Botin Deictics: Go and Come

Bonita Pryor, Pioneer Bible Translators
and
Cindi Farr, Summer Institute of Linguistics

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Information

    The Botin language[1] is spoken by approximately 6,500 people living in the Angoram District of the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. These people reside in fifteen villages scattered in the area south of the Sepik River between the Keram and Yuat Rivers.

Botin is a Non-Austronesian language that has been classified by Laycock (1973:38) as a member of the Grass Family of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum. Laycock called the language Kambot, which is the name of one of the villages on the Keram River. The people refer to their language as Botin, which is literally "place-mouth," taken from the Pidgin idea of "tokples."

To date, no linguistic materials have been published on the Botin language. However, we are indebted greatly to Martha Wade for her thesis and other unpublished papers,[2] which have served as a major reference for our research. We are also indebted to Balu Mukok and Maso Leko for their assistance in transcribing texts and answering various questions. And for the specific texts that are the basis for this paper, we acknowledge the storytellers Sakrias Womɨla, Bilip Wonkua, and Anton Dip. The research for this paper has been carried out over a period of four years of field work mainly in the central dialect in the villages of Samban and Paiñiten[3] under the auspices of Pioneer Bible Translators.

1.2 'Come' and 'Go' as Deictic Forms in Botin

To say in English, "Remember, no matter where you go, there you are," makes us all do a double take. In English, the meaning of this statement is lost in the imprecision of the word combination. But the Botin language makes a precise science of handling deictic relationships. The purpose of this paper is to study the viewpoint of the Botin speaker in his 'comings' and 'goings' and to prove that he can move physically, or symbolically, and yet remain the centre reference of speech. So he can, in fact, say, "No matter where I go, there I am, or here I am, or there I've come...." In Botin, the speaker can explicitly indicate to the hearer whether he's 'coming' or 'going'.

Deixis is a major part of the Botin language. The deictic devices in Botin figure into motion verbs such as 'come' and 'go', as Fillmore describes in English. The actual forms for 'go' are made up of the same morphemes as those for medial and distal demonstratives. The 'come' morpheme does not draw on the other demonstrative forms, and yet it is related to the existential and source morphemes. The 'come' and 'go' morphemes figure heavily in discourse to track participants and to keep events moving along. A few of the forms have lexicalized and actually

function as discourse connectives. Botin speakers no longer recognize them as forms of 'come' or 'go'.

In Fillmore's article "Deictic Categories in the Semantics of 'Come'" (1966:221), he states that:

> Since the Speaker category of Person deixis refers to the speaker of the utterance, and since the Proximal category of Place deixis refers to the position of the speaker at the time of utterance, it might be suggested that we are dealing here with a single deictic feature.

In Botin, speaker orientation seems to control the use of deictic markers. The speaker imposes his viewpoint on the information he's attempting to communicate. Temporal and spatial orientations of addressee and discourse participants are related continually to speaker perception.

Originally, our bias as English speakers led us to conclude that the 'come' morpheme s indicates movement toward speaker. However, upon more thorough examination, we believe it is defined in texts as the deictic centre of the event or idea, as interpreted by the speaker. It appears in combinations with other deictic indicators to let the audience know the location of the speaker in relation to the main characters and the setting. In Oksapmin, a language of the West Sepik, Lawrence (1972:315) states that "verbs of direction are always interpreted in relation to primary viewpoint if it has any part in the action." There is no doubt that the "primary viewpoint" (deictic orientation) of Botin speakers is egocentric.

The basic forms for 'come' and 'go' will be explained in Section 2.0. In Section 3.0, we will demonstrate how these basic forms are used in narrative discourse.

2.0 SOME USAGES OF 'COME' AND 'GO'

The Botin speaker has a clear-cut idea of his verbs of motion and knows how to translate those forms into the Pidgin forms of 'come' and 'go'. But aŋ outsider who is trying to decipher the Botin forms discovers that various Botin forms have two meanings, 'come' and 'go', depending on the situation. These 'come' and 'go' forms play major roles in legends, as well as in everyday speech. In order to understand Botin, one needs to catalogue the various forms and explain which one is used for each movement.

Generally, the morpheme *s* 'come' carries the idea of motion toward the deictic centre, usually speaker as goal. The morpheme *m* 'go' indicates movement away from the speaker. The morpheme *l* 'go' is used by the speaker when he is in control and telling others to go away from him. The *wu* morpheme seems to entail the meaning of going and coming in a habitual sense, and always occurs in conjunction with directional words. The last form *t* involves movement with no particular goal in mind, but it also occurs with other directionals to clarify its meaning.

The basic forms of 'go' and 'come' can be illustrated in the context of the speech act. A mother calls to her child to come and the child responds "I'm going," using the following formulations:

(1)   Mother: *"Ga-s-a!"*
                      ND-DC-INC(IMP)
                      'Come here!'

(2)   Child: *"Ñ-e   wɨ-m-e."*[4]
                      1s-CT ND:p-MD-CT
                      'I am going.'

Another scenario involves two men walking on the trail. A calls to B who is following a short distance back:

(3)   A: *"Wu-ba   wɨ-s-e."*
                 2s-NT   ND:p-DC-CT
                 'You are coming.'

(4)   B: *"Moi, ñ-e   wɨ-m-e."*
                 yes, 1s-CT ND:p-MD-CT
                 'Yes, I am going.'

B again calls to A:

(5)   B: *"Wu-ba wɨ-m-e."*
                 2s-NT ND:p-MD-CT
                 'You are going.'

To which A replies:

    (6)   A: *"Moi, ñ-e   wɨ-m-e."*
                  yes, 1s-CT ND:p-MD-CT
                  'Yes, I am going.'

2.1 The *s* and *m* Morphemes

    The *s* form encodes the deictic centre, which is customarily the speaker. If he desires someone to move toward him, *s* is used. But if he is moving from his present location, the *m* form is used.

    The deictic markers play an important role when used in combinations with these two forms as well. The *wɨ*, which is near demonstrative plural, indicates close proximity to speaker and/or hearer, while the *m* indicates mid deixis, and the *l* far deixis.

    (7)   *Wu-ba wɨ-s-e.*
           2s-NT ND:p-DC-CT
           'You are coming.'

    (8)   *Awon e-mɨ-s-e.*
           bird   CT-MD-DC-CT
           'The plane is coming (I hear it).'

    (9)   *Jon   lɨ-s-e.*
           John FD:p-DC-CT
           'John is coming' (he's way over on the hill, but I see him coming--far from speaker and hearer).

    (10) *Ñ-e   w-uk   e-wɨ-m-e.*
          1s-CT 2s-from CT-ND:p-MD-CT
          'I am going from (leaving) you (now).' [I am moving.]

    (11) *Awon e-mɨ-m-e.*
          bird   CT-MD-MD-CT
          'The plane is going (now).' [I see it moving.]

