I DON'T KNOW WHETHER I'M COMING OR GOING:

A Study of Some Usages of 'Come' and 'Go' in Korafe

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1. Introduction

Three areas of Korafe usage of 'come' and 'go' are the focus of this article. The first area concerns some presuppositions I had about the semantic nature of 'come' and 'go' in English which did not hold true for Korafe. Secondly, Korafe speakers along with many other Papua New Guineans use 'come' and 'go' to establish the nature and length of action in temporal spans. Lastly, the Korafe use of 'come' and 'go' in narrative discourses clearly demarcates epi-settings (speaker oriented when the speaker is not involved in the events of the narrative) and primary settings (speaker oriented when the speaker includes himself in the events of the narrative) from secondary settings (event-participant oriented), thus defining the sequence of episodes in a narrative discourse.

Language generically, the verbs 'come' and 'go' are generally endowed with properties of motion as well as deictic orientation to participant and place. The motion 'come' is generally defined as a movement in space towards a central participant (usually the speaker), and 'go' is defined as a spatial movement away from a central participant or the place where the central participant stood at utterance onset. The basic meanings of Korafe furari 'to come' and yari 'to go' coincide with the above definitions. 2 'Come' and 'go' are considered as motions on a continuum over a period of time rather than single punctiliar actions. This fact is reflected in the
usage of the long process stems of 'come' and 'go' with all tense suffixes other than the today's past tense suffix. The today's past tense suffix combines with the short process stem to indicate that the action took place in a relatively short time span. (Many Korafe verbs are manifested by two stems: some reduplicated such as fend, fefend 'put inside' and dand, dandud 'chew', some with an -mb to -f switch such as gamb, gaf 'bite', and others without a specific pattern such as a, y (I) 'go' and mind, re 'eat'. The reduplicated or second stem in each of the given examples is termed the long process stem, because it must occur with repetitive or durative forms and all forms that encode a fairly lengthy period of action. The usual usage of short process stems, the first one listed, for most verbs other than 'come' or 'go' is in forms with suffixes for such tenses and tense-related aspects as future tense, procedural, hortative, subjunctive, and imperative. All these forms are not grounded in a specifically defined and previously established tense framework. But the short process stem is also used with the today's past tense, which only occurs within a short time span.)

The Korafe furari 'to come' and yari 'to go' cover only the actual movement between leaving and arriving. Korafe speakers employ doyari for 'to leave' and buvari for 'to arrive'. Directional verbs often occur with furari and yari:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>furari</th>
<th>yari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;to come&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to go&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vitifurari</td>
<td>vitiyari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to come up'</td>
<td>'to go up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vosefurari</td>
<td>voseyari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to come down'</td>
<td>'to go down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sembufurari</td>
<td>semblyari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to come across'</td>
<td>'to go across'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>savufurari</td>
<td>saviyari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to come inland'</td>
<td>'to go inland'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buvufurari</td>
<td>buvlyari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to come out toward coast'</td>
<td>'to go out toward coast'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The directional bias of Korafe speakers is based on their coastal location on the fiords of Cape Nelson.

In order to understand the Korafe perception of 'come' and 'go', it is necessary to refer to the deictic properties of person, place, and time as Korafe speakers employ them in reference to 'come' and 'go'. Deixis (as defined by Fillmore 1966:220) is

"the name given to those aspects of language whose interpretation is relative to the occasion of utterance: to the time of utterance, and to times before and after the time of utterance; to the location of the speaker at the time of utterance; and to the identity of the speaker and the intended audience. An extended theory of deixis would take in several other aspects of the speaker's spatial, temporal, and social orientation."

Personal deictic orientation of 'come' and 'go' in Korafe almost always involves the speaker. In a few narratives and legends, we have found the personal deictic orientation to be the participants. 'Come' is a movement toward the speaker or a movement of the speaker (in present tense), and 'go' is a movement away from the speaker or the place where the speaker is standing. There are three place deictic categories in Korafe: proximal-eminda 'here, near the speaker', medial - aminda 'there, near the hearer', and distal - ominda 'there, away from speaker and hearer'. The proximal eminda only occurs with furari 'to come'. The medial and distal categories occur with both furari 'to come' and yarl 'to go', but the use with furari is limited to certain contexts which will presently be described. Usage of 'come' manifests the temporal deixis of a passage of time up to the present moment, and 'go' involves all other durative passages of time.

2. "I Don't Know Whether I'm Coming or Going!"

In our first years of living at Baga, we were always using 'come' and 'go' wrongly in the present tense, especially in greetings. We have slowly discovered that some of our presuppositions about the underlying semantics
of 'come' and 'go', as based on our understanding of English, did not hold for Korafe.

