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Title: A grammar of Papuan Malay

Issue Date: 2014-06-03

10. Prepositions and the prepositional phrase

Prepositional phrases are constructions which “consist of a preposition followed by a noun phrase” such that ‘PREP NP’, with the preposition indicating the grammatical and semantic “relationship of the following noun phrase to the predicate” (Sneddon 2010: xxxii, 194).

Papuan Malay employs eleven prepositions that can be grouped semantically into (1) prepositions encoding location in space and time, (2) prepositions encoding accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction, and (3) prepositions encoding comparisons. The defining characteristics of prepositions are discussed in §5.12.

Prepositional phrases have the following defining characteristics:

1. All prepositional phrases function as peripheral adjuncts; as such they do not have a grammatically restricted position within the clause but can be moved to different positions.
2. Most prepositional phrases also function as nonverbal predicates and/or oblique arguments (see §12.4, and §11.1.3.2, respectively).
3. Some prepositional phrases also function as modifiers within noun phrases (§8.2.7)
4. Prepositional phrases that function as nonverbal predicates can be modified by aspectual adverbs (§5.4.1), while prepositional phrases in other functions cannot.

In the following, Papuan Malay prepositional phrases are discussed according to the semantics of their prepositional head: location in space and time in §10.1, accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction in §10.2, and comparisons in §10.3. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §10.4.

10.1. Prepositions encoding location in space and time

Papuan Malay employs four prepositions that express location in space and time: locative *di* ‘at, in’ designates static location (§10.1.1), allative *ke* ‘to’ denotes direction towards a location (§10.1.2), elative *dari* ‘from’ expresses direction away from or out of a location (§10.1.3), and lative *sampe* ‘until’ designates direction up to a non-spatial temporal location (§10.1.4).

10.1.1. *di* ‘at, in’

Prepositional phrases introduced with locative *di* ‘at, in’ indicate static location in spatial and non-spatial figurative terms. Most often the preposition denotes location ‘at’ or ‘in’ a referent; depending on its context, though, it is also translatable as ‘on’.

Very commonly, *di* ‘at, in’ introduces a peripheral location as in *di kampung* ‘in the village’ in (1) or *di dia* ‘at her’ in (2). When following placement verbs such as *taru* ‘put’ in (3), *di* ‘at, in’ introduces oblique locative arguments that indicate the location of the referent as in *di sini* ‘here’. Frequently *di* ‘at, in’ also introduces nonverbal predicates as in (4) (see §12.4). Only rarely, *di* ‘at, in’ introduces locations encoded by adnominal prepositional phrases as in *pasar di bawa tu* ‘the

market down there' in (5). The examples in (1) to (5) also show that *di* 'at, in' introduces animate and inanimate, as well as nominal and pronominal referents.²⁰³

- (1) waktu saya dengan bapa tinggal **di kampung** saya kerja
 time 1SG with father stay at village 1SG work
 seperti laki~laki
 similar.to RDP~husband
 'when I and my husband ('father') were living **in the village**, I worked like a man' [081014-007-CvEx.0048]
- (2) jadi saya besar di Ida dengan de punya laki tu
 so 1SG be.big at Ida with 3SG POSS husband D.DIST
 ... besar **di dia**
 be.big at 3SG
 'so I grew up with Ida and that husband of her ..., (I) grew up **at hers**'
 [080927-007-CvNP.0017/0019]
- (3) skarang kamu kasi terpol~terpol taru **di sini**
 now 2PL give RDP~jerry.can put at L.PROX
 'now you give (me) the jerry cans, put (them) **here**' [081110-002-Cv.0065]
- (4) sa **di IPS** **satu**
 1SG at social.sciences one
 [About course tracks in high school:] 'I (am) **in Social Sciences I**' [081023-004-Cv.0020]
- (5) pasar **di bawa tu** raaame
 market at bottom D.DIST be.bustling
 '**the market down there** is very bustling' [081109-005-JR.0008]

10.1.2. *ke* 'to'

Prepositional phrases introduced with allative *ke* 'to' denote direction towards a referent. Following motion verbs such as *lari* 'run' in (6) or *datang* 'come' in (7), *ke* 'to' introduces oblique locative arguments which indicate the goal of the motion as in *ke pante* 'to the beach' or *ke kitong* 'to us', respectively. Allative *ke* 'to' also very often introduces nonverbal predicates as in (8). The three examples also show that *ke* 'to' introduces animate and inanimate, as well as nominal and pronominal referents.²⁰⁴

- (6) dong lari **ke pante**
 3PL run to coast
 'they ran **to the beach**' [081115-001a-Cv.0008]

²⁰³ In the present corpus only the following pronominal complements of *di* 'at, in' are attested: 2SG, 1PL, and 3PL.

²⁰⁴ In the present corpus only the following pronominal complements of *ke* 'to' are attested: 1SG, 3SG, 2PL.

- (7) ... dia punya aroa datang ke kitong kasi tanda
 3SG POSS departed.spirit come to 1PL give sign
 ‘[so when there is a another person (who) dies in a different village,] (then) his/her departed spirit comes **to us** (and) gives (us) a sign’ [081014-014-NP.0048]
- (8) sa ke ruma-sakit
 1SG to hospital
 ‘I (went) **to the hospital**’ [081015-005-NP.0047]

10.1.3. *dari* ‘from’

Prepositional phrases introduced with elative *dari* ‘from’ designate direction away from or out of a source location; depending on its context, though, *dari* also translates with ‘of’. Most commonly, the source location is spatial. In addition, *dari* ‘from’ expresses non-spatial figurative sources, temporal starting points, and the notions of superiority and dissimilarity in comparison constructions.

Elative *dari* ‘from’ forms peripheral adjuncts as in *dari blakang* ‘from the back’ in (9). When following motion verbs such as *kluar* ‘go out’, it expresses the source of the motion in an oblique argument as in (10). Besides, elative *dari* ‘from’ expresses spatial source locations in nonverbal predicates as in (11). Much less often, *dari* ‘from’ introduces sources encoded by adnominal prepositional phrases as in (12).