    (12) *Awon lɨ-m-e.*
          bird   FD.p-MD-CT
          'The plane is going (now).' [It is far away from you and me, but we can see it.]

Botin 'come' and 'go' constructions occur with morphemes that indicate continuous aspect and completed aspect. We had always glossed the forms manifesting completed aspect (*mis* and *wis*) in the following manner:

(13) *M-is.*
  go-COMP
  'He has gone.'

(14) *W-is.*
  come-COMP
  'He has come (arrived).'

But after further research, we prefer to describe *wis* as 'movement toward deictic centre' and *mis* as 'movement away from deictic centre', as in the following:

(15) *Mi-s*
  MD-DC
  'He has gone.'

(16) *Wi-s*
  ND:p-DC
  'He has come.'

This last form is used along with *sap* which indicates completed aspect. The *sap* form has in it the idea of 'come' toward the speaker. When a speaker prefixes *sap* with a demonstrative, he is specifying movement from another place back to speaker. In the following example, the distal singular demonstrative *da* indicates distance far away from the speaker.

(17) *Mi-ba Madang da-s-ap.*
  MD-NT Madang FD-DC-COMP
  'He has been to Madang.'

In this case, the English translation would be 'go,' but the Botin speaker knows the person has gone and come back. If he had just gone and not returned, it would be as follows:

(18) *Mɨ-ba   Madang da-mi-s.*
     MD-NT Madang FD-MD-DC
     'He went to Madang.'

The Botin speaker must be aware of goal, source, and direction of movement in order to explain these to his hearers. In the following examples, the *m* medial forms are ungrammatical.

(19) **Ñ-e   ma-p-k-ɨl*   *ñekap pugo li-tin-up.*
     1s-CT MD-COMP-put-NF:SS later nail   FD:p-get-COMP
     *'I went, and later got nails.'

(20) **M-e   ma-p-k-al*   *ñekap ñ-e   m-oo   mi-s.*
     MD-CT MD-COMP-put-NF:DS later   1s-CT MD-follow MD-DC
     *'He went, and later I followed him.'

One can correct these sentences by replacing the **mapkɨl* and **mapkal* with *sapkɨl* and *sapkal*. The speaker would have to be aware of the movement in order to express that it had taken place. But if the person had moved away from the speaker, as the *m* form suggests, the speaker would not be able to discuss any of the person's subsequent actions. The *s* morpheme is used to orient the sequence of actions to the speaker.

2.2 A Comparison of the *s* and *m* Morphemes

The *m* morpheme seems to have a wider syntactic distribution than the *s* morpheme. Besides its usage as part of these motion verbs, the *m* can be used as a demonstrative, as an anaphoric referent, as a copula, and as a clause marker. The *s* form is limited to a more verbal idea, appearing in copulas and postposition phrases with the idea of 'source' or 'existence', and then in these motion verbs, encoding 'come' or deictic centre. When it occurs with the *e* control topic marker, the *m* can only occur preceding *e*, as in *me*. But it does not occur following *e*: **em*. However, the *s* form occurs on the word level following the *e*, as in *es*; it does not occur preceding the *e*: **se*. However, they do occur in combinations with one another and the *e* in words such as *emise* (see Section 2.1, example (8)).

We have called the pronoun marker *e*, the control topic marker. It does, in fact, indicate control and volition when attached to the pronouns. However, when attached to these verbal forms it indicates immediacy and certainty. Referring again to example (8) in Section 2.1, the plane's arrival is imminent: *emise*.

2.3 The *s* and *m* Copula Forms

As is mentioned above, both the *s* and *m* morphemes can occur as an element in copula verbs. The *m* morpheme encodes the semantic notion, 'become'.

> (21) *Be   mɨ-ba   ñaam e-m-a   m-e.*
>   child MD-NT big   CT-MD-INC(IMP) MD-CT
>   'The child is going (becoming) big.'

> (22) *Alɨm ñaam e-m-ɨten   balup ga-s-a.*
>   sun big   CT-MD-F:DS again ND-DC-INC(IMP)
>   'When the sun goes (becomes) big, you will come back here.'

A type of existential copula is the *es* form. It is often used with adjectives for attribution.

> (23) *Mɨ-ba   yawulo es.*
>   MD-NT good   STAT
>   'It is good.'

> (24) *Wu-ñ   pam dig es.*
>   2s-POS nose red STAT
>   'Your nose is red.'

Botin is a clause chaining language. A medial form of *es*, identical to 'come', is used to encode 'become' in sequence.

(25) *Be   mɨ-ba   ñaam e-s.*
child MD-NT big   CT-DC
'The child is big.'

Ñaam e-s-il   mɨ-ba   awa mɨ-da-ap.
big   CT-DC-NF:SS MD-NT self MD-make-COMP
'Having become big, he made it himself.'

2.4 Expansion of the *s* Morpheme

We have concluded that the *s* in 'come' forms and in demonstratives that have the idea of source is a polysemic single morpheme.

(26) *m-is-ak*
MD-from-ORG
'from there'

Wade (1984:102) translates it 'from' in example (26). This same *s* also occurs in the *w-o-l-is* and *m-a-l-is* forms. These forms are used in making comparisons which refer forward or backward in the clause or discourse.[5] In these forms in examples (27) and (28), we have glossed the *-is* morpheme as 'source' (SO).[6]

(27) *W-ok   w-o-l-is   w-e-p.*
CAT-like CAT-lying-FD:p-SO CAT-CT-remain
'It stays like this.'

(28) *M-ok   m-a-l-is   m-e -p.*
ANA-like ANA-NT-FD:p-SO ANA-CT-remain
'It stays like that.'

As in example (27), the *w-* will be used right across each word in the clause only if the topic is considered to be in close proximity to the speaker and hearer, immediately following. An *m-* is substituted for the *w-* in the final word in the clause, if the topic is not close at hand, either gesturally or symbolically.[7]

When the *s* occurs in the 'come' sense, its semantic domain expands from source or existence to defining the deictic centre, involved in discourse pragmatics. It occurs in the conjunction *ma-s-il*, which is used extensively as a paragraph connective in narrative discourse. A rough translation of *ma-s-il* is 'and so', but its

composition more accurately reflects its purpose. The *ma* (MD) points to what has preceded it. The *-s-* indicates the setting in focus (deictic centre), and the *-il* moves the discourse on to the next event.

2.5 The *l* Morpheme

The *l* form of 'go' indicates movement away from the deictic centre. It is used only when the speaker is commanding someone to 'go' from him. It is most often used with second person. It could just as easily be glossed as 'far demonstrative plural' rather than 'go', since it is, in fact, the same *l*.

> (29) *W-e   e-l-a.*
> 2s-CT CT-FD:p-INC(IMP)
> 'You go!'

Most verbs that conclude with the aspectual marker *-a* may either convey incomplete aspect or imperative mode.

> (30) *W-e   teg-a.*
> 2s-CT stand-INC(IMP)
> 'You stand.' or (You will stand.)

