arrive   here
          'When did you arrive here?'

5.2   Non-locative prepositions

5.2.1   The preposition *ngaw*

The word *ngaw* by itself can stand alone as a main verb to mean 'use':

(5-52)   *Sempang   ia'   sampay ka pitu'   agi' da-ngaw   urang.*
          proverb   that until   to   like.this still PASS-use   person
          'The proverb is still used by people until now.'

(5-53)   *Nema   urang   tuay kelia'   tih ngaw kampil.*
          because person old old.time *tih* use   k.o.traditional backpack
          'Because the elders in the past used a backpack.'

The preposition *ngaw* appears to have been derived historically from the use of the verb *ngaw* in serial verb constructions (see section 10.2). *Ngaw* also functions as a connective (see 10.4.4). The following prepositional phrases can be distinguished, indicating:

a)   Instrument 'with, by':

(5-54)   *Nang   ba-bunuh   ngaw   sangkuh!*
            don't   ANPAS-kill   with   spear
            'Don't kill each other with spears!'

(5-55)   *Ia   pulay   ka   rumah   ngaw   tungkat.*
            3s   go.home   to   house   with   stick
            'He went home with a stick.'

(5-56)   *Baru' sida' ili'   ngaw   praw.*
            then   3p   go.downstream   with   proa
            'Then they went downstream by proa.'

b)   Manner 'with, by':

The use of *ngaw* in this sense is closely related to the previous one, in that in both cases the way the event or action is carried out is expressed, i.e. with an aid (instrument) or in a particular manner, e.g.:

(5-57)   *Jaku'   ia   ngaw   suara   ba-getar.*
            say   3s   with   voice   ANPAS-tremble
            'He spoke with a trembling voice.'

(5-58)   *Ia   N-lumpat   ngaw   kaki   se-piak.*
            3s   ACT-jump   with   foot   ONE-part
            'He jumped on one foot.'

(5-59)   *Ia   angkat   ngaw   nyamay.*
            3s   go   with   comfortable
            'He went happily.'

(5-60)   *M'ih   alah   ba-kerja   (ngaw)   bayik.*
            2s.masc   must   ANPAS-work   (with)   good
            'You must work well.'

The use of *ngaw* to mark manner is optional in some cases, as in (5-60). An explanation of this case will be provided in Chapter 8 (subsection 8.4.4.1) in relation to other types of adverbial constructions found in the language.

c)   Purpose 'for, to be used (as)':

(5-61)   *Asa pia'   ku bay' pulay   ngaw rempah da   rumah.*
          if   like.that 1s bring go.home for   side.dish LOC   house
          'If so, I will take it home for a sidedish at home.'

(5-62)   *Bini m'ih   naday ngaw kuli.*
          wife 2s.masc   NEG   for   coolie
          'Your wife is not to be (treated as) a coolie.'

d)   Benefactive 'for (the benefit of)':

(5-63)   *Baru' asa aday tan'a pia',   baru' dia'   lah*
          then   if   exist sign   like.that   then   there.near *lah*

          uma   ku   ngaw tawun tu'.
          rice.field   1s   for   year   this
          'Then if such a sign exists, then that is where my rice field will be for
          this year.'

(5-64)   *Lagu   tu' ngaw keban   bala peN-dinga.*
          song   this for   all.kinds   all   NOM-hear
          'This song is for all kinds of listeners.'

(5-65)   *Ngaw Bujang Jat tu'   ku beri' ka buah kemayaw.*
          for   TOA   Bad TOP 1s give   to   fruit   k.o.fruit
          'As for Brother Baddie, I'd give (him) a *kemayaw* fruit.'

(5-66)   *Tu' ngaw   m'ih.*
          this for   2s.masc
          'This is for you.'

5.2.2   The preposition *aba'*

As with *ngaw*, the preposition *aba'* 'with' is also derived from a lexical verb,
namely *aba'* 'follow' presented in the following examples:

(5-67)   *Buh,   tua   aba'   urang   gaway!*
          come.on 1d.incl follow   person   feast
          'Let's join the people for the feast!'

(5-68)   *Ngapa naday   aba'?*
          why   NEG   follow
          'Why didn't you follow (them)?'

(5-69)   *Ku aba'   m'ih.*
          1s follow/with   2s.masc
          'I will follow you' or 'You and I.'