Introducing spatial source locations

- (9) de tutup itu spit itu dari blakang ...
 3SG close D.DIST speedboat D.DIST from backside
 ‘(this wave,) it totally covered that that speedboat **from the back** [to the front]’ [080923-015-CvEx.0021]
- (10) ... sa harus kluar dari kam pu keluarga
 1SG have.to go.out from 2PL POSS family
 ‘[I hadn’t thought that] I would have to depart **from your family**’ [080919-006-CvNP.0012]
- (11) tong semua dari kampung
 1PL all from village
 ‘we all are **from the village**’ [081010-001-Cv.0084]
- (12) satu kali ini de pu bapa pu temang dari skola
 one time D.PROX 3SG POSS father POSS friend from school
 STT dorang pergi ...
 theological.seminary 3PL go
 ‘this one time **her father’s friends from school**, theological seminary, they went ...’ [081006-023-CvEx.0062]

The source location indicated with *dari* ‘from’ can also be non-spatial figurative as in the prepositional predicate clauses *dari uang* ‘up to the money’ in (13) or *dari ko* ‘up to you’ in (14).

Introducing non-spatial figurative source locations

- (13) yo, tong mo biking cepat smua itu **dari uang**
 yes 1PL want make be.fast all D.DIST from money
 ‘yes, we want to do (it) quickly, all that (is) **up to the money**’ (Lit. ‘**from money**’) [080927-006-CvNP.0034]
- (14) pinda ke IPA itu **dari ko** saja
 move to natural.sciences D.DIST from 2SG just
 ‘switching (from Social Sciences) to Natural Sciences, that (is) **up to you** alone’ (Lit. ‘**from you**’) [081023-004-Cv.0023]

The examples in (9) to (14) also illustrate that *dari* ‘from’ introduces animate and inanimate, as well as nominal and pronominal referents.²⁰⁵

Derived from its spatial semantics, *dari* ‘from’ also very commonly introduces non-spatial temporal source locations, which are always encoded by peripheral adjuncts. The temporal starting point can be encoded by a noun that indicates time as in *dari pagi* ‘from the morning’ in (15) or in a temporal adverb as in *dari dulu* ‘from the past’ in (16).

Introducing temporal starting points

- (15) tra bole tutup pintu **dari pagi** buka pintu
 NEG permitted close door from morning open door
 sampe malam
 until night
 ‘you shouldn’t close the door, (you should keep it) open **from morning** until night’ [081110-008-CvNP.0108]
- (16) jadi itu suda kebiasaang **dari dulu**
 so D.DIST already habit from be.prior
 ‘so that (tradition) has already become a custom **from the past**’ (Lit. ‘**from being prior**’) [081014-007-CvEx.0063]

Finally, elative *dari* ‘from’ is also used in comparative constructions marking degree or identity. In such constructions, *dari* ‘from’ functions as the MARK of comparison which introduces the STANDARD. In (17), for instance, *dari* ‘from’ serves as the MARK in a comparative construction marking degree, namely superiority, while in (18) it serves as the MARK in a comparative construction marking identity, namely dissimilarity (for details on comparative constructions, see §11.5).

Introducing standards of comparison

- (17) ... dia lebi besar **dari smua ana~ana** ...
 3SG more be.big from all RDP~child
 ‘[in that class] he’s bigger **than all the kids** [in it]’ [081109-003-JR.0001]²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ In the present corpus one pronominal complement of *dari* ‘from’ is unattested, namely 2PL.

- (18) sifat ini **laing** **dari** **ko**
 nature D.PROX be.different from 2SG
 ‘this disposition is different **from you**’ [081110-008-CvNP.0089]

10.1.4. *sampe* ‘until’

The preposition *sampe* ‘until’ is related to the bivalent verb *sampe* ‘reach’ which designates direction up to a location (see §5.16). Derived from its core spatial semantics, the preposition *sampe* ‘until’ introduces non-spatial temporal endpoints which are always encoded by peripheral adjuncts. Most commonly, the temporal endpoint is expressed in a temporal noun that indicates time as in *sampe sore* ‘until the afternoon’ in (19). Given these semantics, *sampe* ‘until’ typically introduces nouns that indicate time, as in *sampe sore* ‘until the afternoon’ in (19); that is, *sampe* ‘until’ does not introduce animate or pronominal referents.

Introducing time-denoting nouns

- (19) saya tidor **sampe sore**
 1SG sleep until afternoon
 ‘I slept **until the afternoon**’ [081015-005-NP.0033]

Typically peripheral prepositional phrases can be moved to other positions within the clause with no change in meaning. This does not, however, apply to the example in (19). When the prepositional phrase is moved to the front it denotes the temporal starting rather than the temporal endpoint of *tidor* ‘sleep’, as in (20). Hence, the meaning changes to ‘come afternoon on’ (literally ‘reaches the afternoon’). One initial explanation for this change in meaning could be that the utterance in (20) expresses a sequence of two events, namely the *sampe* ‘reaching’ of the afternoon and subsequently the *tidor* ‘sleeping’. In that case, *sampe sore* would not express the prepositional phrase ‘until afternoon’ but the verbal clause ‘reached the afternoon’ or ‘come afternoon’. This explanation, however, requires further investigation.

Clause-initial position

- (20) **sampe sore** saya tidor
 reach/until afternoon 1SG sleep
 ‘**come afternoon** I slept’ (Lit. ‘**reached the afternoon**’) [Elicited
 BR120817.008]

Temporal *sampe* ‘until’ also introduces temporal adverbs that denote a temporal endpoint as in *sampe skarang* ‘until now’ in (21). Overall, however, these constructions are very rare in the present corpus.

²⁰⁶ The original recording says *dari smuat* rather than *dari smua* ‘than all’. Most likely the speaker wanted to say *dari smua temang* ‘than all friends’ but cut himself off to replace *temang* ‘friend’ with *ana~ana* ‘children’.

Introducing temporal adverbs

- (21) ... tapi **sampe** **skarang** blum berangkat
 but until be.current not.yet leave
 ‘...but **until now** (the team) hasn’t yet left’ [081023-002-Cv.0001]

Also, and more often than introducing prepositional phrases, temporal *sampe* ‘until’ functions as a conjunction which introduces temporal clauses (§14.2.3.3).

10.1.5. Elision of prepositions encoding location

Two of the prepositions of location may be omitted if the semantic relationship between the complement and the predicate can be deduced from the context. The prepositions are locative *di* ‘at, in’, as illustrated with the contrastive examples in (22) and (23), and allative *ke* ‘to’, as shown in (24) and (25).

When locative *di* ‘at, in’ introduces a spatial location and combines with position verb such as *tidor* ‘sleep’ as in (22) and (23), the preposition can be elided. Both the preceding verb and the complement of *di* ‘at, in’ are already deictic and therefore allow the elision of *di* ‘at, in’: the position verb *tidor* ‘sleep’ implies the notion of static location, while the complement *sana* ‘over there’ signals the position location.

