Chapter 12
Noun phrases: core and oblique phrases

12.1 Noun phrase structure and the case phrase

In Tukang Besi, the basic NP appears inside a KP, since all NPs must appear either with a preceding article or with a preposition (for certain obliques), sometimes both (some time expressions violate this otherwise fast rule; see chapters 3 or 17). As described in chapter 4, there are four articles used to mark case relations: the nominative na, the non-nominative core te, the genitive nu, and the oblique ildi. The genitive case nu, and other issues concerning possession, are discussed in chapter 13, and do not feature here. Preposition Phrases are described in the second part of this chapter, and the first part deals with NP structure in general, and the properties of core KPs. These minimally consist of the head of the NP, which is typically a noun (N), plus an article. A minimal KP is, thus, an article followed by an NP headed in the N position, as seen in (1) and (2):

(1) [Te wowine]KP pasi-mo no-wila. (TB:8)
    CORE woman already-PF 3R-go
    ‘The women have already gone.’

(2) [Te Wanse]KP mbea-h(o) o-koruo na k[um]ulia.
    TOP Wanci not-yet 3R-many NOM study.at.university.SI
    ‘As for Wanci, there aren’t yet a lot (of people) who have attended university’

    (the second KP na kumulia is NOT headed in the N position; indeed, it is not headed at all, and has only the subject relative clause (see chapter 15) following the article)

The minimal KP consisting of simply a noun and a preceding article exemplified above may be expanded in several ways, through modification by demonstratives, inalienable markers, numeral, verbal or adjectival expressions. The relative ordering of many of these elements is not totally fixed, being determined by case choice to some extent, and general freedom of position as well. The demonstratives, however, are rigidly fixed to appear following all other constituents in the KP. Subtopics that are relevant to the internal constituency of the NP, and that are dealt with in other chapters, are those of Possession (see chapter 13) and Demonstratives (chapter 6). Their role in NP structure will be dealt with here, but not the details of their internal structure. Relative clauses, which play a large role in NP structure, will also be dealt with here only as far as their place within the NP is concerned, and their own structures and restrictions are left to chapter 15.

At the other end of the NP to the Demonstrative position is the N’, which is also fixed in the position beginning the NP, and consists of a fixed group consisting of the nominal head, any adjectives, and any possessive suffixes. All of the other modifiers in the Noun
Phrase occur after the N'; there are no pre-head modifiers in an NP, and nothing in the KP appears before the article. The choices available for the Demonstrative position depend on the case of the KP as a whole, and there are two different internal structures for an NP, again depending on whether the argument represented by the KP is nominative or non-nominative. The basic non-nominative NP has an ADJ position before the -POSS; this is the major distinguishing feature of this NP type over the nominative NP type, whose ADJ position follows a -POSS, and one of the clear points of distinction between verbs and adjectives. The following basic structures are attested:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{KP} & \rightarrow & \text{ART} & \text{NP} \\
\text{ART} & \rightarrow & \text{na} & \text{(nominative)} \\
& & \text{te} & \text{(non-nominative, core)} \\
& & \text{di} / i & \text{(non-nominative, oblique)} \\
& & \text{nu} & \text{(non-nominative, genitive)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP}_{\text{non-NOM}} & \rightarrow & \text{N'} & \text{GenKP} & \{(\text{INAL}), (\text{RC}), (\text{N-C})\}^2 & \text{Dem}_{\text{non-NOM}} \\
\text{NP}_{\text{NOM}} & \rightarrow & \text{N'} & \text{GenKP} & \{(\text{RC}) (\text{N-C}) (\text{OblP})\}^2 & \text{Dem}_{\text{NOM}} \\
\text{N'}_{\text{non-NOM}} & \rightarrow & (\text{N}) (\text{ADJ})^1 & (-\text{POSS}) \\
\text{N'}_{\text{NOM}} & \rightarrow & (\text{N}) (-\text{POSS}) & (\text{ADJ})^1 \\
\text{Dem}_{\text{non-NOM}} & \rightarrow & \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{DEM}_1 & (\text{PREV})^1 \\
(\text{INAL}) & \text{DEM}_1 \\
(\text{PREV}) & \text{DEM}_2
\end{array} \right. \\
\text{Dem}_{\text{NOM}} & \rightarrow & \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
(\text{INAL}) & \text{DEM}_1^1 \\
\text{DEM}_1 & (\text{ANA}) \\
\text{DEM}_2
\end{array} \right.
\end{array}
\]

Abbreviations used:
N = noun, pronoun or proper name head of the noun phrase. ADJ = Adjective. -POSS = possessive suffix. GenKP = Genitive case phrase. N-C = numeral and classifier. INAL = inalienable possession marker mai. DEM$_1$ = (actual) demonstrative. DEM$_2$ = (referential) demonstrative. RC = relative clause or oblique phrase. OblP = oblique phrase. ANA = anaphoric reference marker ai. PREV = previous reference marker ba’i.

A tree structure representing the composition of the phrase structure rules presented above is given in (3):
In addition to the difference in the ordering of adjectives and possession, there are some differences in the make-up of the bracketed material following. This is less significant, however, in that the order shown in the curly brackets is a preferred order only, not an absolute one. For stylistic reasons, this preferred order of modifiers may be altered. The choices available for the demonstrative position, however, seem to be absolute. Only nominative phrases may occur with the anaphoric marker ai, and only non-nominative phrases may appear with the previous discourse indicator ba’i. Furthermore, the position of this demonstrative material is fixed with respect to the rest of the NP. It is always the right-most part of an NP.

A distinction needs to be made between NPs in which the article is followed by a head in the N position, and those which are not. An NP with an N constituent is called a headed NP; it is distinguished from an NP without a constituent in this position by the modificational possibilities available, which are in all cases greater for a headed NP. Details of some of the constituents of an NP are dealt with in other chapters, such as those on pronouns, demonstratives, possession, and the section on relative clauses in chapter 15. The discussion here shall centre on the possibilities for modification of different types of NPs.

12.2 KPs with an NP headed in the N position

An NP may be headed in the N position by a common noun, names or personal pronouns. The only effect that the different heads have on NP structure is that a pronoun or proper name may not be modified by a (-POSS) or a prepositional phrase. Other modification by adjectives, numerals and classifiers, demonstrative, relative clauses etc. is allowed, within the limits of NP structure described above. Examples (4) - (6) show NPs with these different sorts of heads:

Common Noun

(4) [Te [([lai u Sentani kene Kota raja]N )NP ]KP,
TOP distance GEN Sentani and Kota raja
ane-ho kirakira dua-hulu kilo labi.
exist-yet roughly 20 kilometres better
‘The distance between Sentani and Abepura is the better part of 20 kilometres.’
(Kota raja is a suburb of Abepura) (J:15)

Proper Name

CORE La Ode Wuna 3R-arrive ALL Buru
‘Lord Wuna arrived at Buru.’ (W:17)
Personal Pronoun

(6) \[ Te \ [i\komen l[um]aha te ika atuN\]NP \, KP. \]
TOP 2PL search.SI CORE fish that
\[ bar(a) i-gugudu awan(a) atu la! \]
don’t 2PL.R-make.noise manner that ILL.FORCE
‘You lot of boys, who are looking for fish, don’t make such a noise’

Examples of modification by different means are given in (7) - (15):

Adjective

(7) \[ Te iaku [mo'aro]ADJ ana\]KP ku-melu te i-manga.\]
CORE 1SG hungry this 1SG-plead CORE OP-eat
‘I who am hungry beg (you) for some food.’

(8) \[ Ane ke [kaluku [melanga]ADJ ]NP. \]
exist and coconut high
‘There are tall coconut trees.’

Possessive

(9) * \[ Te ia\]ADF\]ADJ \]KP\]
CORE 3SG-2SG.POSS
‘Your she’

(10) \[ Mo-[di \ }umpa\] [na and[-su]ADJ ]KP, waa-'e kua \]
ST-OBL Q NOM child-1SG.POSS tell-3OBJ :
ku-'elo-'e.
1SG-call-3OBJ
‘Wherever my child is, tell him that I’m calling him.’

Numeral + classifier

(11) \[ Te amai [dua-mia\]N-C iso\]KP no-po-bela-bela.\]
CORE 3PL 2-CLASS yon 3R-REC-RED-dear
‘Those two are good friends.’

Demonstrative

(12) \[ Te iaku [isoDEM ]KP La Kohokoho ku-kutu-'ó! \]
TOP 1SG yon La Kohokoho 1SG-flea-infest
‘I, Dear Heron, I’m infested with fleas!’