Fillmore discusses some suppositions of 'come' in English in his article, "Deictic Categories in the Semantics of 'Come'" (Fillmore 1966). He formulated some supposition rules on the basis of the semantic features of 'come' in English, which basically focus on the person deixis of 'come' as that of speaker or hearer for English. For instance, 'I'm coming' means a movement toward the hearer. On the other hand, 'Did you come yesterday?' indicates a movement toward the speaker.

The verb 'go' indicates a motion away from either the speaker or hearer. 'I'm going' means that the speaker is leaving the hearer. 'He is going now' indicates a motion away from both the speaker and hearer.

Some of the meanings in the spatial context that Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary gives for 'come' are: "to move toward something, to approach, to reach a particular station in a series" (p.224). It assigns the following as spatial definitions of 'go': "to move on a course, to leave, to depart" (p.492). As an English speaker, I am familiar with these definitions and with the underlying person and place deixis that English 'come' and 'go' convey. Other languages also employ the same or similar definitions and underlying semantics. In answer to the question, 'Where are you going?', which demands a response including the semantic notions of movement away from a speaker and movement on a predetermined course, speakers from the following languages would respond in this fashion:
German: Ich gehe nach Berlin.
I go to Berlin
'I'm going to Berlin.'

French: Je vais à Paris.
I go to Paris
'I'm going to Paris.'

Spanish: Voy al centro.
go, I to downtown
'I'm going downtown.'

Tzeltal: Yax boon ta muc'ul ja'.
intransitive go, I to big water
'I'm going to the river.'

Tok Pisin: Mi go long Lae nau.
I go to Lae pr
'I'm going to Lae.'

All of the above responses occur with a form of the verb 'go'. However, the
Korafe response to the same question is:

Na Tufl re-f-ena. 3
I Tufl rep-come, LP-pr, is, ind
'I'm coming (for expected 'going') to Tufl.'

Before leaving a place, a Korafe speaker may say something that coincides with
our set of English suppositions:

Na Tufl y-arl-dae er-ena.
I Tufl go, LP-to, do-purpose rep-do, pr, is, ind
'I'm about to go to Tufl.'

But as he gets underway, he may say:
Na re-f-ena.
rep-come, LP-pr, 1s, ind
'I'm coming (for expected 'going').'

In English we suppose that when a speaker takes a movement toward the hearer such as in the sentence, 'I'm coming ', we label that movement 'come' automatically. However, Korafe children respond to their mothers' calls to 'come' with the answer:

Na er-ena-rei
rep-go, pr, 1s, ind-polite, Immediacy
'I'm going (for expected 'coming').'

Likewise, Korafe speakers handle a movement of speaker toward hearer in all cases that we have with some form of 'go'.

Na nimo-kena y-arena.
you-toward go, LP-f, 1s, ind
'I will go (for expected 'come') to you.'

The use of 'come' and 'go' in greetings and responses is illustrated below. In the figure, two people are walking down a trail.

A says to B in greeting:
'You're coming.'

Korafe: Refesa.
rep, come, pr, 2s, ind
B responds:

'Yes, I'm going (for expected 'coming').' Korafe: E, ərena-re!

yes rep, go, pr, 1s, ind-
pollte, immediacy

Or, B calls to A in greeting:

'You're going.'

Korafe: Fresa.

re, go, pr, 2s, ind

A responds:

'Yes, I'm coming (for expected 'going').' Korafe: E, refeno!

yes rep, come, pr, 1s,

stentorian

English presuppositions do not coincide with the Korafe use of first person, present tense forms, which the above responses illustrate. The greetings, with second person, present tense forms, do, however, match our expectations. The example below, in third person, present tense, again coincides with our suppositions of 'come', in this case, indicating a movement toward the speaker and hearer.

Refira.

'refeno' 'He's coming.'

rep, come, LP, pr, 3s, ind

The following third person example with 'go' reflects the underlying semantics of movement away from speaker and hearer.

Eira.

'reira' 'He's going.'

rep, go, pr, 3s, ind

Likewise, the use of first person with any other tense usually corroborates our semantic suppositions for 'come' and 'go'. The use of 'go' in the next example implies a movement away from the speaker's present location.
Na Tufl aena. 'I went to Tufl.'

1 Tufl go, TP, 1s, ind

The example below with 'come' implies that the speaker is in the vicinity of the house.

Na nati-da ol-eni. 'I came home.'