Prepositional phrases with elided locative *di* ‘at, in’

- (22) ko punya mama ada tidor **di sana**
 2SG POSS mother exist sleep at L.DIST
 ‘your mother is sleeping **over there**’ [081006-025-CvEx.0007]
- (23) a, omong kosong, ko masuk tidor Ø **sana** suda
 ah! way.of.talking be.empty 2SG enter sleep L.DIST already
 (((‘ah, nonsense, you just go inside (and) **sleep over there**’ [081023-001-Cv.0057])

Along similar lines allative *ke* ‘to’ can be omitted, when the preposition introduces a location and combines with a motion verb that also expresses direction such as *masuk* ‘enter’ in (24) and (25). Again, both the verb and the complement of *ke* ‘to’ are deictic, thereby allowing the elision of *ke* ‘to’: the verb *masuk* ‘enter’ implies the notion of motion and direction, while the complement *hutang* ‘forest’ denotes the location towards which the motion is directed.

Prepositional phrases with elided allative *ke* ‘to’

- (24) smua masarakat masuk **ke hutang**
 all community enter to forest
 ‘the entire community went **into the forest**’ [081029-005-Cv.0012]
- (25) smua masuk Ø **hutang**
 all enter forest
 ‘all went **(into) the forest**’ [081029-005-Cv.0111]

The elision typically affects prepositional phrases with common nouns denoting locations as in (25) or locatives as in (23). In addition, the elision can also affect

prepositional phrases with location nouns as in (26) and (27): in (26) the omitted preposition is locative *di* ‘at, in’ whereas in (27) it is allative *ke* ‘to’.

Prepositional phrases with elided preposition and location noun complement

- (26) baru kitong taru Ø **depan** to?
and.then 1PL put front right?
‘and then we put (the cake down) **in front**, right?’ [081011-005-Cv.0031]
- (27) itu yang sa bilang kalo dong pinda Ø **sebla** bole
D.DIST REL 1SG say if 3PL move side be.permitted
‘that’s why I said, if they move **to the (other) side** (that’s) alright’ [081011-001-Cv.0144]

Elision of *di* ‘at, in’ and *ke* ‘to’ is not possible, though, in nonverbal prepositional predicate clauses as this would create nominal clauses with unacceptable semantics. This is illustrated with elided *di* ‘at, in’ in (28), which is based on the example in (4), and with elided *ke* ‘to’ in (29), which is based on the example in (8).

Nonverbal prepositional predicate clauses with elided locative *di* ‘at, in’ and allative *ke* ‘to’

- (28) * sa Ø **IPS** **satu**
1SG social.sciences one
[About course tracks in high school:] *‘I (am) **Social Sciences I**’ [based on 081023-004-Cv.0020]
- (29) * sa Ø **ruma-sakit**
1SG hospital
*‘I (am) **the hospital**’ [based on 081015-005-NP.0047]

Elision of elative *dari* ‘from’ and temporal *sampe* ‘until’ is also not possible, as illustrated in (30) and (31). In the example in (30), which is based on (10), elative *dari* ‘from’ is omitted, resulting in an ungrammatical utterance. In the example in (31), which is based on (19), temporal *sampe* ‘until’ is elided. The result is a change in meaning of the entire utterance: ‘I slept (the entire) afternoon’.

Prepositional phrases with elided elative *dari* ‘from’ and temporal *sampe* ‘until’

- (30) * ... sa harus keluar Ø **kam pu** **kuarga**
1SG have.to go.out 2PL POSS family
*‘[I hadn’t thought that] I would have to depart **your family**’ [Elicited BR120817.009]
- (31) saya tidor Ø **sore**
1SG sleep afternoon
‘I slept (the entire) **afternoon**’ [Elicited BR120817.010]

10.2. Prepositions encoding accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction

Papuan Malay employs four prepositions that encode accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction: comitative *deng(an)* ‘with’ (§10.2.1), goal-oriented *sama* ‘to’ (§10.2.2), benefactive *untuk* ‘for’ (§10.2.3) and *buat* ‘for’ (§10.2.4).

10.2.1. *deng(an)* ‘with’

Prepositional phrases introduced with comitative *dengan* ‘with’, abbreviated as *deng*, typically express accompaniment with animate or inanimate associates. Also very often, *deng(an)* ‘with’ introduces instruments. In addition, *deng(an)* ‘with’ introduces objects of mental verbs and the notion of identity in comparison constructions.

The associates introduced with *deng(an)* ‘with’ are most commonly animate human as in *dengan mama-tua* ‘with aunt’ in (32), *dengan de pu temang~temang* ‘with his friends’ in (33) or in *deng kamu* ‘with you’ in (34). These examples also show that the complements of *deng(an)* ‘with’ can be nouns or personal pronouns. Besides animate associates, *deng(an)* ‘with’ also introduces inanimate associates, as in *dengan motor* ‘with (his) motorbike’ in (35) or in *dengan itu* ‘with those (spices)’ in (36). The associates introduced with *deng(an)* ‘with’ are either encoded in peripheral adjuncts as in (32), or (34) to (36) or in nonverbal predicates as in (33). The example in (33) also illustrates that prepositional phrases functioning as nonverbal predicates can be modified by adverbs such as prospective *masi* ‘still’; prepositional phrases in other functions cannot be modified in this way.

Introducing associates

- (32) sebentar Hurki datang ko pulang **deng mama-tua**
 in.a.moment Hurki come 2SG go.home with aunt
 ‘in a moment (when) Hurki comes, you’ll go home **with me** (‘aunt’)
 [081011-006-Cv.0003]
- (33) Roni masi **deng de pu temang~temang**
 Roni still with 3SG POSS RDP~friend
 ‘Roni is still **with his friends**’ [081006-031-Cv.0011]
- (34) slama sa tinggal **deng kamu** sa kerja
 as.long.as 1SG stay with 2PL 1SG work
 ‘as long as I stayed **with you** I worked’ [080919-006-CvNP.0014]
- (35) de jatu **deng motor**
 3SG fall with motorbike
 ‘he fell **with (his) motorbike**’ [081006-020-Cv.0008]
- (36) itu nanti kitong tumbuk baru masak **deng itu**
 D.DIST very.soon 1PL pound and.then cook with D.DIST
 ‘later we’ll pound those (spices and) and then cook **with them**’ [081010-001-Cv.0196]

Instruments introduced with comitative *deng(an)* ‘with’ are expressed in peripheral adjuncts as in *deng pisow* ‘with a knife’ in (37).