(13) \[ Maka la'a-mo no-pajulu kua [kampo-kampo [itoDEM ]KP. \]
and.then just-PF 3R-continue ALL RED-village that:higher
‘And then they continued on to the villages in the hills.’

Relative Clause

(14) \[ Te ikomiu [i\komen l[um]aha te ikaRC atu\]KP, \]
TOP 2PL search.SI CORE fish that
\[ bar(a) i-gugudu awan(a) atu la! \]
lest 2PL.R-make.noise manner that ILL.FORCE
‘You lot of boys, who are looking for fish, don’t make such a noise’
Some examples of NPs modified by more than one modifier are given in (16) - (19):

(16) \[ \text{Te kadera} \ [\text{to'oge}]_{\text{ADJ}} [\text{-su}]_{\text{POSS}} \ [\text{i-sai-su}]_{\text{RC}} \text{CORE} \text{ chair big-1SG.POSS OP-make-1SG.POSS} \\
\ [\text{mai iso}]_{\text{DEM}} \text{ di 'umpa?} \text{INAL yon OBL Q} \]
‘Where are those big chairs that I made?’

(17) \[ \text{Di 'umpa} \ [\text{na ana-su}]_{\text{OBL}} \ [\text{'umaka-'aka}]_{\text{RC}} \text{measo'e ai}]_{\text{KP}}? \text{OBL Q NOM child-1SG.POSS play.SI REF-yon ANA} \]
‘Where are those children of mine who are playing?’

(18) \[ \text{Te ana morunga-su} \ [\text{k[um]onta-'e na an(a) u} \text{CORE} \text{ child young-1SG.POSS hold.SI-3OBJ NOM child GEN} \\
\text{riirii ba'i measo'e}]_{\text{RC}} \text{KP na-mb[um]ule-mo wa...} \text{duck PREV REF-this 3I-return.SI-PF ILL.FORCE} \]
‘Well, my young child who was holding that duckling wants to go home now…’

(19) \[ \text{Ku-laha} \ [\text{te ana-su mai iso}]_{\text{KP}}. \text{1SG-search CORE child-1SG.POSS INAL yon} \]
‘I’m looking for those children of mine.’

Although it is grammatical to have several modifiers on one head, it is highly unusual in natural speech. Apart from a demonstrative and a possessor, normally only one or two modifiers per NP are encountered, other items being expressed predicatively, making a sentence like (20) rather marked. For example, instead of

(20) \[ \text{No-mai-mo} \ [\text{na wowine mandawulu} \ [\text{dua-mia}]_{\text{N,C}} \text{3R-come-PF NOM woman beautiful two-CLASS} \\
\ [\text{min(a) i Longa ito}]_{\text{RC}} \text{CORE Longa that:higher fetch.SI CORE eggplant} \\
\ [\text{meatu'e ai}]_{\text{DEM}} \text{REF-that ANA} \]
‘Those two beautiful women who you know from earlier, who come from Longa and were bringing eggplants, have arrived.’

it is much more natural to present the information split over several clauses, as in (21):
‘There are two women who came from Longa in the east earlier on. They were really good looking, you know! They came bringing eggplants.’

Whilst some of the categories such as relative clauses allow for repetition, others, namely adjectives and demonstratives, may only occur once in an NP. So, for instance, (22) is not grammatical:

(22)  *Di 'umpa? [na ana[-su]POSS [to'o'ge]ADJ [kandala]ADJ]KP-

OBL Q NOM child-1SG.POSS big blind

‘Where is my grown-up blind child?’

In order to express this meaning, one of the adjectives must be used as a verb, in the relative clause position, with a subject infix, as is necessarily encountered with all subject relative clauses (see chapter 15):

(23)  Di 'umpa? [na ana[-su]POSS [to'o'ge]ADJ [k[um]andala]RC]KP-

OBL Q NOM child-1SG.POSS big blind

‘Where is my grown-up blind child?’

Normally, if a sole adjective is used in the relative clause position with the subject infix, it acquires a superlative meaning. This is not the case if it follows another adjective, as in (23) above.

Apparent doubling of demonstratives may occur in some sentences, such as (24) in which iso immediately follows ito:

(24)  Te kalambe '[um]ita te kadadi i kau ito

CORE young.girl see.SI CORE bird OBL tree that:higher
iso no-koni.
yon 3R-laugh

‘The girl who’s watching the bird up in the tree is laughing.’

This is only superficial, however, as the demonstrative ito is in the KP of the relative clause, modifying kadadi, and only iso modifies kalambe:


It is, however, unusual to have two demonstratives appear next to each other in this manner.

Notice that the order of adjectives and possessive suffixes on the two different types of NPs is fixed; a non-nominative NP, for instance, cannot be modified by an adjective following a possessive suffix:
(25) ‘U-’ita [te huu-su to’oge-su i-sai-su]KP?
2SG.R-see CORE part.of.loom big-1SG.POSS OP-make-1SG.POSS
‘Have you seen my big huu that I made?’

(26) * ‘U-’ita [te huu-su to’oge i-sai-su]KP?

Similarly, an NP containing a nominative head always places a possessive suffix immediately following the head; the adjective may not intrude between the head and the possessive suffix:

(27) [Te huu-su to’oge i-sai-su]KP di ’umpa?
CORE part.of.loom-1SG.POSS big OP-make-1SG.POSS OBL Q
‘Where is the big loom part of mine that I made?’

(28) * [Te huu to’oge-su i-sai-su]KP di ’umpa?

Unlike the ordering of the constituents that follow the adjective/possessive position, and precede the demonstrative, the ordering of the adjective with respect to the possessive suffix is fixed given the choice of an NP as nominative or non-nominative.

12.3 NPs not headed in the N position

In addition to the NPs described above, there are NPs with reduced ranges of modificational possibilities; these are all NPs in which there is no N constituent; rather, the constituent immediately following the article is from one of the categories of the NP other than noun, pronoun or common name. The NP takes an assumed generic ‘noun’ as its understood reference, as in (29):

(29) [Te [Ø]N [to’oge]ADJ]KP,
CORE big
‘The big one.’

This is a common pattern found in Tukang Besi, with adjectives, relative clauses, numeral-classifiers and demonstratives (actual, not referential) appearing immediately following the article. Examples of the other possibilities are given in (30) - (32):

Relative clause
(30) [Te [Ø]N [sumai te kampo i Mola iso]RC]KP,
top make.SI CORE village OBL Mola that
t core 3PL Bajau just (D:14)
‘Those (guys) who built the village at Mola, they’re all Bajaus.’

Numeral:
(31) No-wila-mo [na [Ø]N totolu iso aĩ]KP?
3R-go-PF NOM three yon ANA
‘Have those three (people) already gone?’
Demonstrative:

(32)  

\[ Mbeaka \ ku-hada-manga \ [te \ [\emptyset]_N \ attu]_{KP} ? \]
\[ \text{not} \ 1SG\text{-}want\text{-}eat \ CORE \ \text{that} \]
\[ \text{‘I don’t want to eat that.’} \]

The restrictions on modification of an NP not headed by an N are that only a modifier that would follow the first element in the NP in the ordering of a headed NP is allowed to serve as a modifier. For instance, with a demonstrative as the first element in the NP, no further modification is possible, because a demonstrative occupies the final position in the NP structure:

(33)  

\[ [Te \ iso \ to'o-ge-su \ i-sai-su]_{KP} \ di \ 'umpa? \]
\[ \text{CORE} \ yon \ \text{big-1SG.POSS} \ \text{OP-make-1SG.POSS} \ \text{OBL} \ \text{Q} \]
\[ \text{‘Where is that big one of mine that I made?’} \]

This means that a relative clause can be modified by a demonstrative, a numeral + classifier, another relative clause, or a combination of these, but not by an adjective:

(34)  

\[ [Te \ [t[um]iinti]_{RC} \ [dua-mia]_{N\cdotC} \ iso]_{KP} \ te \ an(a) \ u \ emai? \]
\[ \text{CORE} \ \text{run.SI} \ \text{two-CLASS} \ yon \ \text{CORE} \ \text{child} \ \text{GEN} \ \text{who} \]
\[ \text{‘Whose children are those two running there?’} \]

Similarly, a numeral + classifier may not be followed by an adjective, but does allow a relative clause to follow it, or a demonstrative:

(35)  

\[ [Te \ iso \ to'o-ge-su \ i-sai-su]_{KP} \ di \ 'umpa? \]
\[ \text{CORE} \ yon \ \text{big-1SG.POSS} \ \text{OP-make-1SG.POSS} \ \text{OBL} \ \text{Q} \]
\[ \text{‘Where is that big one of mine that I made?’} \]