> (31) *Won-e   teg-a.*
> 1p:INCL-CT stand-INC(IMP)
> 'Let us stand.' or (You and I will stand.)

But *la* only indicates the imperative mode. First person pronoun forms do not co-occur with the *la* form of 'go'.

> (32) *Ñ-e   l-a.*
> 1s-CT FD:p-INC(IMP)
> *'I will go.'

> (33) **Won-e   l-a*
> 1p:INCL-CT FD:p-INC(IMP)
> *'Let us go.'
> *'You and I will go.'

They may, however, occur with the mid deictic form.

(34) *Won-e   m-a.*
      1p:INCL-CT MD-INC(IMP)
      'You and I will go.'

This co-occurrence restriction is logical, because the deictic centre, by definition, cannot move far away (to the *l* position) from itself.

2.6 The *wu* Morpheme

    The *wu* morpheme conveys the idea of movement back and forth from speaker along with the idea of movement over time---durative or habitual. The direction (goal) of the movement must also accompany *wu*.

(35) **Ñ-e   wu-l.*
      1s-CT go-CONT
      'I am going.'

The *wu-l* is a legitimate form, but example (35) is ungrammatical, because no goal is defined.

(36) *Ñ-e   m-ada   wu-l.*
      1s-CT MD-to   go-CONT
      'I am going to him.'

This above translation 'I'm going to him' is not really an accurate translation, because *wul* encompasses the idea of going to him and then repeatedly moving back and forth.

(37) *Ñ-e   m-ada   mi̵-m-e.*
      1s-CT MD-to MD-MD-CT
      'I am going to him.'

The above combination using mid deictic forms does not include the semantic component of returning to the initial starting point.
    The verb *wul* is either a motion verb accompanied by directionals or a major helping verb. It is combined with other verbs of motion to convey durative aspect, the idea of "*i go, i go*" in Pidgin.

(38) *E-m-a*   *wu-l.*
      CT-MD-INC(IMP) go-CONT
      '(It) will go and go (& go).'

(39) *Ta-s-a*   *wu-l.*
      on.top-DC-INC(IMP) go-CONT
      '(It) will come up and keep on going (coming) up.'

The combination *wul* seems to be composed logically of *wu-*, near demonstrative plural and the *-l* far demonstrative plural. In fact, this combination does indeed indicate the concepts of coming and going, but *wul* must occur with a goal to avoid ambiguity.

2.7 The *t* Morpheme

The *t* morpheme indicates movement in no particular direction, motion with no goal in mind. It has usually been translated as 'moving around' or 'walking'. It must occur with a directional or other postpositional phrase, such as accompaniment. It must have a purpose or means.

(40) *Ñ-e*   *ma-nin*   *t-a.*
      1s-CT MD-ACC move:around-INC(IMP)
      'I will go walk around with him.'

(41) *Ñ-e*   *bo-gi-kol*   *t-a.*
      1s-CT village-ND-through move.around-INC(IMP)
      'I will go walk around through the village.'

Or it must occur with the particle *ya* 'for no purpose'. Example (43) is ungrammatical, because no purpose is encoded in the clause.

(42) *Ñ-e*   *ya*   *t-a.*
      1s-CT nothing move:around-INC(IMP)
      'I will just go walk around with no purpose in mind.'

(43) *Ñ-e   t-a.
      1s-CT move.around-INC(IMP)
      *'I will go around.'

3.0 'COME' AND 'GO' FORMS IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

In narrative texts, the epi-setting, also called "narrative setting" (Grimes and Glock, 1970:419), where the speaker is recounting the narrative, is indicated by *wi-s* (ND.p-DC) 'came back to where speaker is.' It may have an additional word in front *bo-gi-s-a e-wi-s* (village-ND-DC-INC CT-ND.p-DC) 'came back here to the village,' or even a directional prefixed to it, as in *a-wi-s* (outside-ND:p-DC) 'came out here,' or *ta-wi-s* (on.top-ND:p-DC) 'came on top here.' But it does indicate where the speaker is at the time of discourse utterance.

Any movement away from centre stage to the next setting is indicated by the *m* form. To establish the next temporary setting, or event setting, the combination of *m* plus *s* places the participants at a new setting, where the action will take place (Grimes and Glock, 1970:419). If the speaker is a participant, *wis* establishes the temporary setting. But if the speaker is not a participant, *mis* establishes the next temporary setting. Once the setting is established, any movement inside the scene is indicated by the use of *s*.

3.1 Speaker as Participant

The following story told by Mr. Sakrias Womila illustrates this. He recounts a personal experience he had during one of his hunting trips to the bush. In the following English translation, the vernacular forms for 'come' and 'go' will be italicised and the English translation will immediately follow in parentheses.

> I want to tell a story about me. It was the dry season and I *sap* (went) with my daughter to the bush to find food. *Sil* (Having gone), I cut down a wild sago tree, and then cooked some corn and gave them to her. She sat down near me and was eating them.
>
> *Masil* (And so) I put her there and from her *maa til* (went) to split dry sago palms. I *lal maa til* (continued splitting) sago and getting beetle larvae and peeled the core of the sago.

Masil (and so) I put her behind me and passed her by and *gasa* (came here) first and *ewis* (arrived). Concerning my *sap* (going) through the bush there, I became confused as to where I was.

Masil (And so) I threw down the sago core in the road as I *wis* (came). The larvae I threw down and didn't bring them, and the afternoon *lema me* (was going quickly). The sun *etuwa mɨne* (was going down, going) and now it was dark here in the bush.

Masil (And so) I was thinking about my dear daughter. My daughter was sitting over there all by herself and I *mɨne* (was going) from her. The night *ema me* (will go now) and it *sila* (will come) find me. It *sɨen* (will come) and find me, and I *dam mɨn* (will go there and go) and arrive again there to look for her. *Masil* (And so) my dear daughter was sitting all alone here. *Masil* (And so) my liver was crying to me. *Masil* (And so) I was not strong and I was truly putting myself to *wis* (come back). Some things *ñil mɨne* (were shooting me), but my knowledge did not *ema wal* (keep going and coming to me), no [I was not aware of it].

Masil (And so) I *sila tɨl* (came running) quickly through the bush there and threw down all my things like that and *gas* (came here) and got all closed in by the tall cane. And being closed in by the cane, I swung myself up and climbed a tree. I said that, "If I call out and a man *sila* (is coming) this way through the big creek, he will hear me."

Masil (And so) I stayed on top (of the tree) and called out, "Hey, who *wise* (is coming here) through there? Oh!"

Masil (And so) here is my uncle who had silently *sapkɨl* (come) and was in the road near me. He had gotten my dear daughter and *lawis* (come outside there) with her.

Masil (And so) I called, and he shortly called to me from the road which was near me, "Who are you?"

Masil (And so) I said that, "Oh! It is I here; I'm looking for the road."

Masil (And so) my uncle who remained there (in the road) told me, "Hey, *asa* (come out). Here is the road; I'm in it. You are just near it and confused."