Note that in (5-69) *aba'* exhibits ambiguity as to whether it is a verb or a conjunction. The latter is yet another function to be described later in Chapter 10 (subsection 10.6.1.1).

As a preposition, *aba'* has an associative or comitative function, as in (5-70) through (5-72):

(5-70) *Ia   diaw   aba'   ini'   ia.*
        3s   stay   with   grandmother   3s
        'She stayed with her grandmother.'

(5-71) *Sida'   ia'   naday   ba-kamuh   aba'   urang   bukay.*
        3p   that   NEG   ANPAS-mix   with   person   other
        'Those people did not mix with other people.'

(5-72) *Ah, payah   aba'   di'   tu'   dah!*
        uh   hard   with   2s.fem   this   *dah*
        'Uh, everything is just so hard with you!'

Unlike Malay/Indonesian or English, for example, Mualang makes a clear distinction between the prepositions with instrumental vs. associative (or comitative) functions, that is, between *ngaw* and *aba'*, respectively. The possible semantic development of both verbs can be schematized as follows:

(5-73) a. *ngaw*: 'use' – instrument – manner – benefactive (to be used for) – purposive (to be used as)
        b. *aba'*: 'follow' – associative – inclusion

The functions most closely related semantically are those of instrument and associative:
- instrumental *ngaw* heads an inanimate and non-human NP, by use of which the event or action is carried out;
- associative *aba'* heads an animate (human/non-human) NP, as an *accompaniment* to the subject/agent, as in (5-70 – 5-72), or in *idup aba'* 'live with', *pakay aba'* 'eat with', *datay aba'* 'come with'. Accompaniment includes a party in reciprocal actions, e.g. *ba-perang aba'* (ANPAS-war) 'wage a war with', *ba-bintih aba'* (ANPAS-fight.with.shinbone) 'fight with shinbone (a kind of game) with', *ba-sium aba'* (ANPAS-kiss) 'engage in kissing with', *ba-laya' aba'* (ANPAS-quarrel) 'have a quarrel with'.

With such fine distinctions, verbs that are able to take more than one preposition can be clearly contrasted by means of the subtle differences between their PP constituents, e.g. as with *padah* 'say':

(5-74) *padah* [*ngaw ku*]_{BENEFACTIVE}   'say (it) for me/on my behalf'
        padah [*aba' ku*]_{ASSOCIATIVE}   'say (it) with me'
        padah [*ka ku*]_{ALLATIVE}   'say (it) to me'

In Malay/Indonesian the semantic functions of instrument, manner and associative are all covered with the preposition *dengan* 'with', which is historically related to *ngaw*. It is perhaps due to the influence of Malay/Indonesian that some Mualang speakers have started to mix up the use of prepositions in a case such as (5-74). For example, *ngaw* is used instead of the allative *ka* in (5-75 – 5-77), and of the associative *aba'* in (5-78):

(5-75)   *Antu   tu'   mulai   pedih   ati   **ngaw**   kita.*
          ghost   TOP   begin   sick   liver   with   1p.incl
          'The ghosts began to get irritated with us.'

(5-76)   *N-peda' pia'   ba-tanya'   udih   sedua **ngaw** petara   Senta.*
          ACT-see like.that ANPAS-ask   *udih*   3d   with   god   S
          'Seeing this, both of them questioned god *Senta*.'

(5-77)   *Padahal   ku tu'   mpu   kuasa   **ngaw**   tanah-ampah   tu'.*
          in.contrast 1s TOP   have   power   with   land-PREC   this
          'Contrary to this, I am the one who has the authority over the lands and everything on them.'

(5-78)   *Nema   kita   naday   cucuk   **ngaw**   sida'   ia'.*
          because 1p.incl. NEG   fit   with   3p   that
          'Because we did not go along with them (those people).'

Note that *aba'* also functions as an inclusive conjunction that operates both at the phrase and clause level as in (5-79 and 5-80) (see Chapter 10):

(5-79)   *Udah   temu   cara   aba'   akal....*
          after   find   way   and   trick
          'After having found some method and trick ….'

(5-80)   *Ukuy   aba'   nyawung   ti   da-bunuh....*
          dog   and   cat   REL   PASS-kill
          'The dog and cat that were killed ….'

