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O. Blagar is a non-Austronesian language with approximately 10,000 speakers, who live mainly on the islands Pura, Terawan (= Terewen), Pantar (desa Batu) and Ternate (= Pura Kecil), all kabupaten Alor, province Nusa Tenggara Timur, Indonesia.²⁾

The language, which is morphologically simple, has a restricted number of adverbs, pronouns, auxiliaries, clitics and particles - a large variety of functions is common for these word-classes - a restricted number of numeral morphemes and an unrestricted number of nouns and verbs; the nouns are subdivided into alienable and inalienable, the latter comprising, roughly speaking, words which denote body-parts and kinship-relations, and which always require a possessive pronominal prefix; the verbs are divided into intransitive (not distinguishable from what is translated as an adjective) and transitive, of which there are 3 subclasses, dependant on the way in which the object is expressed.

The spelling in this paper is based on the following phonemic system: vowels /i e a o u/, consonants /b p v d t s g k h ʔ m n ŋ l r j ɸ/, of which /j/ is pronounced [z] by the older generation, but [dʲ, dʒ] by the younger, and in which /ɸ/ is an implosive, voiced, bilabial stop. Stress is non-phonemic and always on the penult.

One of the most obvious features of the Blagar dialects, as well as of the other non-Austronesian Alor languages, is the elaborate system of deictics and verbs meaning "to go" and "to come".

1. Semantic Features

1.1 The verbs expressing "going" and "coming" (hereafter to be called cg-verbs) imply movement to a place of destination D and real or imagined presence/absence or neglected presence of speaker and/or hearer during the moment/period to which the verb refers at D or at a place G such that D lies in G's general direction. Cf. the following two matrixes:

"go" to D	speaker	hearer
subject	at D or G	at D or G
speaker	////	-
hearer	-	////
3d person	-	-

matrix 1

"come" to D	speaker	hearer
subject	at D or G	at D or G
speaker	////	+
hearer	+	////
3d person	+	+
	-	-
	+	-

matrix 2

- means "is not at D or G during the moment/period to which the verb refers, or, if so, assumed not to be".

+ means "is or is assumed to be at D or G during the period/moment to which the verb refers".

When a third person is "going" both columns have to be negative, when he is "coming" one or both columns have to be positive.³⁾ The place of destination may vary from

a hemisphere to a country and a square centimetre. A special use of the verbs meaning "to come" has to be translated as "to be in the habit of visiting", probably with the connotation "I may meet you/you may meet me/he may meet me/you/us there one time, etc."

1.2 In Blagar the cg-verbs also imply features indicating the (approximate) place of departure in relation to the place of the destination; the nature of this relation is dependant on spatial and geographical circumstances, according to which at least five subsystems can be distinguished. In this respect there is an exact paralellism with the Blagar deictics. The basic distinction of the deictics (of which there are five basic morphemes) is: near speaker and/or hearer at the moment of the speech act (subdivided into near speaker vs. not-near speaker - basic morphemes ʔa and ʔu), vs. not-near speaker and hearer at the moment of the speech act. The nearness may be spatial, temporal and also psychological (approximately "the one I am/you are talking about, have in mind"), the not-nearness spatial and temporal.⁴⁾ The three basic morphemes expressing not-nearness are do, mo, po.

1.3 The systems of spatial relations which exist between place of speaker (and hearer) and the place indicated by these latter three deictics are the same as those which exist between place of departure and place of destination; there are also at least five subsystems. The five subsystems are charted below (matrix 3) for the deictic verbs poʔe, moʔe, doʔe "to be there, invisible for speaker and hearer" and for the verbs ʔipa, va, mida "to go there" and ja, ma, da "to come there".

(Matrix 3, see next page)

Subsystem (2) is valid e.g. inside a house, on a dancing-place, inside a boat, and also on/above the shore and on/in/above the sea near the shore: ja/ʔipa "come/go to the seawardside of the dancing-place/house/to that part of a boat (stern, rudder, or side if the boat is broad enough)

which is directed away from the land; come/go (swimming/flying/sailing/walking) away from the land, (in)to the sea".

Subsystem (3) is valid for uncomplicated tracks, following roughly speaking a single slope, so that a difference in height is clearly observable. As soon as the connection between the appointed place and the place of speaker and hearer at

the speech act, or, between the place of destination and the approximate place of departure is more complicated, i.e. comprises ascending, descending and/or level tracks, subsystem (4) or (5) have to be applied.

Subsystem (5) may be divided into several subsystems. For instance, for "going" from a village on Pura to a place or island which lies more or less directly opposite, va is used, even if one or both of the places are far above sea-

appointed place in relation to place of speaker and hearer at speech-act	place of destination in relation to place of departure		movement in open sea (no land in sight or in level country (no sea or mountain in sight))	movement in presence of clear orientation point (sea or land, valley or mountain(s))			
				simple tracks		complicated tracks	
				in enclosed level space or near the shore	along a road or mountain slope	on Pura	from/outside Pura
to be at a place	to go	to come to a place					
<u>po?e</u>	<u>?ipa</u>	<u>ja</u>	which is more to the south	which is further (in)to the sea/valley.	which is lower	going to which one has to move counter clockwise around the island	? (see matrix 4 and 5)
<u>mo?e</u>	<u>va</u>	<u>ma</u>	which is more to the east/west	going to which one has to move parallel with the shore/valley	which lies at the same level	—	
<u>do?e</u>	<u>mida</u>	<u>da</u>	which is more to the north	which is further (in)to the land/mountain	which is higher	going to which one has to move clockwise around the island	
subsystem			[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]

Matrix 3

-level (e.g. from 1 and 8 to 10 and 11 - cf. map 2 and 3). C. L. Voorhoeve suggested the translation "to cross", which is in many cases applicable. In a number of cases, however, the use of va, and in general the use of ?ipa and mida are unpredictable in this subsystem. In matrix 4 the forms are given for "going" from each of 8 Purese villages to the other ones as well as to a selection of places outside Pura. For "coming" and "to be" the corresponding verbs are applied. Where hera (see below) occurs in the chart ?ipa (and ja) can also be used.

(Matrix 4 and 5 + text, see next page)

1.4 There are two cg-verbs, ?ila "to go" and ho?a "to come" which can be used in all subsystems discussed above, neutralizing the opposition set out in matrix 3. In subsystem (3) only, the verb hera "descend" can be used, neutralizing the opposition ?ipa vs. ja (a corresponding form "ascend" does not exist). hera is also used for "come/go out of a tree, a house⁷⁾, a means of transport" and for "fall (of rain)"; in these cases mida and da are used for going/coming in the opposite direction, while ?ipa/ja cannot be applied instead of hera (unless for instance the tree has fallen down, or one goes/comes down from one tree into another). Because of its common morphologic and syntactic features I include hera into the class of cg-verbs.

