

DEMONSTRATIVES IN THE BLAGAR LANGUAGE OF DOLAP (PURA, ALOR, INDONESIA)

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Bahasa Blagar yang merupakan bahasa ibu beberapa ribu orang di pulau Pura, pulau Tereweng serta pesisir timur pulau Pantar (kab. Alor, NTT) termasuk bahasa 'non-Austronesia' dan ditandai oleh sistem deiktis yang cukup ruwet. Lima morfem demonstratif (D) muncul dalam sembilan perangkat kata (D dan D+afiks), yang sebagian besarnya berpasangan dengan bentuk yang D-nya diulang satu atau dua kali (D-D, D-D+afiks, D-D-D, D-D-D+afiks). Kata demonstratif yang sama dapat menempati lebih dari satu gatra sintaktis; dengan demikian bahasa Blagar membedakan berbagai jenis modalitas. Tafsiran tentang tempat yang diacu oleh kelima morfem demonstratif tersebut tergantung 1) dari tempat pembicara dan lawan bicara berada pada saat berbicara, dan 2) dari 'ruang' acuan pada saat itu, yang jumlah jenisnya lima. Sebuah teks mencontohi pemakaian kata demonstratif dalam perspektif (pembicara) yang selalu berubah.

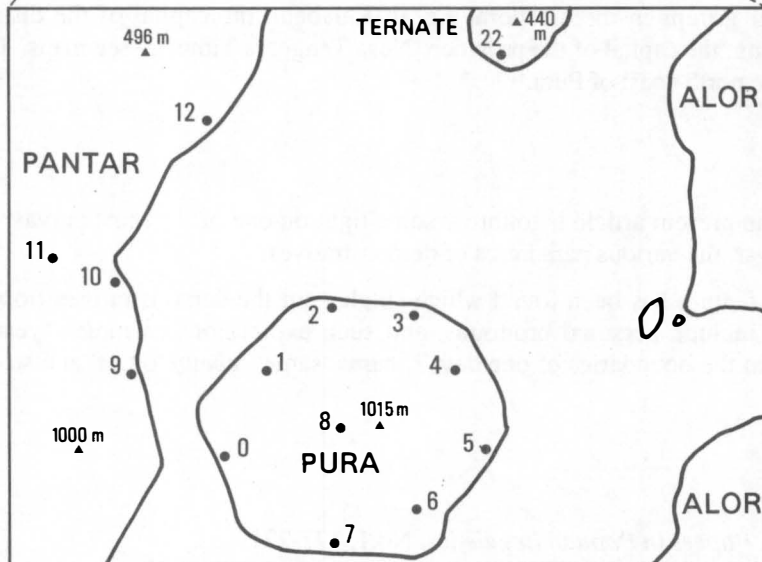
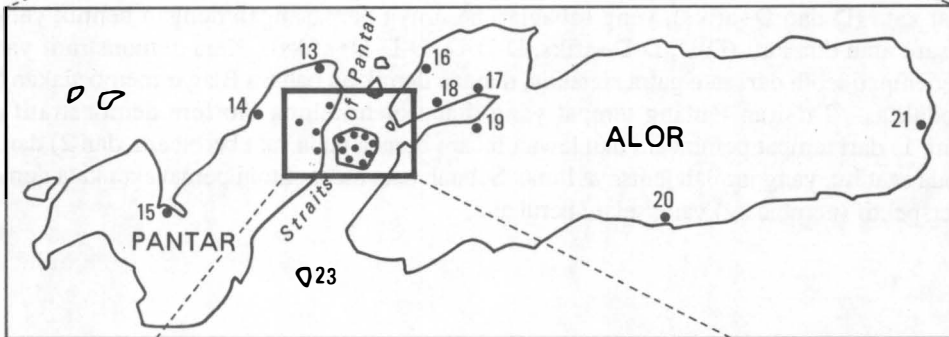
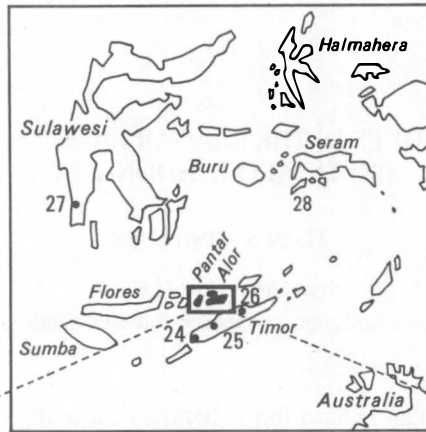
1.1

Blagar is the language of some 10,000 people, living in the majority of the villages of the island of Pura, on the north-east coast of the island of Pantar opposite, on the island of Tereweng and in smaller or larger groups in the diaspora, e.g. in Kalabahi, the capital of the district (*kabupaten* Alor), and Kupang, the capital of the province (Nusa Tenggara Timur) – see maps. Dolap is a cluster of villages on the north coast of Pura.¹

1.2

The aim of the present article is to throw some light on one of the most pervasive aspects of the structure of Blagar, the various paradigms of demonstratives.

No semantic feature has been found which singles out the demonstratives from the total set of deictics, which include personal pronouns, and such expressions as *melej* 'yesterday', *vede* 'a while ago (within the boundaries of one day)',² *hama* 'same', *ebeuj* 'other' and so on.



KEY TO MAPS

0.	Melaŋvala	15.	Baranusa
1.	Dolap	16.	Kokar
2.	Abira	17.	Karaŋbai (Kalabahi)
3.	Limarahiŋ	18.	Duloloŋ
4.	Hariloloŋ	19.	Moru
5.	Puravemataŋ	20.	Batuloloŋ
6.	Reta	21.	Kolana
7.	Malaʔal	22.	Ternate
8.	Maru	23.	Teβeraŋ (Tereweng)
9.	ʔolijahi	24.	Kupaŋ
10.	Baʔalaŋ	25.	Ukusi (OEkusi)
11.	Ubualabaŋ	26.	Parasa (Dili)
12.	Tuabaŋ	27.	Makasar
13.	Muna	28.	Maluku (Central Moluccas)
14.	ʔabir (Kabir)		

In Blagar demonstratives are distinguished grammatically from other deictics by a recurrent set of morphological oppositions. In the discussion below the recurrent formal elements of these oppositions will be referred to as 'demonstrative morphs'.

The wealth of demonstratives enables Blagar speakers to view a referent from quite different angles. Exploitation of this capacity of the language results in very expressive and vivid pictures of reality.

The present article should be seen as a first inventory of demonstrative deictics in Blagar. As such it is based on morphologically defined oppositions, which means that the semantic analyses can only be of a preliminary nature. The Blagar demonstratives are not grammatically isolated phenomena, but they are intimately interwoven with and directly opposed to other aspects of the grammar, some of which are as yet insufficiently understood and which cannot be dealt with here more than superficially, in any case.³

1.3

Short surveys will be given below of phonology and spelling and of the series of demonstratives. These will subsequently be discussed in general and each of them in detail. Finally a short text will be added with translation and annotations to demonstrate the function of the demonstratives in running prose.

2.1

The phonemes of Blagar are /a, e, i, o, u, b, p, m, d, t, n, g, k, ŋ, s, h, v, r, l, j, ʔ, β/.

/ŋ/ followed by a labial or dental stop tends to undergo assimilation with that stop as regards the point of articulation.

/j/ is a voiced alveopalatal fricative in the pronunciation of some older people, and a voiced alveopalatal affricate with only slight friction in the pronunciation of most speakers.

/ʔ/ is phonemic in most contexts, but frequently alternates with its absence between dissimilar vowels: *buʔaŋ*, *buaŋ* 'to treat (guests)' in contrast to *buaŋ* (**buʔaŋ*) 'to guard'.

/β/ is a voiced bilabial implosive stop.

The other phonemes present no difficulties; their symbols have the expected phonetic values.

Stress is non-phonemic and always on the penultimate vowel/syllable of the phonological word (i.e. word + enclitics if any).

2.2

The vast majority of the examples below are taken from tape-recorded Dolap stories. The spelling used in the examples and in the text at the end of this article is phonemic, with addition of punctuation and hyphens to mark morpheme boundaries within the word. In the interlinear glosses,⁴ which are often of a tentative nature, spaces correspond with spaces, hyphens mark Blagar morpheme boundaries and full stops unite two or more words corresponding with one Blagar morpheme. In the free translations categorial choices which are obligatory for English but nonexistent or quite dissimilar for Blagar (such as the choice between singular and plural, or present and past) will be made as much as possible in accordance with the context. On the other hand the translations aim to give an idea of what the Blagar constructions syntactically express, which necessarily results in often rather clumsy English constructions.

References to examples will be made by their number and references to sentences in the text and/or to commentary on these sentences by the relevant number preceded by a capital T.

3.1

The subsets of demonstratives which show the formal oppositions are set out in Chart 1.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1.	<i>ʔalaŋ</i>	<i>ʔavaŋ</i>	<i>ʔahukaŋ</i>	<i>ʔanaŋa</i>	<i>ʔaʔe</i>	<i>ʔa</i>	<i>ʔaʔa</i>	<i>ʔaŋa</i>	<i>ʔaveŋ</i>
2.	<i>ʔulaŋ</i>	<i>ʔuvaŋ</i>	<i>ʔuhukaŋ</i>	<i>ʔanaŋu</i>	<i>ʔuʔe</i>	<i>ʔu</i>	<i>ʔuʔu</i>	<i>ʔaŋu</i>	-
3.	<i>po-laŋ</i>	<i>po-vaŋ</i>	<i>po-hukaŋ</i>	<i>ʔana-po</i>	<i>poʔe</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po-po</i>	<i>ʔa-po</i>	<i>po-veŋ</i>
4.	<i>mo-laŋ</i>	<i>mo-vaŋ</i>	<i>mo-hukaŋ</i>	<i>ʔana-mo</i>	<i>moʔe</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo-mo</i>	<i>ʔa-mo</i>	<i>mo-veŋ</i>
5.	<i>do-laŋ</i>	<i>do-vaŋ</i>	<i>do-hukaŋ</i>	<i>ʔana-do</i>	<i>doʔe</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do-do</i>	<i>ʔa-do</i>	<i>do-veŋ</i>

CHART 1

Alongside *ʔahukaŋ* etc. (series C of Chart 1), *ʔahuβaŋ* etc. occur. The forms of the series D and H, rows 2-5, also possess alternative forms: *ʔanaʊŋ*, *ʔanaŋpo*, *ʔanaŋmo*, *ʔanaŋdo*; *ʔaʊŋ*, *ʔaŋpo*, *ʔaŋmo*, *ʔaŋdo*. Especially *ʔaʊŋ* is frequent. I have not found any functional difference between these alternative forms. Both variants may be used by the same speaker, but there are clear individual preferences for the one or the other; those who use *ʔaʊŋ* at all tend to prefer it before clitics. The preference for *ʔanaʊŋ* instead of *ʔanaŋu* is more general than that for *ʔaʊŋ* instead of *ʔaŋu*. Speakers who tend to use the last form do not necessarily prefer *ʔanaŋu*; those who usually apply *ʔaʊŋ* hardly ever use *ʔanaŋu*.

There is another variant for *ʔanaʊŋ* and *ʔanaŋu*, and that is *naʊŋ*. It is preferred by all speakers in vocative constructions, from where it spread with ideolectal variation to other syntactic positions (see also note 6).

3.2

The oppositions between the forms of each column show a clear parallelism with (1) the personal pronouns and (2) the verbs of 'going' and 'coming'.

The appropriate referents of the personal pronominal forms can only be defined with reference to THE speech-event. THE can be roughly translated as 'being in the forefront of the frame of reference' (cf. Ebeling 1979:14, and for a formalised semantic description pp.165-166); a direct quotation brings a speech-event other than the actual one into the forefront of the actual frame of reference.

The forms of the first row, i.e. the forms containing the formal element /ʔa/ (or /a/ in series D and H), correlate with the semantic particle 'close to THE speaker'. Those of the second row, i.e. those with the formal element /ʔu/ (or /u/ in series D and H), correlate with the semantic particle 'close to THE hearer'. The forms of the other rows correlate with the semantic particle 'close neither to THE speaker nor THE hearer'.

The parallelism with the verbs of 'going' and 'coming' is a marked characteristic of Blagar and other Alorese languages (cf. Kamengmai and Stokhof 1978 and Stokhof 1987). It holds in particular for the forms of the third to fifth rows of Chart 1.

As with these verbs, the exact interpretation of each of these demonstratives is highly dependent on the spatial frame of reference. I recall matrixes 3, 4 and 5 of Steinhauer 1977:39-40, which illustrate these different spatial frames of reference, and the interpretations the lexemes for 'going' and 'coming' acquire when used in either of these frames. It seems to be impossible to formulate a general meaning for each of these verbs, such that the interpretations given in these matrixes follow from this general meaning and the spatial frame of reference which is valid for the (part of the) utterance in which the verb in question occurs. Yet, in view of the complementary distribution of these interpretations over the various spatial frames of reference, I consider them to have just one meaning. I will refer to these hypothetical meanings by means of one of the more frequent interpretations, i.e. the interpretation of the so-called subsystem 3 of matrix 3:

<i>?ipa</i>	go down	<i>ja</i>	come down
<i>va</i>	go level	<i>ma</i>	come level
<i>mida</i>	go up	<i>da</i>	come up

The differences between the demonstratives of rows 3-5 can only be explained with reference to a point of orientation. The resulting spatial interpretations are illustrated in Chart 2 below.

As appears from Chart 2 the third row demonstratives of Chart 1 point to a place to which one has to 'go down' from THE orientation point, those of the fourth row to a place to which one has to 'go level' and those of the fifth row to a place to which one has to 'go up'.

Some of the demonstratives of high frequency – especially *?aŋa* and *?aŋu, ?auŋ* – may be used with non-spatial reference. This will be discussed in more detail in the next section, where the differences between the columns of Chart 1 will be dealt with.