1 house-to come, SP-LP, 1s, ind

The Korafe usage of 'come' and 'go' reflects a speaker-centred or egocentric bias, more prevalent than in English which is sometimes hearer-centred. The Korafe 'come' generally indicates movement toward the speaker or the speaker's location, while 'go' generally indicates movement away from the speaker or his location. The egocentric bias is intensified by the additional use of 'come' with first person, present tense to signify movement on a determined course; i.e., while he is moving on course, the Korafe is (in a sense) moving toward himself or at least keeping himself as the action centre. To countermand this egocentric bias when concentrating on movement toward someone else, the Korafe speaker deliberately de-emphasizes his normal egocentric position, by use of 'go' with first person. In a sense, he is moving away from himself or his original egocentric position, action initially. He intensifies this point of view by using the clitic -re, implying both politeness and immediacy of action.

3. Temporal Uses of 'Come' and 'Go' in Korafe

In English, 'come' and 'go' occasionally manifest a temporal orientation.

(i) The evening went pleasantly enough. (quality of passage of time)

(ii) The boy went on teasing his sister. (continuative aspect)

(iii) You've come to a new stage in your life, adolescence.

(arrival at stage of life)

In Tok Pisin, Mühlhäusler (1975:206) asserts that I kam and I go follow
verbs in a verb phrase to indicate duration, often of a repetitive nature.

Grimes, in commenting on Paul Freyberg's analysis of i kam and i go states,

"i kam i kam in the aspect slot refers to the time of an earlier event that
is extended toward the time of speaking, while i go i go refers to the
same extension from the point of view of a participant in the action and
the time of happening (repetition is part of the expression, but the
particular number of repetitions is more like an iconic representation
of extent, with more repetitions for more time)."

(Grimes 1975:81)

Like English, the Korafe furari 'to come' is used in relationship to periods
in a person's life, but yari 'to go' is used even more extensively in relating to
passages of time. More specifically, they define the passage of time from one
event or period in a person's life up until another. When used to convey such
temporal ideas, yari and furari occur only as medial forms in sentence medial
position. In most instances, yari 'to go' expresses this passage of time.

Mandi y-a bajido genembo alira
boy go,LP-seq,dur,SA grow,SP-seq,SA man do,f,3s,Ind
'The boy will go on until he grows up and becomes a man.'

It also defines the passage of time between two actions in the process of creating
something.

Na ghalto gemb-eno, alira
I pandanus weave,SP-seq,p,1s,DA go,SP-seq,TP,3s,SA
ghousa etiri, ghagh-eteni.
long do,seq,p,3s,DA fold,up-TP,1s,Ind
'I sewed together pandanus (for mats), it went along, and when it was long
enough, I folded it up.'

Medial forms of furari 'to come' express a passage of time moving toward the
present moment, when first or second person are used as subject. Occasionally,
furari occurs with a third person subject, when the passage of time stops within
the boundaries of 'today'.
Na f-use  baj-ido  evetu  etenl
I come,LP-sim,SA grow,SP-seq,SA woman do,TP,1s,Ind
'I passed through life until I grew up and became a woman.'

The focus in all these instances is on temporal duration, spanning a gap between
two events or life periods, rather than repetition of action.

Like Tok Pisin, Korafe speakers use 'come' and 'go' extensively to indicate
durative aspect with the repetitive overlay. However, in order to obtain this
semantic configuration, they must occur in a durative verb phrase in combination
with other verbs. The Korafe durative verb phrase is composed of the long
process, simultaneous, repetitive, same actor (-udo or -ido) form of most verbs
other than 'go', 'come', and 'stay'; and a medial form of furari 'to come' or
vari 'to go'. The length of duration of action depends on the medial form of
furari or vari that the speaker selects. When the repeated, durative action is
performed by first or second person during some time moving up toward or
terminating at the present moment, medial forms of furari 'to come' are chosen.
When the action terminates in the future or is performed by some third person
subject, medial forms of vari 'to go' are usually employed. The following
examples indicate the switch in forms to vary duration lengths.

(1) Length over many days or years:

Na  voto  gef-udo  re-f-una
I net weave,LP-sim,rep,SA rep-come,LP-seq,hab,1s,SA
amb-enl.6
di,SP-TP,1s,Ind
'I've kept on weaving fishnets until I'm finally exhausted.'

(11) A shorter, overnight, two day span:

Na  voto  gef-udo  re-f-ana
I net weave,LP-sim,rep,SA rep-come,LP-seq,NP,1s,SA
ungo mema re-s-ira.
hand pain rep-say-pr,3s,ind
'I have kept on weaving the fishnet until my hand hurts.'

(iii) Shortest span, within today's scope:
Na voto gef-udo
1 net weave,LP-sim,rep,SA come,Sp-seq,TP,1s,SA
av-ari-dae er-ena.
sleep-to,do-purpose rep-do,pr,1s,ind
'I've been weaving the fishnet today until now I'm about to sleep.'