Introducing instruments

- (37) bapa de pukul sa **deng pisow**
 father 3SG hit 1SG with knife
 ‘(my) husband stabbed me **with a knife**’ [081011-023-Cv.0167]

In addition, comitative *deng(an)* ‘with’ introduces oblique arguments for mental verbs such as *mara* ‘feel angry (about)’ in (38), *takut* ‘feel afraid (of)’ in (39), or *perlu* ‘need’ in (40).²⁰⁷

Introducing objects of mental verbs

- (38) kalo saya mara **dengan orang** begitu sa takut
 if 1SG feel.angry(.about) with person like.that 1SG feel.afraid(.of)
 ‘if I was angry **with someone** like that I’d feel afraid’ [081110-008-CvNP.0067]
- (39) adu, kang dong terlalu takut **dengan setan**
 oh.no! you.know 3PL too feel.afraid(.of) with evil.spirit
 ‘oh no, you know, they feel too afraid **of evil spirits**’ [081025-006-Cv.0200]
- (40) mama-ade sa perlu **deng mama-ade**
 aunt 1SG need with aunt
 ‘aunt, I need **you (‘aunt’)**’ (Lit. ‘need **with aunt**’) [081014-004-Cv.0004]

Comitative *deng(an)* ‘with’ is also used in comparative constructions. As the MARK of comparison, *deng(an)* ‘with’ introduces the STANDARD of comparison in identity-marking constructions. In (41), for example, *deng(an)* ‘with’ serves as the MARK in a similarity construction, while in (42) it is the MARK in a dissimilarity construction (for more details on comparative constructions, see §11.5).

Introducing standards of comparison

- (41) de sombong sama **deng ko**
 3SG be.arrogant same with 2SG
 ‘she’ll be as arrogant **as you** (are)’ [081006-005-Cv.0002]
- (42) orang Papua beda **dengan orang Indonesia**
 person Papua be.different with person Indonesia
 ‘Papuan are different **from Indonesians**’ [081029-002-Cv.0009]

Besides introducing prepositional phrases, comitative *deng(an)* ‘with’ is also used as a conjunction which conjoins constituents (§14.2.1.2).

²⁰⁷ Bivalent verbs such as *mara* ‘feel angry (about)’ or *takut* ‘feel afraid (of)’ do not require but allow two syntactic arguments (see §5.3.1 and §11.1). That is, speakers quite commonly encode patients such as *orang* in (38) or *setan* ‘evil spirit’ in (39) as oblique arguments rather than as direct objects.

10.2.2. *sama* ‘to’

The goal preposition *sama* ‘to’ is related to the stative verb *sama* ‘be same’ (§5.16).²⁰⁸ As a preposition, *sama* is rather general in its meaning; typically it translates with ‘to’ but depending on its context it also translates with ‘of, from, with’. The complement always denotes an animate referent which can be encoded in a noun or in a personal pronoun.

As the exchange in (43) shows, *sama* ‘to’ usually introduces oblique goal or recipient arguments of transfer verbs such as *bawa* ‘bring’ in (43a) or *kasi* ‘give’ in (43b).

Introducing goals or recipients

- (43) a. Speaker-1: ko bawa ke sana ko **bawa sama ade**
 2SG take to L.DIST 2SG take to ySb
 Speaker-1: ‘bring (the ball) over there, **bring (it) to (your) younger cousin**’
- b. Speaker-2: e, **kasi bola sama ade**
 hey! give ball to ySb
 Speaker-2: ‘hey, **give the ball to (your) younger cousin**’ [081011-009-Cv.0015-0016]

Also very commonly, *sama* ‘to’ introduces oblique addressee arguments for communication verbs such as *bicara* ‘speak’ in (44) or *minta* ‘request’ in (45).

Introducing addressees

- (44) sa minta maaf, e tadi sa **bicara kasar sama ko**
 1SG ask pardon uh earlier 1SG speak be.coarse to 2SG
 ‘I apologize, uh, a short while ago I **spoke to you** harshly’ [081115-001a-Cv.0277]
- (45) de **minta apa sama kitorang** kitorang kasi
 3SG ask what to 1PL 1PL give
 ‘(whenever) she (our daughter) **asks something from us**, we give (it to her)’ [081006-025-CvEx.0022]

Goal preposition *sama* ‘to’ denotes the goal of a transfer or communication without concurrently marking this goal as the beneficiary of the event talked about. In this it contrasts with benefactive *untuk* ‘for’ and *buat* ‘for’; compare the examples in (43b) and (44) with *kasi/bicara untuk* ‘give/speak to and for’ in (55) and (56) in §10.2.3 and with *kasi/bicara buat* ‘give/speak to and for’ in (65) and (66) in §10.2.4.

In addition, *sama* ‘to’ introduces oblique arguments of mental verbs such as *ingat* ‘remember’ in (46), *mara* ‘feel angry (about)’ in (47), or *takut* ‘feel afraid (of)’ in (48). Most of the objects of mental verbs introduced with *sama* ‘to’ can also occur with comitative *deng(an)* ‘with’ (§10.2.1): compare *mara sama* ‘feel angry

²⁰⁸ In terms of its etymology, Tadmor (p.c. 2013) notes that “*sama* was borrowed from Sanskrit into Malay in ancient times with the meaning ‘same’. Much later it also came to mean ‘with’ in Bazaar Malay”.

about' in (47) with *mara dengan* 'feel angry with' in (38), or *takut sama* 'feel afraid of' in (48) with *takut dengan* 'feel afraid of' in (39).²⁰⁷ Overall, however, the range of verbs is smaller for *sama* 'to' than for comitative *deng(an)* 'with'.

The semantic distinctions between *sama* 'to' and *deng(an)* 'with' are subtle. When speakers want to emphasize the agent of the mental verb they employ *sama* 'to'. If they want to signal that the object of the mental verb is also involved in the mental process talked about, they use comitative *deng(an)* 'with'. The contrastive examples in (47) and (48) illustrate this distinction.²⁰⁹ In (47a) *sama* 'to' emphasizes the fact that the agent *de* '3SG' *mara* 'feels angry' with the patient *pak Bolikarfus* 'Mr. Bolikarfus' whereas the patient himself is not involved in this mental process. By contrast in (47b) *deng(an)* 'with' signals that in some ways the patient *pak Bolikarfus* 'Mr. Bolikarfus' has contributed to the agent's anger. Likewise, in (48a) *sama* 'to' focuses on the fact that the agent *dia* '3SG' is *takut* 'feel afraid (of)'; again, the patient *ana~ana Tuhan* 'God's children' is not involved in this mental process. In (48b), by contrast, *deng(an)* 'with' signals that the patient *ana~ana Tuhan* 'God's children' has contributed in some ways to the agent's fear.