Masil (And so) I hurriedly *awis* (came outside) to him. And I *asil* (came outside) to him and stood there and I asked him about my daughter. "Where is my daughter?"

"Oh, here she is. I got her and *lawis* (came out there) to here with her. She is waiting for you here."

Masil (and so) I saw her and like that my stomach was very happy inside.

Masil (and so) all my food which I had gotten and thrown down in the bush and *sap* (came) back from and my sago core I didn't *sil* (go) back there and get them. I saw my dear daughter and held her again and then like that with her *bosa ewis* (came back here to the village and arrived). That is my story. It *mis* (went) like that and remained.

Figure 1 illustrates the settings in the previous text. The primary setting is a place in the bush where the speaker went (*sap*) with his daughter (Point A in the drawing). He leaves her there and goes (*maa til*) to Point B to cut sago and gather beetle larvae. But this area does not even get established as an event setting with the *wis* form, as the important movement is his trying to come back to his daughter and missing the place, arriving (*gasa ewis*) at C. This is the first important event setting, as he discovers that he is lost (at C instead of A). He throws his food down along the road as he comes (*wis*) here to D. This is the second important event setting. Then follows a flashback of his thinking of his daughter and the impending darkness---his concern and his fright. He uses the *wis* form again during this description, speaking of his efforts to get back to her. But his reference again of the place where he threw down the food lets us know he's back to this same Point D, where he gets enclosed in the cane and forces himself to climb up a tree. He calls, and his uncle has come out in the road with his daughter which is within shouting distance, but not in view (*lawis*) Point E. The uncle calls to him to come out (*asa*). He does come out (*awis*). He refers back to the place where he'd been (*sap*) and thrown down the food and then comes back (*bosa ewis*) to the village with his daughter Point F. This is the epi-setting, given in the conclusion, the place where the storyteller is when telling the story.
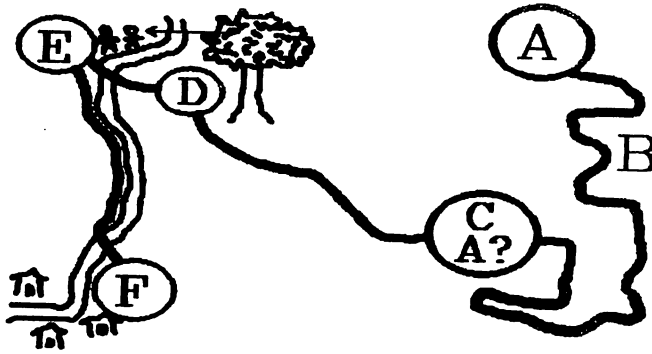
Figure 1

3.2 Speaker as Non-Participant

In another story, a legend about his ancestors, Mr. Bilip Wonkua follows a similar pattern with the 'come' and 'go' forms as in the previous real life experience. The old man and old woman in the story stay in two different holes, but come on top of the ground to hunt. The custom is to 'come and go on top' habitually *ta-s-a wu-l* (top-DC-INC ND:p-FD:p). They *tuwa* 'go down' and *tasa* 'come up', and the various forms of these are used. But this just introduces the story, describing their habits. When the storyteller is ready to give the specific incidents, he says the two *tawis* 'came up' to where the speaker is on top of the ground, the epi-setting. They went to the bush hunting *mis*, a temporary event setting. Any movement involved in the bush is described with a form of *s*. Then they come back *gas* and are ready to go down, and they bump into each other and ask each other where they came from *wis*. The man decides to go *m* with the woman to her hole, and they went there inside the hole where she lived *maa emis*. The *s* form continues the movement through this temporary setting. Then she talks of going *m* with him to his place. And they do go to his hole *mis*, to the next temporary setting. The man wants to go *m* to the woman's village, but she refuses and says she wants to go to his village *m*. So she came with him and came to his village *bogisa ewis*. This event setting is also the epi-setting, since the speaker's ancestor is also from this village. The entire interlinear text of the legend of Mopul's mother and father follows in Appendix A.

In another legend, Mr. Anton Dip recounts the story of a woman of antiquity who secretly hid all the good food from her husband, who in return murdered her. Below are some excerpts from this text to demonstrate further the various forms which establish the temporary settings.

(44) *Bewon   wap   ma-a   t-il   mi-ba*
one:day morning MD-INC(IMP) move:around-NF:SS MD-NT

m-olok   nob   nai-ñ   nai   li-ta
MD-like saucepan own-POS clay:bowl FD:p-O1

mu-p-op-k-il   li-pa   e-mi-s.
canoe-remain-COMP-put-NF.SS FD:p-IACC CT-MD-DC

'One morning when she (Basimi) was ready to go, she took her saucepans and bowls and put them into the canoe and went.'

(45) *S-il   da-s-il*
DC-NF:SS FD-DC-NF:SS

wa-li-w-ap-k-ip-il
fish:basket-FD:p-look-COMP-put-COMP-NF:SS

lo-mi-tin-ip-il   la-tiy-ap-k-il
meat-MD-get-COMP-NF.SS FD:p-hit-COMP-put-NF:SS

mu-k-e   ta-k-ip-il   ma-ma
canoe-put-CT on:top-put-COMP-NF:SS MD-MD

bu-mu-be   tuk-up   ma-al   ku-p-ul
garamut:tree-MD-under cut-COMP MD-on send-COMP-ND:SS

yib   tuk-up   li-pa   a-s   li-n
palm.bark cut-COMP FD:p-IACC outside-DC FD:p-O2

> *ma-be*   *yi-da-ap.*
> MD-under down-make-COMP
>
> 'Coming and coming there (to the creek), she looked at her fish baskets, got the meat (fish), killed them, put the canoe on top (shore), cut under the garamut tree and cleared it on top, cut bark and brought them outside and arranged them under the garamut tree.'

In the introduction to this story, Anton describes Basimi's lifestyle in her fishing activities, and in the sentence prior to example (44), he indicates the epi-setting by using *bo-gɨ-s-a e-s-ap-k-ɨl* (village-ND-DC-INC CT-DC-COMP-put-NF:SS), with the deictic centre *s* in both orienting words. But the important events happen in 'he following setting at the creek, as is illustrated in examples (44) and (45). The *e-mi-s* takes Basimi away from the epi-setting to the temporary setting, and her movements in the creek and on shore are indicated with the *s* forms.

Under the garamut tree, she hears the bamboos rubbing the branches of the garamut tree, creating music. This continues throughout the day *ma-a wu-l* (MD-INC ND:p-CONT), with *wul* encoding durative aspect like the Pidgin 'i go, i go'. She stays in this setting eating all day and then goes back to the village *bo-ma mi-s* (village-MD MD-DC). To go fishing daily, remain there all day, and come back becomes her habit. These gnomic events are encoded with durative aspect, manifested by phrases that contain *wul*.