As the above examples indicate, the shorter the duration indicated in the
durative verb phrase, the less consequential is the following action. In
fact, the habitual form of yari 'to go' or furari 'to come' in the durative
verb phrase is often used for exaggerated effect. Although the forms of
furari and yari are usually same actor medial forms, different actor medial
forms occasionally do occur, indicating a change of subject for the sequential
action.

Na ghaito gef-u re-f-ano,
1 pandanus weave,LP-sim,rep,1A rep-come,LP-seq,NP,1s,DA
kokora s-irl, fit-i fas-e
rooster say-seq,p.3s,DA put,SP-seq,1A lie,down-seq,1A
av-enl.
sleep-TP,1s,ind
'I kept on sewing together the pandanus mat until the rooster
crowed; then I put it down, lay down, and slept.'

With first and second person subjects, the durative action may proceed
toward the present, but end some time in the past. In the following
examples, the durative, repeated action ends in the distant past.

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'I kept on hitting my wife until I entered prison; then I stopped (hitting her).'

'You've kept on weaving fishnets until now that you've become an old man.'

When third person is the subject, either furari 'to come' or yari 'to go' is acceptable when the time sequence terminates at the present moment.

'Mandi a noi numamo re ava eraeri
boy that his,mother his,father what that do,proc,3p,Q

gos-udo f-use/lse oroko
see,LP-sim,rep,SA come,LP-sim,SA/go,LP,sim,SA today
evetu fit-ira.
woman put,SP-TP,3s,Ind

'That boy has continued observing what his mother and father do until today when he married a wife.'

The demonstrative a 'that' in the previous example is often used in a neutral sense in terms of spatial orientation. However, if a 'this, near the speaker' were substituted for a 'that' in the above example, fuse 'coming' would have to occur.

When the passage of time terminates at a moment other than the present
moment and third person is the subject, medial forms of yari 'to go' occur in the durative verb phrase. In the following example, the final verb indicates a procedural action, not pinned to any definite time.

Mandi a gos-udo ise, baj-ido
boy that see,LP-sim,rep,SA go,LP,sim,SA grow,SP-seq,SA
evetu fit-iraira.
woman put,SP-proc,3s,ind
'That boy continues observing that until he grows up and marries a wife.'

The next example is in the distant past tense.

Genembo oka r-ido ise, dika
man fish eat,LP-sim,rep,SA go,LP,sim,SA teeth
vovos-usira.
descend,LP-DP,3s,ind
'The man kept on eating fish until his teeth fell out.'

With durative, repetitive action projected for the future, medial forms of yari 'to go' are always used, regardless of the person subject.

Afa geka s-irurari nining-udo ise,
father talk say-sim,f,3s,DA hear,LP-sim,rep,SA go,LP,sim,SA
a na genembo arena.
I man do,f,1s,ind
'While my father will be speaking, I will continue to listen right up until I become a man.'

The egocentric bias of Korafe speakers is again seen in the temporal usage of furari 'to come' and yari 'to go'. Spatial considerations also play a part in the selection of furari or yari. An action moving in time toward
the present temporal position of the speaker or those spatially present with him at the moment of utterance (i.e., hearer or third person, near to speaker) is defined by some form of 'come'. An action moving away in time from the speaker's present temporal perspective or not particularly related to his temporal or spatial position is defined by some form of 'go'. The Korafe speaker utilizes furari and yari thus to indicate temporal spans in the durative and repetitive aspects.

4. The Place of Furari and Yari in Narrative Settings

Korafe speakers also employ furari 'to come' and yari 'to go' to demarcate the centre of the stage of each setting in a narrative. In most Korafe narratives, there is an epi-setting, the places where the speaker is located while recounting the narrative, also called "narrative setting" (Grimes and Glock, 1970). Unless the speaker is a participant in the narrative, one only finds the epi-setting in the introduction and conclusion of the narrative discourse. Each episode has its own centre of the stage which is an event setting, the place where the action takes place (Grimes and Glock, 1970) or a participant setting, the place where the principal participant(s) is (are) (Litteral, 1972:31). The event and participant settings are temporary or secondary settings. When the scene switches from one temporary setting to another, motion verbs are usually involved. The Korafe departure word is doyari 'to leave', and it marks the end of the episode. The words yari 'to go' and furari 'to come' are used to indicate the movement from one episode centre to another. The choice of which one to use at scene switching times is crucial to an understanding of the primary setting. The primary setting is the dominant setting, the place toward which the participants are 'coming' or from which they are 'going' in transition intervals between episodes. When a new
temporary setting is reached, the Korafe speaker often inserts the word buvari 'to arrive', or else he moves back into a pattern of alternating the verbs 'come' and 'go' in relationship to the centre of the new temporary setting. If the narrative is a first person narrative, or if the speaker includes himself, even vaguely, as a participant, the epi-setting and the primary setting constitute the same entity.