(Map 1, map 2, and map 3, see page 48)

2. Morphemic processes

The isolating structure of Blagar makes the distinction between morphology and syntax rather vague. Purely morphemic processes relevant for the cg-verbs are only:

- 1) reduplication, triplication and quadruplication of the first stemsyllable,
- 2) suffixation of -nan or -n, after mono- and polysyllabic stems respectively,⁸⁾

3) suffixation of -t.

Ad 1). These forms express repetition/prolongation of the action of the basic verb, a bit further in the same direction; for the first, second and third time, respectively: (mi(mi))mimida, (?i(?i))?i?ipa, (he(he))hehera, (va(va))-vava etc.

Ad 2). The forms with the -(na)n suffix occur in the following contexts and meanings:

i) Followed by mana "place" (not occurring independently), forming a nominal construction with the meaning e.g. "place characterized by someone's going/coming":

midan mana "a stone on which one steps or sits down when going up"
danan mana id. when coming up; cf. with other verbs (monosyllables adding -n only)
imina "to die", iminan mana 1) "place of death", 2) "lethal place"
ba "to fall", ban mana "place where one often falls, e.g. slippery slope".

ii) Followed by vala appr. "expert" (not occurring independently), forming a nominal construction with the meaning "person characterized by his regular/expert going/coming":

danan vala "a regular visitor from above"
heran vala "a regular descender" (regularly used denoting someone from Maru (8 on map 2 and 3); cf. with other verbs (I did not find examples with monosyllables): ta?avi "to steal", ta?avin vala "thief", tia "to sleep", tian vala "long-sleeper".

iii) Following a noun (N), forming a nominal construction with the meaning:

- a) "N characterized by his/her/its/their own going/coming"
- b) "N characterized by someone/something else's going/coming"

		to go from —→ 0 to ↓	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
P U R A P A N T A R A L O R	0) Melanvala	-	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa	mida	mida	mida	hera
	1) Delap	mida	-	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa	mida	mida	hera
	2) Abira	mida	mida	-	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa	mida/?ipa ⁵⁾	mida	hera
	3) Limarahin	mida	mida	mida	-	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa	hera
	4) Harilolon	mida	mida	mida	mida	-	va	va	?ipa	hera
	5) Puravematan	?ipa	mida	mida	mida	va	-	va	?ipa	hera
	6) Reta	?ipa	?ipa	mida/?ipa ⁵⁾	mida	va	va	-	mida/va ⁶⁾	hera
	7) Mala?al	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa	mida	mida	mida	hera/va ⁶⁾	-	hera
	8) Maru	mida	mida	mida	mida	mida	mida	mida	mida	-
	9) ?olijahi	va	va	va	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa	mida	mida	va
	10) Ba?alan	va	va	va	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa	mida	mida	va
	11) Ubualaban	va	va	va	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa	mida	mida	va
	12) Tuaban	mida	mida/va	mida/va	?ipa/va	?ipa	?ipa	mida	mida	va
	13) Muna	mida	mida/va	mida/va	?ipa/va	?ipa	?ipa	mida	mida	va
	14) ?abir	?ipa	all similar							
	15) Baranusa	?ipa								
	16) Kokar	mida								
	17) Karanbai	mida								
	18) Dulolon	mida								
	19) Moru	mida								
	20) Batulolon	mida/va	va is used when travelling by sea all the way, <u>mida</u> when going by land							
	21) Kolana	mida/va								
	22) Ternate	mida	mida	mida	mida/va	mida/va	mida	mida	mida	mida
	23) Teberan	?ipa	all similar							
	24) Kupan	?ipa								
	25) Ukusi	va								
	26) Parasa	mida								
	27) Makasar	?ipa								
	28) Maluku	mida								

matrix 4

Cf. also the situation within Alor itself (matrix 5):

to go from →		16	17	18	19	20	21	22
to ↓								
16)	Kokar	-	?ipa	mida	va	?ipa	?ipa	va
17)	Karanbai	mida	-	mida	va	?ipa	?ipa	mida
18)	Dulolon	?ipa	?ipa	-	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa	?ipa
19)	Moru	va	va	mida	-	?ipa	?ipa	mida
20)	Batulolon	mida	mida	mida	mida	-	mida	mida/va
21)	Kolana	mida	mida	mida	mida	?ipa	-	mida/va
22)	Ternate	va	?ipa	mida	?ipa	ipa/va	?ipa/va	-

matrix 5

The irregularities in the above charts are partially explained by the usual route which has to be gone: e.g. when going from 16 to 19 one usually goes first to 17 over land, only then crossing the bay to 19. But I cannot explain differences such as 2-13 mida vs. 3-13 ?ipa, or 1...3-25 va vs. 1...8-26 mida, or 18-22 mida vs. 17-22 ?ipa (both directly by prao).

Examples of a):

ne(he) ho?an "immigrant", also ne(he) ('man, people') danan/manan/janan "immigrant from a place to where one has to ?ipa/va/mida", na ?ilan 1) "export matter", 2) "the person or thing (na) which is going" (not mentioned explicitly because name is not remembered, because mentioning is taboo, or because of the wish to establish an atmosphere of intimacy "we know about what we are speaking"); cf. with other verbs (again I did not find examples of monosyllables): janu "woman", omora "to copulate", janu omoran "woman of light morals"; ab "fish", iriri

"to fly", ab iririn "flying fish".

Examples of b):

via ?ipan "the way going down", tundil midan "entrance (for someone outside)", tundil danan "entrance (for someone inside)", tundil heran "exit". In this second meaning, however, the -(na)n forms of the eg-verbs are only used by some older people, the younger generations use the stemforms: via ?ipa, tundil ("door") mida/da/hera. Cf. with other verbs (again no monosyllables): dira "to be ill", hava "house", hava diran "haunted house", tava "to share

rights", jar "water", jar tavan "bourder-water".

iv) Followed by ?a?adan + verb, denoting simultaneous actions: ?ana danan ?a?adan na na "he comes up while eating (na) something (na)"; with other verbs, monosyllables only add -n: ?ana ban ?a?adan ?aru "he falls while calling".

v) Followed by ?oa (occurring independently in the meanings "to climb" and "to follow a road"), forming an adjectival construction, denoting relative position of two or more entities on the same side of something/someone else (usually the speaker) in relation to which they are defined. Cf. the following situations: (1) speaker .a .b; (2) speaker .a .b .c; (3) speaker .a .b .c .d

(1) When a and b are on the same height as speaker, manan ?oa is used for "(the one) relatively near the speaker", vanan ?oa for "(the one) relatively away from the speaker". When they are higher janan ?oa and midan ?oa are used respectively, when lower danan ?oa and ?ipan ?oa. To denote other points of reference than the speaker possessive pronouns are used (see note 10): e manan ?oa "(the one) relatively near you (sg.) at the same height", ?i vanan ?oa "(the one) relatively near them at the same height"; the first person possessive pronouns are used only to distinguish entities in relation to the speaker from the same or other entities in relation to someone/something else: ?e manan ?oa arune ne ?ipan ?oa "(the one) relatively near him at the same height, but relatively away down from me".