The above-mentioned semantic particles 'close to THE hearer' and 'close to THE speaker' should not be interpreted purely spatially. In many contexts this closeness is 'psychological'. The use of the first row forms has the effect that the attention of THE hearer is focussed on information which is explicitly still 'with THE speaker'. The second row forms on the other hand tend to refer to a frame of reference which by the preceding context has been conveyed already to THE hearer. In most contexts therefore their demonstrative function is weakened and their meanings become unmarked: 'THE', 'in THE manner' etc. instead of 'that', 'in that manner' etc. In the glosses, the marked meanings are given for the row 2 forms of Chart 1 and the third frame of reference meanings (Chart 2) are given for rows 3-5.

4. THE PARADIGMS

In this section I discuss the forms of each column of Chart 1, with examples.

4.1 THE A COLUMN

4.1.1

The forms of the A paradigm are demonstratives expressing manner or distance:

<i>?alaŋ</i>	1. 'in this way', 2. 'at/covering a distance close to THE speaker'
<i>?ulaŋ</i>	1. 'in that way (close to THE hearer)', 2. 'at/covering a distance close to THE hearer'
<i>polan</i>	1. 'in that way down there', 2. 'at/covering a distance from THE orientation point to that point below it'
<i>molan</i>	1. 'in that way at the same level as THE orientation point', 2. 'at/covering a distance from THE orientation point to yonder point at the same height'
<i>dolan</i>	1. 'in that way up there', 2. 'at/covering a distance from THE orientation point to that point up there'.

Relation between point of orientation (O) and place pointed at (P)					
SPATIAL FRAME OF REFERENCE (F) FORM	1 in F, there is no possibility for orientation in terms of the oppositions land-sea or mountain-valley	in F, orientation in terms of the oppositions land-sea or mountain-valley is possible			
		trajectory O-P is			
		simple		complicated	
		2 in a two-dimensional F	3 in a three-dimensional F	4 within Pura	5 otherwise
third row forms of Chart 1	P lies south of O	P lies closer to the sea or the valley than O	P is lower than O	trajectory O-P is counter-clockwise around the island	unpredictable; apparently dependent on the general trajectory one has to go from O to P (see maps and Chart 3)
fourth row forms of Chart 1	P lies west or east of O	the line O-P is parallel to the shore or valley	P is at the same height as O	-	
fifth row forms of Chart 1	P lies north of O	P lies further away from the sea or the valley than O	P is higher than O	trajectory O-P is clockwise around the island	

CHART 2: MEANING OF THE DEMONSTRATIVES CONTAINING THE SEMANTIC PARTICLE 'CLOSE NEITHER TO THE HEARER NOR THE SPEAKER'

pointing from O — to P	0.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	
0. Melanvala	-	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>po</i>	
1. Dolap	<i>do</i>	-	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>po</i>	
2. Abira	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	-	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>do/po*</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>po</i>	
3. Limarahij	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	-	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	
4. Hariloloŋ	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	-	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	
5. Puravemataŋ	<i>po</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>mo</i>	-	<i>mo</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	
6. Reta	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>do/po*</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo</i>	-	<i>do/mo**</i>	<i>po</i>	
7. Malaʔal	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>po/mo**</i>	-	<i>po</i>	
8. Maru	<i>do</i>	→							-	
9. ʔolijahi	}	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>mo</i>
10. Baʔalaŋ										
11. Ubualabaŋ										
12. Tuabaŋ	}	<i>do</i>	<i>do/mo</i>	<i>do/mo</i>	<i>po/mo</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>mo</i>
13. Muna										
14. ʔabir										
15. Baranusa	}	<i>po</i>	→							
16. Kokar										
17. Karaŋbai										
18. Duloloŋ	}	<i>do</i>	→							
19. Moru										
20. Batuloloŋ										
21. Kolana	}	<i>mo/do***</i>	→							
22. Ternate										
23. Teʔeraŋ										
24. Kupaŋ	}	<i>po</i>	→							
27. Makasar										
25. Ukusi										
26. Parasa	}	<i>mo</i>	→							
28. Maluku										

Note: The demonstratives of column F of Chart 1 represent all possible demonstratives.
 —> means that all other columns are the same as column 0.
 *) Dependent on whether one goes clockwise (*do*) or counter clockwise (*po*) around the island to reach P from O.
 **) *mo* refers to the old village of Malaʔal, which in the 1960s was at the same height as Reta; *do* and *po* refer to the new village of the mid 1970s, which was built along the shore.
 ***) *mo* is appropriate if one travels over land from O to P, otherwise *do* has to be used.
 In other instances of a choice *mo* can semantically be related with 'crossing the sea in a straight line'.

CHART 3: POINTING FROM O (ON PURA) TO P (ON OR OUTSIDE PURA)

Examples are *?ana molaŋ* '(s)he is as (s)he was/acted as (s)he did over there on the same height as THE orientation point' and *molaŋ ?a?e niaŋ* 'ones like those (on the same height as THE orientation point) are not here' (*niaŋ* 'not'). Most frequently they are used as adverbs. As such they are placed either directly before or directly after the subject of a clause; when they occur after the verb – subject and object are always preverbal – only the manner interpretation is possible.

?alaŋ and especially *?ulaŋ* have a high text frequency. The former form is regularly used cataphorically, the latter anaphorically.

- (1) *ne aru ia mutu ?-i-t-a-tutuk veŋ banaŋ hula ?alaŋ:*
 people two junior senior 3p-pl-REC-to-speak about talk say like.this
?ulaŋ se hava ?aŋa ?-ene jaŋkal hava'
 like.that when house this 3p.POSS-name Jangkal house
 The two men, the younger and the elder one, spoke to each other like this:
 'If so, the name of this house should be Jangkal house'.
- (2) *unuar hera, batar veŋ hera, mod veŋ hera, taul veŋ hera,*
 rain descend maize at descend rice at descend long.beans at descend
?ulaŋ he nehe na-t eβeta
 like.that only.then human.being eat-AIM/MANNER⁵ live
 The rain fell, it fell on the maize, it fell on the rice, it fell on the long-beans,
 so that the people got to eat and stayed alive.
- (3) *?ana ?-omi mea-t ?ulaŋ, ?ipa*
 3p.sg.SUBJ 3p.POSS-inside put-AIM/MANNER like.that go.down
?-e-dula-t tia, ?auŋ mu ?ana
 3p-sg-smooth-AIM/MANNER lay.down that just 3p.sg.SUBJ
?-omi mea-t ?auŋ ?-adana
 3p.POSS-inside put-AIM/MANNER that THE.entity-towards
 Having thought so – [i.e. to go down and lie down naked] she immediately
 acted according to that thought.
- (4) *na ?-ot boma ta?apari ?-e haŋi to?oniŋ*
 I THE.entity-order old.man Ta?apari 3p-sg.POSS chicken chop
mi-?osiŋ ?ulaŋ e ?ana ho?a se ?ana
 completely like.that only.then.could.it.be.that 3p.sg.SUBJ come when
?-ete?iŋ niaŋ
 THE.entity-see not
 I ordered her to chop Mr Ta?apari's chicken completely, so that when he came
 he would not be able to recognise it (as his own).
- (5) *va?al jaŋu ele ?aŋu veŋ me?e-t ?ulaŋ mu se, ?ana*
 child female big that about hear-AIM/MANNER like.that just when 3p.sg.SUBJ

?-omi mea: ...

3p.POSS-inside put

As soon as the elder girl had heard so, she thought...

- (6) *?ana hula: 'ana imina niaŋ!' ?ulaŋ di se boma*
 3p.sg.SUBJ say you(sg).SUBJ die not like.that also when
 old.man

?-e-?ea-t na niaŋ

3p-sg-not.want-AIM/MANNER eat not

He said, 'You won't die!' Nevertheless the old man did not want to eat.

Examples (1), (2), (4) (5) and (6) show the use of clause-final clitics and clitic sequences (*se, he, e, mu se, di se*), which are frequent after anaphoric *?ulaŋ*. (For these clitics see also T10, T13 and T28.)

In the next example *?alaŋ* has spatial reference:

- (7) *ataŋ aru ?auŋ ?eniŋ ?alaŋ*
 your (sg).hand two that do like.this
 Keep both your hands like this.
 (the speaker is explaining an Islamic prayer)

4.1.2

It is possible to reduplicate the demonstrative morphs of the manner demonstratives, thus adding emphasis: *?a?alaŋ, ?u?ulaŋ, popolaŋ* etc. If the reference of these forms is spatial, this emphasis implies visibility of the referent. Doubly reduplicated forms of this series (i.e. *?a?a?alaŋ* etc.) may be used when THE hearer has failed to identify the referent of *?a?alaŋ* etc.

The first syllable of the manner demonstratives may also be lengthened, the effect being that a great distance or a slowly progressing action is suggested.

- (8) *ni holomaŋ ?a?e karaŋbai olol mi ?ipa, ?ulaŋ [?u:laŋ]*
 we(excl).SUBJ first be.here Kalabahi shore in go.down like.that
je ?auŋ pati-pati-t vetaboa ?-adaŋ mida/
 prow that slow-slow-AIM/MANNER Vetaboa THE.entity-towards go.up
 first we were here taking off from the Kalabahi shore, in that time-consuming way/
 over that long distance the prow went slowly in the direction of Vetaboa

However, the long vowel of *[?u:laŋ]* is not discretely opposed to a short one. Therefore I do not assume two parallel series of demonstratives opposed to each other by vowel length.

4.1.3

Finally, two special usages of *?ulaŋ* should be mentioned in this section. When it occurs in the position before the subject it may have temporal reference ('in a short while'): *?ulaŋ ?ana ho?a* 'in a short while he will come'. Preceded by *?e* (in other contexts the form for the third person singular possessive) it means 'just like that': *?ana ?e ?ulaŋ ho?a* or *?e ?ulaŋ ?ana ho?a* '(s)he came just like that'. I have not had the opportunity though to check whether *?e polañ* etc. are also possible.

4.2 THE B AND C COLUMNS

The demonstratives of the paradigms B and C are the only ones whose stems occur as words. Nevertheless they cannot be interpreted as word groups for semantic reasons. The stems mean respectively 'as big as THE object' and 'having the same length/measure as THE object'. THE object is locally specified by the demonstrative morphs: *?avaŋ* 'as big as this' etc., *pohukaŋ* 'as long as the one down there' etc.

When the stems occur as words, they should be immediately preceded by a nominal construction expressing the standard for the comparison: *ne hava vaŋ* 'as big as my house', *naiŋ vaŋ* 'as big as me', but *na ?avaŋ* 'I am as big as this', *ne hava ?avaŋ* 'my house is as big as this'. Notice also the next two expressions:

- (9) *keneiŋ nu ?-ataŋ hukaŋ*
 little (child) one 3p.POSS-arm as.long.as
 as long as a child's arm
- (10) *ved (da) tua bololu nu hukaŋ*
 sun come.up palmyra.palm high one as.high.as
 The sun (rises) as high as a high palmyra-palm.
 (i.e. it is about 8 or 9 o'clock)

My data do not show reduplicated forms, but I assume they exist in the same way as with the *?alaŋ* series.

4.3 THE D COLUMN

The *?anaŋa* series (paradigm D) are mainly used attributively at the end of noun phrases. In spite of the formal and functional correspondences with the *?aŋa* series, their morphological make-up cannot be synchronically analysed in a non-ad hoc way.

The forms indicate that the referent of the preceding part of the noun phrase to which they belong is presented as a collective of various individuals or individual things taken together and 'localised' in the already familiar way by the demonstrative morphs (cf. (11)-(13)). When the referent of this preceding part of the noun phrase cannot be interpreted as a number of individuals or individual things (e.g. when it is a part of the body), the demonstrative of the *?anaŋa* type indicates that it should be seen not as a single locality in space, but as an area or a collection of localities.

- (11) *haŋi ?anauŋ te era nu ?u'e tahi ?e*
 chicken that.group.of.them wood stem one be.there stand 3p-sg.POSS
?-ataŋ taŋ tia-t piliŋ
 3p.POSS-branch on sleep-AIM/MANNER line.up
 The (group of) chickens slept in a row on the branch of a tree that was standing there.
- (12) *ni na ?anauŋ ?ila ta?avi*
 we(excl) thing that.group.of.them go steal
 we went to steal all those things

- (13) *jabar ?aŋu eβeta; ?ana tahi-t ?-ora met*
 dog that alive 3p.sg.SUBJ stand-AIM/MANNER 3p.POSS-tail having.taken
ma abaŋ boma ?anauŋ ?iŋ veŋ ?-i-vi-vili
 moving village old.man that.group.of.them 3p.pl at 3p-pl-INTENS-sway
 The dog was alive; it stood up wagging its tail at the assembled old men of the village.⁶
- (14) *harapaŋ ?aŋa ?-obo-i-t ho?a piŋ mi-t*
 javelin this THE.entity-return-AIM/MANNER come we(incl) in-AIM/MANNER
t-obo?a ?anaŋa ibat mi-?osiŋ
 our(incl)-body all.over.this wound completely
 This javelin came back at me, covering my body here all over with wounds.⁷
- (15) *na tait ?-aβat ?anauŋ ?-e urak ele*
 I.SUBJ start 3p.POSS-wing all.over.that 3p-sg.POSS
 attire big
βarai-t βia
 pluck.AIM/MANNER throw.away
 I started to pluck the quill-feathers from all over its wings.

The most frequently used form of this series in the texts is (*?a*)*nauŋ*; its use in all the above sentences is anaphoric: in (11), (12), (13) and (15) the chickens, the things, the old men and the wings had already been talked about in the preceding contexts. All the above sentences are examples of attributive use of *?anaŋa* etc. Another one is:

- (16) *?iŋ ?anaŋdo mida*⁸
 they those.up.there.in.a.group go.up
 They up there in a group went up.

This construction is opposed to (17) and (18) in which *?anaŋdo* has another syntactic position:

- (17) *?anaŋdo ?ini mida*
 Up there in a group they went up I think.
- (18) *?ini mida ?anaŋdo*
 They went up up there is a group.

