GRAMMATICAL FEATURES OF COHESION
IN IAMALELE

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3. CONTINUITY OF THEME

While continuity of locale and temporal setting provide cohesion to
a discourse, it is the continuity of the theme of the discourse
which is the major factor in giving cohesion. Whether the discourse
is hortatory, procedural, narrative, or any other type, each
discourse is saying something to the hearer about a central theme.
Within the discourse are the arguments, the sequences, the
illustrations and the procedures which the speaker selectively uses
to give overall cohesion to the one major theme.

> "A global theme provides the subject matter and the point
> of departure for the whole discourse. It is normally
> stated within the first one or two sentences of the
> discourse. It can even be said that being at beginning of
> the discourse confers theme status, in accordance with
> the observation of Grimes that 'the principle seems to be
> universal that topics are mentioned early within their
> construction.' " (Grimes 1975:358)

> "Most discourses begin with an overt performative, where
> the speaker announces his intention of relating a story,
> procedure, or explanation. Following the performative
> comes the statement of the global theme." (Kilham
> 1977:114)

In order for the Iamalele speaker to maintain his global
theme, (as defined by Kilham above), which is made clear at the
onset of the discourse, and to maintain a series of local themes,
which are the arguments of the global theme, a selection is made of
various grammatical and semantic features. Some of these will be
dealt with briefly in this section, while the more important
features of conjunctions, reference and possessives, will be dealt
with more fully in later sections.

3.1 GRAMMATICAL FEATURES OF COHESION

In narrative text, the choice of motion verbs is dependent upon how
the speaker sees his present physical position in relation to the
participants in the action, or if he was actually present on the
scene he is describing motion towards or away from the spatial
location of the present local theme. Within an episode of text,
cohesion is given by repeated use of the same motion verb.

e.g. I came .... I came ..... I came ..... I arrived.
I went .... I went ..... I went, I saw ....

Tied in with the usage of motion words is the change in the type of clauses. Typical is a series of clauses indicating motion or sequence, one or more clauses of arrival at a new location or situation, then a series of clauses (often stative), describing that new situation, or the action which happened there.

Where paragraphs are embedded to give historical or other background, continuous aspect within that subunit gives a cohesive entity. A return to the main text is indicated by non-future punctiliar action.

(11) I -mi -mai -eni bei i -fia -fiagi-na i
They cont bring him there they cont hit   link they
-laka-laka i -kabu-kabu -ni i -'i -lagi i
cont go:up they cont singe him they cont cut they
-ve -vetagovi wata bei i -'ani'ani-a
cont cook   and there they cont:eat him

`They continually bring him (generic for prisoners of war) and there kill (them) and go up and singe them, they cut (them) up, cook (them) and eat (them) there.´

The embedded back ground material ends at this point, and the narrative continues in non-future punctiliar aspect.

'A-le'wa a-laka a-divuya ......
we arrive I go:up I sweep .....
`(When) we arrived, I went up and swept ....´

As mentioned in the introduction, various types of discourse have typical mood/aspect characteristics. This is a further grammatical device which gives cohesion to specific types of text.

If digression from the local theme occurs, Iamalele has a feature of locale, temporal, or theme pick-up, by repetition of the important feature last discussed before the digression.

(18) Periphery: <u>i -´a´ava</u>
                   it finish

     Statement: <u>Iobiola</u> <u>´ifwai</u> <u>kukua</u> <u>i -mie -di</u>
                  Iobiola some   thing he brought them

     Amplification: <u>mwali,</u>   <u>bwagaga,</u> <u>le´a</u>   <u>i -mie -di</u>
                  arm:shell pig:tusk arm:band he bring them

     `When it was finished, Iobiola brought some things,
     there were arm-shells, pig tusks and arm bands.'

Substitution, which also includes ellipsis, replaces one item
in the text with another of the same function. With ellipsis,
verbs, phrases, or even clauses may be elided, the meaning being
recovered from the immediate context.

(19) <u>Dioni</u> <u>tamu</u> <u>tutudaba</u> <u>i -´idewa -i,</u> <u>yau</u> <u>wata</u> <u>tamu</u>
     Dioni one   room   he prepare it I   also one

     `Dioni prepared a room, and so did I (prepare a room).´

A favorite way in which speakers strengthen their arguments in
hortatory discourse is to give a positive statement, then the
negation of it. The two statements together give cohesion to the
argument.

(20) <u>Tutuya</u> <u>fuedi</u> <u>ta-na -vetafewa</u> <u>kebu</u> <u>ta-na -mia -mia</u>
     time   many we int persist   not we int cont stay

     `Let us persist all the time and not (just) stay
     (and do nothing).'