(2) Dependent on the pair which is compared primarily, there are two possibilities. I give the forms for the same height only, the other forms are comparable: a: manan ?oa, b: vanan ?oa, c: vavanan ?oa, or a: mamanan ?oa, b: manan ?oa, c: vanan ?oa.

(3) Here there are five possibilities. The forms for the same height are:

- 1) a: manan ?oa, b: vanan ?oa, c: vavanan ?oa, d: vavavanan ?oa;
- 2) a: manan ?oa, b: vanan ?oa, c: vanan ?oa ?e manan ?oa, d: vanan ?oa ?e vanan ?oa;
- 3) a: mamanan ?oa, b: manan ?oa, c: vanan ?oa, d: vavanan ?oa;
- 4) a: mamanan ?oa, b: mamanan ?oa, c: manan ?oa, d: vanan ?oa;
- 5) a: manan ?oa ?e vanan ?oa, b: manan ?oa ?e manan ?oa, c: manan ?oa, d: vanan ?oa.

The -(na)n ?oa forms are also used in constructions expressing "going" and "coming", not straight up, down or level, but rather oblique, and/or passing speaker (and/or hearer) at a distance. However, the different possibilities may only be dealt with after a complete description of the deictics, i.e. in another paper.

vi) In other positions and functions than those discussed above, the forms with the -(na)n suffix are now obsolete, in favour of the suffixless forms, as in the case of

tundil midan/mida etc. Some older people still seem to use them, but they apologize for doing so with the excuse lidasiri "having the tongue of a betel-addict" (cf. Bahasa Indonesia lidah sirih).

Ad 3) Suffixation of -t only occurs after verbs ending in a vowel, and only under special syntactic conditions. The latter will be dealt with in some length in the next paragraph, where also examples will be given. There seem to be two functionally different suffixes -t, the one morphosyntactically obligatory, the other expressing that the action has not been observed directly by the speaker (while absence of -t means the opposite).⁹⁾ The distribution of both suffixes is different for cg-verbs and non-cg-verbs. Anticipating the discussion in the next paragraph, I give a survey in the following matrix (matrix 6).

(Matrix 6, see next page)

3. Syntactic Features

3.1 Apart from syntactic features common to all verbs, such as:

- a) structure of imperative: da "come up", ?ake da "do not come up"
- b) position of subject: niman da "my father comes up", ?ana da "he comes up"
- c) position of adverbs and auxiliaries: toban ?ana da/ ?ana toban da "he comes up tomorrow", ?oma ?ana da/ ?ana ?oma da "he probably comes up", kilan ?ana da/ ?ana kilan da "let him come up", hula ?ana da "in case he comes up", ?ana hula da "he wants to come up", jedun ?ana da "let him continue to come up", ?ana jedun da "he still comes up", botan ?ana da/ ?ana botan da "he comes up again", etc.
- d) structure of negation: ?ana da nian "he does not come up", ?ana da jedun "he does not come up yet"
- e) possible constructions with deictics: ?apo ?ana da "down there, I think, he comes up", ?ana po?e da "down there (invisible for both speaker and hearer) he is coming up", ?ana po da "down there (visible for speaker, hearer irrelevant) he is coming up", ?ana popo da "down there (visible/checkable for speaker and hearer) he is coming up", ?ana popopo da "look, down there he is coming up", ?ana da po "down there, he comes up, I know", ?ana da ?apo "down there he comes up! (warning or reminder)", ?ana da ba ?apo "he indeed comes up down there (visible)", ?ana da ba po?e "he indeed comes up down there (invisible)", etc.
- f) possible constructions with verbal clitics tan, mi, ven: ?ana tan da "he comes up on top of it", ?ana mi da "he comes up 1) in it, 2) for the form", ?ana ven da "he comes up 1) at it, 2) because of it, on the occasion of it, 3) with it (i.e. a means of transport), 4) along it".
- g) reduplication: ?ana da da 1) "he always comes up", 2) "he comes up with difficulties, over a long way, etc.", 3) "he comes up leisurely, without aim"; here, monosyllables are equally stressed, as distinguished from the cases where the first syllable is reduplicated.

	cg-verbs	non-cg-verbs
immediately before "aspect" marker <u>sen</u>	opposition <u>-t</u> vs. \emptyset valid	
immediately before "aspect" marker <u>?ila</u>	(except <u>?ila</u>) as above	(incl. <u>?ila</u>) <u>-t</u>
after 1st component of verbal cluster when 2nd component expresses aim of the 1st or when 1st component expresses manner of the 2nd.	\emptyset	<u>-t</u>
immediately before expression denoting frequency/intensity/amount of action; before <u>a?un</u> "to be able to", <u>?ahala</u> "not to be able to"; after 1st comp. of idiomatic verbal cluster	<u>-t</u>	

matrix 6

- h) multiplication (up to four, five times): ?ana da da da ... 1) "he comes up all the time, time and again", 2) "he comes up with extreme difficulties, on a very long way, all the elements against him, etc." (cf. the remark above for monosyllables).
- i) possible combination with the connectives ba, se, he, e: ?ana ?ila ba na mihi "he goes away, so I stay", ?ana ?ila se na mihi "when he goes away I stay", ?ana ?ila he na mihi "I stay only when he goes away", ?ana ?ila e na mihi "he goes away so I can stay"; there are a number of features which are either A) shared with most or all other verbs but with (some) differences in scope and/or meaning, or B) shared with other verbs of motion only.

- 3.2.1 A) comprises: A1) "aspects" of the verb, A2) possible constructions with the clitic ma (homonym of the cg-verb), A3) constructions with the "possessive" pronoun, A4) contexts in which suffixation of -t occurs, A5) possible combinations with predicative constructions.
B) comprises constructions denoting place, thing or person, from where, to where and along which one moves.

- 3.2.2 A1) The Blagar of Dolap knows 12 different "aspectual" verbal constructions (the Blagar of Ubualaban/Bukalaban (11 on map 2 and 3) only 3).

The term "aspect" here is used in a rather broad sense as will be seen from matrix 7, where a tentative interpretation is given of the different forms. As to the different markers: hen only occurs as aspect marker, ?ila is (homonymous with) the cg-verb "to go", while sen occurs independently in the meaning "to finish".

(Matrix 7, see next page)

As has been said above (par. 2.4) the opposition -t vs. \emptyset is only valid for verbs ending in a vowel, the opposition ?ila vs. -t ?ila only for cg-verbs except ?ila (other verbs ending in a vowel, including ?ila, always add -t ?ila). Any expression in the non-subordinated context which denotes a moment or period (but not a duration) functions as "moment" of orientation (this latter "moment" may range from a second to a century and beyond). If such an expression is lacking, the speech moment functions as moment of orientation.

