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 conjuctions 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 under-standing 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; <u>kande</u> would then be a combination of `go' and `descend' and <u>ndeta</u> would be a combination of `descend' plus the far deictic <u>ta</u>.

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

3   ASCEND IS GOING TO THE UNKNOWN

As stated above (section 2.1), the dependent verb suffixes <u>-mba</u> and <u>-a</u> are used to signal that another action is to follow. Reesink (1981) has suggested that <u>-mba</u> might very well consist of the verb stem <u>mb-</u> (`ascend') plus <u>-a</u>. 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 <u>-ng-</u> (`say'), <u>-k-</u> (`do') and <u>-t-</u> (`take') (1979: 27). There is a fourth class of verbs that have a zero-classmarker[3].

Each of the verbs that have a verb stem as classmarker may either take <u>-a</u> or <u>-mba</u> as dependent verb suffix. The verbs that have a zero-classmarker, on the other hand, always take <u>-mba</u>. In other words, all verbs need to take an additional verb stem before they can take the suffix <u>-a</u>. 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 <u>-a</u> is used far more often than <u>-mba</u>. In these texts <u>-a</u> occurred 249 times while <u>-mba</u> 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 waŋ   po   _-ŋg-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 _-niŋ-ina_: Tane te _-ŋge_   min-ap
    police:men say 3p   3s:PA   2p   here SPEC   be 2p:POT
    le ye k _-umba_ sumbi _-k _-umba_ ŋg-ina.   Taṇa-k _-ina_
    and 1s go DEP   relieve CM DEP   QV 3s:PA.   thus CM 3s:PA
    sulu _-mba_ ṇu ta _-ŋge_   nane kusre-k _-umba_ nduiye
    finish DEP   3s DEI SPEC   3p   leave CM DEP   for:good

<u>kua</u>   <u>ka</u>   <u>k</u> <u>-ina</u>.

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) <u>Nu</u> <u>nane</u> <u>kusre-k</u> <u>-a</u>   <u>nu</u> <u>ambo</u> <u>-ŋg-a</u>   <u>tumbraŋ</u> <u>k</u> <u>-ina</u>.

   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 <u>kusrekumba</u> in (4) and <u>kusreka</u> 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 <u>-mba</u>. Very often this is the case
in sentences like (6) which imply that the speaker expects another
action to follow the one marked with <u>-mba</u>.

(6) <u>Ye</u>   <u>isukus</u> <u>-mba</u>   <u>ŋg-ina</u>

   1s   eat:INTR DEP   QV 3s:PA

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

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

(7) <u>Nu</u>   <u>nane</u>   <u>kaŋger-k</u> <u>-a</u>   <u>min-na</u>

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

   `He was looking at them.'

In the next example <u>kangerkumba</u> is used. The focus here, like in (4), is on both actions, the seeing (or visiting) and the returning to the village.

(8) <u>Nu</u> <u>nane</u> <u>kanger-k</u> <u>-umba</u>   <u>man</u>   <u>lu</u>   <u>-k</u> <u>-a</u>   <u>nune</u>
    3s 3p   see   CM DEP   again return CM DEP   3s:POS
    <u>tumbran</u> <u>k-ina</u>
    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 above[4].

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 <u>ka</u> ('go'), <u>ma</u> ('be' or 'remain'), <u>pro</u> ('arrive') and <u>ndek</u> ('descend').' As to the functions of these aspectual morphemes Wells says that 'they frequently occur in narrative text and <u>ndek</u> 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 occurrency count showed that in 70 texts <u>ka</u> is used far more frequently than the other aspectual morphemes (see table 1) and this should not be a surprise if we consider that <u>ka</u> is the verb stem 'go'. In terms of the metaphor <u>ka</u> 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
ndek 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) <u>Taŋa-mba</u> <u>nu</u> <u>kualegaŋ</u> <u>kil</u> <u>-mba</u> <u>pinder-k</u> <u>-a</u> <u>tumbraŋ</u>
     thus DEP 3s fish   take:PL DEP run   CM DEP village
     <u>k</u> <u>-ina</u> <u>ka</u> <u>zugu</u>   <u>wande-k</u> <u>sinam</u> <u>-ŋge</u>
     go 3s:PA ASM boy s:house house LOC inside SPEC
     <u>aba</u>   <u>nuŋe</u> <u>tair</u> <u>min-na</u>   <u>ka</u> <u>furir-na</u>   <u>le</u>
     older:sibling 3s:POS wait be 3s:PA ASM night 3s:PA and
     <u>nu</u> <u>ka</u> <u>ŋgiram</u>   <u>kat-kat-na</u>.
     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 <u>ma</u>? 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 <u>ma</u> is actually expressing is that the situation remains the same in the narrative.