Adjectives may be modified by almost the normal range of possible modifiers, but do not allow for an adjective following, since that position allows maximally one member in an NP, and is already occupied. In order for an adjective to modify another adjective, it must be treated as a normal verb and appear in the relative clause position, as seen in (38):

(37)  

\[ Ala-'e \ [na \ [mombaka]_{ADJ} \ [to'o-ge]_{ADJ} ]_{KP!} \]
\[ \text{fetch-3OBJ} \ \text{NOM} \ \text{delicious} \ \text{big} \]
\[ \text{‘Take a big delicious one!’} \]

(38)  

\[ Ala-'e \ [na \ [mombaka]_{ADJ} \ [t[um]o'o-ge]_{RC} ]_{KP!} \]
\[ \text{fetch-3OBJ} \ \text{NOM} \ \text{delicious} \ \text{big.SI} \]
\[ \text{‘Take a big delicious one!’} \]

The inalienable marker, the anaphoric (which is constrained, in any case, to appear
after a demonstrative) and previous reference markers, possessive or genitive phrases and relative phrases (that is, attributes that commence with an overt case marker or preposition) may not be the first element in an NP; they may only appear as modifiers:

(39)  
   \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{INAL} \quad \text{yon}  
   \quad \text{‘Those of (mine)’}  

   \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{PREV}  
   \quad \text{‘That which we are discussing’}  

   \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{PREV} \quad \text{REF-yon}  
   \quad \text{‘This is that which we are discussing’}  

(40)  
a. \* [Te [Ø]N [nu Wa Si’i]GEN]KP…  
   \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{Wa Si’i}  
   \quad \text{‘The thing which belongs to Wa Si’i’}  

b. \* [Te [Ø]N [-su]POSS]KP...  
   \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{-1SG.POSS}  
   \quad \text{‘The thing which belongs to me’}  

c. \* [Te [Ø]N [i iso]REL.PHRASE]KP…  
   \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{yon}  
   \quad \text{‘The thing which is over there’}  

In the case of the inalienable marker, the anaphoric marker, the previous reference marker, and most genitive constructions, attribution of a head in the same phrase is the only option. For non-animate genitive constructions (ie., possession of an inanimate) there is the option of using the ‘dummy’ head-filler anu ‘thingy, whatsit’, and with oblique case phrases an appositional phrase may be used to express the oblique relation of a non-headed noun phrase, provided there is an overt nominative article emphasising the oblique phrase reference. Appositional phrases are dealt with in more detail in section 12.4, but examples illustrating their appearance with relative phrases are given below:

(41)  
a. [Te [anu]N [nu Wa Si’i]DEM]KP…  
   \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{thingy} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{Wa Si’i}  
   \quad \text{‘The thing which belongs to Wa Si’i’}  

   \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{chicken} \quad \text{yon} \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{thingy-1SG.POSS}  
   \quad \text{‘That chicken belongs to me’}  
   \quad \text{(Glossing literally, ‘That chicken is my thingy.’)}  

   \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{ANA}  
   \quad \text{‘The (one) that is here …’}
A caveat needs to be added to this discussion of apparently non-headed NPs; in several cases, a relative clause has become lexicalised as a noun, a unit that thus can fill the N position of an NP. This point can be proven by the fact that it is capable of the full range of modificational possibilities, such as (as illustrated here) a following adjective. If (42) actually had the structure presented in (42)', the adjective would appear following the relative clause, something that would have to be stipulated as possible for this (and a small set of other) relative clause, but not others. If we assume that the relative clause has become lexicalised, then it obeys all the phrase structure rules assumed to operate on all NPs. The same argument applies to (43) and (43)'.

**Lexicalised headless relative clause:**

(42)  \[ Maka \ no-rato \ [na \ [mbeaka \ i’ita]_N \ [ja’o]_ADJ ]_{KP} \]

and.then  3R-arrive  NOM  not  OP-see  evil

‘And then the bad ghost arrived.’

(42)'  \[ Maka \ norato \ [na \ [Ø]_N \ [mbeaka \ i’ita]_{RC} \ [ja’o]_ADJ ]_{KP} \]

(43)  \[ No-manga \ no-pa-koruo \ [te \ [i-manga]_N \ [mombaka]_ADJ ]_{KP} \]

3R-eat  3R-CAUS-much  CORE  OP-eat  tasty

‘They ate a lot of the tasty food.’

(43)'  \[ Nomanga \ nopakoruo \ [te \ [Ø]_N \ [i-manga]_{RC} \ [mombaka]_ADJ ]_{KP} \]

12.4 Appositional phrases

As already mentioned, a proper name or pronoun cannot be genitively or possessively modified (see (9) for an example of the ungrammaticality of possessive suffixes with free pronouns). If a speaker wishes to refer to something by name that is possessed, for instance a dog called Si’i, this is done by the use of an appositional phrase within the same NP. This, along with examples of the ungrammaticality of a possessive suffix appearing directly on a name or pronoun, is illustrated in (44) and (45):

(44) a.  \[ Te \ ia \ [te \ [Wa \ Si’i]_NP \ [obu-su]_NP ]_{KP} \]

CORE  3SG  CORE  Wa  Si’i  dog-1SG.POSS

‘That’s Si’i, my dog.’

b.  * \[ Te \ ia \ [te \ [Wa \ Si’i][-su]_POSS ]_{NP} ]_{KP} \]

CORE  3SG  CORE  Wa  Si’i-1SG.POSS

‘That’s my Si’i.’

(45) a.  \[ [Te \ [iaku]_NP \ [kene-’u]_NP ]_{KP} \]

CORE  1SG  friend-2SG.POSS

‘(It’s) me, your friend.’

b.  * \[ [Te \ [iaku[-’u]_POSS ]_NP ]_{KP} \]

CORE  1SG-2SG.POSS

‘(It’s) your me.’

Similarly, we find alternatives to the other ungrammatical phrases involving a
prepositional phrase using an appositive construction. Sentence (46) shows the ungrammatical use of a prepositional phrase to modify a pronoun, and (47) shows how this ungrammaticality can be resolved by the use of an appositive phrase:

(46) * [Te [iaku mini Iriá] NP] KP mbeaka monea-no
  CORE 1SG from Irian Jaya not usual-3POSS
  ku-manga te soami.
  1SG-eat CORE cassava.bread
  ‘I, who am from Irian Jaya, am not used to eating soami.’

(47) [Te [iaku] NP [mia mini Iriá] NP] KP mbeaka monea-no
  CORE 1SG person from Irian Jaya not usual-3POSS
  ku-manga te soami.
  1SG-eat CORE cassava.bread
  ‘I, who am a person from Irian Jaya, am not used to eating soami.’

This use of appositive phrases may apply even if the first NP is modified:

(48) [Te [bangka biru iso] NP [i-sai nu ama-su iso] NP] KP
  TOP ship black yon OP-make GEN father-1SG.POSS yon
  no-melanga na buebue’a ka-i.
  3R-high NOM prow ILL/FORCE-TAG
  ‘That black ship, which my father made, has a really high prow, you see?’

(49) [Te [kau ana] NP [kai medumpu ana] NP] KP
  CORE wood this horizontal.house.post short this
  to-bongko-‘e te hao.
  3R-tie-3OBJ CORE rope
  ‘This plank, this short kai, is tied with rope.’

The article is not always dropped in an appositive phrase; if present, it is usually te, even if the KP as a whole is marked by the nominative article:

(50) [Te wunua-su] NP [te i-sai no ama-su
  CORE house-1SG.POSS CORE OP-make GEN father-1SG.POSS
  2-CLASS yon 3R-good
  ‘My two houses, which were made by my father, are fine.’

(51) Na-ngg[um]olo-mo [na [La Bundu molango] NP
  3I-keel.over.SI-PF NOM La Bundu drunk
  [te ama-su] NP [measo’e] KP
  CORE father-1SG.POSS REF-yon
  ‘La Bundu over there, who’s drunk and my uncle, is about to collapse.’

The presence of these appositive phrases leads to a further rule of KP structure to introduce an appositive phrase. In addition to the structure presented in (3), the following is also a possible expansion of a KP:
Discussing appositional phrases in Moronene, Andersen (1994) writes,

Semantically, apposition constructions are different from noun compounds in that they do not express subordinated meaning, i.e. specify the type of the head, but rather they express a coordinated one, to further clarify the head noun by e.g. the extent of the head noun, proper nouns, positions, or purpose.

