THE USE OF METAPHORS IN SIROI

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1 INTRODUCTION
The purpose of this article is to show how speakers of the Siroi language of Papua New Guinea\(^1\) make extensive use of an extended metaphor in narrative discourse, i.e. NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN. In terms of this extended metaphor we also propose an alternative analysis from that proposed by Wells (1979) of the meanings and functions of two of the conjunctions in Siroi and four of the aspectual morphemes.

In section 2 we introduce the notion of extended metaphor as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and then in section 3 show how this applies to Siroi narrative in terms of moving from the known to the unknown as a metaphor of ascending.

In section 4 we analyse four of the aspectual morphemes in Siroi in terms of the extended metaphor NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN and then finally in section 5 we show how the metaphorical use of descending as meaning moving from the unknown to the known has interesting consequences for the analysis of two conjunctions in Siroi.

2 THE USE OF METAPHORS IN EVERYDAY SPEECH
Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have shown how in speaking we continually use metaphors. They say that 'the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another' (1980: 5).

Lakoff and Johnson provide us with a wealth of examples. One of them follows below to illustrate their point.
(1) Father is IN the kitchen.
    They will arrive IN an hour.
    He is deeply IN love.
    Try to say it IN other words.

From these examples we can draw the conclusion that the basic meaning of 'in' represents a spatial orientation and that English uses metaphors like TIME IS SPACE, LOVE IS AN OBJECT (or a CONTAINER) and WORDS ARE OBJECTS. It seems to us that it might be important to discover which metaphors a language uses and to compare these metaphors with the ones that other languages use.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 17-18) say that 'there is an internal systematicity to each spatialization metaphor. For example, HAPPY IS UP defines a coherent system, rather than a number of isolated and random cases. (An example of an incoherent system would be one where, say, "I'm feeling up" meant "I'm feeling happy," but "My spirits rose" meant "I became sadder."'}.

So the purpose in this article is also to present a coherent metaphorical system and not some isolated metaphors.

2.1 ASCEND as a metaphor
In his review of Wells' Siroi Grammar (1979) Reesink (1981) suggests that the Siroi dependent sequence allomorph -mba might very well consist of the verb stem mb- ('ascend') plus -a since verbs take either -a or -mba as a suffix signalling that another action is to follow. If this is true, the metaphor that Siroi uses would be ASCEND IS GOING TO THE NEXT EVENT when moving from one clause to another. Reesink (1981), however, also says that verbs that have a classmarker (see section 3) cannot take -mba. This is incorrect. All verbs, including those that take a classmarker, can be marked by -a or -mba to indicate that another action is following.
We would claim that ASCEND is used as a metaphor for going from a given action or event to a new action or event. In other words, in going from the known to the unknown, ASCEND is used. As Reesink (1981) points out, this corresponds with the metaphors UP IS UNKNOWN and DOWN IS KNOWN as in English usage (see Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 20–21,137).

Reesink’s remark that when Siroi dependent clauses use -mba, they probably have a rising intonation is also true and confirms that Siroi uses ASCEND for going from the known to the unknown.

However, there is far more evidence to prove the hypothesis that Siroi uses this metaphor and in this paper we will show that it is part of the extended metaphor NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN.

2.2 The aspectual morphemes
Siroi uses four aspectual morphemes as termed by Wells (1979: 98). These morphemes have a discourse function that gives a particular flavour to the text.

The four aspectual morphemes are ma, ka, pro and ndek. They consist in form of the stem of the verbs minam (‘remain’), kambim (‘go’), prowam (‘arrive’) and ndekam (‘descend’). The fact that these morphemes function at a discourse level provides the strongest evidence\(^2\) that speakers of Siroi use the metaphor NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN extensively. We shall look at this in detail in section 4.

2.3 DESCEND as a metaphor
After what has been proposed so far, it is to be expected that Siroi not only uses ASCEND as a metaphor, but also DESCEND. We would claim that nde as it is used in two of the conjunctions, kande and ndeta, is also the stem of the verb ndekam (‘descend’). To take this one step further, ka in kande would then be the stem of the verb kambim (‘go’). Since we are assuming that in Siroi
NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN, this makes perfect sense; kande would then be a combination of ‘go’ and ‘descend’ and ndeta would be a combination of ‘descend’ plus the far deictic ta.

In section 5 we shall see how all this influences the analysis of both ndeta and kande.

3 ASCEND IS GOING TO THE UNKNOWN

As stated above (section 2.1), the dependent verb suffixes -mba and -a are used to signal that another action is to follow. Reesink (1981) has suggested that -mba might very well consist of the verb stem mb- (‘ascend’) plus -a. If it is true that Siroi uses a whole set of metaphors, all of them expressed by motion-verbs, it follows that this hypothesis holds and at this point we shall look at some examples before we move on to the aspectual morphemes which give further evidence of the fact that in Siroi NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN.

First of all it needs to be observed that verbs in Siroi consist of a stem plus what Wells calls a classmarker. She points out that these classmarkers consist in form of the verb stems -ng- (‘say’), -k- (‘do’) and -t- (‘take’) (1979: 27). There is a fourth class of verbs that have a zero-classmarker.

Each of the verbs that have a verb stem as classmarker may either take -a or -mba as dependent verb suffix. The verbs that have a zero-classmarker, on the other hand, always take -mba. In other words, all verbs need to take an additional verb stem before they can take the suffix -a. So whereas all zero-class verbs obligatorily use the metaphor ASCEND IS GOING TO THE UNKNOWN, when going to another clause, all other verbs do not have to use this metaphor.

When looking at 15 of the most frequently occurring of these verbs scattered over some 60 texts, we find that -a is used far more often than -mba. In these texts -a occurred 249 times while -mba occurred only 27 times. In other words, it would seem to us
that speakers of the language prefer the shorter form with -a to
the longer form with -mba. What conclusion can we draw from this?

As said above (section 2.1) it is not enough merely to say
that Siroi uses 'Ascend is going to the next event' when moving
from one clause to another. It is more accurate to say that they
use this metaphor when going from a given event to a new event, or
from the known to the unknown in the same way that they use the
metaphor DESCEND IS GOING TO THE KNOWN, as we shall see. Therefore,
it is not necessary to use the metaphor when the second action
usually follows the first as in (2) and (3) where it is not really
going from the known to the unknown.