Introducing objects of mental verbs

- (46) *biar dia masi muda tapi Fitri ingat sama Roni*
 although 3SG still be.young but Fitri remember to Roni
 'even though she was still young, Fitri was thinking **of Roni**' [081006-024-CvEx.0067]
- (47) a. *de mara sama pak Bolikarfus*
 3SG feel.angry(.about) to father Bolikarfus
 'he was angry **about Mr. Bolikarfus**' [081014-016-Cv.0042]
- b. *de mara deng pak Bolikarfus*
 3SG feel.angry(.about) with father Bolikarfus
 'he was angry **with Mr. Bolikarfus**' [Elicited BR120817.001]
- (48) a. *memang dia takut sama ana~ana Tuhan*
 indeed 3SG feel.afraid(.of) to RDP~child God
 '(that evil spirit) indeed he feels afraid **of God's children**' [081006-022-CvEx.0175]
- b. *memang dia takut deng ana~ana Tuhan*
 indeed 3SG feel.afraid(.of) with RDP~child God
 '(that evil spirit) indeed he feels afraid **of God's children**' [Elicited BR120817.001]

Furthermore, although not very frequently, *sama* 'to' introduces animate associates. As with comitative *deng(an)* 'with' (§10.2.1), associates are expressed in peripheral adjuncts as in *sama dorang* 'with them' in (49) or in nonverbal predicates as in *sama saya* 'with me' in (50).

²⁰⁹ The examples in (47a) and (48a) are taken from the corpus while the examples in (47b) and (48b) are elicited.

Introducing animate associates

- (49) Papeas maing~maing **sama dorang**
 Papeas RDP~play to 3PL
 ‘Papeas is going to play **with them**’ [080918-001-CvNP.0040]
- (50) hanya tiga saja **sama saya**
 only three just to 1SG
 ‘just only three (of my children) are **with me**’ [081006-024-CvEx.0001]

In addition to introducing prepositional phrases, although not very frequently, *sama* ‘to’ functions as a conjunction that conjoins participants (§14.2.1.3).

10.2.3. *untuk* ‘for’

The benefactive preposition *untuk* is usually translated with ‘for’; depending on its context, however, it is also translated with ‘to, about’. The preposition introduces animate and inanimate, as well as nominal and pronominal referents. In most cases, the referents are beneficiaries or recipients (148 tokens). In this, *untuk* ‘for’ is similar to benefactive *buat* ‘for’ (§10.2.4). Contrasting with *buat* ‘for’, however, *untuk* ‘for’ has a wider distribution and more functions in that it (1) combines with demonstratives, (2) introduces inanimate referents, and (3) introduces circumstance.

Beneficiaries introduced with *untuk* ‘for’ are typically animate human as in (51), (53) or (54). The beneficiary can, however, also be animate nonhuman as in *untuk anjing dorang* ‘for them dogs’ in (52).

Usually, *untuk* ‘for’ follows bivalent verbs such as *buat* ‘make, do’ or *biking* ‘make’ and introduces beneficiaries encoded by peripheral adjuncts, as in (51) or (52), respectively. Only rarely is the beneficiary encoded by a nonverbal prepositional predicate (2 tokens), as in *untuk tamu* ‘for the guests’ in (53) or an adnominal prepositional phrase (2 tokens), as in *untuk kafir* ‘for unbelievers’ in (54). As for the low token frequencies of two each, one consultant suggested that these constructions are not native Papuan Malay but represent instances of code-switching with Indonesian. The low frequencies support this statement.

Introducing animate beneficiaries

- (51) Tuhan buat mujisat **untuk kita**
 God make miracle for 1PL
 ‘God made a miracle **for us**’ [080917-008-NP.0163]
- (52) ... yang sa pu bini biking malam **untuk anjing dorang**
 REL 1SG POSS wife make night for dog 3PL
 ‘[I fed the dogs with papeda] which my wife had made in the evening **for the dogs**’ [080919-003-NP.0002]
- (53) ikang sedikit itu **untuk tamu**
 fish few D.DIST for guest
 ‘(as for) the few fish, those are **for the guests**’ [081014-011-CvEx.0008]

- (54) di sana kang masi **tempat untuk kafir**
 at L.DIST you.know still place for unbeliever
 ‘(the area) over there, you know, is still a location **for unbelievers**’
 [081011-022-Cv.0238]

With transfer verbs, *untuk* ‘for’ introduces benefactive recipients, and with communication verbs it introduces benefactive addressees. That is, the referent is not merely a recipient or addressee. Benefactive *untuk* ‘for’ indicates that the referent is also the beneficiary of the transfer or communication, hence ‘benefactive recipient’ and ‘benefactive addressee’. This is illustrated with *kasi untuk* ‘give to and for’ in (55), and *bicara untuk* ‘speak to and for’ in (56).

Introducing benefactive recipients and addressees

- (55) sa kasi hadia **untuk kamu**
 1SG give gift for 2PL
 ‘I’ll give gifts **to you for your benefit**’ [080922-001a-CvPh.1332]
- (56) jadi sperti itu harus bicara **untuk dorang** cerita
 so similar.to D.DIST have.to speak for 3PL tell
untuk dorang
 for 3PL
 ‘so it’s like that, (we) have to speak **to them** (our children), talk **to them for their benefit**’ [081014-007-CvEx.0136]

Besides introducing animate referents, *untuk* ‘for’ also introduces inanimate beneficiaries that are concrete, abstract, or temporal. In (57), the beneficiary is inanimate concrete: *kamar mandi* ‘the bathroom’. In (58), the beneficiary is inanimate abstract: distal demonstrative *itu* ‘D.DIST’ summarizes the speaker’s previous statements about balanced birth rates across families related by marriage. In (59) and (60), the beneficiary is temporal: *taung ini* ‘this year’ in (59) and *besok* ‘tomorrow’ in (60). Overall, however, these uses of benefactive *untuk* ‘for’ are quite rare, with the corpus including only very few examples.