In the Korafe migration story, basically a travel narrative, the epi-setting is Baga village, and the primary setting is the area around Tufi, which includes Baga village. The speaker, although not a participant in the migration, includes himself with the Korafe people who are residing at Tufi at the conclusion of their migration, so the epi-setting equals the primary setting. The place of origin and all stopping places are viewed as stage centres for different episodes (temporary settings), and all movements within those episodes reflect the centre; 'coming', movement toward the centre and 'going', movement away from the centre. As the Korafes move from the place of origin to the other stopping places, the primary setting is clearly established. Any movement toward Tufi is termed 'come', and the verb 'come' is repeatedly used until the Korafe participants reach the next temporary setting. Any movement away from Tufi is termed 'go', and the verb 'go' is repeatedly used until the Korafe participants arrive at the next temporary setting.

In Max Foreman's version of "Hansel and Gretel", a creative writing exercise and obviously a legendary tale, there is no epi-setting, and the writer is completely out of focus. There does not appear to be a primary setting either. There are four secondary settings, and the focus appears to be on the participants and the event setting in each episode. One can determine which participants are in focus and the boundaries of an episode.
by the use of 'come', 'go', and 'arrive'. The following section paraphrases the legend with emphasis on the author's use of the motion verbs. The first episode focusses on a man and his wife with the centre of the stage being their home. They decide that they must get rid of the children, because they do not have enough food. So the man and the two children go and go until they have gone a long way. That is the end of the first episode. The children move into focus in the second episode as their father leaves them and goes off home. The children who had thrown sticks on the trail as they came find them and consequently discover their way home, and they go home. Their arrival, marked by buverl 'they arrived', signals the beginning of the next episode in which their parents again are the focal participants. The mother is very angry ("her esophagus comes up") at the father's failure to trick the children and forces the father to take them out again. The verb 'go' appears in seven different places as they leave the centre of the third episode and move away from their mother. In the next setting, the children are again in focus as the father takes his leave of them and goes home. The children remember that while they came to that place, they threw rice on the ground, so they go along looking. But the ants have eaten their rice, so they go and go and arrive at the trail and go and arrive at another place, which is the setting centre for the final episode. Even though we note an 'arrive' on the way to the centre of the final episode as well as the second, episode switching, arrival, the initial arrival does not mark an episode, because no event occurs there, but the children just continue moving. At the setting centre in the final episode, a man who eats people arrives where the children are situated and eats them up. "That's the legendary tale!"
In another legend that is more permanently stylized, *Jarugaroroda Kiki*\(^9\), the epi-setting or narrative setting is indicated in the concluding paragraph where the speaker states, "We go (a direction away from his present location), see the rocks, and say, 'Jarugaroro and his older sister remain lying down,' we say." The legend is about the origin of two rocks situated across the fiord from where the speaker recorded the legend. These two rocks constitute the centre of the stage for the primary setting, which is an event setting, the main event of the legend being that two people have turned into stone. All transitional movements between temporary settings are related to the primary setting; i.e., movement toward the rock location is termed 'coming', and movement away from that primary setting is termed 'going'. The participant settings are viewed as the temporary or secondary settings. The main participants carry on an activity in one place, and then they move to another temporary setting as they 'come to' or 'go from' the rocks.

In many personal narratives, the speaker relates all movements to the place where he is narrating his account. Where there is little motion or no action specifically described at temporary locations, the use of only a primary setting (epi-setting) is unambiguous. However, when there is a great deal of motion or activity at places other than the primary setting, the speaker usually sets up temporary settings so that the movements are clearly defined. Personal narratives generally conclude at primary settings, and transitional movements between temporary settings are always described in relationship to the primary setting.

In the following personal narrative, Mrs. Norris Kenneth Mota\(^10\) describes her activities of the day from her veranda, which is both the epi-setting and the primary setting. As she chose not to describe movements at the three other locations, her garden, the ocean, and the beach, she
does not set up temporary settings, but she relates all 'comings and goings' to the primary setting. (I have attempted to convey the basic meaning rather than a morpheme by morpheme break in the interlinear translation.)


what, will, she, do Cindi garden, to to, go, purpose she says

"Avori, nengae varera."

all, right they, two they, will, go

**Namane Cindighae vareda aera, bayau.**

we, exclusive Cindi, with garden, to we, want, SA food

bamboo, joverega olera, natida buvud... got, SA turned, around, IA we, came, SA house, to arrived, SA

**Kenneth, Jim Michael, vosaera, oka bambudo.**

Kenneth Jim Michael they, went, down, SA fish got, SA

viti ojehera, tafa, teretaro... Cindi

came, up, IA they, came, SA beach, to they, entered, DA Cindi

Cindi lvuga edo vosaia, oka etoto budo,

Cindi joy did, SA she, went, down fish two got, SA

viti olighira, litira, litido mindira.

moved, up, SA she, came she, cooked cooked, SA she, ate

Avakori!

that's it

"My name is Norris. Jim said, "Kenneth, what will your wife do?"