(2) nane kuapi-k -a nyi-naig sulu -mba
    3p cook CM DEP eat 3p:PA finish DEP
    'they cooked it and ate it and...'

(3) nane wan po -ng-a ki-naig
    3p canoe climb CM DEP go 3p:PA
    'they got on their canoes and left'

So in expectancy chains, where the first verb is almost
automatically followed by the second verb, -a is used, rather than
-mba, showing that we are not really going from the known to the
unknown. Contrast between the two forms is seen in the next few
examples.

(4) polis sa -ning-ina: Tane te -nge min-ap
    police:men say 3p 3s:PA 2p here SPEC be 2p:POT
    le ye k -umba sumbi -k -umba ng-ina. Tana-k -ina
    and 1s go DEP relieve CM DEP QV 3s:PA. thus CM 3s:PA
    sulu -mba nu ta -nge nane kusre-k -umba nduiye
    finish DEP 3s DEI SPEC 3p leave CM DEP for:good
kua ka k -ina.

flee ASM CM 3s:PA.

'he said to the police-men, "You stay here, I go to relieve myself." Thus he said and he left them and there he fled and did not come back any more.'

(5) Nu nane kusre-k -a nu ambo -ng-a tumbran k -ina.

3s 3p leave CM DEP 3s begin CM DEP village go 3s:PA

'He left them and went first to the village.'

The difference between kusrekumba in (4) and kusreka in (5) is that in (5) 'leaving them' is not really seen as a separate action. 'Leaving-them-and-going' is seen as one action. In (4), on the other hand, what the man is doing may be seen as two separate things. First he leaves the police man to relieve himself in the bushes. Then he escapes. Note that in (4) there is no final verb ending, but the quote ends with -mba. Very often this is the case in sentences like (6) which imply that the speaker expects another action to follow the one marked with -mba.

(6) Ye isuku -mba ng -ina

1s eat:INTR DEP QV 3s:PA

"Let me eat (first)", he said.'

Then there are many combinations of a verb followed by minam ("be" or "remain") like in (7) which indicates continuous aspects. Here too -a is usually used

(7) Nu nane kanger-k -a min-na

3s 3p see CM DEP be 3s:PA

'He was looking at them.'
In the next example **kangerkumba** is used. The focus here, like in (4), is on both actions, the seeing (or visiting) and the returning to the village.

(8) **Nu nane kanger-kumba man lu -k-a nune**
    3s 3p see CM DEP again return CM DEP 3s:POS
    *tumbran k-ina*
    village go 3s:PA
    ‘He saw (visited) them and returned again to his own village.’

It must be said that not all examples are equally clear. However many examples seem to work like the examples above⁴.

4 **CLIMBING THE MOUNTAIN**

Wells (1979: 98) says that in Siroi ‘there are four aspectual morphemes which function on sentence level’. She goes on to say that they ‘are in a form similar to the verb stems **ka** (‘go’), **ma** (‘be’ or ‘remain’), **pro** (‘arrive’) and **ndek** (‘descend’).’ As to the functions of these aspectual morphemes Wells says that ‘they frequently occur in narrative text and **ndek** in particular occurs in text including direct speech. When these aspectual morphemes are omitted the text still makes good sense, but when they are included they give the flavour of real life situations and the language is lifeless without them’ (1979: 99). We agree with Wells, but we suggest that it is possible to refine this characterisation by looking at these aspectual morphemes from the point of view of the metaphor **NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN**. For instance, an occurrence count showed that in 70 texts **ka** is used far more frequently than the other aspectual morphemes (see table 1) and this should not be a surprise if we consider that **ka** is the verb stem ‘go’. In terms of the metaphor **ka** simply means that the
narrative is going on. It therefore has the most neutral meaning of the four.

Table 1

Occurrence of Aspectual Morphemes in 70 texts or about 25000 words

ka  occurred 368 times
nde  occurred 241 times
pro  occurred 126 times
ma  occurred 73 times

So, whereas each of the aspectual morphemes occur at least once in most texts, ka occurs 5 times as often. We will now look at each morpheme in a little more detail.

4.1 'Ka' and 'ma'
Wells says that 'usually ka signals a distance span between the actions and ma a time span, but occasionally this usage is reversed' (1979: 99). We shall try to indicate the reasons for such reversed usage by making use of the extended metaphor. When ka is used, usually somebody is going somewhere and when ma is used, usually some time is passing by. However, as Wells says, occasionally this usage is reversed. This would make it very hard to know which one to use in any given context. When we consider that NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN, however, we can start to understand which conjunction is appropriate in a given context.

(9) Nane ka wa Kamas so -t -a nde -k -inaig
      3p  ASM grandfather Kamas search CM DEP descend CM 3p:PA
ka wa Kamas tugum pro -naig.
      ASM grandfather Kamas near arrive 3p:PA
they went down to see grandfather Kamas 'ka' arrived at grandfather Kamas.'

In (9) there is a distance span between two actions, but another way of looking at it is to say that the narrative is simply 'going' to the next phase, because, as Wells has already pointed out, there is not always this distance span between the actions when ka is used, as in (10).

(10) Tana-mba nu kualegan kil -mba pinder-k -a tumbran
thus DEP 3s fish take:PL DEP run CM DEP village
k -ina ka zugu wande-k sinam -nge
go 3s:PA ASM boy s:house house LOC inside SPEC
aba nune tair min-na ka furir-na le
older:sibling 3s:POS wait be 3s:PA ASM night 3s:PA and
nu ka ngiram kat-kat-na.
3s ASM garamut:drum hit hit 3s:PA
'Thus he took the fish and ran to the village 'ka' in the boy's house he waited for his older brother 'ka' it became dark and he went 'ka' and beat the garamut:drum.'