(11) <u>Nu</u>   <u>ambe</u> <u>-ŋge</u>   <u>min-na</u>   <u>ma</u> <u>ma</u> <u>ait</u>   <u>inum</u> <u>nu</u> <u>maŋ</u>
    3s   above SPEC   be 3s:PA ASM ASM time   one   3s again
    <u>lu</u>   <u>-nu</u> <u>idus</u> <u>-na</u>.
    return INT think 3s:PA
    'He stayed up there 'ma ma' one day he thought about returning.'

The reduplication of the aspectual marker <u>ma</u> <u>ma</u> 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 <u>ma</u> <u>ma</u> is used in the many instances where it would seem that <u>ma</u> <u>ma</u> signals a distance span, as in (12):

(12) <u>Ki-naik</u>   <u>ma</u>   <u>ma</u>   <u>tumbraŋ</u> <u>zuka</u> <u>pro</u> <u>-naik</u>
    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) <u>ma</u> <u>ma</u> 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 <u>ka</u> expresses that the narrative is 'going on' and <u>ma</u> expresses that the 'situation remains unchanged', what then do <u>pro</u> and <u>ndek</u>

express? Wells says about <u>pro</u> 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 <u>pro</u> 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 <u>pro</u> is to express the idea of
arriving in a new situation. We can see how this works in some
examples.

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

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

The examples (13) and (14) seem to indicate that <u>pro</u> 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 <u>pro</u> is
rather elusive as we have not been able to discover just when <u>pro</u>
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 <u>ndek</u>. Wells says that 'with
<u>ndek</u> 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[5]. 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 <u>ndek</u> or <u>ndeka</u> 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 aspectual 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. <u>ka</u>   Continuing of the narrative.
    (Seen as going to the next point on the mountain.)
2. <u>ma</u>   Things remaining unchanged for a while.
    (Seen as remaining at the same point on the mountain.)
3. <u>pro</u>   Getting into a new situation.
    (Seen as arriving at the next point on the mountain.)
4. <u>ndek</u> 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), <u>kande</u> is a conjunction or a link between unmerged sentences that can be translated by either `if´, `but´ or `and´. She says that <u>kande</u> 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 <u>kande</u> from the perspective of the
metaphor NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN will make this clear.

When we tried to analyse the way <u>kande</u> 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
<u>kande</u> was used, another linking word could be used. This was often
one of the switch-reference markers <u>le</u> (DS) or <u>sulumba</u> (SS) and
sometimes the far deictic <u>ta</u>. 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 <u>kande</u> is used here.

(17a) <u>Nu</u> <u>kuku</u> <u>tilai-ŋg-ina</u>   <u>kande</u> <u>kualegaŋ</u> <u>kuga</u>.
      3s   hook   throw CM 3s:PA   LINK   fish   no
      'He went fishing, <u>but</u> he caught nothing.'

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

(17b) <u>taŋgo</u> <u>ande</u> <u>nu</u> <u>so</u>   <u>-t</u> <u>-am</u> <u>tuku</u> <u>kule</u>
      man   a   3s   search CM INT REL   water
      <u>sili</u>   <u>-k</u> <u>-ina</u>   <u>nu</u> <u>so</u>   <u>-t</u> <u>-ina</u>   <u>ta</u>
      go:inside CM 3s:PA   3s search CM 3s:PA   DEI
      <u>kuga</u> <u>le</u> <u>nu</u> <u>bitek</u>   <u>mayok</u>   <u>k</u> <u>-umba</u> <u>nane</u>
      no   and 3s   quickly outside go DEP   3p
      <u>sa</u> <u>-niŋ-ina</u>:   <u>Nu</u> <u>te</u>   <u>kuga</u> <u>ŋg-ina</u>
      say 3p   3s:PA   3s here   no   QV 3s:PA
      'To find him, a man went into the water and searched
      for him <u>but</u> 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 <u>kande</u>.

(18) <u>Nu</u> <u>kuku</u> <u>tilai-ŋg-ina</u>   <u>kande</u> <u>kualegaŋ</u> <u>keŋ</u> <u>-mba</u>
     3s   hook   throw CM 3s:PA LINK   fish   three DEP

     <u>kil</u>   <u>-na</u>.
     take:PL 3s:PA.

     `He went fishing <u>and</u> he caught three fish.'