As Andersen suggests, this is not the same thing as compounding; (50) and (51) show that the second NP can appear with an article, something not expected (and never encountered) with true nominal compounding. Furthermore, compounds display semantic bleaching of their constituents, allowing for apparently contradictory modification or statements with contradictory meanings, if interpreted literally:

(52) \[
\text{Te owaha melangka} \text{N} \text{medumpu ADJ atu KP no-mebuku.} \\
\text{CORE horizontal.roof.support short that 3R-strong} \\
\text{‘That short owaha melangka is strong.’}
\]

(53) \[
\text{No-ita te mbeaka i-ita} \text{N iso KP.} \\
\text{3R-see CORE ghost not seen yon} \\
\text{‘They saw that ghost.’}
\]

(Compare similar facts in English, in which the compound blackboard may be modified by, for example, green: a [green [blackboard]]. But the non-compound green board may not be modified by black: * a [black green [board]])

This apparent contradictory modification may be explained in terms of the attributive modifier melangka in (52) taking its reference from the noun owaha, since it is part of a lexicalised compound unit. In a true appositional construction, such use of contradictory modification is not allowed, as seen in the ungrammatical (54):

(54) * \[
\text{Te kau melangka} \text{NP kau medumpu ADJ atu KP ...} \\
\text{CORE wood long wood short that} \\
\text{‘That long short piece of wood’}
\]

A second form of the appositional phrase, using an overt nominative article, is used in order to emphasise one of the salient qualities of the head. Compare (55) and (56):

(55) \[
\text{No-he-doo na ana [ifum]inti RC measo’e NP KP.} \\
\text{3R-DO-wail NOM child run.SI REF-yon} \\
\text{‘That running child is crying.’}
\]
12.5 Names

The use of personal names is sometimes avoided, in order not to draw too much attention to the person referred to; instead of the personal name, various other strategies are used. A person may be referred to by her/his:

° social position;
° kinship category;
° nickname

Examples of these are:

Social position:
- te Kapala desa ‘village head’
- te Kapala sikola’a ‘headmaster’
- te Mia Pande ‘shaman’

Kinship category:
- te ompu nu Wa Lisi ‘Wa Lisi’s grandmother’
- te anasu ‘my child’
- te belasu ‘husband / wife’

Nickname (in combination with La and Wa):
- te La Pe’i ‘Idiot’
- te La Ta’i ‘Shit’
- te La Loka ‘Banana’

If a personal name or nickname is used, it is almost invariably preceded by La, referring to men, or Wa, referring to women (both of which can appear in casual conversation as A). When referring to members of the traditional nobility this sex-specific particle is expanded with Ode, indicating noble status. Close friends, or spouses, may use bela in this position. The basic formula for the use of names is then as follows:

Title → {La} {bela} {Wa} {Ode} Name

These titles can be used with kin terms as well, when referring to someone older than the speaker. In this context, using La and Wa without a personal name following, Wa takes on the additional meaning of a diminutive. Thus, for instance, although (57) is ill-formed, referring to Mboe, a male name, with the female Wa:

3R-DO-wail NOM child NOM run.SI REF-yon
‘That child who is running is crying.’

(57) * Wa Mboe
Wa Mboe
Chapter 12

it is grammatical to use Wa with a male kin term, showing endearment, as in (58):

(58)  
Wa Ama
Wa father
‘Dear father’

It is noteworthy that a large number of place names in Tukang Besi begin with Wa, and occasionally La. For instance, to take a random sample, between the western and eastern sides of the Tindoi uplands, the following villages are encountered along the northern track:

Waginopo
Labulua
Wakokoso
Re’a
Kalele
Seru
Wakomba
Sumandala
Wasorou’u

yielding four beginning with Wa, and one with La, out of nine sampled. This probably reflects the earlier matriarchal society that dominated the Tukang Besi area before the coming of Islam.

12.6 Nominalising morphology: -’a and -’o

12.6.1 Nominaliser -’a

There are rather few affixes in Tukang Besi that can be used to derive nominals from otherwise verbal roots; some of these are ambiguous, such as hopo- (see chapter 11.3.3 for a discussion and examples). Two common strategies emerge for the derivation of nominals. One is the use of relative clauses without a head in the N' position. This has been illustrated in 12.4. Another strategy that exists is for a precategorial root to simply be used in either a verbal or a nominal syntactic position, with no derivational morphology required. This was discussed in chapter 4.2, where the existence of the morpheme -’a was also mentioned. The suffix -’a serves to derive a nominal concept from a verbal concept. When applied to verbal roots, the result is usually an abstract noun, referring to the action of the conduct of the verb. With ‘verbal’ concepts that are based on roots which are more precategorial in nature, the derived nominal often refers to the place in which the action is conducted, though it can also refer to the conduct of the action itself. An example of each of these cases is seen is (59) and (60):

(59)  a. No-wila.
3R-go
‘They are going.’
b. *Te wila-'a-no.
   \textsc{core} go-NL-3POSS
   'Their going.'
   * 'The place that they go (to).'</b>

(60) a. No-manga.
   3R-eat
   'They are going.'

b. Te manga-'a-no.
   \textsc{core} eat-NL-3POSS
   'Their eating.'
   'The place that they are eating (at).'</b>

With some verbs, the difference between these two senses has developed into a morphological distinction; the (rarely attested) allomorphs -ra and -ma appear to have more specific semantic domains than does the more general -'a. Compare (61b) and (61c) with (62b) and (62c):

(61) a. No-kede.
   3R-sit
   'They are sitting.'

b. Te kede-'a-no.
   \textsc{core} sit-NL-3POSS
   'Their sitting.'
   * 'The place that they are sitting (in).'</b>

c. Te kede-ma-no.
   \textsc{core} sit-NL-3POSS
   'The place that they are sitting (in).'</b>
   * 'Their sitting.'

(62) a. No-'ita.
   3R-see
   'They are sitting.'

b. Te 'ita-'a-no.
   \textsc{core} see-NL-3POSS
   'Their looking.'
   * 'The way that they look.'</b>
   * 'The place that they look.'</b>

c. Te 'ita-ra-no.
   \textsc{core} see-NL-3POSS
   'The way that they look.'</b>
   * 'Their looking.'</b>
   * 'The place that they look.'</b>

Although the evidence in (61) - (62) suggests that several suffixes are developing, they are not yet productive enough to require special treatment; the suffix -ma has been observed on only one word, kede, and the -ra suffix on only two, 'ita 'see' and namisi
‘feel, taste’ (with the irregularity that namisi + -ra yields not * namisira but namira.). A more regular (but still not completely predictable) alternation is the dissimilation that -’a displays when following a syllable with a glottal stop, appearing as -ka (see chapter 2.1.4). This is not wholly regular, however, with some words retaining the glottal stop. For example, compare the forms in (63) and (64):

(63) a. Nu-motindo’u te uwe.
   2SG.R-thirsty CORE water
   ‘You are thirsty for water.’

   b. Te motindo’u-ka’u di uwe.
      CORE thirsty-NL-2SG.POSS OBL water
      ‘Your thirst for water.’
      (See chapter 3.8.2, or Donohue 1998, for a discussion of the non-core status of uwe in this sentence)

(64) a. Nu-helo’a te bae.
    2SG.R-cook CORE rice
    ‘You are cooking rice.’

   b. Te helo’a-’a-’(’)u nu bae.
      CORE eat-NL-2SG.POSS GEN rice
      ‘Your cooking of rice.’

As explained, the function of -’a and its alternants is to derive unambiguously nominal words from either precategorial or verbal bases. It may not appear with an unambiguously nominal base:

(65) * Te komba-’a.
    CORE moon-NL
    ‘The mooniness.’ (?)

Once derived, the nominal displays all the properties associated with an N, and is otherwise unexceptional. It will be noted in the examples above that the subject of the verb may be present in the derived nominal by the use of possessive suffixes. It may also be present in a full genitive phrase rather than just its pronominal information:

(66) Te wila-’(a) u amai La Tonggi.
    CORE go-NL GEN 3PL La Tonggi
    ‘The going of La Tonggi and his group.’

If the verb is transitive, then the object may be mentioned as well, by means of a genitive phrase, but the normal interpretation is that the first genitive phrase refers to the subject of the equivalent verbal expression, though this restriction is not an absolute one in nominalisations (object relative clauses are stricter in their requirement that the first genitive phrase refers to the by-phrase, and also more likely to include more than one genitively indexed argument. See chapter 15 for discussion):
With (most) ditransitive verbs, or verbs with applicative or other valency increasing morphology, all the core arguments may be mentioned in this manner. Though more than one or two are unlikely to occur in natural speech, since the lack of strict rules on the position of arguments in different syntactic roles makes it difficult to interpret these sentences (such as the ambiguity of (67), in which *Wa Ode Kiradati* is not unambiguously identified as either the see-er or the seen). An example of several genitive phrases on one nominalisation can be seen in (68):

(68)  *Te pa-manga-’a-(‘)(u) u Aswi nu ika atu,*
    *no-marasai na ‘ita-ra-no.*

‘Hey, the way you fed the fish to Aswin, it didn’t look easy.’