In (10) ka is used three times. Only twice does it signal a distance span; the first time when the boy goes to the village, and the third time when he goes to the place where the garamut:drum is. However, if we consider that NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN in Siroi, then the second use of ka is less of an exception than it might appear. The narrative is 'going' from a situation at the river, first to a situation in the village in the boys' house, secondly to a situation where evening came and then thirdly to a situation where the boy beat the garamut:drum. In other words, ka expresses an ongoing narrative and should be interpreted in the light of the metaphor NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN.
So what then about *ma*? As Wells says it usually signals a time span between two events, but not always. The same principle applies here as above. When looking at the text in the light of the metaphor, it will be seen that what *ma* is actually expressing is that the situation remains the same in the narrative.

(11) *Nu ambe -nge min-na ma ma ait inum nu man*

3s above SPEC be 3s:PA ASM ASM time one 3s again

*lu -nu idus -na.*
return INT think 3s:PA

'He stayed up there 'ma ma' one day he thought about returning.'

The reduplication of the aspectual marker *ma ma* in (11) signals a time span. However, it also signals that the situation remains the same as far as the story line is concerned. This appears to be the main focus when *ma ma* is used in the many instances where it would seem that *ma ma* signals a distance span, as in (12):

(12) *Ki-naik ma ma tumbran zuka pro -naik*

go 3d:PA ASM ASM village edge arrive 3d:PA

'they were going 'ma ma' (and) arrived at the edge of the village.'

At first sight in (12) *ma ma* seems to signal a distance span, rather than a time span. However, what is really in focus is that the situation remains unchanged. We are not getting higher up the mountain.

4.2 'Pro' and 'ndek'

If *ke* expresses that the narrative is 'going on' and *ma* expresses that the 'situation remains unchanged', what then do *pro* and *ndek*
express? Wells says about pro that 'its function is rather elusive but it seems to signal the next important action. The focus is on the action following' (1979: 102).

If we consider that pro is in form the verb stem 'arrive' we can assume, in the light of the metaphor NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN, that the function of pro is to express the idea of arriving in a new situation. We can see how this works in some examples.

(13) Maye ndeta sine pro ne ndon ta -nge ire
good LINK 1p ASM 2s with DEI SPEC kunai:grass
sai-k -ubé
cut CM 1p:POT
"If it is okay, we'll come 'pro' cut kunai grass with you over there", (they said)

(14) Ande katese -wam il -na pro nane
One understand INT come 3s:PA ASM 3p
kanger-k -ina
see CM 3s:PA
'One came to find it out 'pro' saw them.'

The examples (13) and (14) seem to indicate that pro expresses how the person or people in focus arrive in a new situation, or, in terms of the metaphor, 'a little bit further up the mountain'. We do agree with Wells when she says that the function of pro is rather elusive as we have not been able to discover just when pro is used. It is certainly not used to signal each next important action and some people seem to use it more often than others.

Finally then, we have to look at ndek. Wells says that 'with ndek the second action depends on the first one in some way and is only performed as a result of the first action. The morpheme is optional but when it is omitted the second action is not so
emphatically related to the first' (1979: 103). We agree with her on this. And since ndek is in form the verb stem nde- ('descend'), it would seem to us that ndek expresses a 'going to the known' (i.e. the first action that Wells says ndek refers back to). And since ndek, which is regularly pronounced ndeka, is not merely DESCEND but also GO (ka), we can conclude that, in terms of the metaphor, ndek expresses going from the main participant of the story, or a little bit down the mountain. The following two examples illustrate what we mean.

(15) Furir ngamu -na le tango ta ndek matau nune
night middle 3s:PA and man DEI ASM friend 3s:POS
kiny -wa ng-a pa sigewe tu -na.
sleep 3s:POT QV DEP fire build give:him 3s:PA
'In the middle of the night the man 'went down and' (ndek) built a fire for his friend so that he would sleep.'

(16) Kube -na le nane ndek nale ndon kame
Relate 3s:PA and 3p ASM 3d with fight
nde -k -inaik.
descend CM 3d:PA.
'He told them (about it) and they 'went down' (ndek), went down to fight with them.'

In (15) the literal translation reads, 'The night became middle and...'. So the man built the fire for his friend, because it had already become very late. Ndek expresses that the man built the fire, because of what just happened, i.e. it had become very late. To look at (15) from the point of view of the metaphor, we can say that, after looking back to a lower point (expressed by ndek), we are again going further up the mountain.
The same applies to (16) and many more examples could be given. In each case ndek or ndeka refers back to something already known, which suggests that DESCEND IS GOING TO THE KNOWN.

4.3 Summary

Within any narrative type discourse (including embedded discourse in all other discourse types) the four asceptual morphemes are used to give real life flavour to the text.

The fact that all of these morphemes express movement (‘go’, ‘arrive’, ‘descend’ and ‘remain’) also seems to us to suggest that NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN in Siroi. It is the ‘movement’ or the ‘climbing up the mountain’ that gives the flavour to the discourse, which can be expressed in any of these four ways:

1. ka Continuing of the narrative.
   (Seen as going to the next point on the mountain.)

2. ma Things remaining unchanged for a while.
   (Seen as remaining at the same point on the mountain.)

3. pro Getting into a new situation.
   (Seen as arriving at the next point on the mountain.)

4. ndek An action is based on an earlier, known action.
   (Seen as descending or looking down to a lower point on the mountain.)

5 DESCEND IS GOING TO THE KNOWN

5.1 The link ‘kande’

According to Wells (1979: 113), kande is a conjunction or a link between unmerged sentences that can be translated by either ‘if’, ‘but’ or ‘and’. She says that kande occurs in the Response Sentence and encodes Contrafactuality, Frustration, Coupling with reciprocity, Repartee or Hypotheticality. We think it can be shown that, no matter how the link is translated into English, the basic
meaning is the same. Looking at kande from the perspective of the metaphor NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN will make this clear.

When we tried to analyse the way kande is used in stories and narratives it soon became apparent that it was not sufficient to do this purely on the sentence level. In nearly every instance where kande was used, another linking word could be used. This was often one of the switch-reference markers le (DS) or sulumba (SS) and sometimes the far deictic ta. Each example must be studied within its context on the discourse level. For instance, in (17a) just looking at the grammatical structure of the sentence does in no way explain why kande is used here.