Cindi says she wants to go to the garden."

"All right, they two will go."
I went with Cindi to the garden, got food, came back, and arrived at home... (meanwhile) Kenneth, Jim, and Michael had gone down, they got fish, came up, and entered toward the beach... Cindi was joyful and went down, got two fish, and came up. She cooked them. Having cooked them, she ate them.

'That's it!'

In Yayaouda Kiki, Mr. Kingsley Seko establishes a primary setting, Yayau's home, and a temporary setting, the place where Yayau and her baby sibling are located, somewhere near the garden. Because this is a made-up tale like Mr. Max Foreman's creative writing, there is no epil-setting.

Kiki! (called out)

make, believe, story

Gagara, levo Yayau, noighae, vareda, aera.

girl name Yayau her, mother, with garden, to they, went

Erara, vareda, buvudo, no i, seti(ra), they, went, SA garden, to arrived, SA her, mother she, said

"Yayauf ni kokol(y)a ravira ava, sedo, nunda fotatada
Yayau you baby it, sleeps therefore its forked, stick, on

esegaono ni kalfa, ururu, na ya bayau faura

I, will, hang, up, DA you be, caring, for I go, SA food gather

'edo fua nangae yaore." Aminge seti(ri),
do, SA will, come, SA we, two we, may, go do, thus, IA she, said, DA

Yayauf anumbe kalfa, iri, no i, aera
Yayau sat, down, IA while, she, cared, for, DA her, mother she went, SA

vareda deinghir, kokol(y)a ere sorara, eti(ri).
garden, in she, travelled, DA baby got, up, IA it, cried
Yayau kori seti(ra), "Aya, kokol(y)a ere
Yayau shout she,said mother baby got,up,IA
sorara, erira, ful" seti(ra). Noi seti(ra) "E!
it, is, crying come she,said her,mother she,said yes
erenare!" Yayau itako kaifa,e jare
I, am, definitely, going Yayau a, little, bit waited,IA despair, IA
sekago kori seti(ra), "Aya, refesa!" Noi
again shout she,said mother you, are, coming her, mother
seti(ra), "E! erenare." Ojighira vasada
she, said yes, I, am, definitely, going she,came, SA place, at
buvudo kokol(y)a tataughae fotatada
arrived, SA baby string, bag, with forked, stick, on
itimbe budo ughumbe ami bekada
unhooked, IA got, SA opened, mouth, of, bag, IA breast mouth, in
fitiri lika dotira.
she, put, DA crying it, left, off
Kokoi ami mindi dotiri Noi seti(ra),
baby breast ate, IA it, left, off DA its, mother she, said
"Yayau ni bu kaifa, ururu, na bayau vendi
Yayau you get, IA be, caring, for I food put, inside, IA
simbugedo, yaore." Yayau seti(ra), "Avori, na tofo
prepare, SA we, may, go Yayau she, said all, right I myself
lovereqhe kamboda vari uju erena," aminge
turn, around, IA house, to to, go wish I, am, doing do, thus, IA
setiri noI seti(ra), "U, avori." NoI
she, said, DA her, mother she, said Um all, right her, mother
atida  bayau  vendi  simbuge  seti(ra),
string,bag,in food put,inside,IA prepare,IA she,said
"Yayau nangae jovereghe yarera kamboda " gagara
Yayau we,two turn,around,IA we,will,go house,to girl
seti(ra), "Ai yaore," ava,sedo nengae noighae
she,said yes, let,us,go therefore they,two her,mother,with
jovereghe ojeghera kamboda buvudo bayau iti
turn,around,IA they,came,SA house,to arrived,SA food cooked,IA
dumbu soru vesa,edo mindi anumbetero tumba
dipped,up,IA shared divided,up,SA ate,IA they,sat,DA night
iirira.
it,fell
Kiki aghati, bamba!
story make,believe

(Primary setting - Yayau's home) 'A girl named Yayau went with her mother
to the garden. (Movement interval - characterized by use of a second 'went')
They went, (Temporary setting begins here -participant setting, centre is
Yayau's location) arrived at the garden, and her mother said, "Yayau, the
baby is sleeping; therefore, I will hang it up on its forked stick, and you
be caring for it while I go, get food, come, and then we two may go." After
she spoke thus, while Yayau was sitting down, looking after it, her mother
went, and while she was moving around the garden, the baby arose and
cried. Yayau called out, "Mother, the baby has arisen and is crying. Come!"
she said. Her mother said, "Yes, I am going now (coming to you)." Yayau
waited a little bit and despairing called out again, "Mother, you are coming,"
and her mother said, "Yes, I am going now." She came, arrived at the
place, unhooked the baby with its string bag from the forked stick, got it,
opened the bag up wide, put her breast at its mouth, and it stopped crying.