However, on a special day of rest, the men gather at the meeting house and bring food with them, another temporary setting.

> (46) *...l-ɨpa*   *ba-ma*   *e-ta-mi-s.*
> FD:p-IACC meeting:house-MD CT-on:top-MD-DC
> '...they bring (food) with them and go on top of the meeting house.'[8]

Basimi prepares some water insects for her husband, and he takes these there to eat with his friends. The discussion there focuses on the food and how he does not have good eels and fish to eat like the rest of them. Yet, the friends say his wife Basimi always has a full canoe of fish and eels, maybe more than all their wives. But she doesn't bring him any. All she gives him are these bad water insects.

(47) *Nau-nɨn   ma-nu-ul   ba-mɨ-p-ap*
     self-ACC MD-talk-NF:SS meeting:house-MD-remain-COMP

     ag   e-m-ap   tu-p-ul
     sago:soup CT-eat-COMP go.down-COMP-NF:SS

     yi-kɨ-p-ap.
     down-put-remain-COMP

     'Having discussed that with each other, they remained at the meeting house and ate sago soup, and immediately came down and slept.'

(48) *Baak   da-n   ma-a   t-al*
     morning FD-O2 MD-INC(IMP) move:around-NF:DS

     m-e   naua-n m-ip   k-ap   e-mi-s.
     MD-CT self-O2 MD-?ip put-COMP CT-MD-DC

     'In the morning (Basimi) was ready to go, but he (her husband) went first.'

The temporary setting at the meeting house is completed in example (47), and another temporary setting is set up in example (48), with the *mis* form. Both Dumun and Basimi's movements in this setting follow the pattern with *s* forms or the durative form *wul* for Basimi's habitual action. Then Dumun makes ready a place to trick her and then kill her. And she goes with him there.

(49) *Ma-nɨn   mai-ñ   ma-aj   ma-mi-s   ma...*
     MD-ACC MD-POS MD-area MD-MD-DC MD
     'She went with him to his area...'

His area is evidently not far from the creek and the shore, but just an expanded setting, as he brings her dead body out to the shore *as*, and there is not another scene change until he puts her in the canoe and sets her adrift *mɨ-mi-s* (water-MD-DC).

     The canoe with Basimi's body drifts back to the village and her daughter is able to retrieve it, and she yells and says her mother has come back here in the

canoe *ewis*. The epi-setting again becomes the temporary setting. Dumun acts sorrowful, cremates her body, and then her spirit comes back to him in a dream with instructions for him. The story concludes with his performance of those instructions.

3.3 Deictic Patterns in Narrative Discourse

From our study of the three narrative texts, we can establish some deictic patterns. The storyteller generally indicates the epi-setting in the introduction or toward the conclusion of the story. The epi-setting is encoded by the combination of the near demonstrative plural marker and the deictic centre *wis*. Movement away from the epi-setting is encoded by *m*. New temporary settings are established when a great deal of action is to take place there. These temporary settings are established with the *mis* form, mid demonstrative plus deictic centre. Any movement inside a setting is encoded with the *s* form, with or without directionals and other deictic markers.[9]

4.0 CONCLUSION

The Botin verbs for 'come' and 'go' are much more than indicators of spatial movement. Their actual forms are made up of the deictic markers. They reflect the Botin perspective of the universe, which is basically egocentric, or speaker oriented. The speaker's deictic anchorage is indicated by the *s* deictic centre morpheme and the near demonstrative forms.

In narrative discourses, besides describing spatial movement, the 'come' and 'go' forms establish the location of the deictic centre for each setting. They also enable the hearer to identify the items the speaker considers important to his narrative (i.e.,his location, the major participants, and/or the main events). The Botin speaker normally imposes his own perspective on the events and participants described in the speech act. "No matter where he goes, there he is."

APPENDIX A

Sample Text
1. *Mopul dai-ñ   ape   ñam   la -l   -e   ñi-ba li -yen a -l   -a*
   Mopul FD-POS father mother FD:p-FD:p-CT 1s-NT FD:p-CNT do-CONT-INC

m-e: **2.** *Lɨ   -ba miña   naua-n los   k   -al.*
D-CT   FD:p-NT now(NEG) self-O2 knowledge put-NF:DS(NEG)

3. *Mom   mɨ -ba miña   wao   ma -n los*
grandmother MD-NT now(NEG) grandfather MD-O2 knowledge

*k   -al   **4.** *A   wao   mɨ -ba miña   mom   ma -n*
put-NF:DS(NEG)   EXP grandfather MD-NT now(NEG) grandmother MD-O2

*los   k   -al.   **5.** *Lɨ   -ba nau-nɨn   yu   la -l   -e*
knowledge put-NF:DS(NEG)   FD:p-NT self -ACC hole FD:p-FD:p-CT

*l   -in p   -ap   l   -e.   **6.** *Mom   mɨ -na we   m -e -p.*
FD:p-in remain-COMP FD:p-CT   grandmother MD-?na alone MD-CT-remain

7. *Ma -s   -il   a   wao   mɨ-ba we   m -e -p.*
MD-DC-NF:SS EXP grandfather MD-NT alone MD-CT-remain

8. *Ma -s -ap   -k -al   a   nau-nɨn   m -olok ta   -s   -a*
MD-DC-COMP-put-NF:DS EXP self -ACC MD-like on:top-DC-INC

*wu   -l   ma.   **9.** *Mom   mai-ñ   lu -du -ga a   wao*
ND:p-CONT   MD   grandmother MD-POS dog-FD-ND EXP grandfather

mai -ñ   lu -du -ga lɨ   -ba nau-nɨn   ta   -s   -a   wu -l
MD-POS dog-FD-ND FD:p-NT self -ACC on:top-DC-INC ND:p-NF:SS

*da -ɨy   -il   ma -a   wu -l   su -l   -i -l   m -e.   **10.** *Yu*
FD-hunt-NF:SS MD-INC ND:p-NF:SS pig-FD:p-get-CONT MD-CT   hole

l   -in p   -ap   ta   -s -in   da -iya -ap   -k -ɨn
FD:p-in remain-COMP on:top-DC-F:SS FD-hunt-COMP-put-F:SS

su -l -e -ap   -k -ɨn   nau-nɨn   l   -ɨpa   e -tuw   -a   m -e.
pig-FD:p-hit-COMP-put-F:SS self -ACC FD:p-IACC CT-go:down-INC MD-CT