(17a) Nu kuku tilai-ng-ina kande kualegan kuga.

3s hook throw CM 3s:PA LINK fish no

'He went fishing, but he caught nothing.'

Instead of using kande, the more neutral far deictic ta could have been used here, as in (17b).

(17b) tango ande nu so -t -am tuku kule

man a 3s search CM INT REL water

sili -k -ina nu so -t -ina ta

go:inside CM 3s:PA 3s search CM 3s:PA DEI

kuga le nu bitek mayok k -umba nane

no and 3s quickly outside go DEP 3p

sa -ning-ina: Nu te kuga ng-ina

say 3p 3s:PA 3s here no QV 3s:PA

'To find him, a man went into the water and searched for him but didn't find him and he came quickly out of the water and told them, "He is not here!"'

The same applies to the next example. A more neutral link might have been used instead of kande.
(18) Nun kuku tilai-ng-ina kande kualegan ken -mba
3s hook throw CM 3s:PA LINK fish three DEP
kil -na.
take:PL 3s:PA.
'He went fishing and he caught three fish.'

Instead of using kande, the same subject marker sulumba could have been used in (18). It would seem, therefore, that a closer look at the context is necessary to discover just why kande is being used.

5.2 The different ways 'kande' is used
Of the five different uses of kande, as Wells describes its functions and meanings, it is only with the Contrafactual Response Sentence that no other form can be used. It would seem, therefore, that the contrafactuality as encoded in this type of sentence might be a clue as to why kande is used in the other sentence types, where it replaces a more neutral link.

5.2.1 'Kande' in the contrafactual response sentence
The double use of kande in the contrafactual response sentence is shown in the following two examples (19) and (20).

(19) Kino fudin-ndo ta kuru-kuru nda-k -ina kande sine yu
boy small only DEI fear fear NEG CM 3s:PA LINK 1p sea
sinam -nge mindesin kusre-mba man ngaro-su kitek
inside SPEC dead:body leave DEP again skin bone new
1 -eg kande ng-inaig.
take:SG 1p:PR LINK QV 3p:PA.
'If that small boy had not been afraid, we would now leave our old bodies in the ocean and get new bodies.'
(20) sa -ning-mba sa -k -ina: Sine mben ta bale-mba
say 3p DEP say CM 3s:PA 1p snake DEI kill DEP
ny  -ig  kande sine mine nda-k -eg  kande. Sine
eat:TR 1p:IP LINK 1p be NEG CM 1p:PR LINK: 1p
nak-mba kule  -nge  pro sine kile  -buto-k  -at  kande
all DEP water SPEC ASM 1p take:PL sink CM 3s:IP LINK
'He spoke to them and said, "If we had killed that snake,
we would not have been alive now. The water would have
drowned each one of us."'

Since no other link can be used in sentences like (19) and
(20), we need to see if this same kind of contrafactuality or
contra-expectation is also found in the other uses of kande like
(17) and (18).

5.2.2 'Kande' in sentences encoding frustration or coupling with
reciprocity
Wells distinguished between these two sentence types, the two bases
of the former containing 'a purposeful action and the unexpected
result' and the bases of the latter containing 'a purposeful action
and the expected result.' She would call (17a) an example of the
former and (18) an example of the latter. Syntactically, however,
the two sentence types are identical, and we believe it can be
shown that they are actually the same in meaning.

This first sentence type encoding frustration, as Wells calls
it, is by far the most frequent and the 'unexpected result' agrees
with what we found in the contrafactual response sentence above.
The use of kande in this sentence type clearly expresses
c contra-expectation as the following examples show.

(21) Kile kino ta ndek kanger-na kande mam nune
now boy DEI ASM see 3s:PA LINK father 3s:POS
'Then the boy went and had a look and it was his father and he went and said to his mother, "Mother! The man that I saw is my father!" and his mother said, "Come on, your father died, so how can he have become alive again?"

(22) Mam nu kule ny -am sa -k -a ndek kule mbol ta father 3s water eat:TR INT say CM DEP ASM water PREP DEI k -ina kande mben ar -mba ta ta -nge min-naik go 3s:PA LINK snake two DEP DEI DEI SPEC be 3d:PA 'Father went to the river to drink some water and there were two snakes there.'

In both examples the same or different subject marker might have been used, were it not for the unexpected event that calls for the use of kande.

If we realise that kande consists of ka plus nde (in form the stem of the verbs 'go' and 'descend') it would follow that, within the metaphor NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN, when something unexpected happens, DESCEND is used as a metaphor for going from the unknown to the known ("coming down from the mountain", as it were) in the same way that ASCEND is used for going from the known to the unknown (see 2.1). That would then shed light on the following examples (23) and (24).
(23) **Kile haas le egel pinder-k -inaik. Pinder-k -inaik**

now hare and hedgehog run CM 3d:PA: run CM 3d:PA
ta haas-nge egel li -mba nu pinder nayo-mba
DEI hare SPEC hedgehog exceed DEP 3s run bad DEP
usre-wam tuku ma make inum si mbol k -ina
play INT REL place edge one over:there PREP go 3s:PA
kande egel pivo nune ta -nge min-na le
LINK hedgehog wife 3s:POS DEI SPEC be 3s:PA and
kanger-mba haas nu piriri -mba i... ng-a
see DEP hare 3s be:stunned DEP EXCL QV DEP
sa -k -ina
say CM 3s:PA:
' Then the hare and the hedgehog ran. When they ran, the
hare ran much faster than the hedgehog and went to the
other edge of the sport-ground and there was the hedge-
hog's wife! And when he saw her he was stupefied and
said, "i..."'

The suggestion that **kande** is only used in those places in the
discourse where it clearly expresses contra- expectation is
strengthened by the comparison of (23) with (24) which is the next
paragraph in the story of the race between the hare and the
hedgehog. The same thing happens but this time **sulumba** (SS) is used
instead of **kande**, apparently because the surprise is not as big as
the first time the hare thought himself beaten by the hedgehog. Or,
to put it in words using the metaphor, the unexpected event only
has to 'descend' once. It cannot 'descend' twice.