First of all (17) adds an element of uncertainty and (18) one of warning. In these respects there is a clear parallelism with the *?aŋa* series (see 4.7.2 below). Though *?anaŋdo* in (17) and (18) is not used attributively, it is semantically connected with the subject (a third person singular pronoun *?ana* instead of *?ini* would be impossible in these contexts). The necessary interpretation of *?anaŋdo* in (16)-(18) is therefore 'as a collection of individuals up there, each in his own way'. However, when *?anaŋa* etc. is followed by *mi* 'in' and when it is not used attributively to a preceding noun phrase, the 'area' interpretation is the only possibility:

- (19) *?ini mida ?anaŋdo mi*
 They went up to a place somewhere up there.

(Here *?ana* '(s)he' instead of *?ini* would have been perfectly grammatical.)

Parallel to what we saw in the case of *?alaŋ* etc., the demonstrative morph may be reduplicated: *?a?anaŋa*, *po?anaŋpo* etc.

4.4 THE E COLUMN

The *?a?e* series form a separate paradigm as they cannot be analysed as a combination of the *?a* series with the third person singular possessive pronoun *?e*,

1. for phonemic reasons: *?e* ‘his, her, its’ is opposed to *e* ‘your (sg)’, and its glottal stop never drops, whereas *?a?e* etc. more often than not is pronounced [*?ae*] etc.;

2. for semantic reasons: the semantic and syntactic differences between the *?a* and *?a?e* paradigms cannot be explained by any conceivable semantic contribution of a ‘possessive pronominal’ nature.

4.4.1

First of all, the forms of the *?a?e* series may be the verbal head of a predicate. In that case they can be translated as ‘to be here’ etc. They are semantically unmarked as to the feature visibility by THE hearer, i.e. only in marked usage does ‘invisibility to THE hearer’ become part of their meaning (see also 4.4.3 and 4.6.1 below).

- (20) *?e tama ?aju ?-ebele, ab ?aju ?e na jasi*
 3p-sg.POSS tasty that THE.entity-because.of fish that 3p-sg.POSS thing bad
?u?e di niŋ kudi na he?i
 be.there also we(excl) must eat first
 Because of its tastiness, we must eat that fish first, although parts of it are poisonous.

- (21) *tura tura bil nu do?e ?-ene ?uhunbi*
 in.earlier.times in.earlier.times place one be.up.there 3p.POSS-name Uhungbi
 Long ago there was a place up there with the name Uhungbi.

- (22) *?e jaju ?-eŋ uriŋ se haŋi kekar ele*
 3p-sg.POSS female 3p.POSS-eye direct when, chicken male(of birds) big
nu ?u?e niŋ
 one be.there not
 When his wife looked, (she saw) the one big cock was not there.

- (23) *al iva ?-ar mi e, dumiŋ ele nu ?u?e,*
 your(sg).penis your(sg).mother 3p.POSS-vagina in EXCL snake big one be.there
te parta-t ?u?e
 tree bind-AIM/MANNER be.there
 Good Heavens, a big snake was there, coiled around a tree it was there.

4.2.2

The most frequent use of the demonstratives of the *?a?e* series is as auxiliaries. As such, they always follow the subject, whether the word order is SOV or OSV; they precede the verbal head of the predicate (and the object if the word order is SOV). Their function is not only to localise the referent of the rest of the (part of the) predicate to which they belong, but also to express that that event is of some duration, and not explicitly visible to THE hearer; that is they are again semantically unmarked as to visibility to THE hearer (see also 4.6.1).

- (24) *eneŋ-eneŋ ʔana ʔuʔe ʔ-everi hele se, ʔa biŋdaʔali ele*
 all.at.once 3p.sg.SUBJ be.there 3p.POSS-ear hang when EXCL elephant big
nu lamal ʔuʔe ma ʔuʔe
 one walk be.there come (level) be.there
 All at once, when it pricked up its ears: ah, there came a big elephant walking along and it was there (close already).
- (25) *ʔana jeduŋ poʔe ab ʔoda sehi*
 3p.sg.SUBJ still be.down.there fish catch during.THE.period
 He was still busy catching fish down there.
- (26) *ʔaga se ni botan hoʔa e, ʔaʔe*
 this when we(excl)SUBJ again come
 only.then.is.it.possible be.here
abanan esenan
 worship.thee venerate.thee
 Now we have come again in order to be here to worship you and to venerate you.
- (27) *ʔauŋ mi var nu ʔuʔe mihi, ʔ-ene hal ʔ-eg*
 that in stone one be.there sit 3p.POSS-name kettle.drum 3p.POSS-eye
 In that place there was a stone lying there, its name was kettle-drum eye.

4.4.3

In the vast majority of instances a form of the *ʔaʔe* series is followed by a specification of the place (bold in the examples), either as final part of the predicate((28),(30)) or not ((29),(31),(32)).

- (28) *vaʔal jaŋu kiki ba nu doʔe **te taŋ***
 child female small EMPH one be.up.there tree on
 It was a little girl that was up there in the tree.
- (29) *ʔoda edeŋ he boma pastor ʔauŋ moʔe **via-era mi***
 hour how.many only.then old.man priest that be.over.there (level) courtyard in
mihi-t ʔe buku ʔauŋ basa
 sit-AIM/MANNER 3p-sg.POSS book that read
 At what time is that Father Priest there in his courtyard reading that book of his?
- (30) *ʔila hemeriŋ ki-kiri harara poʔe **sina hava mi ʔauŋ beli***
 go knife INTENS-little flat be.down.there Chinese house in that buy
 Go and buy one of those tiny flat knives that they have down there in the Chinese shop.
- (31) *ronpo era nu ʔuʔe ʔauŋ mi tahi*
 guava stem one be.there that in stand
 A guava tree was standing there in that place.
- (32) *ʔe ihi ʔauŋ ba-t pres pras ʔeniŋ,*
 3p-sg.POSS fruit that fall-AIM/MANNER thudding.sound thudding.sound make
poʔe meke veŋ ba
 be.down.there soil against fall
 Those fruits of it fell with thudding noises, down there they fell against the soil.

If it is a verb of movement that is preceded by a form of the *?a?e* series which is followed by a specification of place, this whole preceding construction indicates that the movement in question is related to being at the indicated place for some period. The interpretation may range from source to goal/destination. (The relevant forms are bolded.)

- (33) *na po?e makasar por taŋ ho?a*
 I be.down.there Macassar (is) land on come
 I came from down there from Macassar.
 (The story continues with what happened to the speaker after his return from Macassar to Alor.)
- (34) *?ana ?-o?al ?-ot ?ila po?e umuŋ hava mi;*
 3p.sg.SUBJ 3p.POSS-child THE.entity-order go be.down.there meat house in
?-o?al ?auŋ di po?e umuŋ hava mi ?ila
 3p.POSS-child that also be.down.there meat house in go
 He ordered his child to go down there into the slaughter-house; and his child did go down there to the slaughter-house.

4.4.4

Forms of the *?a?e* series may also occur immediately after verbs of ‘coming’ and ‘going’.⁹ (24) is an example of the use of a form of this series after a verb of movement without a further specification of place. Usually, however, such a specification follows in these cases, cf. (34) and (35)-(43). The idea conveyed is that of a movement resulting in a more static activity at the place indicated; ‘until’ often seems to be an appropriate translation. The static activity mentioned may moreover be made explicit by a regular verb (cf. (37)).

- (35) *?ana mida do?e ?-ajala ?-abuŋ se, ?-e*
 3p.sg.SUBJ go.up be.up.there 3p.POSS-top THE.entity-near when 3p.sg.POSS
?-ataŋ eden ?aju ?-e ihi ?u?e bala
 3p.POSS-branch how-many that 3p.sg.POSS fruit be.there abundant
 When she had gone up right near to the top (she saw:) so many branches as there were, they were full of fruits.
 (Note the change of perspective in this sentence – from *do?e* to *?u?e*.)
- (36) *?aŋ di va mo?e ?-e via-era mi*
 3p.sg also go (level) be.over.there (level) 3p.sg.POSS courtyard in
 She too went over to his courtyard there.
- (37) *taŋ da ?a?e ?-uaŋ era veŋ va*
 sea.water come.up be.here 3p.POSS-chest base against go.level
 The flood came up until it reached his midriff here.
- (38) *?ana ba-t hera po?e jo?u ?-omi mi*
 3p.sg.SUBJ fall-AIM/MANNER descent be.down.there hole 3p.POSS-inside in
 He fell down right to the bottom of the hole.

- (39) *ʔana ma ʔuʔe joʔu taŋ*
 3p.sg.SUBJ come.level be.there hole on
 He came there up to the edge of the hole.
- (40) *ʔana ʔ-oʔal giriaŋ ʔaiŋ gahiŋ ʔ-ot*
 3p.sg.SUBJ 3p.POSS-child raise 3p.sg send.on.an.errand THE.entity-order
ʔila poʔe umuŋ hava mi umuŋ beli
 go be.down.there meat house in meat buy
 He sent his adopted child to go down to the slaughter-house to buy meat there.

4.4.5

A similar specification of place can be found with subjectless forms of the *ʔaʔe* series, which are used to set the scene at the beginning of a story:

- (41) *poʔe makasar por taŋ na ʔapo mi ʔila*
 be.down.there Macassar (is)land on I.SUBJ that.down.there in go
karajaŋ arapiŋ
 work seek
 It happened down there in Macassar, I went down there to look for work.
- (42) *tura tura poʔe makasar mi*
 in.earlier.times in.earlier.times be.down.there Macassar in
 Long ago it happened down there in Macassar.

The following is an example of such a subjectless form of the *ʔaʔe* series without a further specification of place:

- (43) *tura tura por jeduŋ kua mi se, doʔe ni*
 in.earlier.times in.earlier.times (is)land still dark in when be.up.there our(excl)
abaŋ dol-abaŋ ne uru ved ʔauŋ ʔahi
 village bamboo.grove-village human.being moon sun that feed
 Long ago, when the island was still in darkness [i.e. when the inhabitants had not been converted yet to any of the world religions], it happened up there that the people of our village Dolabang gave food offerings to the Moon-Sun.

4.4.6

The interpretations of *poʔe* and *doʔe* in the last three examples as ‘it happened down there’, ‘it happened up there’ are similar for another syntactic position of the forms of this series, viz. after the ‘emphatic’ particle *ba* preceded by a predicate. Apart from something like ‘that seems to be what is happening there’ the construction expresses indignation and/or amazement.

- (44) *ne hoʔa pi na taʔavi ba ʔuʔe ee piŋ*
 human.being come our(incl) thing steal EMPH be.there whereas we(incl)
kalu-hula ne na ʔ-at hoʔa piŋ ʔ-abuŋ mea
 have.the.idea human.being thing THE.entity-with come we(incl) THE.entity-near put
 It looks like somebody has come and stolen our things! And we thought that they had brought things to store them with us.

- (45) *ʔana ʔ-eŋ uriŋ ʔalaŋ mida se, vaʔal jaŋu kiki*
 3p.sg.SUBJ 3p.POSS-eye direct like.this go.up when child female little
ʔado deko ʔ-omi mi ta niaŋ,
 that.up.there trousers 3p.POSS-inside in wear.below.the.waist not
ʔana ʔ-e-dula ba doʔe
 3p.sg.SUBJ 3p.-sp-smooth EMPH be.up.there
 When he looked up like this, [he saw that] the little girl up there was not wearing underpants, she seemed to be naked up there!

A final example might be the case of sexual impotence, described by the victim like this:

- (46) *pi hula karajaŋ ba ʔaʔe, aruŋ-e na ʔaŋa imina*
 we(incl).SUBJ want work EMPH be.here but thing this dead
 I want to work, that's what I want to do here, of course, but this thing is dead!

4.4.7

In contradistinction to the series of demonstratives discussed before, the *ʔaʔe* series do not have a parallel series with reduplicated demonstrative morphs. As is the case with the other paradigms, the form of the second row, *ʔuʔe*, is again unmarked: only in marked usage should it be interpreted as 'to be close to THE hearer' or a comparable syntactically conditioned interpretational variant; usually, however, it is nothing more than 'to be at THE place'. Notice (47), where *moʔe* 'be over there (level)' in the preceding context identifies the place to which *ʔuʔe* can refer subsequently:

- (47) *ʔana moʔe ʔ-e via-era mi mihi-t*
 3p.sg.SUBJ be.over.there (level) 3p.-sg.POSS courtyard in sit-AIM/MANNER
ʔe surat humulaŋ ʔauŋ basa ba ʔuʔe
 3p.-sp.POSS letter holy that read EMPH be.there
 There he was, over there in his courtyard, sitting and reading that holy script of his!

In all the above instances *ʔaʔe* etc. have local reference. A few of the forms of this series may have temporal reference in some set expressions (see 4.7.10 below).

4.5 THE F COLUMN

The demonstratives of paradigm F consist of the 'naked' demonstrative morphs. They are used adverbially in different syntactic positions, with correspondingly different functions.

4.5.1

First of all they may connect a verb of 'going' or 'coming'¹⁰ with a locative expression. In this position they are always stressed. Like forms of the *?a?e* series (column E) in such a position they can often be translated 'up to here' etc. Unlike *?a?e* etc., however, they do not indicate that the movement results in a more static activity at the place they refer to, nor can the (obligatory) locative expression be followed by a verb.

- (48) *?ana ururi-t hera po taŋ ivaŋ mi*
 3p.sg.SUBJ dive-AIM/MANNER descend until.down.there sea bottom in
 He dived down right to the sea bottom!
- (49) *?ana ?-at ?-e mehal ?-umuruŋ ?ila*
 3p.sg.SUBJ THE.entity-with 3p-sg.POSS male THE.entity-follow go
do bil pusi mi
 until.up.there place uncultivated in
 She followed her husband with it right to [that place] up there in the jungle.
- (50) *?ana ti?imaŋ ti?imaŋ ?auŋ mi te ?enaŋ ?oa-t mida*
 3p.sg.SUBJ quietly quietly that in tree mentioned climb-AIM/MANNER go.up
mida mida ?ila do ?-ataŋ taŋ
 go.up go.up go until.up.there 3p.POSS-branch on
 Then she very quietly climbed the tree going higher and higher up there onto a branch.