5.2.3   The preposition *ulih*

As a verb base, the word *ulih* means 'get, gotten', as in the following examples:

(5-81)   *Ikan   ti   ulih   bubu   rari.*
          fish   REL   gotten   k.o.fish.trap   run
          'The fish that was gotten by the *bubu* trap ran away.'

(5-82)   *N-gali   angkis   d=alam   lubang,   angkis*
ACT-dig   k.o.porcupine LOC=inside   hole   k.o.porcupine

ulih, ari pun   malam.
get   day pun   night
'Digging in the hole for a porcupine, (when) getting the porcupine, the day turns night.' [a riddle]

(5-83)   *Urang aday b-ulih   babi.*
person   exist   ANPAS-get   pig
'People did get pigs (from hunting).'

As a preposition, *ulih* means 'by' to mark an agent phrase in a passive construction (5-84 – 5-85) or it means 'because of' to mark a causer in clauses with a stative verb, in which the causer is said to be responsible for the event (5-86 – 5-87):

(5-84)   *Tu' da-bay'   ulih   dua urang.*
this PASS-bring by   two person
'This was brought by two people.'

(5-85)   *Asa pia',   tiki'   ulih m'ih!*
if   like.that   climb by   2s.masc
'If so, you climb it (the tree)!'

(5-86)   *Nyawa ia penuh ulih pipit   ti   da-pakay   ia.*
mouth   3s full   by   sparrow REL PASS-eat   3s
'His mouth was full of the sparrows he was eating.'

(5-87)   *Asa pia',   naday nyamay   kita' ulih ku.*
if   like.that NEG   comfortable   2p   by   1s
'If so, you all do not feel comfortable because of me.'

5.2.4   The preposition *upa*

Besides being used at the clause level (see 10.4.3 in Chapter 10), the preposition *upa* 'like, such as' functions also at the phrase level:

(5-88)   *Burung naday mawa upa m'ih   tu'.*
bird   NEG   stupid as   2s.masc   this
'The bird is not stupid like you here.'

(5-89)   *Sedua idup upa urang   menyadi'.*
3d   live   like person   sibling
'They two lived like siblings.'

(5-90) *Mayuh   agi'   tay   da-tam'ak   dia',   upa ubi,*
many   again REL   PASS-plant   there.near as   cassava

arum,   ntimun,   nyeli' ....
spinach cucumber corn
'There are still many other things that are planted there such as cassava, spinach, cucumber, corn …'

5.2.5   The preposition *nuna'*

As a verbal base, *tuna'* means 'follow', e.g.:

(5-91) *Ia ka'   N-tuna'   Dara Jantung cara idup bayik.*
3s want   ACT-follow   D   J   way live   good
'She wanted to follow Dara Jantung in living well.'

(5-92) *Tuna'   apa   ti   ku padah!*
follow what REL 1s say
'Follow what I've said!'

In the preposition, *nuna'* 'according to' the inflected verbal form is lexicalized. E.g.:

(5-93) *Aday   ga' pentik²   da-pulah   nuna'*
exist   also small.wooden.statue   PASS-make   according.to

pe-mayuh   urang   se-bilik.
NOM-many   person   ONE-house
'It happened also that *pentik* were made according to the number of people of the whole household.'

(5-94) *Sida' angkat ari   nya' nuna'   dany'i   se-mula.*
3p   go   from that   according.to promise ONE-beginning
'They went from there according to the original promise.'

(5-95) *Nuna'   tusuy urang tuay kelia'   ah, ...*
according.to story person old   past.time *ah*
'According to the very story told by the old people in the past, ….'

When following a main verb as in (5-93 – 5-94), the use of *nuna'* is ambiguous as to whether it is a verb or a preposition. However, as a preposition the verbal meaning is reduced. Thus, in (5-94), for example, the people did not go literally following the instructions already stated in the promise, but rather they had to proceed based on the promised statement.

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² *Pentik* is a small wooden statue made for magic or ritual purposes.