Conceivably the nominalisation in (68) could be interpreted as ‘Your feeding of Aswin to the fish’, but this is pragmatically rather unlikely. With ditransitive verbs, whether of the ⟨[Ag], [Dat], [Thm]⟩ type or the ⟨[Ag], [Instr], [Thm/Pt]⟩ type (see chapter 4), all arguments may appear in the nominalisation, though the instrument is unlikely to appear without the theme/patient appearing as well:

(69)  *No-’ita te tompa-’a-n(o) u Aswi nu watu.*

‘They saw her throwing the rock at Aswin.’

(70)  # *No-’ita te tompa-’a-n(o) u watu.*

‘They saw her throwing the rock.’

(This sentence may be interpreted as shown, but is more likely to be interpreted as ‘They saw her throwing (something) at the rock.’)

(71)  *No-mele-ako te hu’u-’a-n(o) u ama-no nu doe.*

‘He’s happy because of their giving his father some money.’

12.6.2 Infestation -’o

The suffix -’o, and its dialectal variant -ko, can be used to indicate an over-abundance of a noun, to an adverse degree. This is commonly used in exclamations, but may also appear as a bare noun phrase, or even with verbal morphology. Examples can be seen in (72) - (74):
12.7 Structure of the prepositional phrase

A prepositional phrase is a non-nominative NP or KP preceded by a preposition. It is typically used to introduce adjunct arguments that are not subcategorised for by the verb. In addition to this, predicative uses (as illustrated in chapters 3 and 14) are also common. A prepositional phrase may also be used as a modifier in an NP, though not all prepositions enter equally into all these possibilities (see section 12.9).

The reasons for considering prepositions and articles as separate word classes are not unproblematic, since many prepositions can appear with a bare NP, rather than a KP. In this respect they may be seen as having the same structure as a non-nominative KP, as described in 12.1. This is illustrated in (75):

```
(75) a. KP
    ART NP
    head and modifiers

    ART NP
    te wunua
    ‘the house’

b. ‘PP’
    P NP
    head and modifiers

    ART NP
    kua wunua
    to the house’
```

We can differentiate articles and prepositions, however. Firstly, all of the prepositions also have variants in which the sister of the preposition is a case phrase, not an apparently bare NP; this is never an option for the case markers na, te, i or nu: Most of the possible article + article combinations are internally inconsistent: i cannot combine with te or na, since i is oblique, and both te and na are core articles. Similarly, na and te cannot combine because na marks nominative case, and te the non-nominative one. Combinations with the genitive article nu are plausible, but disallowed. Unlike the other combinatorial possibilities, the restriction must this time be one of phrase structure constraints (KP → ART NP, but PP → P KP(/K)), rather than functional clashes.

```
(76) a. * KP
    ART NP
    head and modifiers

b. PP
    P NP
    head and modifiers
```
Some of the prepositions (such as *kua*) appear to allow alternation, sometimes taking a bare NP complement, and sometimes an oblique KP complement. This may be functionally explained as removing the double oblique-marking on the NP; since a preposition is inherently oblique, it is unnecessary to further specify the NP as oblique with an oblique case marker. We can then reanalyse the PP in (75b) as being a P + KP, with an empty article position, rather than a P + NP:

(76) b.’

This is an important difference in phrase structure between a case phrase and a prepositional phrase, and evidence for their separate status. Another difference between the articles and the prepositions is the fact that the articles *na*, *te* and *i* can appear with arguments bearing a much wider range of semantic roles than any of the prepositions. The range of use of each of the prepositions, and the three clause-level articles (the genitive article *nu* is left out of this table since it can never serve a predicative or adjunct function in the clause), is set out in table 23 (the general preposition *di*/*i* has a wider range, but the existence of applicative morphology that creates core arguments out of otherwise oblique ones means that the articles *te* and *na* have a much greater range (the ‘extended use’ in table 21) than does *di*/*i*).

### Table 23. Marking strategies on NPs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[Ag]</th>
<th>[Dat]</th>
<th>[Instr]</th>
<th>[Pt]</th>
<th>[Loc]</th>
<th>[All]</th>
<th>[Abl]</th>
<th>[Cause]</th>
<th>[Purp]</th>
<th>[Temp]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>na</em></td>
<td>←−−−−−−−→</td>
<td>−−−−−−−−−→</td>
<td>−−−−−−−−−−→</td>
<td>−−−−−−−−−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>te</em></td>
<td>←−−−−−−−−→</td>
<td>←−−−−−−−−−−→</td>
<td>←−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
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<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kene</em></td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>di</em>/<em>i</em></td>
<td>←−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kua</em></td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td>←−→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>apa</em>/<em>i</em></td>
<td>←−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mina</em>/<em>i</em></td>
<td>←−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td>←−−→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ←−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−→ | Typical use of the article/preposition.
| ←−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−→ | Extended use of the article/preposition.
| ←−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−→ | Article/preposition may not appear with this role
The ‘extended use’ category includes the use of articles on the objects of applied constructions (for *na* and *te*) (see chapter 10), and the replacement of articles or prepositions by *kene*. This is not the same as the use of *kene* as an instrumental preposition itself, but is the use of *kene* as a conjunction (see chapter 18 for discussion of this, as well as the discussion in 12.12).

The difference between prepositions and ‘preposition-like’ verbs is discussed in 12.12.

12.8 Semantic range of the different prepositions

There are four different words that will be treated as prepositions here, although it is clear that there is a continuum of grammaticalisation, with some forms being purely prepositional, displaying no characteristics of other word classes, and others tending towards the verb class to different degrees. The five different prepositions, and the oblique case marker, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Semantic Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>apa i</em></td>
<td>Goal, endpoint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kua</em></td>
<td>Goal, Allative, Recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mina i, mini</em></td>
<td>Source, Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kene, ke</em></td>
<td>Instrument, co-agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>di, i</em></td>
<td>General oblique</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first and second of these have the most restricted range of use, and show the least resemblance to other word classes; the other two prepositions, *mina* and *kene*, both show at least partly verb-like behaviour and certain other non-prepositional functions. The general oblique marker is the broadest in semantic range (see table 23). The prepositions *mina* and *kene* can be plausibly related to existent verbs in the language, and another verb, *dei*, bears a resemblance in form and meaning to the *di* variant of the oblique case article:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verbal Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>di</em></td>
<td><em>dei</em></td>
<td>‘be left over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mina</em></td>
<td><em>mina</em></td>
<td>‘have ever been at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kene</em></td>
<td><em>kene</em></td>
<td>‘be together with’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident that prepositions in Tukang Besi have a mixed origin. For two of the ‘prepositions’ *mina*, and *kene*, the verbal and prepositional forms are identical. The variant of the general preposition *di*, though fully established in the language, probably owes its origins to trade Malay *di*, but does nonetheless have a plausible verbal equivalent in Tukang Besi. The allative preposition *kua* (*ka* in other dialects, and southern Tukang Besi) is also likely to have originally come from trade Malay (*�*). The verb *ako*, which has undergone a great deal of semantic bleaching, though the core meaning does appear to be ‘do (something) for’, is a likely candidate for grammaticalisation as a preposition in the future of the language. *Ako* is not discussed here, but rather in chapter 8, because it governs a core KP (though not with quite the same freedom accorded to most verbs),
whereas all the prepositions discussed here govern an oblique KP.

The degree to which the prepositions resemble verbs in their behaviour is summarised in table 24, which summarises various features that are associated with verbs, with the serial verb *ako*, the conjunction/verb/noun *kene*, and with the different ‘true’ prepositions:

*Table 24. Similarities and differences between verbs and prepositions*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>ako</th>
<th>kene</th>
<th>mina</th>
<th>kua</th>
<th>apa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core article phonologically incorporated?</td>
<td>←−−−−−→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement is a core KP?</td>
<td>←−−−−−−−−−−→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allows possessive suffixes</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allows object suffixes?</td>
<td>←−−−−−−−−−−−−−→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uses subject prefixes when predicative?</td>
<td>←−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−−→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(kene and mina only use subject prefixes in a predicative position when in their verbal function; the ‘verb-oid’ *ako* may also be used as a main verb, in which case it is treated as any other verb. In this table, I wish to concentrate on the unusual features it displays when used in a non-contiguous serial verb construction (see chapter 8). It is also discussed in section 12.12)

*Kene* is listed as allowing possessive suffixes (see 5.5) to code the argument that it governs. This is only possible for *kene* when it is used to mark a comitative co-agent, not when it is used to code an instrument.