4.5.2

Another use of the *?a* series parallels the auxiliary use of the *?a?e* series, viz. they may be the non-final part of a predicate, following the subject and preceding the object if there is one and if the word order is SOV. The difference between the *?a* series and the *?a?e* and *?a?a* series (see 4.6.1) is that *?a* merely indicates the place of the activity or location, not necessarily duration or visibility. Besides that, the *?a* forms indicate certainty of THE speaker about the event referred to by the clause in which they occur; so that they can only be used in declarative sentences. The *?a?e* series on the contrary can also be used in questions and (some) imperatives. Finally, forms of the 'preverbal' *?a* series cannot be combined with a predicate which is specified by a temporal deictic referring to a period one or more days before or after THE orientation period; in other words, *meleŋ ?ana ?a?e tia* 'yesterday (s)he slept/was sleeping here' is grammatical, **meleŋ ?ana ?a tia* is not.

- (51) *boma ?u te hiba petuŋ medi*
 old.man there tree cut.down kind.of.bamboo take
 The old man cut wood there and gathered bamboo.
- (52) *iva imaŋ ?-e have ?aŋu po ?ola*
 your(sg).mother your(sg).father 3p-sg.POSS house that down.there far
 The house of your father and mother is far down there.

- (53) *ʔana na liʔaŋ ʔe ʔeŋ di medi utaŋ*
 3p.sg.SUBJ thing cook 3p.-sg.POSS 3p.POSS-eye also take vegetables
ʔe ʔeŋ di medi, mo ab ʔeŋ di medi
 3p.-sg.POSS 3p.POSS-eye also take yonder(level) fish 3p.POSS-eye also take
 He took a portion of cooked rice, he took a portion of vegetables and he took there the portion of fish as well.

4.5.3

In most cases, as with the *ʔaʔe* series, the forms of the *ʔa* series are followed by locative expressions:

- (54) *haŋi ʔe urak ele ʔaju ʔana met ma*
 chicken 3p.-sg.POSS attire big that 3p.sg.SUBJ having.taken moving
po je alap ʔapo veŋ hele
 down.there prow stern that.down.there at hang
 The big quill-feathers of the chicken, he hung them down there at the stern of the prow down there.
- (55) *ʔe mehal do bil pusi mi ʔila*
 3p.-sg.POSS male up.there place uncultivated in go
 Her husband went up there into the jungle.

In all positions in which forms of the *ʔa* series are followed by such a locative expression the demonstrative may be realised by a lengthened vowel in order to suggest comparative closeness or distance. I do not consider this length phonemic; there seems to be no discrete difference between a long [po:] and a short [po] etc. Yet it is possible that a formal opposition must be assumed. Compare (56) and (57), where – obligatorily stressed and lengthened – *po* and *do* are used to express distance, thus compensating for the fact that *poʔe* etc. cannot be so used. See also section 4.9, point 4.

- (56) *ne ʔemangpi motoaŋ ʔila doʔe do [do:] uru ved*
 human.being all gather go be.up.there far.up.there moon sun
ʔe mana ʔado mi
 3p.-sg.POSS place that.up.there in
 All the people went all the way up there and gathered in the place up there of Moon-Sun.
- (57) *ʔana lamal poʔe po [po:] ʔi hava*
 3p.sg.SUBJ walk be.down.there far.down.there 3p-pl.POSS house
ʔ-omota mi ʔipa
 3p.POSS-back in go.down
 She went down walking far down there at the back of their house.

4.5.4

The *ʔa* series forms are also used after predicates. In that position they not only indicate the place (as always, given the spatial frame of reference) of the referent of the predicate, but also that THE

speaker has for some time had evidence that what is expressed by that predicate is indeed the case – evidence which is thought to be accessible to THE hearer. For that reason the clauses in which they occur must be either declarative or imperative. In the latter case THE hearer is thought to expect the order; *?a* etc. indicates the place of the referent of the verb and a notion of ‘now you can do what you have been waiting for’.

Examples of declaratives:

- (58) *o, hari ?aju na li?an na nian ?a*
 EXCL sea.spirit that thing cooked eat not here.for.sure
 Oh, that sea spirit has not touched the rice here apparently.
 (Monologue of a man who had prepared an offer of rice to the sea spirit.)
- (59) *?a?, na ?aju na jasi ba ?u?e ?u*
 EXCL thing that thing bad EMPH be.there there.for.sure
 Ah, that thing, it is poison that is there you know. [i.e. How can you possibly eat it?]
 (Said to someone who is about to cook a deadly poisonous toad-fish.)
- (60) *?e jaju ?-e-dula-t tia po*
 3p-sg.POSS female 3p-sg-smooth-AIM/MANNER sleep down.there.as.you.know
 his wife was sleeping naked down there as you know
 (The hearer had been informed by the speaker of the woman's plan to surprise her husband; see (3) and (87).)

The forms of the *?a* series may also be cliticised after noun phrases which can be said to have a predicate function: *hava mo* [hav'a mo] ‘it's a house there all right’ is an appropriate answer to a question such as *?amo hava e naba?* ‘is that over there a house or what?’, but not to a question like *hava ?amo?* ‘that house over there?’. Note also the following dialogue: A. *?ado boma gomang* ‘the one up there is Mr Gomang’, B. *nian* ‘No it isn't!’ A. *?ainj do* ‘It's him all right!’.

The clauses ‘ending’ in a form of the *?a* series may be turned into subordinate clauses by the addition of a connective particle such as *se* (see T10).

- (61) *?amau ?auj bau ba mod batar ?emaŋpi ?u?e ?u se,*
 cat that cry therefore rice maize all be.there there.for.sure when
?e basi ?osiŋ mamauj
 3p-sg.POSS chaff empty nothing.but
 When the cat miaowed, so that rice and maize and everything appeared, it was nothing but empty chaff.

Within a sentence, a noun phrase may end in a form of the *?a* series preceded by what must be considered the predicate of a relative clause.

- (62) *?ana na tama ?u ba na*
 3p-sg.SUBJ thing tasty that-certainly EMPH eat
 What he ate was the thing that you and I know to be tasty. [i.e. he enjoyed his wife]

- (63) *ʔana ʔ-ataŋ horuk met ma ʔ-e koŋdo*
 3p.sg.SUBJ 3p.POSS-arm put.into having.taken moving 3p.sg.POSS shirt
eveniŋ ele ʔu ʔ-e kedevak mi hera
 long big that.certainly 3p.sg.POSS pocket in descend
 He put his hand down into the pocket of his robe, which as you and I know was long and large.
 (The subject of this sentence is a priest.)

4.5.5

Examples (62) and (63) show again the unmarked character of the forms of the second row: *ʔu* does not have local reference, but refers to what has become part of THE hearer's world of experience. This same *ʔu* is very frequent after the words *ʔenaŋ* and *vala*. *ʔenaŋ* may be morphologically related to the sentence-final tag *ʔe*, at least historically (cf. Steinhauer 1977, footnotes 8 and 9). *ʔenaŋ* and *vala* indicate that THE speaker supposes THE hearer to have knowledge of the existence of the referent of the noun or clause preceding them, *ʔenaŋ* by indirect and *vala* by direct perception. As *vala* is becoming obsolete in Dolap, this difference is no longer preserved.

- (64) *venedaŋ tue na n-oʔal ʔ-at mida ʔenaŋ*
 number.of.days.ago three I my-child THE.entity-with go.up mentioned
ʔu, kancil¹¹ ʔ-ot ʔaiŋ ajar ʔenaŋ ʔu,
 as.you.know mousedeer THE.entity-order 3p.sg teach mentioned as.you.know
kancil ʔaŋa ia-t na-t ʔila e
 mousedeer this roast-AIM/MANNER eat-LIG already EXCL
 Three days ago I went up with my child as you know, and ordered mousedeer to teach him as you know, and blow me down if this mousedeer did not roast and eat him!
- (65) *ni na na, ab ʔ-e jar vala ʔu maks*
 we(excl) thing eat fish 3p.sg.POSS water observed as.you.know Max
ʔana ʔ-e-tura-t hu
 3p.sg.SUBJ 3p.sg-before-AIM/MANNER ladle
 We ate, and the broth of the fish in question you know, Max was the first one to ladle it out.
- (66) *uru ved ʔauŋ ʔahi ʔ-e boma ʔenaŋ ʔu ʔana*
 moon sun that feed 3p.sg.POSS old.man mentioned as.you.know 3p.sg.SUBJ
ʔaŋa sɛ uru ved ʔauŋ ʔ-a-tutuk
 this when moon sun that 3p-to-speak
 The aforesaid leader of the offering ceremony for Moon-Sun now spoke to that Moon-Sun.

4.5.6

Finally *po*, *mo* and *do* may have specific temporal reference when they are cliticised to the demonstrative adverbs of time, *tobaŋ* ‘the next day, tomorrow’, *meleŋ* ‘the previous day, yesterday’: *tobaŋ do* [tob'aŋ do] 1. ‘tomorrow up there for sure’ (e.g. in answer to a question like ‘Is the party up there tomorrow!’), 2. ‘one of the next days’ (also *tobaŋ mo*); *meleŋ po* 1. ‘yesterday down there for sure’, 2. ‘one of the previous days’ (also *meleŋ mo*¹²).

4.6 THE G COLUMN

4.6.1

The forms of the *?a?a* series parallel *?a?e* etc. in three syntactic positions.

First of all they may be the predicates of clauses meaning ‘to be here/there etc., visible to THE speaker at the moment of speaking’. In contradistinction to the forms of the *?a?e* series they can only be used – because of that meaning – in declarative clauses; besides, they cannot refer to a period other than the one which is characterised by the speaking of THE speaker (i.e. **tobaŋ ?ana dodo* is impossible). Being the main verbs, they cannot be followed by *niaŋ* ‘not’, which would deny their visibility aspects, the entailed ‘being there’.

Like the *?a?e* series, however, they can be combined with aspect markers (see Steinhauer 1977:43), e.g. *?ana dodo-t ?ila* ‘(s)he is already up there visible to THE speaker’.

Secondly, they may be used as auxiliaries, just like the forms of the *?a?e* and *?a* paradigms, with the following correspondences and differences: *?a?a* etc. indicate again the place of the event referred to by the predicates in which they occur. Together with *?a?e* etc. they indicate that that event is of some duration (the forms of the *?a* series do not). Together with the *?a* series they indicate sure knowledge by THE speaker about the existence of the event, because of which they are used only in declarative clauses (the *?a?e* series are neutral in this respect). While the forms of the *?a?e* series do not confine the event to any specific period, the *?a* series do (viz. to THE period of orientation); the *?a?a* series are even more specific: the event coincides with THE speech moment, while it is visible to THE speaker.

The third syntactic position in which the *?a?a* series occur is after the verbs of ‘going’ and ‘coming’. In this position their forms are in direct opposition with those of the *?a?e* series, along the same lines as described above. (Note that the *?a* series behave differently in this position.)

- (67) *?ana ?ila momo (te ivaŋ mi (mihi))*
 3p.sg.SUBJ go be.visibly.over.there (level) tree bottom in sit
 he/she went over there where I see him/her now (under the tree (sitting))

mo?e instead of *momo* in (67) would result in a translation ‘he/she went there and stayed there (under the tree (sitting))’.¹³

Other usages of the *?a?e* series are not paralleled by *?a?a* etc.

4.6.2

Lengthening of any of the vowels of *popo*, *momo* or *dodo* to suggest distance does not occur. I have no evidence of constructions such as (56) and (57) with *popo* etc. instead of *po?e* etc., but

I assume that they are possible. In any case, combinations of forms of the *ʔaʔa* (and *ʔaʔe*) series with unstressed corresponding forms of the *ʔa* series are possible: *ʔana dodo (mihi) do* ‘he is up there visible to me, (sitting), obvious for some time’ and also (59). Such combinations seem to imply surprise or amazement on the part of THE speaker.

Finally, there is a reduplicated series parallel to the *ʔaʔa* series. They are used to emphasise place and visibility, for instance when THE hearer has failed to localise the referent of the non-reduplicated form. Note the following dialogue: A. *ʔana dodo* ‘he is up there, I can see him’, B. *taʔaŋ mi* ‘where?’, A. *dododo* [dodʔodo] ‘up there, look!’. Certainly in the case of *ʔuʔuʔu*, but most likely also in the case of *ʔuʔu* it is impossible to analyse the meaning as unmarked or anaphoric, *‘to be at THE place, visible to THE speaker, (look!)’; what they indicate is indeed the visible place that is spatially near THE hearer.

4.7 THE H COLUMN

The forms of the *ʔaŋa* series have by far the highest text frequency of all Blagar demonstratives.

4.7.1

First of all they are used attributively in noun phrases, in which case they close such a phrase unless they are followed by *ʔenaŋ (ʔu)* or *vala (ʔu)*. In the vast majority of instances *ʔauŋ* and *ʔaŋu* are used anaphorically and are semantically unmarked, that is their meaning will be just ‘THE’. Examples of attributive use in (68)-(75) are bolded.

- (68) *aiŋ hari ʔaŋu, ana naiŋ jaga naiŋ buaŋ, ʔulaŋ*
 you(sg) sea.spirit that you(sg).SUBJ me guard me protect
 like.that

ʔejehiŋ-ʔemeaŋ, ne olaŋ di ʔot aʔuŋ ne
 for.ever.and.a.day my search.for.a.living also THE.entity-order good my

lamal tahi ʔaŋa di ʔot aʔuŋ
 walk stand this also THE.entity-order good

You, spirit of the sea there, you guard me and protect me, and that for ever and a day, you order my search for a living to be successful, you order whatever I do to be successful also.

(Note the opposed worlds in this prayer to the sea spirit: *aiŋ hari ʔaŋu* versus *ne lamal tahi ʔaŋa*.)

- (69) *ʔana na liʔaŋ ʔauŋ met ma taŋ ʔapo mi*
 3p.sg.SUBJ thing cooked that having.taken moving sea that.down.there in

ʔoda-t ʔipa
 throw-AIM/MANNER go.down

He threw that cooked rice down into the sea down there.