11. *L   -ɨpa   tu   -p   -ul   nai -ñ   yu   l   -in p   -ɨl*
FD:p-IACC go:down-COMP-NF:SS own-POS hole FD:p-in remain-NF:SS

li -m -il ma bo -l   m -e. 12. *La -l -e ji -m -in*
FD:p-eat-NF:SS MD work-CONT MD-CT   FD:p-FD:p-CT thing-MD-in

p -il si -wa -n bo -l   m -e.
remain-NF:SS thing:p-ND:p-O2 work-CONT MD-CT

13. *Ma -s -ap -k -al li -ba miña   naua-t los*
  MD-DC-COMP-put-NF:DS FD:p-NT now(NEG) self -O1 knowledge

ki -p   -ap -k -al.   **14.** *M -olok ma -li -s*
put-remain-COMP-put-NF:DS(NEG)   MD-like MD-FD:p-DC

p -ap -k -al   (tem) boa da -ma wao   mi -ba
remain-COMP-put-NF:DS (time) one FD-MD grandfather MD-NT

ta -s -a w -al mom mi -ba alak ta -wi -s.
on:top-DC-INC ND:p-NF:DS grandmother MD-NT also on:top-ND:p-DC

15. *Ma -s -il li -ba lolop da -iy -il di -mi -kol e -mi -s.*
  MD-DC-NF:SS FD:p-NT just FD-hunt-NF:SS bush-MD-through CT-MD-DC

16. *Di -mi -kol   e -s -ap -k -il d -al -iya -ap ebo*
  bush-MD-through CT-DC-COMP-put-NF:SS FD-?al-hunt-COMP end

e -t   -ap -k -al ba balup ga -s -il   tuw -a
CT-move:around-COMP-put-NF:DS NT again ND-DC-NF:SS go:down-INC

m -e -p. **17.** *Ga-s e -pin naw -oku -p.* **18.** *"Ai, wu-ba*
MD-CT-remain ND-DC CT-stand self -send-COMP   EXP 2s -NT

g -oo -kol wi -s?" **19.** *"Ai, wu-ba ak juwu-kol wi -s?"*
ND-follow-through ND:p-DC   EXP 2s-NT ORG what-through ND:p-DC

20. *Ma -s -il m -e ma -n ma -mo, "Ñ -e nage g -in is*
  MD-DC-NF:SS MD-CT MD-O2 MD-say 1s -CT banana ND-in DC

paku -p ma." **21.** *Ma -s -il m -e ma-mo, "Wu-ba alak*
arrive -COMP MD   MD-DC-NF:SS MD-CT MD-say 2s -NT also

juwu-kol   wi   -s?" **22.** *Ma -s   -il   m -e   ma-mo, "Ñ-e   saad*
what-through ND:p-DC   MD-DC-NF:SS MD-CT MD-say 1s-CT pikus:tree

g -oo   -kol   tul   -up   ma. **23.** *Ee,   ma-ma   ma -s -il*   `
ND-follow-through go:down-COMP MD   EXP   MD-MD MD-DC-NF:SS

ak   wu-ñ   bo   -di -yen mɨ -ba   ak   juwu-m -o?" **24.** *Ma -s   -il*
ORG 2s-POS village-FD-CNT MD-NT ORG what-MD-lying   MD-DC-NF:SS

ma-mo, "Ñi-ñ   ˙bo   -m -e   ga -w   -o. **25.** *Ak   wu-yen   wu-ñ*
MD-say 1s -POS village-MD-CT ND-ND:p-lying   ORG 2s -CNT 2s -POS

bo   -di -yen   mɨ -ba juwu-m -o?" **26.** *Ma -s   -il   ma -mo,*
village-FD-CNT MD-NT what-MD-lying   MD-DC-NF:SS MD-say

"Ñi-ñ   bo   -m -e   ga -w   -o." **27.** *Ee,   ma -s   -il   wao*
  1s-POS village-MD-CT ND-ND:p-lying   EXP   MD-DC-NF:SS grandfather

ma -n   mom   ma -mo. **28.** *"Ma -s   ma -ma   ñ -e   wu-nɨn   m --ɨn*
MD-O2 grandmother MD-say   MD-DC MD-MD 1s -CT 2s -ACC MD-F:SS

ate wu-ñ   bo   -d --ɨdu-a." **29.** *Ma -s   -il   mom   ma -nɨn*
?ate 2s-POS village-FD-see -INC   MD-DC-NF:SS grandmother MD-ACC

e -tul   -up. **30.** *Ma -nɨn   da -s   -il   mai-ñ   yu   m -in ma -a*
CT-go:down-COMP   MD-ACC FD-DC-NF:SS MD-POS hole MD-in MD-INC

e -mi -s. **31.** *Yu   m -in s -il   ate   mai -ñ   bu -l   -isa -ap*
CT-MD-DC   hole MD-in DC-NF:SS ?ate MD -POS work-FD:p-look-COMP

ma -ga   ma -ga   w   -olok bu -w   -a -l   m -e. **32.** *Mɨ -p   --ɨl*
MD-ND MD-ND ND:p-like work-ND:p-do-CONT MD -CT   MD-remain-NF:SS

ma sɨ   -wa -n   mot -ul   m -e. **33.** *Sɨ   -lɨ   -d   --ɨl   ma*
MD thing:p-ND:p-O2 make-CONT MD-CT   thing:p-FD:p-make-NF:SS MD

lɨ -t -e   y   -ul   m -e. **34.** *Ma -s   -il   mom   m -e*
FD:p-O1-CT down-CONT MD-CT   MD-DC-NF:SS grandmother MD-CT

wu-nɨn   wu-ñ   bo   -ma
2s -ACC 2s -POS village-MD

ma -n   wao   ma -mo. **35.** *"Ma -ma   ñ-e   alak wu-nɨn   ma -a.*
MD-O2 grandfather MD-say   MD-MD 1s-CT also 2s -ACC MD-INC

36. *Wu-nɨn   da -m   wu-ñ   bo   -dɨ -m   -ɨn   ñ-e   alak ate   wu-ñ*
     2s -ACC FD-MD 2s -POS village-FD-MD-F:SS 1s-CT also ?ate 2s -POS

bo   -d -ɨdu-a." **37.** *Ma -s   -il   ma -nɨn   e -mi -s.*   **38.** *Ma -nɨn*
village-FD-see-INC   MD-DC-NF:SS MD-ACC CT-MD-DC   MD-ACC

da -s   -il   wao   mai -ñ   yu   m -in ma -a   e -mi -s.
FD-DC-NF:SS grandfather MD -POS hole MD-in MD-INC CT-MD-DC