The word *nurut* is also heard in addition to the preposition *nuna'*, with the same meaning. However, it is difficult to decide whether it is a Mualang word or a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.*[3]*

5.2.6 The preposition *ngusung*

The word *ngusung* is derived from *N-* + *gusung* 'meet, catch up with'. The use of *gusung* as a main verb is illustrated in the examples below:

(5-96) *Ku ka' pulay ka kampung kami agi', ka'*
1s want go.home to village 1p.excl again want

N-gusung anak-bini ku.
ACT-meet child-wife 1s
'I am going back again to our village, I want to meet my family (lit. my wife (and) child.'

(5-97) *Ila' ku N-gusung m'ih.*
later 1s ACT-meet 2s.masc
'I'll meet/catch up with you later.'

In a serial verb construction, *gusung* usually follows motion verbs such as *datay* 'come', *pulay* 'go home', *ba-ran'aw* 'have a visit, chat', *temuay* 'have a visit', *any'ung* 'escort', for example as in (5-98 – 5-100):

(5-98) *...isa' antu nitaw' N-tiki' N-gusung ia.*
so.that ghost cannot ACT-climb ACT-meet 3s
'… so that the ghost could not climb up to get him.'

(5-99) *Ia N-temuay N-gusung apay-inay.*
3s ACT-visit ACT-meet father-mother
'He visited his parent.'

(5-100) *Ba-ran'aw N-gusung Bujang Jat agi' da studiu.*
ANPAS-PREC ACT-meet TOA bad again LOC studio
'Have a visit again with Brother Baddie at the (broadcasting) studio.'

In serial verb constructions, the verbal meaning of *N-gusung* appears to be reduced, as seen, at least, in the English translations of (5-98 – 5-100). Yet its status as a preposition in these examples is doubtful. However, I have thus far found the following examples where its "true" prepositional use seems to be quite apparent:[4]

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[3] Cf. Malay/Indonesian verbal root *turut* 'follow' and the derived preposition *menurut* 'according to'.
[4] The examples were obtained from a story written by an informant from the village of Sungai Antu in the Upstream area. He is in his fifties and has been away from his village of origin for many years.

(5-101)   *Kita'   arus   N-pinta'*   *ngusung   ku   dulaw.*
          2p   must   ACT-ask.for   unto   1s   first
          'You must ask for it from me first.'

(5-102)   *Ba-tanya'   sedua   agi'   ngusung   Petara   Senta   nya'….*
          ANPAS-ask   2d   again unto   deity   S   that
          'Both of them asked again of the god Senta …'

(5-103)   *Mayuh   basa   adat   tay   da-ajar   ngusung   kita.*
          much   norms custom REL   PASS-teach   unto   1p.icnl
          'Many were the norms and customs that were taught to us.'

Note that the original inflectional *N-gusung* is already reduced functionally to the prepositional *ngusung* in (5-101 – 5-103). In (5-101) traces of a serial verb construction are still apparent, in (5-102) and (5-103) this is no longer the case, since there is no subject coreferentiality between the main verbs and the following *ngusung* (if interpreted as a verb), which is the prerequisite for a serial verb construction (see section 10.2).

5.3   Complex prepositional phrases

Some prepositions can be used in combination with other prepositions, yielding phrases of the structure PREP PREP NP. Prepositions can also be combined with a locative noun, yielding phrases of the shape PREP N$_{loc}$ (NP), in which NP is optional. The locative noun and the following NP exhibit a "possessive" relationship, the N$_{loc}$ indicating a part of the referent of the headed NP.

a) The structure PREP PREP is attested in *da ntara* 'in between/among' (5-104), *ari ntara* '(from) among/between' (5-105) and *sampay ka* 'up until' (5-106 – 5-107):

(5-104)   *Nyaw   ke-lama'   aday   dih   da   ntara*   *urang*
          after   NOM-long   exist *dih* LOC among/between   person

          tay   N-padah ….
          REL   ACT-say
          'After a long time, there was (someone) among the people who said ….'

(5-105)   *Baru'   s-iku'*   (*ari*)   *ntara*   *sida'   menyadi'*
          then   ONE-CLASS   from   among/between   3p   sibling

          tay   N-am'i' ….
          REL   ACT-take
          'Then there was one (from) among the siblings who took ....'

(5-106)   *Ba-pinta'*   *kita*   *Mualang*   *tu'*   *sampay*   *ka*   *tengah*
        ANPAS-ask   1p.incl   M   this   until   to   middle

        malam.   *Naday*   *putus*   *malam,*   *sampay*   *ka*   *ari*   *pagi.*
        night   NEG   broken   night   until   to   day   tomorrow
        'As for us, the Mualang, making a marriage proposal is done until the
        middle of the night. If no decision is made that night, it continues until
        the following morning.'