12.9 Functions of the oblique phrase

A prepositional phrase may serve in maximally three different roles in a clause, as a clausal adjunct, as a predicate, or as a modifier within an NP. These different uses are illustrated with the oblique case *idi* in (77) - (79) serving as a general marker of static location in all cases:

Introducing an adjunct:

(77) *Ku-kede [di godegode]KP.*
1SG-sit OBL veranda

‘I am sitting on the veranda.’

Predicative:

(78) *Te ia [di godegode]KP.*
CORE 3SG OBL veranda

‘She is on the veranda.’

Modifier:

(79) *Ku-em [te wowine [di godegode]KP iso]KP.*
1SG-ask CORE woman OBL veranda yon

‘I’ll ask that woman on the veranda.’
The restrictions on the positions in a verbal clause in which an oblique phrase may appear have already been described in chapter 3, and amount to a restriction against any non-core arguments appearing within the VP, regardless of their status as prepositional phrases or oblique case phrases.

Despite being able to appear as adjuncts, predicates or modifiers, there are differences in the range of interpretation that can be attributed to the different oblique markers in these different usages, and restrictions on which functions the different oblique markers may fill. For instance, *il* may be used as a marker of static location, as in (73) - (75), but may also serve to mark the goal (allative location, recipient), and in some cases the source of movement. The variation of semantic range and function that the different oblique markers exhibit is summarised in table 25:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function:</th>
<th>general oblique case</th>
<th>local prepositions</th>
<th>non-local</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>kua (i)</td>
<td>mina i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjunct</td>
<td>LOC, ALL, TEMP, ABL,</td>
<td>ALL, REC</td>
<td>ABL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CAUS, REC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>ABL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier</td>
<td>LOC, ABL</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>ABL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although *kua* and *mina* show no variation, it is noteworthy that *i* can only be used to mark static location if it is used predicatively, and can only be interpreted as an ablative marker if it is used to modify within an NP (with exceptions provided for by appositional phrases - see 12.3). The range of use of *apa* and *kene* does not extend past their use as adjuncts. *Kene* may appear in positions other than just adjunct, but is then interpreted as serving as a conjunction. This is illustrated in (80), in which *te mo'ane kene wowine* can only be interpreted as having the structure shown in (80)', and not that displayed in (80)":

(80)  
*Te mo'ane kene wowine no-wila.*

"A man and a woman went.'

* 'A man who has a woman (ie., wife) went.'

(80)'

(80)"

* KP
Further details on conjoined constructions can be found in chapter 18.

12.10 General oblique: oblique article *ildi*

The oblique article *ildi*, in addition to being the semantically underspecified local oblique marker meaning ‘at, on, in, towards, through’, is also used in some temporal phrases, and to mark the goal or source of certain emotion verbs, such as in the following examples:

**Locative:**

(81) *Ku-kede di kadera.*

1SG-sit OBL chair

‘I am sitting in the chair.’

(82) *Te kampo-su i ito.*

CORE village-1SG.POSS OBL there:higher

‘My village is up in the mountains.’

(83) *Te kampo-kampo i Salantogo o-motembe na uwe.*

TOP RED-village OBL Road-to-town 3R-fresh NOM water

‘The villages in the hills have fresh (ie., not salty) water.’

**Allative:**

(84) *Te kene-su no-wila tunggala komba di Kendari.*

CORE friend-1SG.POSS 3R-go every moon OBL Kendari

‘My friend goes to Kendari every month.’

(85) *Maka no-langke i Sailolo.*

and.then 3R-sail OBL Jailolo

‘And then they sail to Jailolo.’

**Ablative:**

(83) *Ku-hada-balu te wurai b[um]futi di tondo atu.*

1SG-want-buy CORE sarong fall.SI OBL fence that

‘I want to buy that sarong that fell off the fence.’

(87) *Ku-rato i Wa Sorou’u.*

1SG-arrive OBL Wasorou’u

‘I came to Wasorou’u.’

* ‘I came from Wasorou’u.’

**Temporal:**

(88) *O-koruo na mia la’a-m(o) o-mai mini Kapota.*

3R-many NOM person just-PF 3R-come from Kapota

‘There are many people who have just arrived from Kapota this morning.’
I rearea ai o-koruo na mia l[um]angke.
OBL morning ANA 3R-many NOM person sail.SI
kua Lasalimu
ALL Lasalimu
‘This morning there were a lot of people who sailed to Lasalimu.’ (G:62)

Te sala di po-lota-(a) u Wanse ke Wandoka
CORE road OBL REC-between-NL GEN Wanse and Wandoka
no-ja’o, toka i komba meatu’e ai
3R-bad but OBL moon REF-that ANA
a-[m]a-leama-’e-mo te pamarenta.
3I-CAUS.SI-good-3OBJ-PF CORE government (G:40)
‘The road between Wanci and Wandoka is bad, but next month it will be improved by the government.’

Te ana-no no-monimpala di ina-no.
CORE child-3POSS 3R-miss OBL mother-3POSS
‘The child missed his mother.’ (SI:10)

Mbeaka ’u-ma’eeka i ika to’oge?
not 2SG.R-scared OBL fish big
‘Aren’t you scared of big fish?’

Ku-hada i moro’u-k(a) u tee.
1SG-like OBL drink-NL GEN tea
‘I like to drink tea.’

No-kalu di nangu-nangu-’a.
3R-tired OBL RED-swim-NL (G:11)
‘He is tired from swimming’

Ane ke d[um]ahani-’e, toka te s[um]aori pande
exist and know.SI-3OBJ but CORE extreme.SI wise
di sejar(a) u Walanda no-linda-mo kua Baubau.
OBL history GEN Holland 3R-move-PF ALL Baubau (G:40)
‘There are some who know it, but the (people who) are most wise about Dutch history have moved to Baubau.’

Another specialised use of the oblique article is found in comparative constructions:

Ku-lancara di pogau Malau ngga ku-pogau-Wanse.
1SG-fluent OBL language Malay than 1SG-speak-Wanci
‘I am better at Indonesian than I am at Wanci.’ (G:40)

Menuru te iaku (o)-koruo di Bugisi mai no-wila
according TOP 1SG 3R-many OBL Bugis INAL 3R-go
kua Singapura nggala te amai Wanse.
ALL Singapore than TOP 3PL Wanci (G:38)
‘If you ask me, there are more Bugis that go to Singapore than Wanci people’
12.11 Individual prepositions

The use of each of the different prepositional forms will now be illustrated, arranged according to the form of the preposition and each of the semantic roles that are associated with the preposition under discussion. In addition to a discussion of their prepositional uses, each section also summarises the non-prepositional uses associated with that form.

12.11.1 Allative preposition  \textit{kua}

The allative preposition \textit{kua} is used as well as the oblique article \textit{di/i} to indicate direction towards something (the core allative usage), but also has uses not encompassed by \textit{di/i}. It can be used to introduce direct and indirect speech (glossed in these cases simply as a colon; see chapter 16), and can be used to mark the recipient in clauses involving transactions, though this may be a calque on the Malay use of a variant of the allative preposition in this role (\textit{ke(pada)}). Indeed, the use of \textit{kua} to mark the recipient is not accepted by many speakers, who use \textit{i/di} for this meaning.

When used allatively, \textit{kua} differs from \textit{i/di} in this use in that \textit{kua} is used to specify a direction, rather than a destination. Compare the question and answer sets provided in (98) and (99):

\begin{itemize}
  \item (98) a.  \textit{'U-wil(a) i 'umpa?}
    \begin{tabular}{lll}
    2SG.R-go & OBL & Q \\
    \end{tabular}
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item 'Where are you going?'
  \end{itemize}

  \begin{itemize}
  \item b.  \textit{Ku-wil(a) i Waha.}
    \begin{tabular}{lll}
    1SG-go & OBL & Waha \\
    \end{tabular}
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item 'I’m going to Waha.'
  \end{itemize}

  \begin{itemize}
  \item c.  \textit{Ku-wil(a) i ito.}
    \begin{tabular}{lll}
    1SG-go & OBL & there:higher \\
    \end{tabular}
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item 'I’m going to the north.'
  \end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item (99) a.  \textit{'U-wila kua 'umpa?}
    \begin{tabular}{lll}
    2SG.R-go & ALL & Q \\
    \end{tabular}
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item 'Where are you going?'
  \end{itemize}

  \begin{itemize}
  \item b.  \textit{# Ku-wila kua Waha.}
    \begin{tabular}{lll}
    1SG-go & ALL & Waha \\
    \end{tabular}
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item 'I’m going to Waha.'
  \end{itemize}

  \begin{itemize}
  \item c.  \textit{Ku-wila kua ito.}
    \begin{tabular}{lll}
    1SG-go & ALL & there:higher \\
    \end{tabular}
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item 'I’m going to the north.'
  \end{itemize}

Whilst a question with the general preposition may be answered with either a destination or a direction, one asked using the allative preposition is felicitously answered with a direction, but not with a particular destination, as was seen in (99b) and (99c). Other sentences illustrating the use of \textit{kua} are given below:
Allative:

(100) Maka no-waliako kua kampo.  
then 3R-return ALL village  
‘Then they went back to the village.’