Introducing inanimate beneficiaries

- (57) tong mo pake **untuk kamar mandi**
 1PL want.to use for room bathe
 ‘we want to use (the corrugated iron sheets) **for the bathroom** (roof)’
 [080925-003-Cv.0005]
- (58) ... lahir ana suku A., a, saya lahir
 give.birth child ethnic.group A. ah! 1SG give.birth
 suku Y. ... tujuangnya hanya **untuk itu**
 ethnic.group Y. purpose:3POSSR only for D.DIST
 [About the exchange of bride-price children:] ‘(our daughter) will give birth to a child (for) the A. family, well, I give birth for the Y. family ... its purpose is only **for that** (namely, a balanced birth rate across families)’
 [081006-024-CvEx.0079]

- (59) **untuk taung ini** kam kas los sa dulu
 for year D.PROX 2PL give be. loose 1SG be.prior
 ‘for (the rest of) this year you release me (from my duties) for now’
 [080922-002-Cv.0084]
- (60) tong dari sa pu temang pinjam trening **untuk besok**
 1PL from 1SG POSS friend borrow tracksuit for tomorrow
 ‘we (are back) from my friend (from whom we) borrowed a tracksuit for
 tomorrow’ [081011-020-Cv.0052]

In addition, *untuk* ‘for’ introduces peripheral adjuncts that express the notion of circumstance as in *untuk seng itu* ‘about those corrugated iron sheets’ in (61) or *untuk masala tahang lapar* ‘about the problem of enduring to be hungry’ in (62).

Introducing circumstance

- (61) tanya Sarles, bapa, **untuk seng itu**
 ask Sarles father for corrugated.iron D.DIST
 ‘father, ask Sarles about/for those corrugated iron (sheets)’ [080925-003-
 Cv.0003]
- (62) sa bilang, **untuk masala tahang lapar** kitong
 1SG say for problem hold.(out/back) be.hungry 1PL
 bisa tahang lapar juga e?
 be.able hold (out/back) be.hungry also eh
 ‘I say about the problem of enduring to be hungry, we can also endure
 being hungry, eh?’ [081025-009a-Cv.0118]

Besides introducing prepositional phrases, benefactive *untuk* ‘for’ also functions as a conjunction that introduces purpose clauses (§14.2.4.3).

10.2.4. *buat* ‘for’

The preposition *buat* ‘for’ is related to the bivalent verb *buat* ‘make’ (see §5.16).²¹⁰ The core semantics of the preposition *buat* ‘for’ are benefactive; that is, it introduces beneficiaries and benefactive recipients. In this, it is similar to benefactive *untuk* ‘for’; otherwise, as already mentioned in §10.2.3, *buat* ‘for’ is more restricted in its distribution and functions as it (1) does not combine with demonstratives, (2) only rarely introduces inanimate referents, and (3) does not introduce other complements such as circumstance.

Most commonly, *buat* ‘for’ follows bivalent action verbs such as *putar* ‘stir’ and introduces peripheral adjuncts denoting human beneficiaries as in *buat de bapa* ‘for her father’ in (63). Considerably less frequently, *buat* ‘for’ introduces beneficiaries encoded by adnominal prepositional phrases as in *buat torang* ‘for us’ in the exchange in (64).

²¹⁰ In terms of its etymology, Tadmor (p.c. 2013) notes that “*buat* ‘make’ is part of the inherited vocabulary of Malay. The development of the meaning ‘for’ is much more recent, in Bazaar Malay and colloquial Indonesian”.

Introducing animate beneficiaries

- (63) Ika biking papeda putar **buat de bapa**
 Ika make sagu.porridge stir for 3SG father
 ‘Ika made sagu porridge, she stirred (it) **for her father**’ [081006-032-Cv.0071]
- (64) a. Speaker-1: sa juga dengan ini kaka siapa tu
 1SG also with D.PROX oSb who D.DIST
 Speaker-1: ‘I was also with, what’s-his-name, that older brother who?’
- b. Speaker-2: satpam **buat torang**
 security.guard for 1PL
 Speaker-2: ‘**our** security guard’ (Lit. ‘the security guard **for us**’
 [081025-006-Cv.0111])

Benefactive *buat* ‘for’ also introduces benefactive recipients and addressees encoded by oblique arguments, similar to benefactive *untuk* ‘for’ (§10.2.3), as shown in (65) and (66), respectively. Hence, like *untuk* ‘for’, benefactive *buat* ‘for’ contrasts with goal-oriented *sama* ‘to’ (§10.2.2), which expresses recipients as in (43) and addressees as in (44) and (45) without signaling the concurrent notion of beneficiary.

Introducing benefactive recipients and addressees

- (65) slama ini de tida kasi uang **buat saya**
 as.long.as D.PROX 3SG NEG give money for 1SG
 ‘so far he hasn’t given (any) money **to me for my benefit**’ [081014-003-Cv.0034]
- (66) sa perna bicara **buat satu ibu** ...
 1SG once speak for one woman
 ‘once I talked **to a woman for her benefit** ...’ [081011-024-Cv.0073]

Benefactive *buat* ‘for’ also introduces inanimate beneficiaries as in the adnominal prepositional phrase *buat natal* ‘for Christmas’ in (67). This use, however, is very rare with the corpus including only this one example.

Introducing inanimate beneficiaries

- (67) pi ambil kayu bakar, kayu bakar **buat Natal**
 go fetch wood burn wood burn for Christmas
 ‘(we) went to get firewood, firewood **for Christmas**’ [081006-017-Cv.0014]

10.3. Prepositions encoding comparisons

Papuan Malay employs three prepositions of comparison: similitive *sperti* ‘similar to’ (§10.3.1) and *kaya* ‘like’ (§10.3.2), and equative *sebagey* ‘as’ (§10.3.3). All three introduce similes that express explicit resemblance or equatability between two bases of comparison. (See also Longacre 2007: 383.)

10.3.1. *sperti* ‘similar to’

The preposition *sperti* ‘similar to’ introduces similes that highlight resemblance or likeness in some respect between the two bases of comparison. Hence, *sperti* ‘like’ is similar to *kaya* ‘like’; for the distinctions between both similative prepositions see the discussion in §10.3.2.