(24) **ka usre-wam tuku ma make inum si mbol**

ASM play INT REL place edge one over:there PREP
pro -na sulu -mba egel pail-nu ta -nge
arrive 3s:PA finish DEP hedgehog male NOM DEI SPEC
min-na        le        kanger-na
be 3s:PA and see 3s:PA
‘he went and arrived at the other edge of the sport-
ground and there he saw the hedgehog’s wife.’

The examples, then, confirm that sulumba is more neutral than
kande and it is the contra-expectation (or the ‘descending’ of
something from the unknown to the known) that requires the use of
kande in (23) but not in (24). Kande can also be used when
something that is expected to happen, does not happen as in (20).
Of course this too is a case of contra-expectation.

(25) Nane kuapi-k -a ny -inaig sulu -mba furir nane
3p cook CM DEP eat:TR 3p:PA finish DEP night 3p
kiny -mba kum-naig le mafe-na le tango nune ta
sleep DEP die 3p:PA and dawn 3s:PA and man 3s:POS DEI
abo -ng-amngaig ng-a tair-ng-ina kande wam
wake:up CM 3p:FU QV DEP wait CM 3s:PA LINK idea
ndende kuga le nu k -umba
various no and 3s go DEP
‘They cooked and had their meal and in the night, while
they were sleeping, they died and it became dawn. And her
husband waited for them to wake up but nothing happened
and he went...’

Again, kande is only used here to express contra-expectation
or surprise, since the link ta (or, alternatively, tanu) might have
been used here, too. And with this particular verb tairngam
(‘wait’) usually a different construction is used, as in (26).

(26) Kile polisman nane nu tair-ng-a ma ma kuga le
now police:men 3p 3s wait CM DEP ASM ASM no and
'Now the police-men were waiting and waiting for him, but he didn't come and...'

When analysing the function and meaning of kande it is necessary to look at the context in which it is used. With the above examples the context of (25) seems to suggest that the focus is on the surprise that the man had when he discovered that they all had died, whereas the context of (26) the focus seems to be on the long period of waiting and nothing happening, which calls for the use of ma ma. It is also necessary to read the story from the New Guinean point of view. This is the only way to know whether something that happens in a story is unexpected for the person involved. It may even be necessary to know information that is not mentioned in the story itself. In (27) the wife of a man who lost his key and thought that a duck had swallowed it, asks him where exactly he dropped the key. She then looks for it and finds it. This seems to confirm the idea of 'a purposeful action and the expected result' rather than contra-expected, and if that is the case, the metaphor would not apply since it would not be a 'descending' from the unknown to the known. However, the surprise is on the part of the main participant of the story, namely the husband who lost the key, chased the duck and had wasted the rest of the day, because he forgot to check if the duck that he saw near the place where he dropped the key had actually swallowed it or not. This is typical for that particular man, and his wife knew this (and the audience listening to the story knew this, too) but the emphasis here is clearly on the surprise that the man had and not on the expected result of finding the key.

(27) Tango noun  kusna-na:  Ani -nge nde  -k  -at  le
man  3s:POS ask  3s:PA where SPEC descend CM 3s:IP and
pato-nge nin  -k  -at  ng-a  kusna-na.  Tana-mpa
duck SPEC swallow CM 3s:IP QV DEP ask  3s:PA: thus DEP
kusna-na le ki nde -k -ina tuku magot ta piyo
ask 3s:PA and key descend CM 3s:PA REL spot DEI wife
nune tum -na. Tum -na le piyo nune pro
3s:POS show 3s:PA: Show 3s:PA and wife 3s:POS ASM
tub -tub wai sir -sir -mba kande ki kire -na
dust dust arm shove shove DEP LINK key touch 3s:PA:
'She asked her husband, "Where did it fall and where did
the duck swallow it?" She asked him this and he showed
her the place where the key had dropped. Then his wife
felt with her hand in the dust and touched the key.'

So, very often knowing some information that is not mentioned
in the story is important, like the fact that this man is forgetful
or confused. The story does not introduce him but simply starts
with, "One day Ugakam ...." assuming that the hearers know the main
participant of the story.

Another observation is that the contra-expectation is always
on the part of the main participant of the story, like the husband
in (27). It is not the wife who performed a certain action here,
who is surprised, and neither is it the audience that has the
surprise. In all of the stories the main facts are given in the
first paragraphs but unknown to the main participant of the story.
He is the one who has the surprise, whether it be through an
unexpected event (21) and (22) or through some other participant in
the story (23) and (27). So in (22) the two snakes have been
introduced in the first paragraph, but the main participant does
not know yet that they are at the river. The same applies to (23).
It is not the audience that the one who is telling the story is
wanting to surprise. It is the surprise of the main participant of
the story that is expressed by using kande.
5.2.3 'Kande' in sentences encoding repartee

When Wells (1979: 114) says that in this sentence type the link kande means either 'but' or 'and' determined by the type of answer which is given or implied in response to the question, it is clear that this is not unlike the examples above. The use of kande (rather than the different subject marker le) is determined by the context and the function of the sentence within the discourse. Examples (28) and (29) show the use of kande in this type of sentence.

(28) sa -ning-inaig: Tane ta kumu -mbi min-ig e
say 3p 3p:PA 2p DEI enough with be 1p:PR QM
ng-inaig kande kuga o, sine tango sungo ta te
QV 3p:PA LINK no VOC, 1p man big DEI here
kuga o ng-inaig
no VOC QV 3p:PA
'they said to them, "Are all of you there?" but they
said, "No, our big man is not here!"'

(29) suulu -mba ndek te -pro -mba noten e ng-inaig
finish DEP ASM take:SG arrive DEP here QM QV 3p:PA
kande nu sa -k -ina: Au, not ng-ina
LINK 3s say CM 3s:PA Yes, that QV 3s:PA
'and they showed it and said, "Is this it?" and he
said, "Yes, that's it!"

Examples (30) and (31) show that le is used in sentences that are the same from a purely syntactical point of view.