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

5.2 The different ways `kande' is used

Of the five different uses of <u>kande</u>, 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 <u>kande</u> 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 <u>kande</u> in the contrafactual response sentence is
shown in the following two examples (19) and (20).

(19) <u>Kiŋo</u> <u>fudiŋ-ndo</u> <u>ta</u> <u>kuru-kuru</u> <u>nda-k</u> <u>-ina</u>   <u>kande</u> <u>sine</u> <u>yu</u>
     boy   small only DEI fear fear NEG CM 3s:PA LINK   1p   sea

     <u>sinam</u> <u>-ŋge</u> <u>mindesiŋ</u> <u>kusre-mba</u> <u>maŋ</u>   <u>ngaro-su</u>   <u>kitek</u>
     inside SPEC dead:body leave DEP again skin   bone new

     <u>t</u>   <u>-eg</u>   <u>kande</u> <u>ng-inaig</u>.
     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) <u>sa</u> <u>-niŋ-mba</u> <u>sa</u> <u>-k</u> <u>-ina</u>: <u>Sine</u> <u>mbeŋ</u> <u>ta</u> <u>bale-mba</u>

 say 3p DEP say CM 3s:PA 1p snake DEI kill DEP

 <u>ny</u> <u>-ig</u> <u>kande</u> <u>sine</u> <u>mine</u> <u>nda-k</u> <u>-eg</u> <u>kande</u>. <u>Sine</u>

 eat:TR 1p:IP LINK 1p be NEG CM 1p:PR LINK: 1p

 <u>ŋak-mba</u> <u>kule</u> <u>-ŋge</u> <u>pro</u> <u>sine</u> <u>kile</u> <u>-buto-k</u> <u>-at</u> <u>kande</u>

 all DEP water SPEC ASM 1p take:PL sink CM 3s:IP LINK

 ˋHe 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."ʹ

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 <u>kande</u> like
(17) and (18).

5.2.2 ˋKandeʹ in sentences encoding frustration or coupling with reciprocity

Wells distinguished between these two sentence types, the two bases
of the former containing ˋa purposeful action and the unexpected
resultʹ and the bases of the latter containing ˋa purposeful action
and the expected result.ʹ 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 ˋunexpected resultʹ agrees
with what we found in the contrafactual response sentence above.
The use of <u>kande</u> in this sentence type clearly expresses
contra-expectation as the following examples show.

(21) <u>Kile</u> <u>kiŋo</u> <u>ta</u> <u>ndek</u> <u>kaŋger-na</u> <u>kande</u> <u>mam</u> <u>nuŋe</u>

 now boy DEI ASM see 3s:PA LINK father 3s:POS

<u>ta</u> <u>-ŋge</u> <u>le</u> <u>ka</u> <u>ina</u> <u>nuŋe</u> <u>sa</u> <u>-na:</u> <u>Ina</u> <u>o,</u>
DEI SPEC and ASM mother 3s:POS say 3s:PA Mother VOC

<u>taŋgo</u> <u>kaŋger-it</u> <u>ta</u> <u>yiŋe</u> <u>mam</u> <u>-ŋge</u> <u>ŋg-ina</u> <u>le</u>
man see 1s:IP DEI 1s:POS father SPEC QV 3s:PA and

<u>ina</u> <u>nuŋe</u> <u>ta</u> <u>-ŋge</u> <u>sa</u> <u>-k</u> <u>-ina:</u> <u>Ata,</u> <u>mam</u> <u>naŋe</u>
mother 3s:POS DEI SPEC say CM 3s:PA EXCL father 2s:POS

<u>kum-na</u> <u>ta</u> <u>ndaŋ-mba</u> <u>maŋ</u> <u>ti</u> <u>-nu</u> <u>tuku</u> <u>ŋg-a</u>
die 3s:PA DEI how DEP again stand:up NOM REL QV DEP

<u>sa</u> <u>-k</u> <u>-ina</u>
say CM 3s:PA

`Then the boy went and had a look <u>and</u> 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) <u>Mam</u> <u>nu</u> <u>kule</u> <u>ny</u> <u>-am</u> <u>sa</u> <u>-k</u> <u>-a</u> <u>ndek</u> <u>kule</u> <u>mbol</u> <u>ta</u>
father 3s water eat:TR INT say CM DEP ASM water PREP DEI

<u>k</u> <u>-ina</u> <u>kande</u> <u>mbeŋ</u> <u>ar</u> <u>-mba</u> <u>ta</u> <u>ta</u> <u>-ŋge</u> <u>min-naik</u>
go 3s:PA LINK snake two DEP DEI DEI SPEC be 3d:PA

`Father went to the river to drink some water <u>and</u> 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 <u>kande</u>.