Very commonly, *sperti* ‘similar to’ forms peripheral adjuncts as in *sperti klawar* ‘similar to a cave bat’ in (68). Also quite frequently, *sperti* ‘similar to’ expresses resemblance in oblique arguments of some bivalent verbs as in (69): *sperti manusia* ‘similar to a human’ is the oblique object of the change verb *jadi* ‘become’. In addition, *sperti* ‘similar to’ introduces the simile in nonverbal predicates with the complement being a common noun, a personal pronoun as in *sperti ko* ‘similar to you’ in (70), or a demonstrative as in *sperti itu* ‘like that’ in (71). Finally, although rather infrequently, *sperti* ‘similar to’ expresses resemblance in adnominal prepositional phrases as in *baju sperti ini* ‘clothes like these’ (72). The examples in (68) to (72) also illustrate that *sperti* ‘similar to’ introduces animate and inanimate, as well as nominal and pronominal referents.²¹¹

- (68) de bisa terbang **sperti klawar**
 3SG be.able fly similar.to cave.bat
 ‘he/she (the evil spirit) can fly **similar to a cave bat**’ [081006-022-CvEx.0137]
- (69) setan itu de bisa jadi **sperti manusia**
 evil.spirit D.DIST 3SG be.able become similar.to human.being
 ‘that evil spirit, he/she can become **similar to a human**’ [081006-022-CvEx.0010]
- (70) kalo kaka **sperti ko** kaka malu
 if oSb similar.to 2SG oSb feel.embarrassed(.about)
 ‘if I (‘older sibling’) were **similar to you**, I (‘older sibling’) would feel ashamed’ [081115-001a-Cv.0040]
- (71) mama pu hidup **sperti itu**
 mother POSS life similar.to D.DIST
 ‘my (‘mother’) life is **like that**’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0932/0938]
- (72) dorang tida pake **baju sperti ini**, pake daung~daung
 3PL NEG use shirt similar.to D.PROX use RDP~leaf
 ‘they don’t wear **clothes like these**, (they) wear leaves’ [081006-023-CvEx.0007]

In addition to introducing prepositional phrases, similative *sperti* ‘similar to’ is also used as a conjunction which introduces similarity clauses (§14.2.6).

²¹¹ In the present corpus only single pronominal complements of *sperti* ‘similar to’ are attested.

10.3.2. *kaya* ‘like’

The core semantics of the preposition *kaya* ‘like’ are similitive: it indicates likeness between the two bases of comparison similar to *sperti* ‘similar to’.²¹² Unlike *sperti* ‘like’, however, *kaya* ‘like’ does not combine with demonstratives. Moreover, *kaya* ‘like’ is semantically distinct from *sperti* ‘similar to’, as discussed below.

Most commonly, *kaya* ‘like’ forms peripheral adjuncts as in *kaya ular* ‘like a snake’ in (73). This example also illustrates that *kaya* ‘like’ co-occurs with some of the same verbs as *sperti* ‘similar to’, such as *terbang* ‘fly’ in (68) (§10.3.1). Less frequently, *kaya* ‘like’ introduces the simile in nonverbal predicates as in *kaya buaya* ‘like a crocodile’ in (74). These examples also illustrate that typically the referent is animate and nominal; for an inanimate referent see the example in (77) and for a pronominal referent see (76b).

Signaling overall likeness or resemblance

- (73) bisa terbang **kaya burung**, bisa merayap **kaya ular**
 be.able fly like bird be.able creep like snake
 ‘(the evil spirit) can fly **like a bird**, can creep **like a snake**’ [081006-022-CvEx.0031]
- (74) dong bilang soa-soa kang?, **kaya buaya**
 3PL say monitor.lizard you.know like crocodile
 ‘they call (it) a monitor lizard, **you know?**, (it’s) like a crocodile’ [080922-009-CvNP.0053]

The semantic distinctions between *kaya* ‘like’ and *sperti* ‘similar to’ are subtle. While both signal likeness in terms of appearance or behavior, they differ in terms of their semantic effect. Similitive *kaya* ‘like’ signals overall resemblance between the two bases of comparison. By contrast, the semantic effect of *sperti* ‘similar to’ is more limited: it signals likeness or resemblance in some, most often implied, respect. This distinction is illustrated in the contrastive examples in (75) and (76).²¹³

In (75a) *kaya* ‘like’ signals overall physical resemblance: the speaker’s brother has the same facial features as their father. By contrast, in (75b) *sperti* ‘similar to’ signals limited or partial resemblance: that is, father and son share specific facial features. In (76a), a teacher relates a conversation she had with a socially maladjusted student. Employing *sperti* ‘similar to’, the teacher signals that she refers to some specific aspects of the student’s behavior: *kalo kaka sperti ko* ‘if I (older sibling) were like you (with respect to the behavior you’re displaying at school)’. If, by contrast, the teacher had used *kaya* ‘like’, the semantic effect of the comparison would have been much wider, not only referring to the student’s behavior at school but signaling overall resemblance between the speaker and her student.

²¹² In terms of its etymology, Tadmor (p.c. 2013) notes that the preposition *kaya* ‘like’ is distinct from the stative verb *kaya* ‘be rich’: stative “*kaya* ‘be rich’ “was borrowed from Persian into Classical Malay” while similitive “*kaya* ‘like’ was borrowed from Javanese into colloquial varieties of Indonesian many centuries later. There is no etymological connection between the two”.

²¹³ The examples in (75a) and (76a) are taken from the corpus while the examples in (75b) and (76b) are elicited.

Semantic distinctions between *kaya* ‘like’ and *sperti* ‘like’

- (75) a. de pu muka **kaya** de pu bapa
 3SG POSS face like 3SG POSS father
 ‘his (my brother’s) face is **like his father’s (face)**’ [080922-001a-CvPh.1445]
- b. de pu muka **sperti** de pu bapa
 3SG POSS face similar.to 3SG POSS father
 ‘his (my brother’s) face is **like his father’s (face)**’ [Elicited BR120817.007]
- (76) a. kalo kaka **sperti** ko kaka malu
 if oSb similar.to 2SG oSb feel.embarrassed(.about)
 ‘if I (‘older sibling’) were **like you**, I (‘older sibling’) would feel ashamed’ [081115-001a-Cv.0040]
- b. kalo kaka **kaya** ko kaka malu
 if oSb like 2SG oSb feel.embarrassed(.about)
 ‘if I (‘older sibling’) were **like you**, I (‘older sibling’) would feel ashamed’ [Elicited BR120817.006]

Signaling overall resemblance, similitive *kaya* ‘like’ is also employed when the speaker wants to make a more expressive, metaphorical comparison as in (77). This example also illustrates that the referent can be inanimate.

Introducing expressive similes

- (77) smua jalang **kaya** kapal kayu
 all walk like ship wood
 ‘[because they were so hungry] (they) all were strolling around **like wooden boats**’ [081025-009a-Cv.0188]

Besides introducing prepositional phrases, similitive *kaya* ‘like’ also functions as a conjunction that introduces similarity clauses (§14.2.6).