(30) le ka ina nune sa -na: Ina o, tango
and ASM mother 3s:POS say 3s:PA mother VOC, man
kanger-it ta vine mam -nge ng-ina le ina
see 1s:IP DEI 1s:POS father SPEC QV 3s:PA and mother
nune ta -nge sa -k -ina: Ata, mam nane kum-na
3s:POS DEI SPEC say CM 3s:PA EXCL father 2s:POS die 3s:PA
ta ndan-mba man ti -nu tuku ng-a sa -k -ina
DEI how DEP again stand INT REL QV DEP say CM 3s:PA
'and he went and said to his mother, 'Mother! The man
that I saw is my father!' and his mother said, 'Come
on, your father died, so how can he have become alive
again?''

(31) O matau, ne pro -wat e ng-inan le tango
VOC friend, 2s arrive 2s:IP QM QV 3s:PA and man
maye-nu ta minge lafu -mba sa -na: Au matau, ve
good NOM DEI mouth return DEP say 3s:PA Yes friend, 1s
buk pro -wit ng-inan
already arrive 1s:IP QV 3s:PA
"O friend, did you come?" he said and the good man
answered him and said, "Yes, friend, I have come."

The difference between (28) and (29) on the one hand and (30)
and (31) on the other seems to be the measure of unexpectedness
expressed by the sentence. In (30) and (31) there is nothing
unexpected in focus. The mother in (30) for instance, does not
believe what her son tells her, so she certainly isn't surprised.
In (29) there is a definite element of surprise (the man was
surprised that the body of a spirit was found). In (28) at first
sight the context does not seem to make clear what the unexpected
factor is. The ones who asked the question knew that the man was
dead (they, in fact, had killed him) and the answer therefore was
predictable. However, the people were surprised that anybody would
ask them if they were all there and suddenly realised that one of
their leaders was missing. So again, this seems to be a case of
something unexpected happening in the middle of a very quiet
situation. Or, in terms of the metaphor, all of a sudden something
comes down from the mountain (i.e. from the unknown to the known). It is the morpheme ka ('go') that expresses the surprise (the coming from a long way and then descending). It is the order of the morphemes, ka ('go') and nde ('descend') that shows the direction towards the main participant as apposed to ndeka in section 4.2.

5.2.4 'Kande' in sentences encoding hypotheticality

As with the other uses of kande, when a command or an exhortation follows, kande is not the only conjunction that can be used. When it is used, it takes the place of ndeta ('if') which is discussed in the next section (5.4). As stated above kande and ndeta have the morpheme nde in common, which suggests that they both use the metaphor DESCEND IS GOING TO THE KNOWN in one way or another.

Again, from a purely syntactical point of view there is no difference between (32) and (33) on the one hand and (34) on the other hand.

(32) Wa, ne wan mbain mbol te -nge miny-ok
Grandchild, 2s boat platform PREP here SPEC sit ATT min-a. Ye kile yu sili -k -a ka sinam
be DEP: 1s now sea go:inside CM DEP ASM inside
nzi -nge ye lu -k -a prow -i kande ne
below SPEC 1s return CM DEP arrive 1s:POT LINK 2s
ye kanger-y -umba kuru-kuru nda-k -a ng-in
1s see 1s DEP fear fear NEG CM DEP QV 3s:PA
"Grandchild, you stay here on the platform of the canoe. I will now go into the sea and if I come back, do not be afraid when you see me!", she said.'

(33) Not ndo. Ne pasa afu nak kande ye tuku pasa
That only: 2s talk some all LINK 1s REL talk
man lafu -wa. Min-ap o
again return 2s:POT: be 2p:POT VOC
'That is all. If you have something to say, then answer my letter again.'

(34) sa -na: Ne nguakile kil -na ta inum min-it
say 3s:PA 2s worm take:PL 3s:PA DEI one be 1s:PR
ndeta ve s -a le ve ka piv -mba
LINK 1s give:me 2s:POT and 1s ASM cook DEP
'she said to him, "If there are any worms left, then
give them to me and I will cook them..."'

As said above, from a syntactical point of view there may not be any difference between (32) and (33) where kande is used, and (34) where ndeta is used. There is, however, a very clear distinction. In (32) it is a grandmother talking to her grandchild and the potential tense in base 2 is used as an imperative and seems to be a very strong command. The same goes for (33) where it is an urgent command to send a letter back.

In (34), however, the focus is not at all on the command of giving the worms. In this story a man is locked up in a house and a woman offers to let him go out if he gives her some of the worms. So it appears that when kande is used, a strong command follows, unlike when ndeta is used.

Now the fact that with kande a command with more force is expressed than with ndeta seems to us to confirm the suggestion that Siroi uses the metaphor NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN since kande consists in form of the verbs stems ka ('go') and nde ('descend') whereas ndeta merely consists of nde ('descend') plus the deictic article (which expresses less 'force' than the combination of 'go' and 'descend'.)

This is also confirmed by (35a) and (35b) where kande and ndeta are used on the sentence level.
(35a) Sawe piv -amngat ndeta
Rain rain 3s:FU possibly
'It might rain.'

(35b) Sawe piv -amngat kande
Rain rain 3s:FU certainly
'It will certainly rain.'

5.3 Summary
So far we have said that the two morphemes that kande is composed of (ka and nde) come from the verb stems kambim ('go') and ndekam ('descend'). If we keep the metaphor NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN in mind, it follows that what is actually expressed by kande is contra-expectation, seen in terms of the metaphor as something 'coming down from the mountain towards the main participant of the story'.

Also, we have seen that the contra-expectation (or surprise) is on the part of the main participant of the story. In those places in the discourse where the speaker wants to express this contra-expectation he normally uses kande rather than a more neutral link like le (DS) or sulumba (SS) or ta (the far deictic). Let us now turn to ndeta.