(101) No-kahu-'e kua iaku.  
3R-send-3OBJ ALL 1SG  
‘She sent it to me.’

(102) Te emai ako kua Longa?  
CORE who PURP ALL Longa  
‘Who is going to go to Longa?’

The preposition *kua* may be used in conjunction with the oblique case *i* if the goal is not a human, but is specific. Examples of this are given in (103) - (105):

(103) Te amai no-wila kua i kampo-no i ito.  
CORE 3PL 3R-go ALL OBL village-3POSS OBL there:higher  
‘They went up to their village.’

(104) * No-'eka kua i La Sade.  
3R-go ALL OBL La Sade  
‘She went to La Sade.’

(105) No-langke ka i Banda.  
3R-sail ALL OBL Banda  
No-rato di ito, no-labu-mo.  
3R.arrive OBL there:higher 3R-anchor-PF  
‘Who is going to go to Longa?’

Direct speech:

(106) No-balo-mo na Wa Sabusaburengki kua  
3R-answer-PF NOM Wa Sabusaburengki :  
‘Ku-g[lum]ule-i-ko-mo.’  
1SG-sweet.curry.SI-DIR-2SG.OBJ-PF  
(Sab:7)  
‘Wa Sabusaburengki replied “I’m going to curry you”.’

Reported speech

(107) Nu-pogau na iko’o kua nu-hada te 'onu-'onu-'a  
2SG.R-say NOM 2SG : 2SG.R-want CORE RED-swim-NL  
ilange.  
tomorrow  
(G:38)  
‘You said that you wanted to go swimming tomorrow.’

A further important use of *kua* is its role as a switch reference marker in complements. More details on the use of complementisers can be found in chapter 16.

12.11.2 Ablative preposition *mina i*

The preposition *mina* has the basic prepositional function of showing ablative movement in
space, and an elapsed period ‘since’ in a temporal clause (chapter 17). It (and *apa*) differ from the other prepositions in that they must be used in conjunction with the general preposition *i* following (not usually *di* except very formally). Frequently in running speech the final vowel of *mina* is lost, or partially assimilates to the following [i], producing the variants [\[\text{m\text{n}\text{a}}\]], [\[\text{m\text{n}\text{a}}\]], [\[\text{m\text{n}\text{\text{"e}}}\]] and [\[\text{m\text{\text{"e}}}\]]. It seems likely that the compound preposition *mina i* is becoming a unit *mini*; nevertheless at the present most speakers report *mina i* or *mina di* as the correct form.

(108)  
\textit{Mina i 'umpa?} \quad \sim \quad \textit{Mini 'umpa?}  
\text{from OBL where from where}  
‘Where are you coming from?’ (greeting)

(109)  
\textit{Ku-mai mini Wuta Wolio.}  
\text{1SG-come from Buton}  
‘I’ve come from Buton.’

(110)  
\textit{Te ia mini Walanda.}  
\text{CORE 3SG from Holland}  
‘He is from Holland.’

(111)  
\textit{Te mia pande mini Tindoi no-waliako-mo.}  
\text{CORE shaman from Tindoi 3R-return-PF}  
‘The shaman from Tindoi has gone back home.’

Source of mental knowledge

(112)  
\textit{...'u-dahani te pogau Japaa min(a) i 'umpa?}  
\text{2SG.R-know CORE language Japan from OBL where}  
‘…where did you learn Japanese?’

It may also appear as a verb, with the meaning ‘ever’:

(113)  
\textit{Ku-mina-mo i Pulo Hoga.}  
\text{1SG-ever-PF OBL Hoga}  
‘I’ve been to Hoga.’

(114)  
\textit{No-mina-langke i Maluku?}  
\text{3R-ever-sail OBL Maluku}  
‘Has he ever sailed in/to Maluku?’

*mina* is also used in the expression for ‘before’:

(115)  
\textit{Labi to-wila mina mbea-ho no-wande.}  
\text{better 1PL.R-go from not-yet 3R-rain}  
‘We’d better go before it rains.’

12.11.3 Endpoint allative preposition  *apa*

The endpoint preposition *apa*, like *mina*, must occur with the general preposition following it; unlike *mina*, there is no tendency for the two to merge together, so that only the form [\[\text{a\text{\text{"e}}}\]] is heard, and intermediate forms like [\[\text{a\text{\text{"e}}}\]], [\[\text{a\text{\text{"e}}}\]], [\[\text{a\text{\text{"e}}}\]] and [\[\text{a\text{\text{"e}}}\]], which
might be predicted on the basis of the phenomenon with the ablative preposition, are not observed. It refines the meaning of kua in that in addition to specifying motion towards a point, it carries the additional information that that point is the end of the activity. Compare (116) and (117), which bring out the differences in possible interpretations:

(116) No-tinti kua wunua-su
    3R-run ALL house-1SG.POSS
    (kene no-pajulu kua ito).
    and 3R-continue ALL there:higher
    ‘He ran up to my house (and then continued on to the east).’

(117) No-tinti apa i wunua-su
    3R-run ENDPOINT OBL house-1SG.POSS
    (* kene no-pajulu kua ito).
    and 3R-continue ALL there:higher
    ‘He ran up to my house and stopped (* and then continued on to the east).’

(118) No-tuhu apa i Longa.
    3R-descend ENDPOINT OBL Longa
    ‘It (a tornado) came down even as far as Longa.’

(119) No-‘eka apa i Limbo wo’ou,
    3R-climb ENDPOINT OBL Limbo wo’ou
    maka no-waliako-hena’u-mo.
    and.then 3R-return-descend-PF
    ‘They went as far as Limbowo’ou, and then they came back down.’

With a time expression, it refers to the end of a long period of time:

(120) Jar(i) i wakutuu mai sida, apa i tong(a)
    so OBL time INAL truth ENDPOINT OBL middle
    u rondo, rondo-’ooloo rondo-’ooloo te mia
    GEN night night-day night-day CORE person
    no-rato,… (WW: 29)
    3R-arrive
    ‘So in those times, in fact, even up till the middle of the night, every day, people keep coming….’

12.11.4 Non-local preposition: instrumental preposition  ke, kene

The instrumental preposition ke(ne) is more typically used serving as a conjunction to show accompaniment or inclusiveness, and is obligatorily used to mark the existent in an existential construction with the semi-verb ane. This function can be shown to be (at least somewhat) separate from its prepositional use, however, and is treated as not being a prepositional function. This is dealt with in chapter 18, as well as the discussion in 12.12. The following illustrate the use of kene:
Instrumental:

(121) *No-tu’o te kau [kene baliu]PP.
 3R-fell CORE tree INSTR axe
  ‘He felled the trees with an axe.’

(122) No-lemba-’e [kene kau]PP.
 3R-carry.on.shoulder-3OBJ INSTR stick
  ‘He carried it on his shoulder with a stick.’

Notice that *kene may only introduce an ‘intermediate agent’ type of instrument, and not just the means used to achieve an end:

(123) *No-sawi kua gunu [kene honda]PP.
 3R-ride ALL mountain INSTR motorbike
  ‘He rode to the mountain on a motorbike.’

Some speakers reject this use of *kene as an instrumental preposition, and prefer to mark the instrument of all actions with a serial verb construction using *ako or *pake, which is also capable of being used with sentences like (123), shown here in this use as (125):

 1SG-fell CORE tree INSTR CORE axe
  ‘I felled the trees with an axe.’

 1SG-ride INSTR CORE motorbike ALL mountain
  ‘She went to the mountains by means of a motorbike.’

As an alternative to *ako a serial verb construction with *pake ‘use’ (< Malay *pake, < formal Malay pakai) is available:

 1SG-fell CORE tree use CORE axe
  ‘I felled the trees with an axe.’