Past inchoative, past and non-past are defined in relation to the moment of orientation. By using the past

inchoative the speaker expresses that the action has been started, i.e. he does not know if the action has been stopped or completed, or he explicitly denies so; the interpretation is dependent on the context -cf. the following conversations:

- A: melen ?ana naba ?eni "what did he do yesterday" (lit. yesterday he what do)
B: ?ana buk ?anu basat ?ila "he has been reading (basa) that book, i.e. started to read it and maybe finished it" (lit. he book that -near-you read aspect-marker);
and
C: ?ana buk ?anu basat sen ?ila ? "has he finished reading that book?"
D: nian, ?ana basat ?ila "no, he has started to read it"

"finite" means that the action has achieved its logical or predestined conclusion: an object/objects which can be affected partially by the action, is/are affected totally; the actor(s) has/have had their predestined turn; a predestined time has been filled with the action, etc.
"non-finite" denotes that the action has been stopped, without indicating whether it has achieved its logical or predestined conclusion, or not.

For the aim of this article a more lengthy discussion of the Blagar verbal "aspect" is less to the point. On another occasion I hope to deal with it in some more detail.

A2) ma in the meaning "with (the aid of) something which can be held" is regularly used as a postposition after constructions denoting "what is given, sent or added"; it corresponds with English "with" in "to present with", "to peit with", "to cover with" etc. When the thing - (with) - which is not mentioned in the immediately preceding context, ma is used anaphorically (just as ven, tan and mi - cf. par. 3.1 above) in the meaning "(with) it". Cf. ma ven "to add it to it", A ma ven "to add A to it", A ma B ven "to add A to B", ma tan "to add it onto it" etc., ma mi "to add it into it, to fill it with it" etc.

Exclusively with cg-verbs, ma, directly preceding the verb, can also mean "a bit":

- ?ana ma hera 1) "he descends with it (e.g. a stick)"
2) "he descends a bit", and homonymously:

			Directly observed	indirectly observed	approximate translation
at moment of orientation	past inchoative		<u>?ila</u>	<u>-t ?ila</u>	to have started to ...
	past	finite	<u>sen</u> <u>?ila</u>	<u>-t sen</u> <u>?ila</u>	to have finished/completed ...
		non-finite	<u>sen</u>	<u>-t sen</u>	to have stopped ...
	non-past		Ø		to (be going to) ...
	at moment following moment of orientation	past inchoative		<u>hen</u>	
past		finite	<u>sen</u> <u>?ila</u> <u>hen</u>	<u>-t sen</u> <u>?ila</u> <u>hen</u>	nearly } having completed ... having stopped ...
		non-finite	<u>sen</u> <u>hen</u>	<u>-t sen</u> <u>hen</u>	

matrix 7

- 3) "he comes (same height) to descend"
- 4) "he comes and descends (without interruption)",
- 5) "when he comes, he descends (without interruption)"/"when he comes, descend !"

still all the time; a bit (kabindera) more (ma ven) and I have passed him going up"
dol ?ana bolclut ?amara, na ?e mida ?ete?in nian
 "this (?ana) mountain (dol) [is] very (?amara) high (bololu), I do not know-how -to (?ete?in) climb it"

A3) Constructions with the "possessive" pronoun cover a wide range of meanings. The examples below are for the third person singular (morpheme ?e, translation "his, him" for the sake of simplicity):¹⁰⁾

- mida ?e "it is a consequence of going up" (lit. going up has it)
?e mida 1) "his going up"
 2) "his is/are going up"
 3) "the one(s) out of a group who is/are going up"
 4) "let him go up"
 5) "to go up in search for him, to go up to get him"
 6) "to go up with respect to him, to pass him going up"
 7) "the way to go upon it"

and in sentences:

- ia dira ?anu mida ?e "that your (sg.) legs ache is a consequence of going up" (lit. your-leg(s) ill that-near-you go-up his)
hur ?e mida ?e hera "speech-intonation" (lit. language/speech/word its going-up its descending)
dar ?e mida ?e hera "melody of a song (dar)"
ni ?ibib bihi, ne mida ?e ?ipa "our (excl.) goats (?ibib) run-away, mine go up, his go down"
?ana mihit ?e?ea ba ?ana ?e mida "he does-not-want-to (?e?ea) stay (mihit), so (ba) let him go up"
?ana janu ?ado ven jali ba ?ana ?e mida "he (?ana) wants (ven jali) the-woman (janu) up-there (?ado) so (ba) he goes up to get her"
?ibib toan bihi; na ?e mida pina "a lot of goats ran away; I seized (pina) the one(s) which was/were going up"
?ana lamal tahi tahi; kabindera ma ven se na ?e mida "he walks (lamal) standing (tahi)

The meanings 1), 2), 3) and 4) given above for ?e mida are similar to the meanings of a combination of ?e with any verb. The meaning "in search for" is found also with verbs meaning "to call", which require the "possessive" pronominal forms to express whom is called, instead of the regular object forms ?ain "him/her/it" etc. ?e ?aru "to call him/her/it"; the same meaning is also found with other verbs of motion, such as lamal "to walk", tara "to swim", iriri "to fly", bihi "to run" etc.

The fifth meaning, "with respect to", is found also with verbs meaning "to hide", and with verbs expressing a kind of feeling or attitude: te tamajan "to hide oneself from each other", ne ?amajan "to hide him from me", ?e ?ili?il "to be angry with him", te a?un "to be good to each other".

I am not sure about the scope of the seventh meaning; it is found e.g. in dari ?e lamal "the steps of a dance" (dari "to dance lego-lego").

A4) The suffix -t (cf. matrix 6 above) is obligatory for all verbs ending in a vowel, immediately before constructions expressing intensity/amount or frequency of action, and immediately before a?un "to be able to, to be good at" and ?ahala "not to be able to":

- ?ana midat kabindera "he goes up a bit"
?ana midat mi nu "he goes up once" (lit. mi nu "time one")
?ana midat ma ven "he goes up more often, he goes up further (after an interruption or directly)" (lit. he adds going-up to it)
?ana midat a?un "he is able to go up, he is good at going up"
?ana midat ?ahala "he is unable to go up"; but in the meanings "good" and "false" a?un and ?ahala do not require -t:
?ana mida a?un
 1) "he goes up well, comfortably"
 2) "when he goes up, all right" (i.e. the going up or something else is all right)
?ana mida ?ahala 1) "he goes up in an impossible

way, wrongly"

- 2) "when he goes up, impossible"
(cf. remark above).