5.4 The link 'ndeta'
Wells (1979:127) says that the link ndeta occurs in the Conditional Sentence encoding hypotheticality. She states that 'the hypotheticality encoded by this sentence type has a more doubtful element than the hypotheticality encoded in the Corollary Sentence' (where ta is used). We believe that this statement does not accurately describe the difference between the use of ta and ndeta when encoding hypotheticality.
5.4.1 'Ndeta' looked at from a Topic-Comment perspective

In his paper on the Erima deictic article, Colburn (1984) points out that the function of the far deictic *wa* can best be explained from a Topic-Comment perspective to come to an emic view of the data. His article applies to the use of *ta* in Siroi since *ta* is used in the same variety of contexts as the Erima far deictic *wa*.

Colburn quotes Haiman (1978b) who defines a topic by saying that 'the topic represents an entity whose existence is agreed upon by the speaker and his audience'. In another quote Haiman (1978a) states that 'conditionals of all descriptions share with topics the attribute that they represent givens'.

We have said that *ndeta* consists in form of *nde* plus the far deictic *ta* and in Siroi, like in Erima, Haiman's hypothesis holds and the conditional clause should be seen as the topic that the speaker and his hearers assume to be true for the basis of what follows. Colburn quotes Chafe (1976) as saying that 'a topic sets a spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds and both Haiman and Reesink define a 'given' in basically the same words.

When Colburn gives his evidence that conditions are topics in Erima, he makes three observations. Each of these apply more or less to Siroi as well. In the first place, like in Erima, conditional clauses in Siroi have a structure that is identical to any other Siroi topic i.e. a final verb form plus the far deictic (although this does not always apply as a dependent verb form may also be used). Secondly, the sentence position is the same as for topics (the left most constituent) and thirdly conditions are marked as definite (or 'given') by the deictic article.

The difference between Erima and Siroi is that Erima uses the far deictic *wa* unaltered in conditional sentences whereas Siroi has the far deictic *ta* preceded by *nde*. But so far, we think it is safe to assume that Colburn is right when he says that the conditional
sentence should be analysed as consisting of Topic + Deictic + Comment, rather than of two clauses joined by the link ndeta.

So now then, the function of nde in this context has to be looked at. And since not only ndeta, but also kande and ta may be used to express hypotheticality or conditionality, we do this by comparing ndeta, first with kande and finally with ta.

5.4.2 'Ndeta' compared with 'kande'

As said before (in 5.2.4) the difference between using kande and ndeta when the sentence encodes hypotheticality and is followed by an imperative, is that with kande more force is used. A strong command follows and the speaker expects to be obeyed, whereas with ndeta an advice or a request follows and the speaker only sees it as a possibility that his advice may be followed or his request may be granted.

The imperative is in form the 2nd person potential tense (an irrealis) and ndeta can also be followed by any other person of this potential tense, like in (36).

(36) Tango pino ndek tango ta sa -naig: Ne ire
    man   woman ASM  man  DEI say 3p:PA  2s kunai:grass
    tam -nge sai-k -ate    ta    maye    ndeta    sine    pro    ne
    place SPEC cut CM 3s:PR DEI good LINK 1p ASM 2s
    ndon ire sai-k -ube    ng-a    sa -naig
    with kunai cut CM 1p:POT QV DEP say 3p:PA
    'The men and women said to the man, "If it is good, we will come and cut kunai grass where you are cutting."

Just like (36) is a request or a suggestion, so is (37) where the 2nd person potential is used.

(37) Ne mam tuku kanu ndeta kile ne ayo te
    2s  father REL spirit LINK now 2s drink this
vai -v -umba ny -a ng-a sa -na

take: from 1s DEP eat:TR DEP QV DEP say 3s:PA
"If you are my father’s spirit then take this drink from me and drink it."; he said.

This is not a real command since it is a son speaking to a snake which he thinks might be the spirit of his deceased father. What is expressed is the possibility that it really is his father, but unlike with kande in (38) it is not a strong command, but rather a suggestion.

(38) Ne pasa afu nak kande ye tuku pasa man lafu -wa
2s talk some with LINK 1s REL talk again return 2s:POT
"If you have something to say, then answer my letter."

In (38) the context is a letter from a man to his younger brother and the 2nd person potential tense here is a command (or at the very least an urgent request). If we compare this with (39) we will see that the syntactic form is exactly the same but the meaning is still different. Again, this comes from a letter.

(39) Matau, ta tuku nda-gare nak ndeta ye tuku pasa
Friend, DEI REL NEG happy with LINK 1s REL talk lafu -wa
return 2s:POT
"Friend if you feel bad about this, then answer my letter."

The main difference between (38) and (39) is that in (38) it is a clear command, but in (39) it is a suggestion or a request. The idea that kande and ndeta have in common in all these examples is the morpheme nde ("descend"), expressing something coming from the unknown to the known.
So (39), in terms of the metaphor DESCEND IS GOING TO THE KNOWN, literally means something like, 'Friend, (if) feeling bad about this descends, then answer my letter.'

5.4.3 'Ndeta' compared with 'ta'

If we assume that the morpheme nde expresses a 'descending' or a coming from the unknown to the known, and ndeta consists in form of nde plus ta, then it should not be too hard to see the difference in meaning between ndeta and ta when they encode hypotheticality. Let us first look at two examples of ta encoding hypotheticality. The first example (40) is found in a description of the hedgehog.

(40) Nane nu make-wam bafu -de ta nu tuku ago nune
    3p 3s bite INT about:to 3p:PR DEI 3s REL thorn 3s:POS
    so biri -biro -nin-ngit le nu kusre-de
    cover stick:up stick:up 3p 3p:PR and 3s leave 3p:PR
    'If they (the dogs) want to bite it, it covers itself with its spines and they leave it alone.'

The hypotheticality in (40) lies in the fact that there is a condition to be fulfilled for the hedgehog to cover itself. The condition here should be seen as the topic, so that the far deictic ta is used. The whole sentence is a general statement about the way a hedgehog behaves when being attacked by a dog. There is no question of what it will do, in other words the behaviour of a hedgehog in the given circumstances is 'given'.

In (41) we see the same. A general statement is made about paying the bride-price. Again there is absolute certainty as to what somebody will do in these given circumstances. If the condition is fulfilled, then this and that will certainly happen.