- (70) *vaʔal jaŋu kiki ʔaŋa ʔana tait ʔauŋ mi ʔataŋ horuk*
 child female little this 3p.sg.SUBJ start that in 3p.POSS-arm stretch

ʔe ihi ʔauŋ ʔe iʔa ia-t medi
 3p-sg.POSS fruit that 3p-sg.POSS some pick-AIM/MANNER take

This little girl started there to stretch her arm to pick and take some of those fruits of it.

- (71) *boma pastor ?ana ?-eŋ uriŋ ?alaŋ mida se va?al*
 old.man priest 3p.sg.SUBJ 3p.POSS-eye direct like.this go.up when child
jaŋu kiki ?ado deko ?-omi mi ta niaŋ
 female little that.up.there trousers 3p.POSS-inside in wear.below.the.waist not
 Father priest, he looked up like this (and saw that) the little girl up there was not wearing
 underpants.

The last two sentences, which are from the same story, are a good example of the constant change of perspective that is so typical of Blagar utterances: from *?aŋa* for the girl to *?alaŋ* for the priest and *?ado* for the girl again, but this time seen through the eyes of the priest.

4.7.2

The demonstratives of the *?aŋa* series are often found as the final part of noun phrases which for the rest consist of a (pro)noun and a (relative) clause.

- (72) *na tutuk ?aŋa n-ene bui-veni*
 I speak this my-name Buiveni
 I who am speaking here, my name is Buiveni.
- (73) *ronpo mo?e tahi ?amo na ?oa-t*
 guava.tree be.over.there (level) stand that.over.there (level) I climb-AIM/MANNER
?e ihi na sehi
 3p-sg.POSS fruit eat during.THE.period
 I was busy eating the fruits of the guava tree that was there, standing.
- (74) *va?al kiki vede do?e te taŋ tahi ?aŋu ?-e-dula,*
 child little just.now be.up.there tree on stand that 3p-sg-smooth
deko ta niaŋ
 trousers wear.below.the.waist not
 The little child that had been standing up there in the tree was naked, she was not wearing
 pants.
- (75) *?aiŋ hera niaŋ, ne ebeuŋ ba hera; ne ebeuŋ*
 3p.sg descend not human.being other EMPH descend human.being other
hera ?aŋa leki di nu ?-iŋ ?-at hera
 descend this monkey also one 3p-pl THE.entity-with descend
He did not descend, it was other people; among these other people that descended, also
 one monkey descended.

4.7.3

Forms of the series discussed here, especially *?aŋu* and *?auŋ*, may be used to nominalise clauses.

- (76) *?ana ?auŋ mi mihi ?aŋu ved kanak*
 3p.sg.SUBJ that in sit that day each
 That he was sitting there happened each day.

- (77) *ni jeduŋ ʔaʔe ia ivaŋ ataŋ ivaŋ;*
 we(excl) still be.here your.(sg).foot bottom your.(sg).hand bottom
ni ʔaʔe ia ivaŋ ataŋ ivaŋ ʔaŋu
 we(excl) be.here your.(sg).foot bottom your.(sg).hand bottom that
ʔ-eʔele, ni botəŋ hoʔa abanaŋ esenaŋ
 THE.entity-because.of we(excl) again come worship.thee venerate.thee
 We are still here under thy feet and hands [i.e. under thy protection]; because of the fact that we are under thy feet and hands, we have come again to worship and venerate thee. (from a prayer to Moon-Sun)

Without the nominalising *ʔaŋu* (or its equivalent *ʔaŋ*) example (76) would be ungrammatical: *ved kanak* can only be interpreted as a predicate in a clausal context [Nominal –], whereas otherwise it could only be an adverbial and as such it would have to precede the predicate (either immediately before or after the subject). The same ungrammaticality would arise for (77): *ʔeʔele* only occurs in a context [Nominal –]. Apparently it holds that the clauses embedded in (76) and (77) can be so in the given contexts only because of the presence of the demonstrative.

4.7.4

Often demonstratives of this series (again most regularly *ʔaŋu* or *ʔaŋ*) conclude clauses, which only in an ad-hoc way can be called nominalised, and which are a summary of a preceding more ‘foregrounded’ message, functioning as the background for the information given by the rest of the sentence of which they are the initial part.

- (78) *ʔana hari ʔahi ʔaŋu, ʔana mod ʔaŋu ʔe jaŋu*
 3p.sg.SUBJ sea.spirit feed that, 3p.sg.SUBJ rice that 3p.sg.POSS female
ʔ-ot kua kua veŋ se tapa-t seŋ
 THE.entity-order dark at when pound-indirectly.observed finish
 Whenever he offered food to the sea spirit like that, he ordered his wife to pound that rice fine early in the morning.
 (*hari ʔahi* is the topic of the story this sentence is taken from.)

- (79) *ʔana na liʔaŋ ʔenaŋ na-t hera mi*
 3p.sg.SUBJ thing cooked mentioned eat-AIM/MANNER descend approximately
hama-hama se as minisa! as minisa ʔaŋa, ʔana hu
 in.the.middle when turd smell turd smell this 3p.sg.SUBJ spoon
met ma bakuŋ da ʔenaŋ se – iva
 having.taken moving rise come.up as.can.be.expected when your(sg).mother

ole moka! – na liʔaŋ ʔe ebeuŋ ʔaŋa as ba iviiŋ
 both.of.you fuck thing cooked 3p.sg.POSS other this turd EMPH full
 He had eaten the rice approximately half way down, when he smelled shit! Smelling shit as he did, he lifted his spoon and then – damn it! – this rest of the rice was full of shit!

- (80) 'pi ?aŋa ba mi mihi'; ?ini ?aŋu mi mihi ?aŋu, ?-i
 we(incl).SUBJ this EMPH in live 3p.pl.SUBJ that in
 live that 3p-pl.POSS
 na li?aŋ ba umuŋ
 thing cooked EMPH meat
 'Let this be the place for us to live'; and while they lived there, it was meat that was their food.

Such 'nominalised' clauses can also be connected to a following main clause by one of the clitics/sequences of clitics, mentioned in 4.1.1; look at (81).

- (81) ana ta?aŋ mi ho?a niŋ veŋ jara, niŋ ?-at hula
 you(sg).SUBJ which in come we(excl) at shine we(excl) THE.entity-with want
 ?ila ?auŋ he, ni ?ila
 go that only.then we(excl).SUBJ go
 Only when you want to go with us from whatever place you have come to shine upon us, do we go.
 (from a prayer to Moon-Sun)

4.7.5

As is shown by many of the examples given so far, the forms of the ?aŋa series are not only used attributively as part of a nominal(ised) construction or of a backgrounding construction, but they may also occur as nominal constructions themselves. The entity/state of affairs which is referred to can be inferred by THE hearer from context and situation. The forms in question are bolded in the next few examples.

- (82) ?auŋ ab jasi
 that is a bad [i.e. poisonous] fish
- (83) kotok lelaŋ ?aŋu ?-e ?-umuruŋ ?aŋa: oaŋ
 skull dancing.place that 3p-sg.POSS THE.entity-follow this pond
 ?-omi nu ?u?e ?auŋ mi tediŋ
 3p.POSS-inside one be.there that in lie
 What is next to that dancing place for head-hunting ceremonies is this: a pond lies there.
 (Mark the cataphoric ?aŋa in this example.)
- (84) a. naiŋ ?aŋa o'al, aruŋ-e na ta?aŋ mi ho?a
 I this your(sg.).child but I.SUBJ which in come
 I here am your child, but where did I come from?
- (84) b. aiŋ ?aŋa ?aŋa mi ho?a
 you(sg) this this in come
 You here came from here.

(Note alongside ?aŋa mi the use of ?aŋa after the stressed forms of the first and second person singular pronoun (cf. T19). *naiŋ ?aŋa* underlines the difference and distance between speaker and hearer, *aiŋ ?aŋa* on the other hand is a 'verbal embracement'.)

- (85) *ʔaug mu se ʔ-i-naŋ taliŋ ʔaug mi tait ʔoto ʔaug taŋ ʔila*
 that only when 3p-pl-total.number six that in start car that on go
poʔe sina hava era ʔaug mi
 be.down.there Chinese house base that in
 Immediately after that the six of them went ahead from there in that car down to the yard
 of the shop.
- (86) *ʔaŋa ba na veŋ nevera ba, na veŋ pelela-t hoʔa*
 this EMPH I about glad therefore I because smile-AIM/MANNER come
 This is what I am happy about, so I have come home smiling because of it.
- (87) *ʔaŋa se ʔana ʔipa ʔe hava mi ʔ-e-dula-t*
 this when 3p.sg.SUBJ go-down 3p.sg.POSS house in 3p.sg-smooth-AIM/MANNER
tia
 sleep
 Now she goes down to her house to lie down naked.
aa, memet poʔe tia, ʔaŋa se pi botan
 EXCL old.woman be.down.there lie.down this when we(incl).SUBJ again
boma benaŋ veŋ tutuk
 old.man mentioned about speak
 So, the woman is lying down there, now let us talk again about the man.
- (88) *ʔemaŋpi ʔila uru ved ʔe var era mi ʔado mi taiŋ*
 all go moon sun 3p.sg.POSS stone base in that.up.there in each.other
veŋ kodoru
 with gather
 All went to the altar of Moon-Sun to assemble up there.

4.7.6

Forms of the *ʔaŋa* series at the beginning of a sentence – without a following clitic and without being the subject or the object – may be coreferential with the subject of that sentence, adding a notion of uncertainty on the part of THE speaker about the truth of the referent of the predicate of that sentence (cf. (17), but also T26):

- (89) *ʔado ʔana tia*
 the one up there, he is (I think) sleeping

4.7.7

The forms of the *ʔaŋa* series may also immediately follow a predicate at the end of a sentence. The function of such constructions is to emphasise the fact of the event referred to by the clause which immediately precedes the demonstrative, at the same time indicating its location. The effect is that in a question the amazement of the speaker is expressed ('how could it be that...' and the like); in a declarative construction the message conveys a warning often mixed with amazement about the event being the case or having happened.

- (90) *aŋ ʔauŋ naba veŋ nevera ba pelela ʔaŋa?*
 you(sg) that what about glad therefore smile this
 You there, what are you so glad about that you are smiling like this?
- (91) *ʔaŋa ba pi ʔeteʔiŋ niaŋ ʔaŋa*
 this EMPH we(incl).SUBJ know not this
 This is what we do not know!
- (92) *goŋ ele ʔu hili ʔauŋ*
 gong big there hang that
 There hangs the big gong [how can you miss it]!
- (93) *aŋ kiki ʔaŋa vede-ʔaŋa ana pe-pelela sehi ʔaŋa*
 you(sg) little this today you(sg).SUBJ INTENS-smile during.THE.period this
 You little one, today you are smiling all the time! [Why is that?]

Again *ʔaŋa* functions as a 'verbal embracement' (cf. (84) and the opposite of an 'embracement' in (90)).

In the same position *ʔaŋa* etc. may have their nominalising function:

- (94) *ʔana hula do mihi ʔado*
 3p.sg.SUBJ want up.there sit that.up.there
 He wants that one that is sitting up there.

When *ʔaŋa* etc. after a predicate is further followed by a sentence-final particle *se* THE speaker expresses regret about the event referred to by the preceding construction:

- (95) *na hula tia ʔaŋa se*
 I.SUBJ want sleep this unfortunately
 I am sorry but I have to sleep now.

4.7.8

The forms of the *ʔaŋa* series also occur clause finally after a predicate, but separated from the predicate by the particle *ba*.¹⁴

Their function is to emphasise that the referent of the preceding clause is the case and at the same time to indicate the location, which is more often than not 'psychological' rather than spatial. The difference with the plain *ʔaŋa* series after a predicate (when they do not have their nominalising function) is that the latter draw the attention of THE hearer to the state of affairs expressed by the clause which is modified by *ʔaŋa* etc., a state of affairs which was not, or was insufficiently, recognised by that hearer; the *ba ʔaŋa* series on the other hand emphasises that the state of affairs referred to by the preceding clause is already known by THE hearer. A translation 'this is why...' is sometimes possible. In all instances, when this explanatory function is less clearly supported by the context, *ba ʔaŋa* etc. add a notion of 'as you see here' etc., which can be considered the general meaning.

- (96) *tubar ʔana n-oto kokal veŋ pina ba ʔaŋa*
 crab 3p.sg.SUBJ my-penis ball at seize
 A crab has got hold here of my balls as you see!

- (97) *ʔaŋu ʔoma bata ba ʔuʔe, ʔaŋu ba vavar veŋ dumuŋ*
 that probably wound EMPH be.there that therefore fly at swarm
ba ʔaŋu
 That is a wound probably [the indications are there]; that is why flies are swarming around it as you see.
- (98) *iŋ ʔaŋa nuba ba mod batar ʔ-at hoʔa met ma*
 you(pl) this who EMPH rice maize THE.entity-with come having.taken moving
iŋ ʔ-enaŋ ba ʔaŋa
 you(pl) THE.entity-give
 You here, who has brought and given you all this rice and maize?
- (99) *ni ʔamau ʔaŋa ba, ʔana bau ba, ni mod batar*
 our(excl) cat this EMPH 3p.sg.SUBJ cry therefore our(excl) rice maize
di veŋ ni hava di kalaar ba ʔauŋ
 also with our(excl) house also ready
 Our [magic] cat here, it miaowed, so we had rice and maize and our house was finished also as you see!
 (This sentence is the answer to (98).)
- (100) *ʔaŋa nuba ba po ʔapo mi dari-t oraŋ*
 this who EMPH down.there that.down.there in dance-AIM/MANNER sing.loudly
ba ʔaŋpo
 This (noise), who is it who is down there doing all that dancing and singing that I can hear down there?

4.7.9

In the context of (100) it is impossible to decide whether *po* is a word with the function of an auxiliary (see 4.5.3 above), or the reduplicated demonstrative morph. Example (101) is a clear example of the latter.