As has been shown above, the opposition -t vs. \emptyset (indirect vs. direct observation) is valid for all verbs directly before the aspect-marker sen, while for cg-verbs (except for ?ila) the opposition is also valid directly before the aspect-marker ?ila.

For cg-verbs followed by a predicate as compared to other verbs in the same contexts, and the possibility to add -t in these cases, see A5) below.

Finally it should be remarked here, that -t regularly is added in constructions of an idiomatic character: e.g. tia midat hera "to sleep (tia) not horizontally", ?ipat mida "to be protracted from below me to above me", vat va "to be protracted from one side of me to the other side (on the same level)", vat ma "to be protracted at one side of me (level)" etc.

A5) Other than cg-verbs cannot be followed by a predicate containing a deictic verb:

- ?ana mida do?e 1) "he went up and is up there now"
2) "he goes up to be up there"
(both visible for speaker and hearer)
?ana mida dodo 1) "he went up and is up there now"
2) "he went up to be up there"
(both visible/can be checked by hearer)
?ana mida do?e mihi 1) "he went up and is sitting/
staying up there now"
2) "he goes up to sit/stay up
there"
(both invisible for speaker and hearer).

The first predicate in these and similar constructions cannot be followed by aspect-markers.

Constructions of cg-verbs followed by other predicates cover a wider range of meanings; they indicate:

- a) an enumeration of simultaneous or immediately consecutive actions (the second following the first),
b) that the first action is the temporal condition for the second (the second predicate may be an imperative or have the same subject as the first one),
c) the second action is the aim of the first one,
d) the first action denotes the manner in which/circumstances under which the second action is performed.

Whereas non-cg-verbs ending in a vowel always add -t in the cases c) and d), the cg-verbs never do:

- ?ana mihi basa a) "he stays and reads, he sits
(down) and reads"
b) "when he stays/sits (down), he
reads; as soon as he sits, he
reads; when he stays/sits (down),
read!; as soon as he stays/sits
(down), read!"
?ana mihit basa c) "he stays/sits (down) in order to
read"
d) "he reads while staying/sitting
(down)"
?ana mida basa a) "he goes up and reads"
b) "when/as soon as he goes up,
read!/he reads"
c) "he goes up in order to read"

- d) "he reads while going up".

In these cases the first predicate can be followed by an aspect-marker:

- ?ana midat sen basa a) "he has stopped going up
and is reading"
b) "when/as soon as he has stopped
going up, read!/he reads"
c) "he has stopped going up in order
to read"
d) "he reads after having stopped
going up"
(that he has stopped going up has
been indirectly observed).

Comparable with the above constructions with translation b) are the constructions predicate-subject-predicate, e.g.: mida ?ana basa 1) "when/as soon as there is going up activity (by me/you/himself etc.), he reads"
2) "go up, he is reading"

Because of the possibility of translation c) in the above constructions, it will be clear that the verbs of motion far more frequently occur with a following predicate than other verbs. Cf. some regular combinations of cg-predicates (I give their most common translations):

- ?ana mida hera "he goes up and down, he goes in
and out (of a house e.g.)"
?ana ?ipa ?ila "he goes down to a place to where
one has to ?ipa (cf. matrix 4 and 5)
and goes further from there"
?ana ma va "he goes to and from"¹¹⁾
cf. also:
banij "to carry" banij ja/ma/da "to bring
banij ho?a "to bring" down/level/up"
banij ?ila "to carry away" banij ?ipa/va/mida "to
carry away down/
level/up"

B) Discussing constructions which denote to/onto/into/from where, along which etc., one may distinguish pronominal and other constructions. The former comprise a number of special pronominal (?) forms (I give again the form for the third person singular):¹²⁾

- ?adan or ?an "dropping in at his place" [henceforth:
?ebele 1) "into his direction" at his p.]
2) "because of him"
3) "in order to get him (and bring/take him
back)" - because of this latter addition
distinguished from the "possessive" pro-
nominal ?e (cf. par. 3.2.2 A3)
?abun 1) "near him" (rest or movement, and by
consequence also used with other verbs)
2) "closely passing him"

The positions of these forms in the sentence are variable:

- ?ana ?adan mida 1) "he drops in at his p. and goes up"
2) "when/as soon as he drops in at
his, go up!"

- 3) "he drops in at his p. in order to go up"
- 4) "he goes up while dropping in at his p."

?ana ?an mida "he goes up dropping in at his p."
?ana mida ?adan 1) "he goes up and drops in at his p."
 2) "when/as soon as he goes up, drop in at his p. !/he drops in at his p."
 3) "he goes up in order to drop in at his p."
 4) "he drops in at his p, while going up"

*?ana mida ?an, *?an ?ana mida
?adan ?ana mida 1) "when there is "dropping-in-at-his p. - activity, he goes up"
 2) "drop in at his p., he is going up"

?ebele ?ana da "because of him he comes up"
?ana ?ebele da 1) "he comes up in his direction"
 2) "he comes up because of him"
 3) "he comes up to get him and take him back with him"

?ana da ?ebele "he comes up because of him"
?abun ?ana ho?a 1) "when/as soon as there is "near-him" - activity, he comes" (he = or ≠ him)
 2) "be near him, he is coming"

- 3) "closely passing him he comes"
- 4) "from near him he comes"

?ana ?abun ho?a 1) "he comes from near him"
 2) "when/as soon as he is near him, come!/he comes"
 3) "he is near him in order to come"
 4) "he comes while being near him"
 5) "he comes while passing him closely"

?ana ho?a ?abun 1) "he comes and is near him"
 2) "when/as soon as he comes, be near him!/he is near him"
 3) "he comes up to be near him"
 4) "he is near him while coming"

The other, non-pronominal constructions contain one or more of the verbal clitics mi "in(to) it, to be in it", tan "on(to) it, to be on it", ven 1) "via it", 2) "with it (a means of transport)", often also the clitic ba, which apart from meaning "so" or functioning as a particle which emphasizes the preceding word also is used in constructions meaning "from".

Examples:

K mi ?ana ?ila 1) "when/as soon as there is "being-in-K" - activity, he goes"
 2) "from K he goes"

?ana K mi ?ila 1) "he is in K and goes"
 2) "when/as soon as he is in K, go!/he goes"
 3) "he goes to K"
 4) "he goes from K"

?ana K mit ?ila 1) "he is in K in order to go"
 2) "he goes while being in K", and with aspectual ?ila
 3) "he has started to be in K"

?ana ?ila K mi 1) "he goes to be in K"
 2) "he is in K while going"

K mi ba ?ana ?ila 1) "there is "being-in-K" - activity,

so he goes"

- 2) "from K it is that he goes"

?ana K mi ba ?ila 1) "he is in K, so go!"