39. *M -in s -il   ate m -adu-p   -ul   ma -n   mo.* **40.** *"Ma-ga*
     MD-in DC-NF:SS ?ate MD-see-COMP-NF:SS MD-O2 say   MD-ND

mai-ñ   pa -mɨ -ga   w   -o." **41.** *Pa -mɨ -yen   mɨ -ba   somo da-ma*
MD-POS house-MD-ND ND:p-lying   house-MD-CNT MD-NT long FD-MD

m -a -ap   l   -e. **42.** *Somo da -ma m -a -ap   -k -ɨl   mɨ -ba lit*
MD-do-COMP FD:p-CT   long   FD-MD MD-do-COMP-put-NF:SS MD-NT half

d -in p   -ɨl   sɨ   -n   mot -ul   mɨ -m -e. **43.** *A   lit   g -in*
FD-in remain-NF:SS thing:p-O2 make-CONT MD-MD-CT   EXP half ND-in

p   -ɨl   sɨ   -n   mot -ul   m -e. **44.** *S -il   ma -nɨn   at*
remain-NF:SS thing:p-O2 make-NF:SS MD-CT   DC-NF:SS MD-ACC ?at

m -adu-p   -ul   nau-nɨn   balup ta -s -il   a   wao
MD-see -COMP-NF:SS self-ACC again on:top-DC-NF:SS EXP grandfather

mɨ -ba   ma -n   mom   ma -mo. **45.** *"Ap-?ki (maski) ñ -e   ja wu-nɨn*
MD-NT MD-O2 grandmother MD-say   no -?ki (maski) 1s -CT poor:thing

mɨ -ba   wu-ñ   bo   -ma   e -m -a   m -e." **46.** *Ma -s   -il*
2s -ACC 2s -POS village-MD CT-MD-INC MD-CT   MD-DC-NF:SS

mom   m -e gɨp   l   -e -s. **47.** *"M,   ap-l   -e   gñi -ga*
grandmother MD-CT obstinate FD:p-CT-DC   EXP no-FD:p-CT 1s -ND

e -m -a." **48.** *Ma -s -il   ?miaana ma -nɨn   mai -ñ .*
CT-MD-INC   MD-DC-NF:SS ?miaana MD-ACC MD -POS

bo -gɨ-s -a   e -wi -s. **49.** *Wao   ma -nɨn   mai -ñ*
village-ND-DC-INC CT-NP:p-DC   grandfather MD-ACC MD-POS

bo -gɨ -s -il   wao   ma -ñ   ma-ma   pa -mɨ -ba somo
village-ND-DC-NF:SS grandfather MD-POS MD-MD house-MD-NT long

da -ma mɨ -ba m -a -ap   ma. **50.** *Ma -s -il   mɨ -ba ku -da -n*
FD-MD MD-NT MD-do-COMP MD   MD-DC-NF:SS MD-NT fence-FD-O2

m -akuko -p   ma. **51.** *Mom   mɨ -ba lit   da -m -e -p.*
MD-?make-COMP MD   grandmother MD-NT half FD-MD-CT-remain

52. *Wao   mɨ -ba lit ga -m -e -p.*   **53.** *Ma -s -il   lɨ -ba*
grandfather MD-NT half ND-MD-CT-remain   MD-DC-NF:SS FD:p-NT

l -in p   -ɨl   bo -l   p   -ap   ma. **54.** *L -in p   -ɨl*
FD:p-in remain-NF:SS work-NF:SS remain-COMP MD   FD:p-in remain-NF:SS

sɨ   -wɨ -l -e lɨ -d -ɨl   p   -ap   l -e.
thing:p-ND:p-FD:p-CT FD:p-make-NF:SS remain-COMP FD:p-CT

55. *Sɨ   -wɨ -d -ɨl   p   -ap   -k -al   a   mɨ -ba*
thing:p-ND:p-make-NF:SS remain-COMP-put-NF:DS EXP MD-NT

m -is -ak   kaulo e -ya -ap   ma. **56.** *Mom   ma -ma mɨ -ba*
MD-DC-ORG wrong CT-shoot-COMP MD   grandmother MD-MD MD-NT

kaulo ma -ya -ap   ma. **57.** *Ate lu -w -udu-p -ul   l -oo*
wrong MD-shoot-COMP MD   ?ate dog-ND:p-see-COMP-NF:SS FD:p-follow

e -s -al   a   m -olok m -is -ak   kaulo
CT-DC-NF:DS EXP MD-like MD-DC-ORG wrong

d -e -ya -ap   -k -al   sɨ   -lɨ -ba m -olok e -d -odo -p
FD-CT-shoot-COMP-put-NF:DS thing:p-FD:p-NT MD-like CT-FD-?lose-COMP

ma. **58.** *E -d -odo -p   -k -al   a   ma -ga l -e   miña*
MD   CT-FD-?lose-COMP-put-NF:DS EXP MD-ND FD:p-CT now(NEG)

*ya   m -olok ma -ga e -w -e -p.   **59.** Mom   mai-ñ*
nothing MD-like MD-ND CT-ND:p-CT-remain   grandmother MD-POS

kaulo ma -ma n   -e   miña   m -oo   e -w -e -p
wrong MD-MD 1p:EXCL-CT now(NEG) MD-follow CT-ND:p-CT-remain

ma-ga. **60.** *Ap-kɨ -p   -ap   -k -ɨten l -e   lolop nai -ñ*
MD-ND   no -put-remain-COMP-put -F:DS FD:p-CT just   own-POS

sɨ -lɨ -d -ɨl   p   -ap   -k -ɨten (yes) l -e   nai-ñ
thing:p-FD:p-make-NF:SS remain-COMP-put-F:DS (yes) FD:p-CT own-POS

*bu -yawulo ma -?nat p   -a   t   -ap.   **61.** Ma -n*
work-good   MD-?hold remain-INC move:around-COMP   MD-O2

e -m -ap   -k -ɨten miña   ga -n be nɨ   -yen o
CT-MD-COMP-put-F:DS now(NEG) ND-O2 child 1p:EXCL-CNT EXP

n   -e   ak a   -k -ap   ma m -olok m -oo   p   -a
1p:EXCL-CT ORG outside-put-COMP MD MD-like MD-follow remain-INC

t   -ap. **62.** *Ap-l -e, mom   ma -ma mɨ -ba*
move:around-COMP   no -FD:p-CT grandmother MD-MD MD-NT

m -is -ak   kaulo ma -ya -ap -k -al   mɨ -ba miña
MD-DC-ORG wrong MD-shoot-COMP-put-NF:DS MD-NT now(NEG)

m -olok kaulo ma-ga ma -y -il   m -ɨpa w -e -p.
MD-like wrong MD-ND MD-shoot-NF:SS MD-IACC ND:p-CT-remain

63. *L -e ya   ba m -olok e -p   -k -ɨten ma-ma*
FD:p-CT nothing NT MD-like CT-remain-COMP-put-F:DS MD-MD

bu -yawulo ma -l   -ɨ -l   -a t   -ap ma.
work-good   MD-FD:p-do-CONT-INC move:around-COMP MD