If we realise that <u>kande</u> consists of <u>ka</u> plus <u>nde</u> (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) <u>Kile</u> <u>haas</u> <u>le</u> <u>egel</u>   <u>pinder-k</u> <u>-inaik</u>. <u>Pinder-k</u> <u>-inaik</u>
      now hare and hedgehog run   CM 3d:PA: run   CM 3d:PA
      <u>ta</u> <u>haas-nge</u> <u>egel</u>   <u>li</u>   <u>-mba</u> <u>nu</u> <u>pinder</u> <u>nayo-mba</u>
      DEI hare SPEC hedgehog exceed DEP 3s run   bad DEP
      <u>usre-wam</u> <u>tuku</u> <u>ma</u>   <u>make</u> <u>inum</u> <u>si</u>   <u>mbol</u> <u>k</u> <u>-ina</u>
      play INT REL   place edge one over:there PREP go 3s:PA
      <u>kande</u> <u>egel</u>   <u>piyo</u> <u>nune</u>   <u>ta</u> <u>-nge</u> <u>min-na</u>   <u>le</u>
      LINK   hedgehog wife 3s:POS DEI SPEC be 3s:PA and
      <u>kanger-mba</u> <u>haas</u> <u>nu</u> <u>piriri</u>   <u>-mba</u> <u>i...</u> <u>ng-a</u>
      see   DEP   hare 3s be:stunned DEP EXCL QV DEP
      <u>sa</u> <u>-k</u> <u>-ina</u>
      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 <u>and</u> there was the hedge-
      hog's wife! And when he saw her he was stupefied and
      said, "i..."'

The suggestion that <u>kande</u> 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 <u>sulumba</u> (SS) is used
instead of <u>kande</u>, 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) <u>ka</u>   <u>usre-wam</u> <u>tuku</u> <u>ma</u>   <u>make</u> <u>inum</u> <u>si</u>   <u>mbol</u>
      ASM play INT REL   place edge one   over:there PREP
      <u>pro</u> <u>-na</u>   <u>sulu</u> <u>-mba</u> <u>egel</u>   <u>pail-nu</u> <u>ta</u> <u>-nge</u>
      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 <u>kande</u> 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 <u>ma</u> <u>ma</u>. 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-expectation, and if that is the
case, the metaphor would not apply since it would not be a
'decending' 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) <u>Tango</u> <u>nune</u>   <u>kusna-na</u>:   <u>Ani</u> <u>-nge</u> <u>nde</u>   <u>-k</u> <u>-at</u>   <u>le</u>
     man   3s:POS ask   3s:PA   where SPEC descend CM 3s:IP and

     <u>pato-nge</u> <u>nin</u>   <u>-k</u> <u>-at</u>   <u>ng-a</u> <u>kusna-na</u>.   <u>Taŋa-mba</u>
     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?" <u>but</u> they
     said, "No, our big man is not here!"'

(29) sulu -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?" <u>and</u> 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 yine mam -nge ng-ina le ina
     see   1s:IP DEI 1s:POS father SPEC QV 3s:PA and mother

nuŋe   ta -ŋge sa -k -ina: Ata, mam   naŋe   kum-na
3s:POS DEI SPEC say CM 3s:PA EXCL father 2s:POS die 3s:PA

ta ndaŋ-mba maŋ   ti -nu tuku ŋg-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 ŋg-ina   le taŋo
     VOC friend, 2s arrive 2s:IP QM QV 3s:PA and man

maye-nu ta miŋe lafu -mba sa -na: Au matau, ye
good NOM DEI mouth return DEP say 3s:PA Yes friend, 1s

buk   pro -wit   ŋg-ina
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-ina
     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 ŋak kande ye tuku pasa
     That only: 2s talk some all LINK 1s REL talk
     maŋ 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 ye s   -a   le ye ka piy -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) <u>Sawe</u> <u>piy</u> <u>-amŋgat</u> <u>ndeta</u>

     Rain rain 3s:FU   possibly

     'It might rain.'

(35b) <u>Sawe</u> <u>piy</u> <u>-amŋgat</u> <u>kande</u>

     Rain rain 3s:FU   certainly

     'It will certainly rain.'

5.3 Summary

So far we have said that the two morphemes that <u>kande</u> is composed of (<u>ka</u> and <u>nde</u>) come from the verb stems <u>kambim</u> ('go') and <u>ndekam</u> ('descend'). If we keep the metaphor NARRATIVE IS CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN in mind, it follows that what is actually expressed by <u>kande</u> 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 <u>kande</u> rather than a more neutral link like <u>le</u> (DS) or <u>sulumba</u> (SS) or <u>ta</u> (the far deictic). Let us now turn to <u>ndeta</u>.