'After the baby had stopped feeding, her mother said, "Yayau, you get and care for the baby while I put the food inside, and when I've prepared it, let us go." Yayau said, "All right, I myself want to turn around and go home," she spoke thus, and her mother said, "Um, all right." Her mother put the food inside the string bag, prepared, and said, "Yayau, we two will go back home." The girl said, "Yes, let's go," therefore, they two (Movement interval - characterized by switch to came, indicating movement toward another centre) turned around and came. (Primary setting) arrived at home, cooked and served up the food, sat down and ate, and night fell.

'Make believe story!'

The following chart gives a schema for the occurrence of various settings in narrative discourses.

**Settings in a Narrative Discourse**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Introduction</th>
<th>+(Episode)</th>
<th>± Movement Interval</th>
<th>+ Conclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Epi-Setting</td>
<td>Temporary Settings</td>
<td>Primary Setting defined</td>
<td>Epi-Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(may coincide with primary setting)</td>
<td>Event Settings</td>
<td>(may coincide with primary setting)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participant Settings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Setting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(often in final episode)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Conclusion

The Korafe verbs furari 'to come' and yari 'to go' are much more than indicators of spatial movement. They reflect the Korafe perspective on the universe, which is basically egocentric, or speaker centred. Both personal greetings and temporal uses of furari and yari (in durative and repetitive aspects) manifest this perspective. In narrative discourses, besides describing spatial movements, they establish the location of the centre of each setting. They also enable the hearer to identify the items the speaker considers important to his narrative (his location, the focal participants, and/or the main events). It is essential for the Korafe speaker to know "whether he is coming or going."
NOTES

1. Korafe is a Non-Austronesian language in the Binandere language family with speakers numbering about 3,000 living on Cape Nelson in the Tufi Sub-Province of the Northern (Oro) Province and about 1,000 more living and working in urban centres and other areas of Papua New Guinea. The phonemes of Korafe are: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, /f/, /v/, /s/, /j/, /g/ (written gh), /m/, /mb/, /n/, /nd/, /nj/, /ng/, /ng/ and /r/. The material for this paper was collected from February 1972 until July 1977, basically during periods of residence at Baga village. I am indebted to the many Korafe men and women who have contributed texts and material in daily conversations. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Kingsley Seko, who gave me material specifically oriented to the context of this paper as well as his own perspective on the Korafe grammar, and also to the Reverend Randolph Bipi, priest in charge of the Sefoa parish, who first explained the durative verb phrase and the past habitual tense to me and gave me many examples of them.

2. See Appendix Two for a synopsis of furari 'to come' and yari 'to go', presented basically in the first person singular.

3. See Appendix One for a list of abbreviations used.

4. Because refena 'I'm coming' is called out as a greeting upon departure, the indicative marker -a is often changed to the stentorian marker -o.

5. Final forms of furari 'to come' and yari 'to go' may also be employed in the durative verb phrase, but the meaning always involves movement in a spatial sense, most often involving the aspects of simultaneity, duration, and repetition, and usually translated, 'I came along x-ing' or 'I went along x-ing'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Na qhaka gef-udo</th>
<th>ol-eni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I canoe paddle,LP-sim,rep,SA come,SP-TP,1s,ind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I came along paddling a canoe.'

The -udo (-ido with some verbs) suffix is added to the long process stem of verbs only when the verbs furari 'to come' and yari 'to go' follow them. (The term 'long process stem' is explained on p.127.)

6. Korafe speakers often use forms of the verb ambari 'to die' in an exaggerated sense like the English sentence, 'I'm dying of hunger.'

7. The Korafe migration narrative was recounted by Mr. Elking Keghana, recorded at Baga village, August, 1973.

8. The make-believe story in the "Hansel and Gretel" mode was written as a creative writing exercise by Mr. Max Foreman, in an English class conducted by Mr. Fred Wilson at Madang Teachers' College.
9. Järukarorođa Kiki was narrated by Mr. Michael Mota and recorded at Baga village on June 28, 1973.