4. COHESION BY CONJUNCTION

Most of the cohesive devices in Iamalele which we have been looking
at are anaphoric devices, that is, they refer back to what has
already been given in the text, and are ties which give the
forthcoming text cohesion with what has gone before. Conjunctions,
however, are different in that they either perform temporal or
logical ties. The very fact that these conjunctions are present,
assumes that there is coming up in the text a further item which is
related intimately with what has gone before, and is part of it.
Without the second half of the logical relationship presupposed by

the conjunction, the first half is incomplete and often meaning-less. The conjunction itself is the key to understanding which logical relationship the forthcoming item is to be regarded.

Iamalele has in excess of 18 conjunctions, but the infrequency of use of these conjunctions is a characteristic of this language. This is in contrast with many Oceanic AN languages; for example, Patep and associated languages in the Buang area of the Morobe Province in Papua New Guinea, make extensive use of conjunctions both between and within sentences. In Iamalele, sentences in a non-logical relationship (i.e. temporal) are usually simply in juxtaposition, as are the clauses within those sentences. Even where logical relationship is indicated, in many types of sentences such as the Contrast and Result sentences the conjunction may not necessarily be present, the meaning being derived from the context. The absence of the conjunction, instead of "weakening" the logical relationship actually "strengthens" it, and gives the text cohesion. For instance, the Contrast sentence has the option of using the conjunctions we'e `and, but´, or siwe `but´ (often meaning unfulfilled desire or intention) but according to the Iamalele people, the strongest adversative force available is to simply juxtapose the two contrastive items, the context or predictability supplying the logical relationship.

(21)   Thesis: Tawou   bani'odi
                    wallaby like
        Link: **siwe**
                    but
        Antithesis: towou   bwaiki-di
                    wallaby big   it
        `It is like a wallaby, but wallabies are big.´

(22) Thesis: <u>A-baila</u>   <u>sikulu</u>
                 I dislike school

     Link: **we´e**
                 but

     Antithesis: <u>ta-na</u> <u>-toke</u>   <u>sikulu</u>
                 we will strong school

     `I hate school. But we will work hard at it.´

(23) Thesis: <u>I</u>   <u>-tauya</u>
                 they leave

     Antithesis: <u>kebu</u> <u>tonovi</u> <u>-di</u>   <u>i</u>   <u>-da</u> <u>-mai</u> <u>Saibutu</u>
                 not straight their they unrl come Saibutu

     `They left, (but) they didn´t come straight to Saibutu.´

A further way of indicating logical relationship, is to suffix
the verb with <u>-ga</u>, which usually has an area of meaning of emphasis
or extension. This gives a relationship of Condition between the
two expressed items, whereas the usual way to express condition is
to preface the two items with the conjunction <u>´ai´edi</u> `if´.

(24) Link: **´ai´edi**
                 if

     Protasis: <u>´omu</u> <u>taiadi</u> <u>´wai-ku-ye</u>
                 you with   to   me at

     Apodosis: <u>matatabu-na</u> <u>safaili-na</u>
                 all   it light   it

     `If you are with me, everything will be easy.´

(25) Protasis: <u>´wei</u> <u>bwaiki-na</u> <u>i</u> <u>-na</u> <u>-´wei</u> **<u>-ga</u>**
                 rain big   it it int rain extn

     Apodosis: <u>no´o</u> <u>welavi-nidi</u> <u>i</u> <u>-na</u> <u>-etoyoyoai-di</u>
                 those tree   them it int pull:out them

     `If it rains heavily it will wash away those trees.´

One further point of interest, is that the two items to be
logically linked, need not necessarily be in a fixed order, and in
the Reason sentence the cause and effect may reverse in order to
give the effect before the cause. This will be discussed further in
the forth coming paper on Iamalele prominence.

It is important to note that Iamalele conjunctions operate at most levels of grammar, not just to tie clauses together, but they have the function of giving cohesion to text on each of the different levels of phrase, clause, sentence and paragraph. The following chart gives an idea of the types of conjunction used in Iamalele discourse, their meanings, and at what levels they operate. Further study needs to be done to discover when the optional conjunctions are elided, and which is the preferred order of items conjoined.

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Table 1

Iamalele conjunctions

		Intra clause	Inter clause	Inter sentence	Inter paragraph
bei	`there´	+	+	+	+[1]
wata	`and, also´	+	+	+	+[3]
´alo	`or´	+	+	+	
nika	`immediately´	+	+	+	
begaidi	`therefore´		+	+	
fai	`because´		+	+	
faifaina	`for that reason´		+	+	
faifainanina	`for that previously mentioned reason´		+	+	
siwe	`but´		+	+	
´ai´edi	`if´		+	+	
i´a´ava	`when it´s finished´		+	+	
tutuyanina	`when´		+	+	
nagami	`first´		+	+	
mulieta	`later´		+	+	
bega	`so, so then´		+	+	+
side beni´odi	`it´s like that´				+[2]
we´e	`but, and´		+	+	+[3]
e	`continuing on with the next topic´			+	+

1. Occurs only between paragraphs if the preceeding paragraph was embedded information, and bei is followed by a verb of staying, picking up the locale of the text before the embedding.
2. Occurs only paragraph initially when summarising or concluding discourse.