(5-107)   *Baru'*   *ntawa'*   *tu'*   *tadi',*   *kisah*   *tih,*   *da-tikam*
        then   k.o.fruit   this   a.while.ago   story   *tih*   PASS-throw

        ari   *pucuk*   *ntawa'*   *sampay*   *ka*   *gang'ang*[5].
        from   point   k.o.tree   until   to   balcony
        'Then the *ntawa'* fruit (mentioned a while ago), the story goes, was
        thrown from the top of the *ntawa'* tree to the balcony.'

Notice that in (5-105), *ari* is optional. As for *sampay*, it may appear without the preposition *ka* such as in (5-48) and (5-49). Without *ka*, that is *sampay X*, it indicates the presence of the event in a spatial or temporal span of which X is the final border; whereas with *ka* the indication is that the event reaches its termination at X. Thus, in (5-107), for example, the absence of *ka* yields an ungrammatical sentence since the event *tikam* 'throw' cannot last in the spatial span. Rather it is the object, the *ntawa'* fruit that passes the span and reaches the end point. Stative and process verbs, then, are the most likely to be used with *sampay* without *ka*.

b)   A complex prepositional phrase of the structure PREP N_{loc} (NP) consists of the preposition *da*, *ka*, or *ari* and a locative noun followed optionally by a noun phrase. The locative noun refers to a part of an entity, among which the body. Examples are *ataw* 'top, upper part/side', *baruh* 'bottom or lower part/side' (also 'low'; 'short'), *luar* 'outside', *alam* 'inside', *mua* 'face, front part/side', *belakang* 'back (of body), back part/side', *tisi*[6] 'side (part)', *tengah* 'middle, center part', *ili'* 'downstream part', *ulu* 'upstream part'. The construction specifies the location or movement of an entity or activity vis-à-vis the specific part of another entity. The following examples illustrate their use:[7]

(5-108)   *Ia*   *N-tiki'*   *ka*   *ataw*   *padung.*
        3s   ACT-climb   to   upper.part   attic
        'He climbed up to the attic.'

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[5] *Gang'ang* is an unroofed open part of a house, spacious enough for household actitivites such as drying things (rice, etc.).

[6] Beside *tisi*, *sisi* is often heard as well, but the latter is clearly Malay/Indonesian (see Chapter 2). Cf. also *tusu ~ susu* 'breast, milk'. Forms like *tisi* are mostly produced by persons of the elder generation.

[7] The prepositions *da* and *ka* may undergo cliticization, see section 2.5.6.

(5-109)   *Da-simpan   da   baruh   tikay   peN-tin'uk* ....
           PASS-keep   LOC   bottom.part   mat   NOM-sleep
           '(It) was kept under the sleeping mat ....'

Ili' and *ulu* are commonly used with the name of a river:

(5-110)   *da   ili'/ulu   Belitang*
           LOC   downstream/upstream   B
           'at the downstream/upstream part of the Belitang River'

The complex prepositions *da alam* 'in(side)' and *da ataw* 'above, on top of' may be reduced to *alam* and *ataw*, respectively:[8]

(5-111)   *Upa   tih   aday   nsia   alam   nya'.*
           as   *tih* exist human   in   that
           'Apparently there was a person inside of it.'

(5-112)   *Aday   buah   ntawa'   ataw   nyin.*
           exist   fruit k.o.fruit   above   that.over.there
           'There's a *ntawa'* fruit up there.'

Another more complex structure is the double preposition *sampay ka* followed by a locative noun, as in (5-106) above and (5-113) below:

(5-113)   *Ari   dan   sampay   ka   baruh   da-bingkis   kulit*
           from   branch   until   to   bottom.part   PASS-peel   skin

           isa'   licin.
           so.that   slippery
           'The bark (of the tree) was peeled off from the branches until down under so that it was slippery.'

This latter sentence is also an example of a N_{loc} which is not followed by a NP.

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[8] The complex preposition *da dalam* 'in(side)' is also heard. This is probably a case of influence from Malay/Indonesian, where the equivalent is *di dalam*.