- (101) *ʔauŋ mu se ne do-ʔado di ʔaiŋ jaŋba;*
 that just when human.being that.further.up.there in.his.turn 3p.sg kick
ʔaiŋ jaŋba-t ʔipa; ʔaŋ di po-ʔapo mi jaŋba,
 3p.sg kick-AIM/MANNER go.down 3p.sg in.his.turn that.further.down in kick
do-ʔado taŋ jaŋba, va jaŋba ma jaŋba – oo,
 that.further.up.there again kick go (level) kick come (level) kick EXCL
misigit mi nehe iŋa seŋbeyaŋ¹⁵ di ʔahala
 mosque in human.being any pray also unable
 Immediately after that the one further up [i.e. in front] kicked him in turn, kicked him backwards; he in his turn kicked at the one further down [i.e. the one behind him], kicked again at the one in front, kicked left, kicked right – oh, in the mosque no one was able to pray any more.

The reduplicated forms imply a comparison as (101) clearly indicates. The exact nature of this comparison needs further investigation.

There is another meaning of the reduplicated and doubly reduplicated forms of the *?aŋa* series, which parallel the *?a?a* series and their reduplicated forms: *?a?aŋa* 'this one here, visible', and with more emphasis, when THE hearer has failed to localise the referent: *?a?a?aŋa* 'here, this one, look!'.

These reduplicated forms cannot be used therefore with other than purely spatial reference. Note the following dialogue:

- (102) A. *?ana ?ado mi*, B. *ta?aŋ ba mi*, A. *do-?ado mi*,
 A. '(S)he is up there', B. 'Where?', A. 'Up there!',
 B. *do?e niaŋ do*, A. *do-do-?ado mi*
 B. '(S)he isn't, I don't see her/him', A. 'Up there, look!'

4.7.10

When *?aŋa* and *?aŋu/?aŋ* have temporal reference, their opposition is one of 'near period' versus '(more) distant period':

<i>vede ?aŋa</i>	today; just now
<i>vede ?aŋu</i>	a while ago ¹⁶ (see also note 2)
<i>?aŋa se</i>	now
<i>?aŋu se</i>	then

In some temporal expressions *?aŋa* is opposed to *?amo* as follows:

<i>tobaŋ</i>	tomorrow ¹⁷
<i>tobaŋ ?aŋa</i>	tonight, tomorrow (already close)
<i>tobaŋ ?amo</i>	one day in the future
<i>meleŋ</i>	yesterday
<i>meleŋ ?aŋa</i>	this (past) afternoon, yesterday just past
<i>meleŋ ?amo</i>	one day in the past
<i>tun ?-e va ?ila</i>	last year, the year gone (<i>tun</i> 'year', <i>va</i> 'go (level)', <i>?ila</i> 'already'; for the use of <i>?e</i> in a context such as this, cf. Steinhauer 1977:43)
<i>tun ?-e va ?ila ?aŋa</i>	last year recently
<i>tun ?-e va ?ila ?amo</i>	in a/the past year
<i>tun ?-e mo?e ma</i>	the coming year, next year (<i>mo?e</i> 'be there (level)', <i>ma</i> 'come (level)'),
<i>tun ?-e mo?e ma ?aŋa</i>	next year (already close),
<i>tun ?-e mo?e ma ?amo</i>	in a/the coming year (still in the (rather) distant future)

4.8 THE I COLUMN

The *?aveŋ* series deviate from the paradigms discussed so far in the absence of a second row form, at least in the dialect described here. They imply a comparison of at least two locations in terms of level and of distance in relation to the same orientation point:

<i>?aveŋ</i>	on this side of THE orientation point (the comparison may be with <i>moveŋ</i> , <i>poveŋ</i> or <i>doveŋ</i>)
<i>moveŋ</i>	on the other side seen from THE orientation point, on the same level (the comparison is with <i>?aveŋ</i>)
<i>poveŋ</i>	on the lower side with respect to THE orientation point (comparison with <i>?aveŋ</i> or <i>doveŋ</i>)
<i>doveŋ</i>	on the higher side with respect to THE orientation point (comparison with <i>?aveŋ</i> or <i>poveŋ</i>)

When more than two levels are compared, reduplication and double reduplication of the demonstrative morph occur:

<i>do-doveŋ</i>	further away from THE orientation point on a higher level than <i>doveŋ</i>
<i>?a-?a-?aveŋ</i>	closer to THE orientation point than <i>?a-?aveŋ</i> etc.

The function of this reduplication and double reduplication is therefore different from that described for (double) reduplication in the other series of demonstratives, although there may be correspondences with the reduplicated forms of the *?aŋa* series (further research is necessary).

The orientation point may be referred to explicitly by a preceding possessive personal pronoun: *?-e ?aveŋ* 'for THE entity on the nearby side' versus *?-e moveŋ* 'for THE entity on the other side (on the same level)' etc.

Another way of specifying the location intended is the addition of demonstratives of the *?aŋa* series:

<i>moveŋ ?aŋa</i>	on the other side (seen from THE orientation point and at the same level, close to THE speaker)
<i>moveŋ ?aŋu</i>	on the other side (seen from THE orientation point and at the same level, close to THE hearer) (the latter addition is relevant in marked usage only, e.g. when the form is opposed to <i>moveŋ ?aŋa</i> ; in unmarked usage it should be replaced by 'at THE place')
<i>moveŋ ?amo</i>	on the other side (seen from THE orientation point and at the same level, close neither to THE hearer nor THE speaker)

(Combinations such as **moveŋ ?apo* do not occur.)

For the sake of completeness I mention that the forms of this series are opposed to constructions such as *?amo veŋ* 'along/via/because of/about/against that, close neither to THE hearer nor THE speaker, on the same level as THE orientation point', while they cannot be analysed as combinations of a member of the *?a* series and the word *veŋ* (see T4).

Further research is necessary with regard to this series in a number of respects. There seems to be an overlap with forms such as *mida-ŋ ?oa* 'on the side to which one has to go up from THE orientation point' (cf. Steinhauer 1977:41). In the second place there appears to be an overlap between constructions such as *?-e moveŋ* and forms such as *?-e-mo?a*¹⁸ (*mo?a* etc. replace *moveŋ* etc. in the dialects of East Pura, but in Dolap the unprefixated forms do not exist).

Finally, the syntax of the series under discussion needs further investigation. The text frequency of the forms is low, so that I can only give two examples:

- (103) *abaŋ moveŋ veŋ jehi met ma abaŋ ?aveŋ*
 village at.yonder.side (level) at put.down having.taken moving village at.this.side
veŋ jehi veŋ ?ini t-at miliβar
 at put.down with 3p.pl.SUBJ REC-with wage.war
 The village on that side and the one on this side waged war with each other.
 (A *met ma B veŋ* is the usual expression for 'A with B together'.)
- (104) *leki ?ana bapa ?a-tutuk: 'seraŋ, ?aŋu n-ia*
 monkey 3p.sg.SUBJ crocodile THE.entity-to-speak friend that my-leg
nian, n-ia ba moveŋ ?aŋu'
 not my-leg EMPH on.that.side (level) that.near.you
 The monkey, he said to the crocodile, 'My friend, that is not my leg, my leg is at the other
 side there (close to you)'.

4.9

The above survey of Blagar demonstratives leaves many questions pertaining to them undiscussed. Some have been mentioned in passing. This is the place to mention some more.

1. My field notes contain a form *donoaŋ* 'as much/many as up there', which suggests another paradigm; *toaŋ* 'much, many' seems to be morphologically related, although there are no other instances of a similar morphophonemic change.

2. It is a matter of future investigation to determine which combinations of syntactically and morphologically different demonstratives are possible and whether there are constraints on combinability which are of a grammatical nature.

3. The existence and functions of reduplication and double reduplication need to be checked and compared for the various paradigms.

4. Finally, further research is needed on the necessity of distinguishing a stressed and/or lengthened *?a* series from an unstressed one; in any case it needs to be investigated which locative expressions (including demonstratives themselves) can be preceded by these stressed and/or lengthened forms of the *?a* series.

Constructions such as *?ana ?a, ?a?a mihi* [?'a:, ?'a?a] '(s)he sits here (visible, closer to THE speaker than *?a?a*)' and *?ana do, do mihi* [d'o:, do m'ih] '(s)he sits up there (relatively far up)' compensate for the fact that the reduplicated forms of the *?a?a* series (i.e. *?a?a?a* etc.) cannot express comparative closeness or distance, and for the non-existence of lengthened or reduplicated forms of the auxiliary *?a* series, which could have had such a function. Related to these questions is of course the problem of whether *?a* and *?u* behave exactly the same way as *po, mo* and *do* with regard to the ability to be stressed and/or lengthened.

5. TEXT WITH ANNOTATIONS

The following text is an example of the constantly changing frame of reference, as it appears from the use of the demonstratives. The story was tape-recorded in Kupang (Timor) in November 1975, when it was told by Rudolf Lumba, a retired officer of the Alor branch of the Indonesian Ministry of Information and Dolap's most famous story-teller. With the assistance of H.D.R. Gomang some loan-wards have been replaced by their Blagar equivalents, when there was one (e.g. instead of *saboŋ* from Indonesian *sabun* 'soap', *na ʔ-e ul veŋ* (lit. 'thing having lather') has been used. Further, some obvious mispronunciations and repetitions have been omitted.

It should be remarked in this connection, however, that it is a characteristic of Blagar narrative prose to repeat part of a preceding clause, when the situation or event it refers to is presented as the background of what follows.

The moral of the story, summoning the women of Alor to be aware of the dangers of wearing knickers that are too loose, has been left out here.

The text is presented in the same way as the examples given above. It is followed by a list of numbered annotations, the numbers referring to the corresponding numbers of the text sentences.

5.1 TEXT

- (1) *ʔ-ar* *ʔ-e* *mulal*
 3p.POSS-vagina 3p-sg.POSS eel
 Vagina-eel
- (2) *ada* *ne* *jaŋu* *keneiŋ* *nu,* *doʔe* *alul* *por* *taŋ*
 there.was human.being female adolescent one be.up.there Alor (is)land on
 Once there was a girl, on the island of Alor.
- (3) *abaŋ* *ʔauŋ* *ʔ-ene* *velai*
 village that 3p.POSS-name Velai
 The name of the village was Velai.
- (4) *ku-kua* *veŋ* *ʔana* *pakiŋ* *ʔaiŋ* *ʔila* *jar* *mi* *veŋ*
 INTENS-dark against 3p.sg.SUBJ clothes carry go water in against

ʔai
 wash.by.beating
 Early in the morning she brought (her) clothes to the water and started washing them.
- (5) *jar* *halu-ŋ* *jar* *mual* *mi* *totu*
 water leak-QUAL water river.bed in stream
 The water was running water, it flowed in a river-bed.
- (6) *ne* *jaŋu* *keneiŋ* *ʔauŋ* *ʔ-e* *tuŋ* *ʔari* *nu* *belta* *tuaru*
 human.being female adolescent that 3p-sg.POSS year decade one and eight
 That girl was eighteen years old.

- (7) *ʔana ʔila jar ʔ-omi mi mihi*
 3p.sg.SUBJ go water 3p.POSS-inside in sit
 She went into the water and sat down.
- (8) *ʔe noaŋ ʔe lipa ʔe koŋdo ʔe*
 3p-sg.POSS men's.sarong 3p-sg.POSS check.sarong 3p-sg.POSS shirt 3p-sg.POSS
- deko ʔe kutaŋ ʔemaŋpi ʔauŋ mi mihi-t veŋ*
 trousers 3p-sg.POSS bra all that in sit-AIM/MANNER against
- ʔai*
 wash.by.hitting
 She washed the men's sarongs, the check sarongs, the shirts, the trousers, the bra's, all those things, sitting there.
- (9) *ʔana veŋ ʔai-t na ʔe ul veŋ*
 3p.sg.SUBJ against wash.by.hitting-AIM/MANNER thing 3p-sg.POSS lather with
- ma osoŋ osoŋ, ʔemaŋpi seŋ*
 moving rub rub all finish
 She washed rubbing and rubbing with soap until all was finished.
- (10) *ʔana ʔauŋ mi ʔeniŋ humulaŋ humulaŋ sehi se,*
 3p.sg.SUBJ that in make clean clean during.THE.period when
- ʔana mihi se, ʔana ʔ-ava ʔaiŋ se, na nu*
 3p.sg.SUBJ sit when 3p.sg.SUBJ 3p.POSS-chin fell when
 thing one
- poʔe ʔ-ar ʔ-omi ʔauŋ mi liglig*
 be.down.there 3p.POSS-vagina 3p.POSS-inside that in wriggling.movements
- ʔeniŋ, poʔe ʔe pulula ʔ-omi ʔauŋ mi*
 make be.down.there 3p-sg.POSS genitals 3p.POSS-inside that in
- liglig ʔeniŋ*
 wriggling.movements make
 While she was busy washing there, while she was sitting there she felt something something down there in her vagina was making wriggling movements, was making wriggling movements in her genitals.
- (11) *ʔana ʔ-eŋ uriŋ hera se, jar ʔe mulal nu*
 3p.sg.SUBJ 3p.POSS-eye direct descend when water 3p-sg.POSS eel one
- ʔ-ora ba ʔuʔe hera hili*
 3p.POSS-tail EMPH be.there descend hang
 When she looked down (she saw), it was the tail of an eel that was hanging down there.
- (12) *ʔ-oŋ ʔe boʔa ʔemaŋpi doʔe ʔe pulula*
 3p.POSS-head 3p-sg.POSS body all be.up.there 3p-sg.POSS genitals