(41) Nyam-agan kanger-ik kumun ta nale sa -k -ik:
    eat thing see 3d:PR able DEI 3d say CM 3d:PR
O sile kile maror -k -amngik
VOC 1d now exchange:food CM 2d:FUT
'SIf they see that they have enough food, then they say, "O, now we will have the bride-price payment."'

Whereas ta represents a universal condition (a 'given'), ndeta represents a contingency condition (a 'given possibility'). The condition may or may not be fulfilled. The difference lies in nde.

(42) Kulim nune sa -na: Tane mbo ny -am ndeta ka
girl 3s:POS say 3s:PA 2p pig eat:TR INT LINK ASM
mben ng-ade tango ta ka t -umba mbo
snake QV 3p:PR man DEI ASM take:SG DEP pig
ny -ap ng-ina
eat:TR 3p:POT QV 3s:PA
'said to her daughter, "If you want to eat pig, then go and get the man whom they call Snake and eat pig."'

In (42) the woman assumes that it is possible that her daughter wants to eat pig and if that is so (or, if that fact 'descends') then the rest of her words apply.

The difference between (40) and (41) on the one hand and (42) on the other hand is not that in (42) the hypotheticality is more doubtful, as Wells says, but that (40) and (41) are general (universal) conditionals (or 'given') and the far deictic ta makes sense if we look at this construction from a Topic-Comment perspective.

In (42) however, the speaker expresses a contingency condition, or a fact that may 'descend' and uses ndeta rather than just ta.
5.5 The use of 'nde' in sentences expressing possibility

On the sentence level a possibility is frequently expressed by nde which is then pronounced inde. It may be translated by 'possibly' or 'perhaps' and it is not nearly as strong an expression as kande which on the sentence level should be translated by 'surely' or 'certainly' as in (35b).

Instead of using ndeta in (35a) very often inde is used, too. It usually occurs in short sentences, or in direct speech within narrative as in (46).

(46) Kubele pasa nin tugu ar -mba pro -naig ta
    Yesterday talk throat source two DEP arrive 3p:PA DEI
    kile kuga inde
    now no possibly

    "Yesterday two voices appeared, but today that is
    possibly over", (he thought).

In this example the wife of the man had performed some magic so that every time the man spoke, a second voice repeated his words. On the next day he was thinking that it might be over, so he tried it by speaking and nde expresses this possibility.

It should be noted that whenever inde occurs, it is in direct speech and sentence final. When it is not sentence final, ndeta is used which seems to confirm that the conditional sentence should be analysed as consisting of Topic + Deictic + Comment, rather than of two clauses joined by the link ndeta.

5.6 Summary

Ndeta consists of nde ('descend') plus the far deictic ta and the conditional clause should be seen as the topic that the speaker and his hearers assume to be true for the basis of what follows.
As with kande the metaphor DESCEND is used when going from the unknown to the known and ndeta could be interpreted as literally meaning, 'This fact (or possibility) descending'.

6 CONCLUSION

We have tried to show the possibility that Siroi speakers conceptualise narrative in terms of climbing a mountain. It is not the idioms of the language that form a systematic way of expressing this, but rather a set of links between sentences (ndeta and kande) and aspectual morphemes (ma, ka, pro and ndek) that express ideas like ASCEND, DESCEND, ARRIVE, GO and REMAIN, all of them motion verbs that express different components of a journey. In particular what Wells calls the aspectual morphemes are used throughout all narrative type discourse. Without them, the narrative would be lifeless and flat (like climbing a mountain and nothing at all happening along the way). With them, however, the narrative becomes interesting and full of real life flavour (like climbing a mountain and having lots of interesting experiences along the way).

All of the aspectual morphemes are optional from a purely syntactical point of view and so is kande in the sense that the latter takes the place of a more neutral link and does not necessarily have to be used. It follows therefore, that in order to really speak the language well, one needs to be able to use all of these morphemes at the right time to be able to tell a story in such a way that it will have an impact on the hearers. It should also go without saying that the same applies to translated materials, particularly to narrative.
NOTES

1) Siroi is a non-Austronesian Trans-New Guinean language of the Madang-Adelbert Range Sub-Phylum. Siroi belongs to the Madang Super-Stock, which is composed of two stocks. Of these two stocks, Siroi belongs to the Rai Coast Stock and is a member of the Kabenu family (Z’graggen (1975)).

2) Wells, in personal communication with Reesink concerning his review of Siroi Grammar, said that ‘the Aspectual Morphemes as described in my paper – particularly pro (‘arrive’) and ndek (‘descend’) seem to give a flavour to the text similar to that of mb- (‘descend’).

3) It is very well possible that the verbs that take a zero-classmarker are the only real verbs, and all the others are nouns, adjectives, etc. that have been verbalised by adding one of the verb stems ‘say’, ‘do’ and ‘take’, but that is not the topic of this paper.

4) Note that all the verbs that take a zero-classmarker obligatory take -mba. So if these verbs really are the only real verbs, it follows that all verbs take us from the known to the unknown.

5) The fact that with ‘ndeke’ the direction is away from the speaker becomes even clearer when we consider that ‘ndeke’ (DESCEND-GO) is the reverse of ‘kande’ (GO-DESCEND) which is discussed is section 5.

6) The writer had taken something out of the house of the other person and made his apologies; this can hardly be followed by a command. Besides, you can hardly command a person to tell you that he feels bad about what he has done.

7) It is not really clear where i- comes from. Most likely it is a dialect difference. Some speakers of the language use indeta rather than ndeta and inzi (‘down there’) rather than nzi.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1 - 1st person
2 - 2nd person
3 - 3rd person
d - dual
p - plural
s - singular
ASM - aspectual morpheme
CM - class marker
DEI - deictic article
DEP - dependent verbform
DS - different subject
FU - future
IMP - imperative
INF - infinitive
INT - intension
IP - immediate past
LINK - link, connective
LOC - locativiser
NEG - negative
NOM - nominalisation clitic
PA - past
PL - plural
POS - possessive
POT - potential
PR - present
PREP - preposition
QM - question marker
QV - quotation verb
REL - relator
REP - repetitive
SG - singular
SPEC - specific clitic
SS - same subject
VOC - vocative