- 2) "it is from K that he goes"

K mi ?ana L mi ?ila 1) "when there is "being-in-K" - activity, he goes to L/from L"

- 2) "from K he goes to L"

?ana K mi L mi ?ila 1) "he is in K and goes to L"
 2) "when he is in K, go to L/he goes to L/go from L"
 3) "he goes from K to L"

K mi ba ?ana L mi ?ila

- 1) "there is "being-in-K" - activity, so he is in L and goes"

- 2) "there is "being-in-K" - activity, so he goes to L/from L"

- 3) "from K it is that he goes to L"

?ana K mi ba L mi ?ila

- 1) "he is in K so go to L/from L"

- 2) "it is from K that he goes to L"

kuda tan ?ana hera 1) "when/as soon as there is "being-on-a-horse" - activity, he descends"
 2) "from the horse he descends"

?ana kuda tan hera 1) "he is on a horse and descends"

- 2) "when/as soon as he is on a horse, descend!/he descends"

- 3) "he is on a horse to descend"

- 4) "he descends on horse back"

- 5) "he descends onto the horse"

- 6) "he descends from the horse"

?ana hera kuda tan 1) "he descends and is on a horse"

- 2) "when he descends, he is on a horse"

- 3) "he descends to be on the horse"

- 4) "he is on a horse while descending"

kuda tan ba ?ana hera

- 1) "there is "being-on-a-horse" - activity, so he descends"

- 2) "from the horse it is that he descends"

?ana kuda tan ba hera

- 1) "he is on a horse, so descend!"

- 2) "it is from the horse that he descends"

?ana je ven ho?a 1) "he is using a prow and comes"
 2) "when he is using a prow, come!/he comes"

- 3) "he uses a prow in order to come"
- 4) "he comes by prow"

je ven ?ana ho?a 1) "when there is "being-on-a-prow" - activity he comes"
 2) "by prow he comes"

?ana ho?a je ven 1) "he comes to use a prow"

- 2) "he is using a prow while coming"

?ana via ?anu ven ho?a

- 1) "he follows that road (via) and comes"

- 2) "when/as soon as he follows that road, come!/he comes"

- 3) "he follows that road in order

- to come"
- 4) "he comes along that road"

etc. etc.

?ana L mi R ven D mi ?ila "he goes from L via R to D" etc. etc.

L mi ?ana R ven D mi ?ila

- 1) "when there is "being-in-L" - activity, he goes via R to D"

- 2) "from L he goes via R to D"

je ven ?ana L mi R ven D mi ?ila "by prow he goes from L via R to D" etc.

?ana je ven L mi R ven D mi ?ila

- 1) "he is using a prow and goes from L via R to D"

- 2) "he went by prow to L and goes from there (e.g. on foot) via R to D" etc.

?ana L mi je ven R ven D mi ?ila "he goes from L to R by prow and from there (e.g. on foot) to D" etc.

?ana L mi R ven je ven D mi ?ila "he goes from L to R and from there by prow to D" etc.

?ana L mi R ven D mi je ven ?ila "he goes from L via R to D and from there by prow etc.

?ana L mi R ven D mi ?ila je ven "he is using a prow going from L via R to D" etc. etc.

3.3 Finally I mention some regular constructions in which cg-verbs occur, used in a meaning (slightly) different from the meanings discussed so far. The main ones are:

- 1) adhortative imperatives with preceding ma:

ma mihi "come on, sit down/stay";

- 2) imperatives expressing impatience, with following ?ila; non-cg-verbs add -t when ending in a vowel, cg-verbs do not:

mida ?ila "be moving going up"

basat ?ila "be reading" (cf. the aspectual use of ?ila);

- 3) reduplicated aspectual ?ila forms, also expressing impatience, but in this case impatience of the actor; for cg-verbs again the -t vs \emptyset opposition is valid:

?ana mida(t) ?ila mida(t) ?ila "he goes up in a hurry"

?ana basat ?ila basat ?ila "he reads in a hurry"

- 4) verbs followed by ?ila ho?a expressing that the action is started, whether or not finished and at least once is started over again; the -t vs. \emptyset opposition is valid for the cg-verbs, other verbs ending in a vowel always add -t:

?ana mida ?ila ho?a "he goes up/starts to go up repeatedly" (directly observed)

?ana buk ?anu basat ?ila ho?a "he repeatedly reads/starts to read that book",

and with reduplicated ?ila ho?a:

?ana buk ?anu basat ?ila ho?a ?ila ho?a "he reads/starts to read that book over and over again"

- 5) ?ila between two verbal constructions also can have the meaning "until; ?ila ?ila in the same context can have the meaning "on and on until" (again the \emptyset vs -t opposition is valid only for cg-verbs; non-cg-verbs ending in a vowel always add -t):

?ana mida ?ila do?e "he goes up (directly observed) until being up there"

?ana midat ?ila ?ila dodo "we went up on and on (indirectly observed) until being up there (visible)"

?ana basat ?ila ved ba "he read(s) until sunset" (ved "sun", ba "to fall")

Notes

1) I am grateful to W. A. L. Stokhof and C. L. Voorhoeve for their valuable remarks and to the Netherlands' Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research, which made the study of Blagar possible, but above all I am grateful to my informant Heindrik D. R. Gomang without those enthusiasm and perseverance this paper would have become merely a word-list.

2) Cf. W. A. L. Stokhof, "Preliminary Notes on Alor and Pantar Languages", Pacific Linguistics B 43.

3) The weakness of this kind of definition is that linguistic mental processes are difficult to prove. Other definitions stressing the point of departure for "to go" may be equally possible.

4) I shall deal with the latter possibility in another paper, especially on deictics and their many morphological, syntactical and semantic aspects. They may express e.g. previous knowledge of the speaker, his relative degree of certainty, warning, assurance, checkability by the hearer etc. Also the cg-verbs used in a temporal meaning can only be discussed after a more complete description of the deictics.

5) The two possibilities are caused by the fact that 2) and 6) lie on opposite sides of the island, one can go clockwise around the island from the one to the other or the other way around.

6) The two possibilities here are caused by the fact that the old Mala'al lies on approximately the same height as Reta, whereas the new Mala'al is built at the shore.

7) The latter use can be explained by the fact that the old types of houses were raised on poles; these houses are still found in the eastern part of the island in some quantity.

8) A similar morphemic relation is the pair be and benan, respectively, the asking-consent marker (always sentence-finally and with question intonation) and the definite article for indirectly known phenomena.

9) i.e. in declarative sentences; in questions the absence of -t means 1) that the speaker has directly observed one or more symptoms of the action but not the action itself, or 2) that the speaker asks if the action has been directly observed by the hearer:

?ana mida ?ila 1) "has he gone up (that he is not here)"

2) "have you seen him going up"

The opposition direct vs. indirect knowledge reappears at other levels of the language, cf. hava "house(s)", hava benan "the (mentioned) house(s)" - see note 8 - and hava vala "the (directly observed) house(s)". In Dolap, however, vala in this meaning is now practically obsolete. But in the dialect of Ubulaban/Bukalaban the opposition (venan vs. ala) is still valid.