10. Mrs. Norris Kenneth Mota narrated her trip to the garden, and it was recorded at Baga village on March 30, 1973.

Appendix One

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

DA - different actor medial form
DP - distant past tense
dur - durative aspect
f - future tense
hab - past habitual tense
IA - integral action, same actor, medial form
ind - indicative mood
LP - long process aspect
NP - near past tense, durative in aspect
p - past tense
pr - present tense
proc - procedural aspect
Q - question mood
rep - repetitive aspect
SA - same actor medial form
seq - sequential, following action is sequential to action in focus
sim - simultaneous, following action occurs simultaneously with action in focus
1s - first person singular subject
2s - second person singular subject
3s - third person singular subject
3p - third person plural subject
SP - short process aspect
TP - today's past tense
## Appendix Two

**SYNOPSIS OF KORAFE 'COME' AND 'GO', BASICALLY IN FIRST PERSON**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>'come'</th>
<th>'go'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Abrupt Imperative, singular</td>
<td>f-u</td>
<td>yas-l (^{(1)})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Stentorian Imperative, singular</td>
<td>f-uyo</td>
<td>yas-liyo (^{(1)})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>f-ur-ari</td>
<td>y-ari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Indicative Future, Non-Repetitive</td>
<td>f-ur-arena</td>
<td>y-arena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Negative Participle</td>
<td>f-ur-ae</td>
<td>y-ae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Conditional or Subjunctive</td>
<td>f-ur-aeti</td>
<td>y-aeti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Hortative</td>
<td>f-ur-one</td>
<td>y-aone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Medial-SP, seq, f, DA</td>
<td>f-ur-ono</td>
<td>y-aono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Negative Hortative</td>
<td>f-ur-ono</td>
<td>y-eone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Medial-SP, seq, negative, hortative, DA</td>
<td>f-ur-ono</td>
<td>y-eono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Indicative Today's Past</td>
<td>oj-eni</td>
<td>a-ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Medial-SP, seq, dur, SA (also used as embedded form)</td>
<td>oj-ena</td>
<td>a-ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Medial-SP, seq, p, DA</td>
<td>oj-eno</td>
<td>a-eno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Indicative Present</td>
<td>re-f-ena</td>
<td>er-ena-(re) (only used with -re) ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Medial-LP, seq, p, SA</td>
<td>f-ena</td>
<td>ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Medial-sim, Non-Future, DA</td>
<td>f-eno</td>
<td>eno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Medial-seq, rep, NP, SA</td>
<td>re-f-ana</td>
<td>er-ana*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Medial-seq, rep, NP, DA</td>
<td>re-f-ano</td>
<td>er-ano*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{(1)}\) Example: f-u you (reference person)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'come'</th>
<th>'go'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19. Indicative Yesterday's Past</td>
<td>f-umutani</td>
<td>imutani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Embedded Yesterday's Past</td>
<td>f-umutana</td>
<td>imutana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Medial-seq,rep,Yesterday's Past,SA</td>
<td>re-f-umutana</td>
<td>er-imutana*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Medial-seq,rep,Yesterday's Past,DA</td>
<td>re-f-umutano*</td>
<td>er-imutano*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Indicative Distant Past</td>
<td>f-useni</td>
<td>ise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Embedded Distant Past</td>
<td>f-usena</td>
<td>isena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Medial-seq,rep,DP,SA</td>
<td>re-f-usena</td>
<td>er-isena*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Medial-seq,rep,DP,SA</td>
<td>re-f-useno*</td>
<td>er-iseno*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Medial-sim,SA</td>
<td>f-use</td>
<td>ise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Indicative Procedural</td>
<td>f-ua gh-eraena</td>
<td>y-a gh-eraena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Medial-LP,seq,dur,f,SA</td>
<td>f-ua (f-a)</td>
<td>y-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f-uama (f-ama)</td>
<td>y-ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Medial-LP,seq,dur,rep,f,SA</td>
<td>re-f-ua</td>
<td>er-a (er-la)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>re-f-uama</td>
<td>er-ama (er-lama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Medial-LP,seq,hab,SA</td>
<td>re-f-una</td>
<td>er-lana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>re-f-eana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Medial-LP,seq,hab,DA</td>
<td>re-f-uano</td>
<td>er-lano*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>re-f-eano</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Indicative Past Habitual</td>
<td>re-f-uanl*</td>
<td>er-lani*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>re-f-eani*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Indicative Future Repetitive</td>
<td>f-urur-arena*</td>
<td>irur-arena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Medial-sim,f,DA</td>
<td>f-urur-ono</td>
<td>irur-ono</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SYNOPSIS OF KORAFE 'COME' AND 'GO', BASICALLY IN FIRST PERSON (continued)

'come'       'go'

36. Future Continuous Imperative  \[f-urur-u^*\]    \[irur-u\]

* These forms are probable forms although they are non-existent in the present data.

NOTE: Question mood can be obtained by substituting -i for final -a in the indicative forms.
REFERENCES


Mühlhäusler, Peter, 1975. 'Reduplication and Repetition in New Guinea Pidgin', In Tok Pisin i Go We, edited by Kenneth A. McElhanon, Kivung, special publication number 1, 198-214.