5.4 The link 'ndeta'

Wells (1979:127) says that the link <u>ndeta</u> 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 <u>ta</u> is used). We believe that this statement *does not* accurately describe the difference between the use of <u>ta</u> and <u>ndeta</u> 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 <u>wa</u> 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 <u>ta</u> in Siroi since <u>ta</u> is used in the same variety of contexts as the Erima far deictic <u>wa</u>.

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 <u>ndeta</u> consists in form of <u>nde</u> plus the far deictic <u>ta</u> 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 <u>wa</u> unaltered in conditional sentences whereas Siroi has the far deictic <u>ta</u> preceded by <u>nde</u>. 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 <u>ndeta</u>.

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

5.4.2 `Ndeta' compared with `kande'

As said before (in 5.2.4) the difference between using <u>kande</u> and <u>ndeta</u> when the sentence encodes hypotheticality and is followed by an imperative, is that with <u>kande</u> more force is used. A strong command follows and the speaker expects to be obeyed, whereas with <u>ndeta</u> 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 <u>ndeta</u> can also be followed by any other person of this potential tense, like in (36).

```
(36) Taŋo pino  ndek taŋo ta  sa -naig:  Ne ire
     man   woman ASM  man  DEI say 3p:PA   2s kunai:grass
     tam  -ŋge  sai-k -ate  ta   maye ndeta sine pro ne
     place SPEC  cut CM 3s:PR DEI  good LINK  1p   ASM 2s
     ndoŋ ire   sai-k -ube  ŋg-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
```

yai   -y -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[6].
    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 <u>descends</u>, then answer my letter.'

5.4.3 `Ndeta' compared with `ta'

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

(40) <u>Nane</u> <u>nu</u> <u>make-wam</u> <u>bafu</u>   <u>-de</u>   <u>ta</u> <u>nu</u> <u>tuku</u> <u>ago</u>   <u>nune</u>
     3p   3s bite INT about:to 3p:PR DEI 3s REL   thorn 3s:POS

     <u>so</u>   <u>biri</u>   <u>-biro</u>   <u>-niŋ-ŋgit</u>   <u>le</u>   <u>nu</u> <u>kusre-de</u>
     cover   stick:up stick:up 3p   3p:PR and   3s   leave 3p:PR

     `<u>If</u> 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
<u>ta</u> 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) <u>Nyam-agaŋ</u>   <u>kaŋger-ik</u>   <u>kumuŋ</u> <u>ta</u> <u>nale</u> <u>sa</u> <u>-k</u> <u>-ik</u>:
     eat   thing   see   3d:PR able DEI 3d   say CM 3d:PR

O   sile kile maror   -k -amŋgik
VOC 1d   now   exchange:food CM 2d:FUT
'If 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 nuŋe   sa -na: Tane mbo ny   -am ndeta ka
     girl 3s:POS say 3s:PA 2p   pig eat:TR INT LINK ASM
     mbeŋ ŋg-ade taŋgo ta ka t   -umba mbo
     snake QV 3p:PR man   DEI ASM take:SG DEP pig
     ny   -ap   ŋg-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 <u>nde</u>
which is then pronounced <u>inde</u>[7]. It may be translated by `possibly'
or `perhaps' and it is not nearly as strong an expression as <u>kande</u>
which on the sentence level should be translated by `surely' or
`certainly' as in (35b).

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

(46) <u>Kubele   pasa nin   tugu   ar -mba pro   -naig   ta</u>
Yesterday talk throat source two DEP arrive 3p:PA DEI

<u>kile   kuga   inde</u>
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 <u>nde</u> expresses this possibility.

It should be noted that whenever <u>inde</u> occurs, it is in direct
speech and sentence final. When it is not sentence final, <u>ndeta</u> 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 <u>ndeta</u>.

5.6 Summary

<u>Ndeta</u> consists of <u>nde</u> (`descend') plus the far deictic <u>ta</u> 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 <u>kande</u> the metaphor DESCEND is used when going from the unknown to the known and <u>ndeta</u> 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 (<u>ndeta</u> and <u>kande</u>) and aspectual morphemes (<u>ma</u>, <u>ka</u>, <u>pro</u> and <u>ndek</u>) 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 <u>kande</u> 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 Kabenau
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 `ndeka' the direction is away from the
speaker becomes even clearer when we consider that `ndeka'
(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