10) For both the personal and possessive pronominal constructions the following opposition is relevant: the person(s) is/are seen as member(s) of a larger group (B) vs. not so (A). I distinguish the following functionally and mor-

phologically different constructions:

I) subject, II) object of first verbal class, III) possessive of alienable nouns/object of second verbal class, IV) possessive of inalienable nouns, V) object of third verbal class.

(See chart below)

In all instances the dual morphemes may add the suffix -ve: pole(ve), nole(ve) etc. I have not been able to find a semantic difference.

11) Quite regular are sentences such as ?ana da mida ja, said of someone who comes from Kupang (24 on map 1) and who, passing Pura, goes to Kalabahi (17 on map

2 and 3) to come from there to Pura (lit. "he comes up goes up comes down").

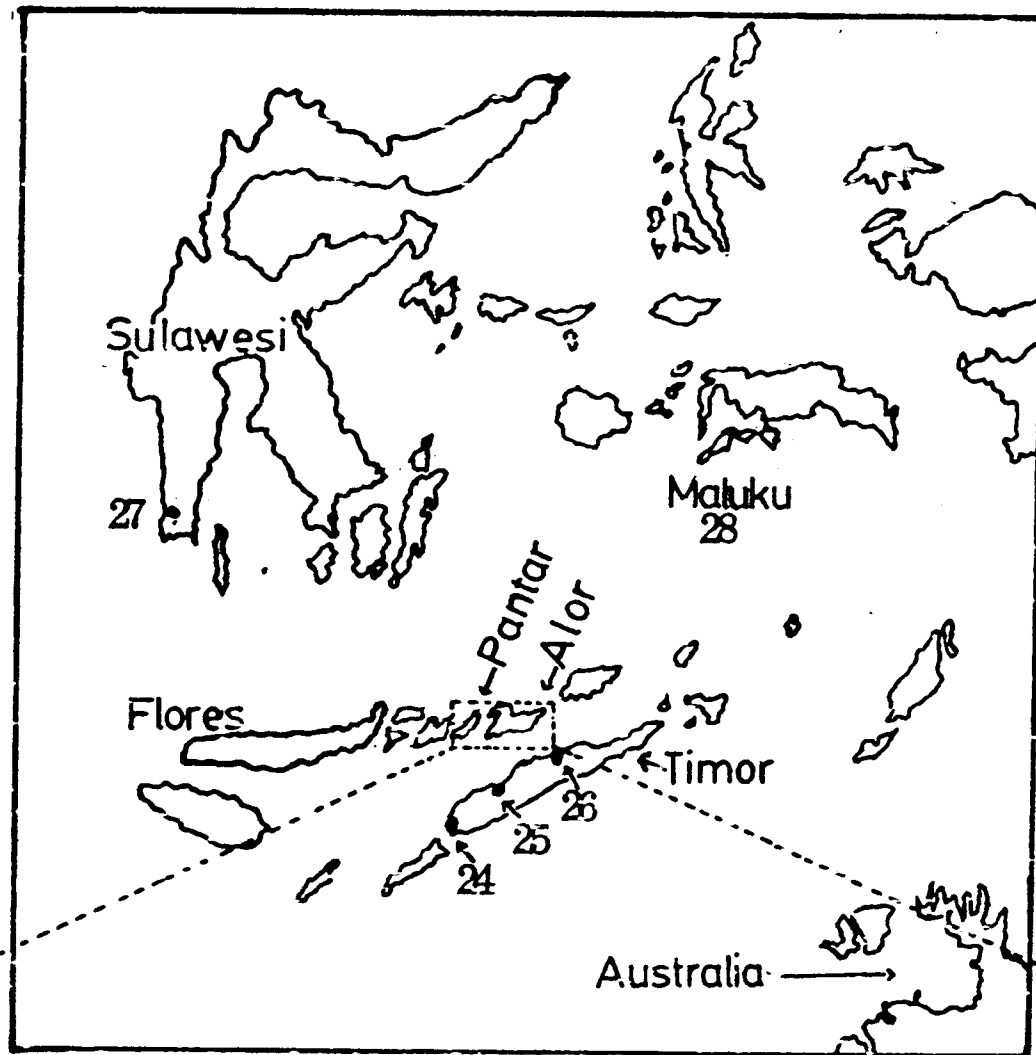
12) The complete forms - variant A (cf. note 10) - are:

sg. 1 nan nadan nebele nabun pi. 1 incl. pin } + ?an,
2 an adan ebele abun excl. ni } + ?adan,
3 ?an ?adan ?ebele ?abun 2 in } + ?ebele,
reciproc. tan tadan tebele tabun 3 ?in } + ?abun

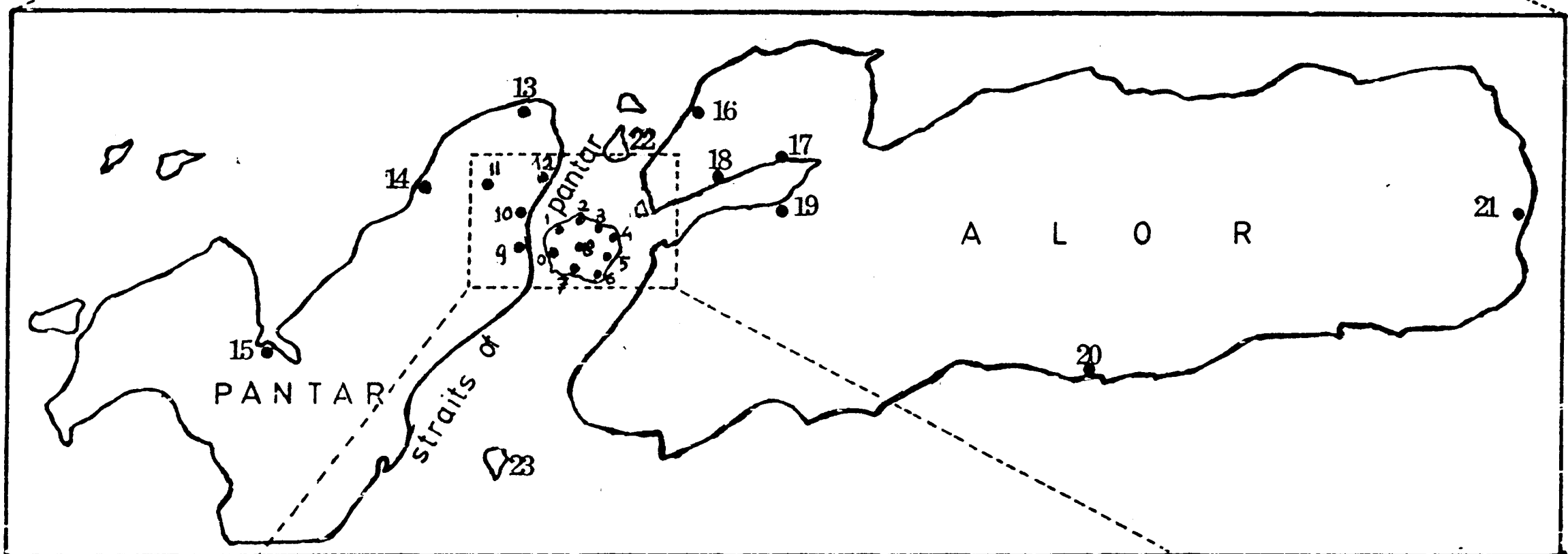
The dual forms - variant A - and all variant B forms are also formed according to column V (note 10), for which reason the forms given here have to be considered primarily verbal forms rather than pronominal ones.