10.3.3. *sebagey* ‘as’

The equative preposition *sebagey* ‘as’ introduces similes that express equatability between the two bases of comparison in terms of specific roles or capacity. Hence, *sebagey* ‘as’ contrasts with the similarity prepositions *sperti* ‘similar to’ (§10.3.1) and *kaya* ‘like’ (§10.3.2) which express resemblance and likeness.

Most commonly, the complement is expressed in an adnominal prepositional phrase. In (78), for example, *sebagey* ‘as’ links the head nominal *torang* ‘1PL’ to the role-encoding adnominal constituent *kepala kampung* ‘village heads’. Following mono- or bivalent action verbs, *sebagey* ‘as’ expresses equatability in peripheral adjuncts. In (79), for example, *sebagey* ‘as’ follows the communication verb *bicara* ‘speak’ and relates the role-encoding complement *ibu camat* ‘Ms. Subdistrict-Head’ to the clausal subject *ko* ‘2SG’. The corpus also includes two examples in which

sebagey ‘as’ introduces nonverbal predicates to express equatability, as for example in (80) between the predicate *kepala acara* ‘as the head of the festivity’ and the clausal subject *sa* ‘1SG’.

- (78) torang **sebagey kepala kampung** juga penanggung-jawap
 1PL as head village also responsibility
 ‘we as **village heads** are also bearers of responsibility’ [081008-001-Cv.0035]
- (79) sebentar di Diklat ko bicara
 a.moment at government.education.program 2SG speak
sebagey ibu camat
 as woman subdistrict.head
 ‘a bit later at the government education and training (office) you’ll speak **as if you were Ms. Subdistrict-Head**’ [081010-001-Cv.0099]
- (80) paling sa tra kerja, sa **sebagey kepala acara**
 most 1SG NEG work 1SG as head festivity
 [About organizing a festivity:] ‘most likely I won’t (have to) work, I’ll be **the head of the festivity**’ (Lit. ‘**as the head ...**’) [080919-004-NP.0068]

As for the syntactic properties of its complements, the examples in (78) to (80) show that equative *sebagey* ‘as’ introduces common nouns, as similitive *sperti* ‘similar to’ (§10.3.1) and *kaya* ‘like’ (§10.3.2) do. Unlike both similitive prepositions, however, *sebagey* ‘as’ does not combine with personal pronouns. Neither does it combine with demonstratives as *sperti* ‘similar to’ does.

10.4. Summary

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition and a noun phrase complement which is obligatory and may not be fronted. The preposition indicates the grammatical and semantic relationship of the complement to the predicate. Prepositional phrases in Papuan Malay are formed with eleven different prepositions:

1. Prepositions encoding location in space and time: *di* ‘at, in’, *ke* ‘to’, *dari* ‘from’, and *sampe* ‘until’
2. Prepositions encoding accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction: *deng(an)* ‘with’, *sama* ‘to’, *untuk* ‘for’, and *buat* ‘for’
3. Prepositions encoding comparisons: *sperti* ‘similar to’, *kaya* ‘like’, and *sebagey* ‘as’

Prepositional phrases take on different functions within the clause and combine with different types of syntactic constituents. The complements of the prepositions take different semantic roles within the clause, depending on the prepositions they are introduced with. These findings are summarized in Table 1 to Table 3; in these tables, the prepositions are listed according to the order in which they are discussed in this chapter, starting with *di* ‘at, in’.

Table 1 lists the three syntactic functions that prepositional phrases can take within the clause according to the prepositions they are introduced with, that is their

functions as peripheral adjuncts, nonverbal predicates, and arguments. In addition, Table 1 lists those prepositions that introduce modifying, adnominal prepositional phrase and those that are also used as conjunctions or adverbs.

Table 1: Syntactic functions of prepositional phrases

	Clausal functions			Additional functions		
	Adjunct	Predicate	Argument	Modifier	Conjunction	Adverb
<i>di</i> 'at, in'	X	X	X	X		
<i>ke</i> 'to'	X	X	X			
<i>dari</i> 'from'	X	X	X	X		
<i>sampe</i> 'until'	X				X	
<i>deng(an)</i> 'with'	X	X	X		X	X
<i>sama</i> 'to'	X	X	X		X	
<i>untuk</i> 'for'	X	X	X	X	X	
<i>buat</i> 'for'	X		X	X		
<i>sperti</i> 'similar to'	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>kaya</i> 'like'	X	X			X	X
<i>sebagey</i> 'as'	X	X		X		

With respect to their complements, the data in Table 2 shows that the prepositions combine with different constituents from different word classes, namely nouns, personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, and temporal adverbs.

Table 2: Word classes of complements

	Nouns (common)	Nouns (location)	Nouns (time)	Personal pronouns	Demonstratives	Locatives	Adverbs- (temporal)
<i>di</i> 'at, in'	X	X		X		X	
<i>ke</i> 'to'	X	X		X		X	
<i>dari</i> 'from'	X	X	X	X		X	X
<i>sampe</i> 'until'			X				X
<i>deng(an)</i> 'with'	X			X	X		
<i>sama</i> 'to'	X			X	X		
<i>untuk</i> 'for'	X		X	X	X		X
<i>buat</i> 'for'	X			X			
<i>sperti</i> 'similar to'	X			X	X		
<i>kaya</i> 'like'	X			X			
<i>sebagey</i> 'as'	X						

Finally, the complements of prepositions take different semantic roles within the clause, depending on the prepositions they are introduced with. These different semantic roles are summarized in Table 3 with the primary role underlined.

Table 3: Semantic roles of complements

	Location	Association	Mental verb object	Instrument	Recipient	Beneficiary	Circumstance	Standard of comparison
<i>di</i> 'at, in' <i>ke</i> 'to' <i>dari</i> 'from' <i>sampe</i> 'until'	<u>X</u> X X X							
<i>deng(an)</i> 'with' <i>sama</i> 'to' <i>untuk</i> 'for' <i>buat</i> 'for'		<u>X</u> X	X X	X	<u>X</u> X X	<u>X</u>	X	
<i>sperti</i> 'similar to' <i>kaya</i> 'like' <i>sebagey</i> 'as'								<u>X</u> X X

If the context allows the disambiguation of the semantic relationship of the complement to the predicate, two of the prepositions of location can be omitted: locative *di* 'at, in' and allative *ke* 'to'.