The majority of speakers are satisfied with a core instrumental role being assigned to an instrumental KP without the need for a serial verb construction (see chapter 4 for a discussion of different subcategorisation frames):

(127) [Ku-tu’o [te kau]KP [te baliu]KP]CORE.
 1SG-fell CORE tree CORE axe
  ‘I felled the trees with an axe.’

The interpretation of an NP in other than an instrumental role preceded by *kene is problematic, and is examined in 12.12. One reason that *kene introducing an instrumental role is not treated as a serial verb as well is that in this function it is not possible to replace the NP object of *kene with an object suffix:
The object of *kene*, used as a conjunct, may be replaced with object suffixes:

(129) *Ku-tu’o te kau [kene’-e]CONF.*
1SG-fell CORE tree and-3OBJ
‘I felled it and the trees.’

This use of *kene* is dealt with in chapter 18.

12.12 Complex prepositions

The specific meaning of the general preposition *i/idi* can be, and often is, made more explicit by the use of directional nouns with the preposition. This appears following the preposition, as the head of the NP, and the physical location is then added in a genitive phrase modifying this local noun. The different local nouns observed are:

- *i wawo* on top of
- *i woru* underneath
- *i sawengka (mohii, moana)* to the (left, right) side of
- *i taliku* behind
- *i aropa* in front of
- *i polota’a* in between
- *i luara* outside
- *i laro* inside

Only *luara* is suspect, being clearly a recent loan from Malay *luar*. Although no longer current in northern Tukang Besi, other languages of Southeast Sulawesi that do not have a loan word for ‘outside’ often use the same word for ‘outside’ as is used for ‘behind’, often cognate with or identical to *taliku*. In southern Tukang Besi the word *mburi* is used with this meaning, both outside and behind. Some examples of the use of these local nouns are given in (130) - (132):

(130) *No-torae’-e na boku-no [i waw(o) [u meja]KP ]PP.*
3R-place-3OBJ NOM book-3POSS OBL above GEN table
‘She put her book on the table.’

(131) *No-oko karama-no [i wor(u) [u walewale]KP ]PP.*
3R-hide self-3POSS OBL underneath GEN shelter
‘He hid himself under the shelter.’
12.13 Not-quite prepositions: *ako, pake* and *kene*

In addition to the (relatively) unambiguous prepositions described above, there are three words which display preposition-like behaviour to various degrees. They also all function as verbs, and some have other properties as well. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Semantic Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ako</em></td>
<td>beneficiary, instrument, purpose, cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pake</em></td>
<td>Instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kene</em></td>
<td>Instrument, conjunct: ‘and’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As main verbs, these have the following meanings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Verbal Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ako</em></td>
<td>‘do for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pake</em></td>
<td>‘use’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kene</em></td>
<td>‘accompany’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I argue that *ako* and *pake* are best described as atypical verbs, and that *kene* is, in these ‘preposition-like’ functions (other than the instrumental functions) best thought of as a conjunction. The reasons for the treatment of *ako* and *pake* as verbs in non-contiguous serial verb constructions, rather than as prepositions, are given below. Some of the discussion concerning *kene* is given here, but it is mainly treated in chapter 18.

When *ako* is functioning as a main verb, meaning ‘do for’, it obeys the restrictions on verbal behaviour, such as requiring the subject relative clause morphology when used to modify an NP (see chapter 15), or requiring subject prefixes when predicative:

(133) **No-wila-mo na wowine [um]ako-aku**\_\_RC.
3R-go-PF NOM woman do.for.SI-1SG.OBJ
‘The woman who did (something) for me has gone.’

(134) *No-wila-mo na wowine *[ako-aku]**\_\_RC.
3R-go-PF NOM woman do.for-1SG.OBJ
‘The woman who did (something) for me has gone.’

(Good with the interpretation: ‘The woman who is intended for me (ie., as a wife) has gone.’)

(135) **Mbea-do ‘u-ako-naku wa?**
not-yet 2SG.R-do.for-1SG.DAT.OBJ ILL.FORCE
‘Haven’t you done it for me yet?’
Chapter 12

(136) * **Mbea-do ako-naku.**
   not-yet do.for-1SG.DAT.OBJ
   ‘Haven’t you done it for me yet?’

This is not the case when it is used in a more ‘prepositional’ function, as (137) and (138) illustrate. (137) shows **ako** modifying **olibolu** without any relative clause morphology, and (138) shows **ako** without subject prefixes in a serial verb construction, and not contiguously attached to the verb (as seen in chapters 8 and 10):

(137) **Te ana te olibolu [ako-aku]**RC.
    CORE this CORE k.o. sweet BEN-1SG.OBJ
    ‘This is the **olibolu** that’s for me.’
    (an **olibolu** is a sweet fried cake, very oily. The derivation of the name is probably from Dutch **oliebol**, ‘oily-ball’)

(138) **Mbea-do ‘u-sai-’e ako-naku wa?**
    not-yet 2SG.R make-3OBJ BEN-1SG.DAT.OBJ ILL.FORCE
    ‘Haven’t you made it for me yet?’

The same comparisons can be made for **pake** serving as a main verb, and serving in a non-contiguous serial verb construction introducing an instrumental argument.

We find that **ako** displays different degrees of verb-like behaviour depending on the semantic role that its object plays in the clause. Examining **ako** (in its different usages) and **pake**, in their ability to serve as adjuncts, predicates and modifiers, we arrive at table 26:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function:</th>
<th>ako</th>
<th>ako, pake</th>
<th>ako</th>
<th>ako</th>
<th>ako</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjunct</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that **ako** is most versatile (and most verb-like) when used with a benefactive or purposive sense. Unlike the other prepositions, some of which can only appear in adjunct positions as well, the object of **ako** (and **pake**) is present in a KP, and may be replaced with object suffixes.

The use of **kene** in its ‘comitative’ role is somewhat different. Whilst it may appear as a main verb, and even preserves the ability to represent its argument by means of object suffixes instead of an NP, it cannot have an object in a KP. Since it appears directly before the NP, and does not allow an article to appear, a surface string analogous to a prepositional phrase appears. Compare (121) above with (139) below:

(139) **Ku-tu’o [te [[kau]NP kene [wemba]NP ]NP ]KP.**
    1SG-fell CORE tree and bamboo
    ‘I felled the trees and the bamboo.’
The fact that the first of the two conjuncts, with its article, may be left out makes this usage even more preposition-like in appearance:

(140) \textit{Ku-tu'o [kene [wemba]_{NP} ]_{CONJ}}.
\ 1SG-fell and bamboo
\ ‘I felled some things and the bamboo.’

Unlike the prepositions, \textit{kene} may replace its following NP with object suffixes. Other reasons for regarding \textit{kene} as a non-preposition are given in chapter 18.

Another related use of \textit{kene} is to place emphasis on the object of a KP or a PP. It may be used to replace the nominative article on a KP, or appear with a local preposition in a PP:

Replacing an article:

(141) \textit{No-hoko-mate-'e kene beka-su te La bela Kompakompa}.
\ 3R-FACT-dead-3OBJ and cat-1SG.POSS CORE La dear Eel
\ ‘(He answered: Eel bit me, and) ‘Dear’ Eel even killed my cat!’ (Oen:37)

(142) \textit{“Oho. Toka nabu-ako-aku ke iaku te mota'a-no.”}
\ yes but drop-APPL-1SG.OBJ and 1SG CORE ripe-3POSS
\ ‘Yes, but drop some ripe ones for \textit{me}!’ (SA:34)

Some speakers allow \textit{ke} to completely replace the preposition in a PP; so the lack of a preposition in (143):

Replacing a preposition:

(143) \textit{O-rato ke Kapota}.
\ 3R-arrive and Kapota
\ ‘They arrived even as far as Kapota.’

is acceptable for some speakers, whereas others would prefer:

(144) \textit{O-rato ke i Kapota}.
\ 3R-arrive and OBL Kapota
\ ‘They arrived even as far as Kapota.’

This is also treated as being an example of the use of \textit{kene} as a conjunction, and is discussed in more depth in chapter 18.

The degree to which these words resemble verbs in their behaviour has been summarised in table 24. The serial verb \textit{pake} has exactly the same morphosyntactic properties as does \textit{ako} in that table.
A proper name or plural pronoun followed by quantity adjectives, or numerals greater than one is taken to refer to a group: 

No-‘ita [te La Pe’i [tolu-mia]N-C]KP-3R-see CORE La Pe’i 3-CLASS ‘They saw La Pe’i and two of his friends.’

No-rato [na ikami [gana-mia]N-C [ata]DEM]KP-3R-arrive NOM we 4-CLASS that ‘Those four of us arrived.’