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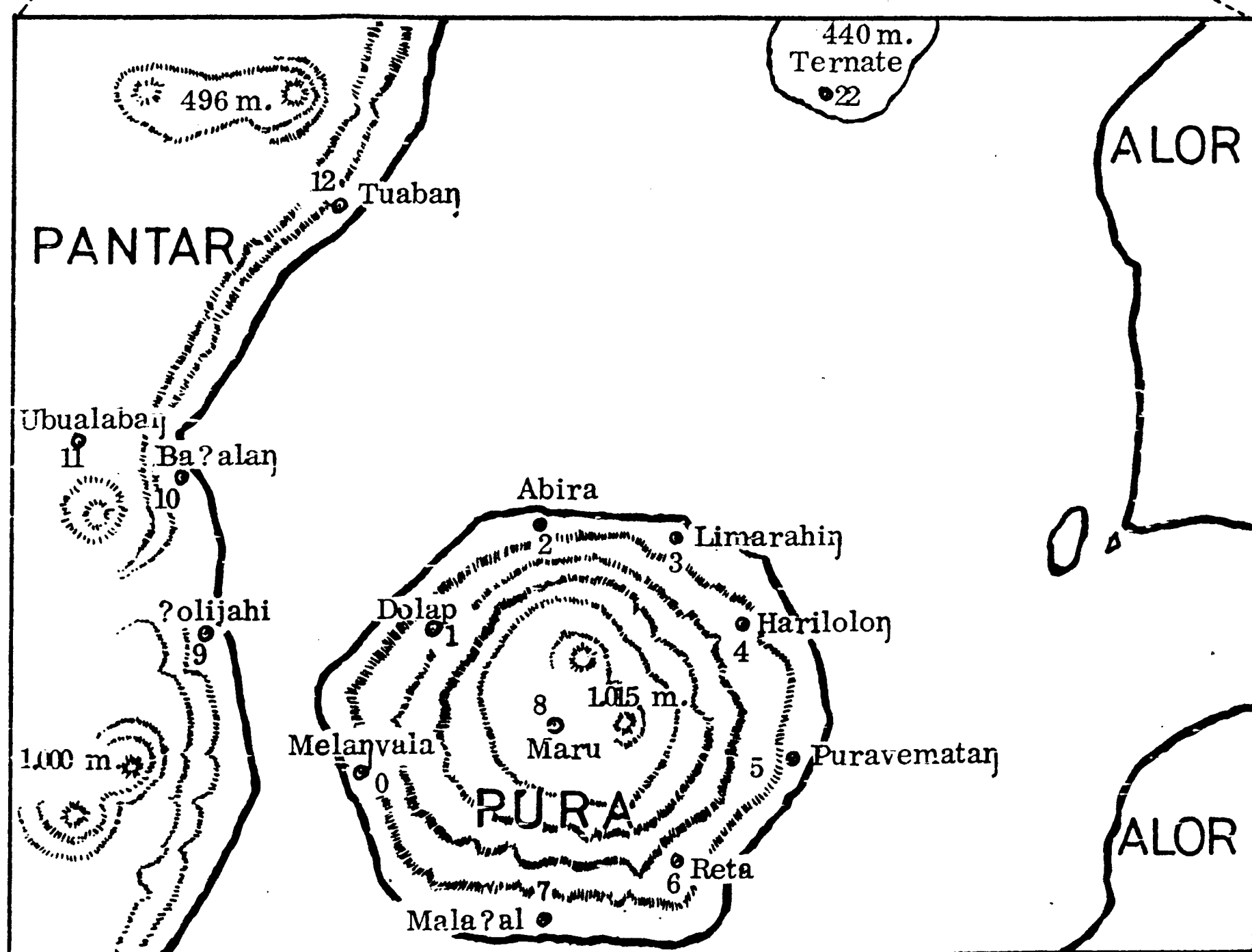
			I	II		III		IV		V			
A	sing.	1	na	nain		ne		n-		n-			
		2	ana	ain		e		Ø		Ø			
		3	?ana	?ain		?e		?-		?-			
	plur. (i.e. 2 or > 2)	1 incl.	pi	pin		pi		pi-		pin ?-			
		excl.	ni	nin		ni		ni-		nin ?-			
		2	ini	in		i		i-		in ?-			
	dual	3	?ini	?in		?i		?i-		?in ?-			
		1 incl.	pole	pole	pin	pole	pi	pole	pi-	pole	pin	?-	
		excl.	nole	nole	nin	nole	ni	nole	ni-	nole	nin	?-	
		2	ole	ole	in	cle	i	ole	i-	ole	in	?-	
3		?ole	?ole	?in	?ole	?i	?ole	?i-	?ole	?in	?-		
B	sing.	1	nain	nain	nain	nain	ne	nain	n-	nain	n-		
		2	ain	ain	ain	ain	e	ain	Ø	ain	Ø		
		3	?ain	?ain	?ain	?ain	?e	?ain	?-	?ain	?-		
	plur.	1 incl.	pin	pin	pin	pin	pi	t-	(!)	pin	ni	?-	
		excl.	nin	nin	nin	nin	ni	nin	ni	nin	nin	?-	
		2	in	in	in	in	i	in	i	in	in	?-	
	dual	3	?in	?in	?in	?in	?i	?in	?i	?in	?in	?-	
		1 incl.	pole pin	pole pin	pin	pole pin	pi	pole	t-	(!)	pole	t-	(!)
		excl.	nole nin	nole nin	nin	nole nin	ni	nole	nin	ni-	nole	nin	nin ?-
		2	ole in	ole in	in	ole in	i	ole	in	i-	ole	in	in ?-
3		?ole ?in	?ole ?in	?in	?ole ?in	?i	?ole	?in	?i-	?ole	?in	?in ?-	
reciprocal			—		tain		te		t-		t-		



Map 1



Map 2



Map 3 (scale 1:100,000)