- ?-omi mi mida ?ila
 3p.POSS-inside in go.up already
 Its head and its body had gone up there into her genitals.
- (13) ?e pulula ?-omi mi mida ?ila ?ulaŋ di se,
 3p-sg.POSS genitals 3p.POSS-inside in go.up already like.that also when
 holomaŋ ?u?e dira niaŋ ba, ?ana veŋ kilaŋ
 in.the.beginning be.there be.ill/painful not therefore 3p.sg.SUBJ about not.care
 Although it had gone up like that into her genitals, it did not hurt her at first so she did not mind.
- (14) ?ana ?ulaŋ ?u?e mihi
 3p.sg.SUBJ like.that be.there sit
 She was sitting there like that.
- (15) ?e noaŋ ?-e na ?anauŋ ?ana veŋ
 3p-sg.POSS men's.sarong 3p-sg.POSS thing those.in.a.group 3p.sg.SUBJ against
 ʔai-t ?eniŋ alus alus seŋ, lamaŋ humulaŋ humulaŋ
 wash.by.beating-AIM/MANNER make fine fine finish rinse clean clean
 sen, ?ana medi-t met ma noaŋ mi,
 finish 3p.sg.SUBJ take-AIM/MANNER having.taken moving man's.sarong in
 ?auŋ mi parta-t ?eniŋ a?uŋ a?uŋ se, ?ana ʔaniŋ do?e
 that in bind-AIM/MANNER make good good when 3p.sg.SUBJ carry be.up.there
 ?-oboi-t ?-e hava mi mida
 THE.entity-turn-AIM/MANNER 3p-sg.POSS house in go.up
 Her men's sarongs, all those things of hers, she finished washing them, making them all beautiful, she finished rinsing them all clean, she took them and put them into a men's sarong, finished binding them in it, making it all tidy, (and then) she carried them up there back to her house.
- (16) ?ana mida ?-e hava mi, ?ana noaŋ na
 3p.sg.SUBJ go.up 3p-sg.POSS house in
 3p.sg.SUBJ men's.sarong thing
 ?anauŋ poriaŋ niaŋ, ?ana mida mu,
 those.in.a.group put.to.dry.in.the.sun not 3p.sg.SUBJ go.up just
 ?oda-t ?ipa de?i taŋ mea
 throw-AIM/MANNER go.down bamboo.cot on put
 She went to her house, she did not lay out the sarong and all the things to dry in the sun, she just went in and threw them down onto the bamboo cot.
- (17) ?ana ?-iva ?-e ?aru: 'n-iva, n-iva!'
 3p.sg.SUBJ 3p.POSS-mother 3p-sg.POSS call my-mother my-mother
 She called her mother, 'Mother, mother!'
- (18) ?-iva hula: 'naba ?eniŋ'
 3p.POSS-mother say what make
 Her mother said, 'What is the matter?'

- (19) 'ee, ana bake ma he?i, ana bake user
EXCL you(sg).SUBJ please come (level) first you(sg).SUBJ please quick
ma!
come (level)
'Please, come here a minute, please, come here quick!'
- (20) ?-iva hula: 'eh, aiŋ ?auŋ di naba ?eniŋ'
3p.POSS-mother say EXCL you(sg) that also what make
Her mother said: 'Eh, you...! what is the matter now?'
- (21) 'niaŋ-ba, user ma he?i memet, user ma!
I.can't.help.it quick come (level) first elder.woman quick come (level)
'I can't help it, hurry mother, come quick!'
- (22) ?-iva ?ana ma se, ?ana ?auŋ mi tait
3p.POSS-mother 3p.sg.SUBJ come (level) when 3p.sg.SUBJ that in begin
?-iva ?-a-tutuk hula:
3p.POSS-mother THE.entity-to-speak say
Her mother came, and there she began to tell her mother [what had happened], saying
- (23) 'n-iva e, n-e pulula ?aŋa!
my-mother EXCL 1p-sg.POSS genitals this
'Oh, mother, my genitals here!'
- (24) na vede ?ila po?e jar ?-omi mi mihi-t
1p.sg a.while.ago go be.down.there water 3p.POSS-inside in sit-AIM/MANNER
noaŋ veŋ bai benaŋ ?u, jar ?-e
men's.sarong against wash.by.beating mentioned you.know water 3p-sg.POSS
mulal nu ?a?e ?ila n-e pulula ?-omi mi mida
eel one be.here go 1p-sg.POSS genitals 3p.POSS-inside in go.up
'I went down this morning to do the washing, sitting in the water, you know, and then
there was this eel going here, up into my genitals.'
- (25) ?-oŋ ?-e bo?a do?e mi mida-t ?osiŋ
3p.POSS-head 3p-sg.POSS body be.up.there in go.up-AIM/MANNER completely
e, ?-e ?-ora ?-e-naŋ kolaŋ ?a?e hili ?aŋa!
EXCL 3p-sg.POSS 3p.POSS-tail 3p-sg-total.number only be.here hang this
'Its head and its body are up there, they've gone right up inside, only its tail is hanging
here!'
- (26) ?aŋa pi ?eniŋ tatalaŋ
this we(incl).SUBJ make how
'What must we do now?'

- (27) *nian-ba, ?iva ?ana ?auŋ mi ?ila ne*
 it.couldn't.be.helped 3p.POSS-mother 3p.sg.SUBJ that in go human.being
?e ?aru, ne memet ebeuŋ ?anauŋ
 3p-sg.POSS call human.being elder.woman other those.in.a.group
?i ?aru-t ho?a
 3p-pl call-AIM/MANNER come
 Her mother could do nothing but go there and call somebody, call the other women to come.
- (28) *misiriŋ misiriŋ misiriŋ, ?ora ?auŋ veŋ pina-t misiriŋ*
 pull pull pull 3p.POSS-tail that at seize-AIM/MANNER pull
hera di hera-t ?ahala
 descend also descend-LIG unable
 [They] pulled and pulled and pulled, holding it by its tail, [they] pulled it downwards, but [they] could not get it out.
- (29) *mi anamaŋ do?e jehi e!*
 in strong be.up.there stuck EXCL
 It's got really stuck up there!
- (30) *mi anamaŋ do?e jehi-t ?ulaŋ ?ulaŋ ?ulaŋ mi*
 in strong be.up.there stuck-AIM/MANNER like.that like.that like.that period
?edaŋ aru tue se, jar ?e mulal benaŋ ?u
 its.number.of.days two three when water 3p.sg.POSS eel mentioned you.know
?e pulula ?-omi mi musi-t seŋ
 3p-sg.POSS genitals 3p.POSS-inside in decay-indirectly.observed finish
 Stuck tight up there as it was, after two or three days, the eel mentioned had decayed inside her genitals!
- (31) *?at hera-t ?ahala ba, ne ?auŋ mi ?aiŋ*
 THE.entity-with descend-LIG unable therefore human.being that in 3p.sg.
tevaŋ ?ila do?e dira-ŋ hava parama?asi karaŋbai mi
 carry.on.a.pole/litter go be.up.there ill-QUAL house Parama?asi Kalabahi in
 As it was impossible to get it out, the people then carried her up to the Parama?asi hospital in Kalabahi.
- (32) *?at ?ila do?e parama?asi karaŋbai mi, boma dokter di*
 THE.entity-with go be.up.there Parama?asi Kalabahi in, old.man doctor also
?eniŋ ?ahala
 make unable
 They took her up to Parama?asi in Kalabahi, but the doctor could not do anything either.
- (33) *va?al benaŋ dira-ŋ hava ?auŋ mi imina*
 child mentioned ill-QUAL house that in die
 The girl herself died there in the hospital.

- (34) *ne* *ʒaniŋ* *botəŋ* *tevaŋ* *hoʔa* *ʔaʔe* *ʔ-e* *abaŋ*
 human.being carry again carry.on.a.pole/litter come be.here 3p-sg.POSS village
velai mi he, *ʔaiŋ* *toroʔu*
 Velai in only.then 3p.sg bury
 The people carried her back here to her village Velai and then they buried her.

5.2 ANNOTATIONS TO THE TEXT

- (1) *-ar* belongs to the class of inalienable nouns, like the words for most other parts of the body and words denoting kinship relations; that is, their stems are obligatorily preceded by a possessive prefix, such as *ʔ-* for the third person singular.

-e marks a singular possessor which is at least expressed by a possessive prefix, but if necessary made explicit by an immediately preceding noun phrase; if the possession is not given by the context it is expressed by an immediately following noun phrase.

'Her vagina its eel' is the literal translation of *ʔ-ar ʔ-e mulal*. This is an untranslatable Blagar pun on *jar ʔ-e mulal* 'fresh water eel', a kind of eel only occurring in fresh water (*jar* 'fresh water' as opposed to *taŋ* 'sea (water)').

- (2) *ada* is an Indonesian loan; it is commonly used to introduce the main character at the beginning of a story: 'once upon a time there was'.

ne jaŋu keneiŋ nu exemplifies a possible structure of a Blagar noun phrase: noun \pm adjective (\pm adjective...) \pm numeral.

doʔe: seen from Kupang, Alor lies 'up there'.

por regularly follows names of islands or countries.

taŋ 'on' may be a post-nominal (like *mi* and *veŋ* – see (4)); in that case its nominal argument is made explicit by the preceding noun phrase; if such post-nominals are not cliticised to a preceding noun phrase, they are proclitics to the verb, while their nominal argument should be inferred from the frame of reference; as an adverb *taŋ* can be translated 'again' (cf. English *besides, on top of that*); in spite of their clitical character *taŋ*, *veŋ* and *mi* may be the heads of predicates, and as such they have features in common with transitive verbs.

- (3) *-ene* 'name' is another inalienable noun.

ʔauŋ should be interpreted as approximately 'the one in question'; from the frame of reference evoked by the preceding context the image of a village where the girl lived is implied.

- (4) *kua* 'dark'; *kua veŋ* and *kukua veŋ* or *kuakua veŋ* are set expressions, meaning 'in the morning' and 'early in the morning' (lit. 'bordering on the dark').

veŋ is an obligatory proclitic with certain verb stems such as *ʒai* 'wash by beating (against a flat stone for instance)'; otherwise it may be a post-nominal clitic with a wide range of interpretations: 'about, against, along, with, because of, bordering on, touching'. Following a noun phrase which is preceded by a possessive pronoun, it can be translated 'have': *ʔ-e hava veŋ* '(s)he has a house' (lit. 'her/his house with'); see also what has been said about *taŋ* in (2).

ʒaiŋ alternates with *ʒaniŋ*, see T15; I have not been able to detect a functional difference.

?ila 'go' is neutral with regard to the oppositions illustrated in Chart 2; the same form is used as an aspect marker with the approximate meaning 'already' (see Steinhauer 1977:43).

mi 'in, (in)to' belongs to the same group of words as *taŋ* (see (2)) and *veŋ*, above.

- (5) Verbs and adjectives with a stem ending in a vowel may have derivatives in *-ŋ*, which may be used as nouns or adjectives with the approximate meaning '(person) qualified by an unspecified relation to the action or quality referred to by the stem'.

halu-ŋ as an adjective is not only 'not stagnant' but also 'not drying up in the dry season'.

- (6) *?auŋ*: the girl has been introduced to the audience and can now be referred to anaphorically.

belta 'and' is used in numerals larger than ten before the units, if any.

tuaru 'eight' (and *turinu* 'nine') seem to be historically of the *delapan-sembilan* type: they contain the morphs *aru* 'two' and *nu* 'one'; synchronically, however, *tu* (and *turi*) cannot be analysed.

- (7) *-omi* 'inside, heart' also belong to the class of inalienable nouns; *jar ?-omi* is literally 'water its inside'.

- (8) *?auŋ mi* is anaphoric: 'in that (said) place'.

Verbs other than those of 'coming' and 'going' with a stem that ends in a vowel may have *-t* suffixed to their stems before a following verbal expression; in that case the referent of the latter is the aim of the referent of the former, or the referent of the former is the manner or circumstance pertaining to the execution of the referent of the latter; for these and other functions of *-t* see Steinhauer 1977:41-44.

- (9) *na ?-e ul veŋ*: literally 'thing its lather with'; a noun (phrase) followed by a relative clause (such as here *?-e ul veŋ*) has the same structure in Blagar as a main clause.

ma is a clitic such as *taŋ*, *mi* and *veŋ* (see (2) and (4)), but in contradistinction to these it cannot be used as the head of a clause; if *ma* seems to be the head of a clause it is the homophonous *ma* 'come from the same height as the point of destination, etc.' (see Steinhauer 1977:39).

- (10) *?auŋ mi*, see (8).

sehi, when used sentence finally, denotes that the event expressed by the preceding predicate is continuing during THE period (which is given by the frame of reference).

se is a particle, one of the functions of which is to relate two clauses, the first setting the temporal or conditional stage for the second; intonationally it is part of the first clause. If it is used as an enclitic after a noun phrase its function is conditional: *hava se...* [hav'a se] 'if it is/were a house'. At the beginning of a sentence it means approximately 'and then'. As a sentence (with rising intonation) it can be translated as 'and then?' or as 'is that so?'. If *se* follows *sehi*, the period *sehi* refers to is the one implied by the preceding predicate.

As will be seen from this text also, Blagar narrative prose may contain long sequences of clauses relating events that are temporally or otherwise connected. Formally these clauses are often related by *se* or another particle and at least by a non-falling intonation at the end of the non-final clause(s).

-*ava* 'chin' and -*oaj* 'breast' are inalienables that are regularly used to express reflexive notions; as yet the difference between them is unclear to me; -*ava baji* may be translated as 'to become aware of'.

poʔe 'be down there': if awareness in this case is indeed located in one's chin or head for that matter, the frame of reference would locate events around one's genitals 'down there'.

?*auj*: the genitals have been brought now into the forefront of the frame of reference, if they had not been so all the time.

liglig: as other phonaesthetic and onomatopoeic words it shows reduplication and an unusual phonemic structure (in the Blagar of Dolap *g* does not occur at the end of a syllable in other words).

- (11) -*ej* 'eye' and -*ora* 'tail' are inalienables.

ba after a noun phrase is either an emphasising enclitic or a particle such as *se* (see (10), connecting clauses, the first of which refers to the reason for the event which is the referent of the second; as a sentence (with rising intonation) it means 'so what?').

?*uʔe*: 'be there (near you)'; the audience is as it were invited to have a closer look.