Free Translation

1. I will tell the story of Mopul's father and mother. 2. They did not know about each other. 3. The old woman (grandmother) did not know about the old man (grandfather). 4. And the old man did not know about the old woman. 5. They each stayed inside their own holes. 6. The old woman lived by herself. 7. And so the old man lived by himself. 8. It went on like that, and (they) each would come up like that (at the same time). 9. The old woman's dog and the old man's dog would come up with them and hunt and kill pigs. 10. (They) remained inside the holes and would come up and hunt and kill pigs and then go down with them (prey). 11. Having taken them down into their own holes, they would eat and work. 12. They were remaining inside there and making everything. 13. It went on, and they (each) did not know about the other. 14. It stayed like that, and then one time, the old man came up and the old woman too came up. 15. And so, they just went hunting through the jungle there. 16. Having gone through the jungle and hunted, they finished and again came back and were ready to go down. 17. (They) came here and bumped into each other. 18. Hey, you come through where to here? (Where did you come from?) 19. Hey, you (too) from where did you come? 20. And so she said to him, "I appeared from inside this banana." 21. And so she said, "You too came from where?" 22. And so he said, "I came down from this 'pikus' tree." 23. Hey, there, and so about your village, where is it? 24. And so she said to him, "My village is right here." 25. And concerning you, and your village, where is it? 26. And so he said, "My village is right here." 27. Eh, and so the old man said to the old woman. 28. "And so there, I will go with you to see your village." 29. And so the woman went down with him. 30. Going there with him, she went inside her hole and arrived there. 31. Having gone inside the hole and seen all her work, she told him how she did all this work. 32. Remaining there, she makes all these things. 33. (She) makes them and then puts them down there. 34. And so the old woman told the old man that. 35. "There, I too will go with you." 36. (I will) go there with you and go to your village, and I will also see your village. 37. And so she went with him. 38. Going there with him, (they) went into the old man's hole and arrived there. 39. Having gone inside and seen it, she said. 40. "There now, his house is here." 41. Concerning the house, he made it long. 42. Having made it long, he remained there in one half of it and was making things. 43. And he remained in this half and was making things. 44. She came with him and saw it and then together they came back on top, and the old man says to the old woman, 45. "Forget it, I will go with you, poor thing, to your village." 46. And so, the old woman was obstinate. 47. "Mm, no, I will go with you to your village." 48. And she came with him to his village and arrived. 49. She came with the old man to his village, and the old man's house which he made was long. 50. And so he made walls inside it. 51. The old woman

remained (in) one half there.   **52.** The old man remained in one half here.
53. And so they were remaining in them (their rooms) and remained working.
54. Staying in them, they remained there making all these things.   **55.** They remained making these things, and then (she) from there made wrong fashion (sin).   **56.** It was the old woman, she did wrong.   **57.** She saw all these dogs and followed them, and like from that, she did wrong, and all the things like that were lost.   **58.** (All things) lost, and here now they are just like that and remain.
59. The old woman's wrong it was, and now we remain like this after it.   **60.** If not, they would have just stayed and made all their things, and yes, they were doing their own good work.   **61.** If that (work) had kept going, now we children when we appeared, we would have followed like that and remained.   **62.** (But) no, the old woman it was that made wrong from that, and now it is that wrong which she did that remains with us.   **63.** If they had just remained like that (like they were at the beginning), then we would be still making good work.

APPENDIX B

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accompaniment
ANA	anaphoric
CAT	cataphoric
CNT	contrastive topic
CONT	continuous aspect
COMP	completed aspect
CT	control topic
DC	deictic centre
FD	far deictic (distal singular demonstrative)
FD.p	far deictic plural (distal plural demonstrative)
F.SS	future same subject
F.DS	future different subject
IACC	inanimate accompaniment
IMP	imperative
INC	incomplete aspect
MD	mid deictic (medial singular demonstrative)
NEG	negative
ND	near deictic (proximal singular demonstrative)
ND.p	near deictic plural (proximal plural demonstrative)
NF.SS	non-future same subject
NF.DS	non-future different subject
NT	neutral topic
O1	oblique 1
O2	oblique 2

ORG	origin
POS	possessive
SO	source
STAT	stative
1s	first person singular
1p.INCL	first person plural inclusive
1p.EXCL	first person plural exclusive
2s	second person singular
2p	second person plural
3s	third person singular
?	morpheme of uncertain meaning

NOTES

1. The phonemes are *a, b, d, e, g, i, ɨ, j, k, l, m, n, ñ, o, p, s, t, u, w, y*.

2. A list of Wade's papers is referenced in the bibliography.

3. Our association with the village of Samban dates back to 1978, when we set up residence there. However, due to leaves and administrative duties, actual time in the village over the past ten years is about four years.

4. The following are the Botin deictic markers:

	Singular	Plural
Near	*g-*	*wɨ-*
Mid	*m-*	
Far	*d-*	*l*

5. One of the semantic encodings for the MD (mid deictic) is anaphoric reference and for the ND:p (near deictic plural) cataphoric reference. Following examples (27) and (28), ANA and CAT will be replaced by MD and ND:p throughout the remainder of the paper.

6. Realizing the *s* morpheme encodes the idea of 'source', we will gloss it as DC (deictic centre) in all succeeding examples.

7. Notice the *molok* followed by *wep* in the text in sentences (58) and (62) in Appendix A. The *molok* is a dialectical variant of *mok* and refers to what has been described previously, and the *wep* brings it close at hand.

8. The houses in the Samban area are built up six feet or so off the ground, as they are located in a swampy area.

9. Further study needs to be done of the directionals, such as *a* 'outside', *ta* 'on.top', and *tuwa* 'go.down'. But that is not within the scope of this paper.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Farr, Cynthia J.M. 1976. "I don't know whether I'm coming or going: a study of some usages of 'come' and 'go' in Korafe." **Kivung** 9:126-55.

Farr, Cynthia J.M. and Carl R. Whitehead. 1982. "This, that and the other: a study of Korafe demonstratives." LLM 13:64-80.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1975. **Santa Cruz lectures on deixis**. 1971. Reproduced by Indiana University Linguistics Club in Bloomington, Indiana.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1966. "Deictic categories in the semantics of 'come'." **Foundations of Language** 2(3):219-27.

Grimes, Joseph E. 1975. **The thread of discourse**. The Hague: Mouton.

Grimes, Joseph E. and Naomi Glock. 1970. "A Saramaccan narrative pattern." **Language** 46(2):408-25.

Lawrence, Helen. 1972. "Viewpoint and location in Oksapmin." **Anthropological Linguistics** 14(8):311-16.

Laycock, D.C. 1973. **Sepik languages checklist and preliminary classification**. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University [**Pacific Linguistics**, B- 25].

McElhanon, Kenneth A. (ed.) 1975. **Tok Pisin i go we. Kivung**, special publication number 1:198-214.

Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1975. "Reduplication and repetition in New Guinea Pidgin". In: McElhanon (ed.) 1975:198-214.

Wade, Martha Lynn. 1984. "Some stratificational insights concerning Botin (Kambot), a Papuan language." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas at Arlington.

Wade, Martha. 1983. "A tentative analysis of Botin morphophonemics in generative format." Unpublished paper.

Wade, Martha. 1985. "Negation is really a different subject." Unpublished paper.

Wade, Martha. 1982. "Pronouns and deictics in Botin". Unpublished paper.

Wade, Martha. 1982. "Medial verbs in Botin." Unpublished paper.

Wade, Martha. 1982. "A tentative phonological analysis of Botin." Unpublished paper.