- (12) -*oj* 'head' also belongs to the class of inalienable nouns.

doʔe 'be up there': the audience had acquired in T11 a new point of orientation, the hanging tail; now a close-up is presented from that perspective.

mida 'go up' corroborates this vision.

- (13) *ba*: see (11).

vej is obligatory with *kilaŋ* in this meaning.

The clitic *di* 'also' (especially if it is followed by *se*) acquires a concessive meaning: 'although THE event or situation being the case'; the preceding (part of the) utterance, if any, refers to the event or situation meant. See also (28). If *di* is used sentence initially (the sentence being longer than one word), it is stressed and always followed by *se*; the event or situation which is conceded must be inferred in that case from the frame of reference. As a sentence (with rising intonation) *di* means 'what else?'.

- (14) ?*ulaŋ* and ?*uʔe* refer back to the scene which has been depicted in the preceding sentences.

- (15) *na ?anauj* refers back to the things enumerated in T8.

met replaces in many contexts *medi-t*; often it is followed by *ma*; its exact function in this context is unclear to me. *X (met) ma Y mi* means 'to put X into Y' (here X and Y stand for optional noun phrases); likewise *X (met) ma Y vej* 'to add X to Y' and *X (met) ma Y taŋ* 'to add X onto Y'.

?*auj mi* probably refers back to *noaj mi*.

doʔe: from the perspective of the girl's activities near the water, her actions that follow the beginning of the carrying event (*baniŋ*) take place on a higher level, 'up there'. Preceding *doʔe* one would have expected a verb for 'going', e.g. ?*ila*, as *baniŋ* itself does not express movement; here one must assume the 'going' is implied.

-obo belongs to a class of verbs with an obligatory object marker; here the prefix *ʔ-* is coreferential with *ʔana*.

mida 'go up' is the regular word for 'go into' a house; traditionally houses were built on posts; the opposite is *hera* (not *ʔipa*), see Steinhauer 1977:39.

- (16) The enclitic *mu* is opposed to the non-clitic and preposed *maŋ*; the former means that 'THE other event does not take place' (besides the one that is characterised by *mu*), whereas the latter indicates that 'instead of the event characterised by it nothing else happened'.
- (17) *-iva* 'mother' is an inalienable noun; its range of appropriate referents is described in Steinhauer (forthcoming).

ʔaru belongs to a small class of verbs which, if transitive, acquire an immediately preceding object marker in the shape of a possessive pronoun: here this is *ʔ-e*, in T27 it is *ʔ-e* and *ʔ-i*.

- (18) *hula* may have different functions; cf. *ʔana hula ʔila* '(s)he wants to go' *hula ʔana ʔila* '(s)he will go; in case (s)he goes'. Followed by a direct or indirect quotation, it means 'say(ing)': *ʔana hula na ʔila* 1. '(s)he says: "I go"', 2. '(s)he says that I go'. (*ʔana hula ʔila* can also be interpreted as '(s)he says: "go"'.) After verbs which refer to a speech act, and preceding the quotation (such as in T22) its presence seems to be pleonastic vis-à-vis its absence (which is also possible).
- (19) *ee* is an exclamatory particle, which functions to draw THE hearer's attention.

ana is the subject form of the second person singular personal pronoun, which is neither emphasised nor specified by an attribute; as such it is opposed to *aiŋ* (see also (20)). For a survey of the personal pronouns see Steinhauer 1977:47. It should be remarked here that the reduplicated forms in the lower columns of the chart in that article had been inserted as a last minute change, based on information which could not be corroborated afterwards. Further research is necessary, also with regard to the function of the prefix *t-*. Stokhof's solution seems inspired too much by formal parallelisms in Woisika (cf. Stokhof 1984:158); at best it is only part of the picture.

bake means in general 'if only' or 'try', but in a clause with a second person agent it can be translated as 'please'.

ma within the enclosed space of the house means 'come from a point which is at the same height as the point of destination, the trajectory being parallel to the shore'; the girl has located her mother by her voice, so she is able to select the specific verb that is appropriate.

- (20) *ʔeh* is an interjection expressing annoyance.

ʔauŋ, used attributively after the second person singular pronoun (which therefore can only have the shape *aiŋ*), expresses that the speaker here distances herself from the hearer. The collocation *aiŋ ʔauŋ di* expresses speaker's annoyance: 'you (again)!'

- (21) *nian-ba*, as used here, seems to be semantically different from the *nian ba* which occurs for instance in the following dialogue: A. *ana ʔila?*, B *nian ba, aiŋ ba ʔila* A. 'are you going?', B. 'no, therefore you must go'; however, Blagar speakers readily translate it in any context into Indonesian as *tidak, jadi* 'no, therefore...'. Probably the construction can best be considered idiomatic in cases such as T21 as well as T27.

memet 'old (of women); old woman' is used as a term of address to married women who do not yet belong to the generation of grandparents.

- (22) The first *?ana* is coreferential with the immediately preceding *?iva*, the second one refers to the girl. The function of such a noun phrase followed by a coreferential personal pronoun is to underline the introduction of a new acting personage, on a par with the one(s) already introduced. In T18 and T20, where *?-iva* is not followed by *?ana*, she (the mother) is not yet presented as participating in the main stream of events. Compare also T27, where *?ana* appears again.

?auŋ mi most likely has temporal reference here: (her mother having come) 'at that moment'.

There are no other verbs that parallel *-a-tutuk* 'talk to' as to the make-up of its stem; this is obligatorily preceded by a personal prefix; comparison with *tutuk* 'be talking, be able to talk (of little children)', *veŋ tutuk* 'talk about' and *-at tutuk* 'talk with' show the necessity of distinguishing a prefix *-a-*.

- (23) The enclitic *e* indicates speaker's emotion.

Although *n-e pulula* is specific enough, *?aŋa* is added to draw the attention of the mother emphatically to the location it refers to; *?aŋa* 'this' instead of *?aŋu* 'that near you' or *?apo* 'that down there' indicates that the girl identifies herself with the location in question; *?aŋu* and *?apo* would have implied dissociation from it, *?aŋu* moreover having the additional implication 'you deal with it'.

- (24) *vede*: see note 2.

po?e is the opposite of *do?e* in T15.

?a?e: note what has been said about *?aŋa* in (23); the perspective is clearly different from the one of the story teller in T12, or that of the still unconcerned girl in T11.

βenaŋ ?u: see 4.5.5 above.

- (25) Here two relative positions are compared with each other: the visible tail is the place the girl identifies with, seen from which the activities of the eel's head and body are happening 'up there'. Compare the parallel relation of perspectives in T11 and T12.

Although *-ora* is an inalienable stem, it can be combined not only with the obligatory possessive prefix but in addition also with a free possessive pronoun; this implies dissociation of the part from the whole to which it 'inalienably' belongs.

-naŋ preceded by a personal pronominal prefix, formally similar to the possessive pronouns, indicates a total of entities: *?-e-naŋ kolaŋ* '(s)he/it alone', *?-i-naŋ kolaŋ* 'they alone', *?-i-naŋ tue* 'the three of them'. For the plural form these entities must be human.

- (26) *?aŋa*: 'this being the case'.

tatalaŋ is formally related to the 'manner' series of the demonstratives; the morph *ta-* is found in a number of interrogative pronouns: *ta-?aŋ* 'which?', *ta-?aŋ mi* 'where?', *ta-vedin* 'when?', *ta-vaŋ* 'how big?' etc. (the morph *vedin* does not occur in other words, however).

- (27) *?auŋ mi*: the context does not allow a definite choice between a temporal or a spatial interpretation, perhaps 'there and then' conveys the correct idea.

?anauŋ: the women of 'that' village.

- (28) The agent is not made explicit. The effect is an impression of hectic and chaotic activity, an impression which is reinforced by the repetition of *misiriŋ*.

hera 'descend, (with preceding verbs) downwards': the point of orientation is the hanging tail; the head and body of the eel have to be pulled down.

Here *di* is concessive, although it is not followed by *se*, the function of which in this connection needs further investigation.

-t in *hera-t* is obligatory because of the following *?ahala* (cf. Steinhauer 1977:42).

- (29) *do?e*: the point of orientation is still the hanging tail.
 (30) *?ulaŋ* 'like that (near you)', that is, as the audience has been told; the repetition of *?ulaŋ* suggests that the situation described continued without change.

musi-t seŋ: before the aspect marker *seŋ* the affix *-t* (only possible after stems ending in a vowel) indicates that the referent of the preceding stem has been indirectly observed (cf. Steinhauer 1977:42-43).

- (31) *-at* 'together with' belongs to a class of verbal auxiliaries, the stems of which are obligatorily preceded by a personal pronominal prefix: *n-at* 'together with me' etc.; *?-at hera* 'descend with it', i.e. 'get it down'.

?auŋ mi, see (27); another possibility is: (the people) 'who were there'.

?aiŋ has the same relation to *?ana* as *aiŋ* has to *ana*, see (19).

tevaŋ like *ba(n)iŋ* does not imply movement (see (15)) and is therefore followed by *?ila* 'go'.

do?e: either one has to 'go up' to get from Velai to Kalabahi (I have not been able to check this, but if so Velai may be the point of orientation), or the perspective is the same as the one of T2, in which case Kupang is the point of orientation, seen from which Kalabahi lies 'up there'.

dira-ŋ 'illness', cf. *dira* 'ill, painful' and the note on *halu-ŋ* in (5); *diraŋ hava* 'hospital' (literally 'illness house').

- (32) *boma* 'old (of men), old man' is the male equivalent of *memet* (see (21)).
 (33) *?auŋ* 'that (near you)': the audience has now become acquainted with the hospital.
 (34) Both *ho?a* 'come' and *?a?e* 'be here' show that Velai is the point of orientation and probably was so from T31 onwards.

he is a particle like *se* (see (10)), but it is never used sentence initially or in combination with a particle such as *di* or an adverb (?) such as *sehi*; after a noun phrase it is again conditional 'only in case of'.

NOTES

1. The dialect of these villages is the mother tongue of Hendrik Daniel Rudolf Gomang, who was my main informant when I did fieldwork on Blagar (in the years 1974-1976) with a grant from the Dutch Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO). I am grateful to WOTRO for its support and to Mr Gomang for his enthusiasm, patience and understanding.

2. Compare *ved* 'sun, day (24 hours)'; as a Blagar day begins at sunset, *vede bil kua* means 'yesterday evening, this (past) night' (*bil* 'time, period, place', *kua* 'dark'). Synchronically, a morphological relation between *vede* and *ved* cannot be proved: whatever the function of *-e* would be, *vede* would be the only example of its occurrence.
3. To mention a few problems which need to be solved before a more satisfying semantic analysis can be achieved:
 - the function of particles such as *ba* and *se* (see 5.2 (10) and (11));
 - the exact function of the various forms of the personal pronouns (see also 5.2 (19));
 - the role of topicalisation and other discourse strategies;
 - the function of word order (e.g. SOV versus OSV).
4. Abbreviations used in the interlinear glosses are:

1p	first person
2p	second person
3p	third person
EMPH	emphasising particle
excl	exclusive
EXCL	exclamatory particle
incl	inclusive
INTENS	reduplicated morph 'intensifying' the meaning of the stem
LIG	ligature
pl	plural
POSS	possessive prefix or proclitic
QUAL	nominalising suffix expressing a thing or person qualified by the referent of the stem, or adjectivising suffix resulting in a form expressing THE quality that is related to the referent of the stem
REC	reciprocal prefix
sg	singular
SUBJ	subject
5. For the function of *-t* see 5.2 (8) and (28), also Steinhauer 1977:41-42.
6. Instead of *boma ?anaŋ*, *boma nauŋ* could have been used. Apparently *nauŋ* can be used as an alternant of *?anaŋ* only after nouns denoting human beings. It is typical of vocative constructions. Audiences for instance are usually addressed in one of the following ways: *ne nauŋ* 'people!', *boma nauŋ*, *memet nauŋ* 'ladies and gentlemen!' or *i nauŋ* 'you (pl)!'. Because of the latter construction (*i* is the second person plural possessive pronoun), I consider *nauŋ* a noun and the head of a noun phrase rather than an attribute to a nominal head; as **i ?anaŋ* does not occur, *nauŋ* cannot be analysed as a variant of *?anaŋ*.
7. In this context, in which the speaker reproaches the hearer, first person inclusive pronominal forms are used, although the event referred to occurred to the speaker only.
8. Personal pronouns followed by an attribute can only have the *-ŋ* form. Opposed to *?iŋ* is *?ini*; see also (19) and 5.2 (19) and (31).

9. These verbs of 'coming' and 'going' – in contradistinction to other verbs – do not add *-t* when their stems end in a vowel. Apart from the verbs mentioned in section 3.2, *hera* 'descend', *?ila* 'go' and *ho?a* 'come' belong to this group of verbs, see Steinhauer 1977. The verbs meaning 'go' are combined with *po?e*, *mo?e* or *do?e*, those meaning 'come' with *?a?e* and *?u?e*, while *hera* (being neutral as regards the opposition 'moving away' versus 'moving towards THE orientation point') can be combined with all of them.
10. *hera* 'descend' is the only other verb of movement which belongs to this group of verbs. The possible combinations with the demonstratives discussed here are parallel to those set out in note 9.
11. I have not included /c/ as a separate phoneme in the list of phonemes above; *kancil* is of course an unassimilated loan-word.
12. It may be questioned whether the rather unexpected *mo* in (53) does not in fact have temporal reference: 'after that'.
13. Because of the feature of visibility to THE speaker, negation of *momo* would again be impossible: **?ana ?ila momo niag*.
14. Only exclamatory particles may follow.
15. /y/ is a loan phoneme and is not included in the list of phonemes in 2.1.
16. The forms are opposed to *?a?e vede* 'just now' and *?u?e vede* 'just now', but the exact semantic difference is as yet uncertain.
17. In Blagar a new day starts at sunset (see note 2). The glosses given here should be understood accordingly.
18. I do not know whether *?emo?a* is part of a complete or even only of a partial paradigm in the Blagar of Dolap. The form itself seems to have the same meaning as *?e movej*: 'for THE entity on the other side (on the same level)'.

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