3. Used paragraph initially when an embedded paragraph, to add
   omitted information, is commencing.

   Combinations of the conjunctions in Table 1 are allowable such
as <u>wata</u> <u>bega</u> `so again´, <u>wata</u> <u>fai</u> `also because´, and <u>i´a´ava</u>
<u>mulieta</u> `later, after it was finished.´

   It is interesting to note that when logical conjunctions such
as `alo `or´ and <u>fai</u> `because´ begin a new sentence that a skewing
of the phonological sentence and the grammatical sentence occur.
The grammatical sentence is defined for these types of sentences as
the unit in which the logical relationship is complete. The
phonological sentences (the boundaries being marked by falling
intonation and pause) are incomplete grammatical units, but they
combine to give one cohesive grammatical unit.

   (26) <u>Bega</u> <u>ta-na</u> <u>-talatutuledi</u>.
         so   we int imitate:them

         fai   <u>natudiavo</u>   <u>i</u> <u>-tau</u>   <u>-yedi</u>.
         because their:children they allowed them

         fai   <u>tamadiavo</u>   <u>i</u> <u>-matayaka</u>.
         because their:fathers they are:industrious

         `So let us imitate them. Because they have allowed
         their children (to come). Because their fathers are
         industrious.´

5. REFERENCE

Continuity of participants and props is a further major feature of
cohesion in Iamalele discourse. In all languages, once an actor has
been introduced, there must be a system by which this participant
(or prop) is identified in later action. Generally, at the first
instance, when the new actor is identified, he is fully explained
in terms of his role, appearance, origin, or other factors which
have later bearing on the discourse as a whole. When this referent
is later identified again, it is usually by shorter and more
succinct forms.

There are two major forms of reference used in language. Endophoric reference is identification derived directly and solely from the text under discussion, and has no need of explanation from sources outside that text. If this identification refers to material already given in the text, it is called anaphoric reference. Reference to material which will be identified later in the text is called cataphoric reference.

When further information is required from the outside world in order for the hearer or reader to understand the statement being made, this information is referred to as exophoric reference. These terms will be used in this discussion of reference in Iamalele.

Reference is specific identification to some form, and in order to have cohesion of a passage or text, further identification of that form must be in a predictable subset of referents which are secondary to, or derived from the original identification.

In this section we will be specifically looking at how the Iamalele language initially and secondarily identifies forms in discourse. We will look at:

    (a) How major and minor participants are introduced.

    (b) The hierarchy of further identification of those participants.

    (c) The types of reference.

5.1 THE INTRODUCTION OF PARTICIPANTS AND PROPS

The degree to which a participant is identified in a discourse, depends on the degree to which the expected hearer or reader is familiar with the situation. If there is complete unfamiliarity, often a relative clause is used to identify that participant.

(27) **Tamu** <u>tomogo</u> <u>tutuya</u> <u>fuedi</u> <u>taunina</u> <u>toveyaoga</u>
      a   man   time   many he   hunter
      'There was a (certain) man who frequently hunted.'

(28) I   -´asetai Tomatabi´wa, we´e mogitana Yaubada ´ana
      they thought taro:man   but truly   God   his

      wagava Manawaivula
      name   Manawaivula

      `They thought he was the taro man, but it was really
      God, whose name is Manawaivula.'

As can be seen by example (27), the specifier tamu is used in
identifying the man, i.e. specifying one out of a random number.
Further examples of this are:

(29) a. **tamu** vavine   b. **tamu** ´aiata, Octomuba 23
          a   woman   one day   October 23

          `A (certain) woman´       `One day, October 23rd.´

      c. **tamu** welavi
          a   tree

          `One of the trees ..´

In example (28), it is shown how a person can be identified or
further specified by giving his name. In the same way, props can be
specified by giving generic or class groupings.

(30) a. Saibutu ´ana ´eda   b. imula Fergusson
          Saibutu its road   Island Fergusson

          `The Saibutu road.´          `Fergusson Island.´

      c. ´atamana Naie
          Village Naie

          `Naie village.´

One further area of identification which does not require
exophoric information is that referring to people generally, or
specifically as a named group.

(31) a. Tomotoga fuedi maki   i   -´avula.
          people   all betel:nut they chew

          `All the people chew betel nut.´

b. <u>me</u>   <u>Dobu</u>
    people Dobu
    `The people of Dobu.´

Where non-specific reference is desired, the third person
plural affix is used on the verb to indicate that this is general
procedure or custom. This is equivalent to the English form `They
do that ....´ or `One does this ....´, or even the passive voice.

The second way in which participants or props are identified,
is if the expected hearer or reader is aware of the necessary
exophoric information needed to interpret the situation. As this
information comes from historical or cultural events known to the
hearer, an outsider finds considerable difficulty in sorting out
the events in folk tales, or procedural texts, where culturally
specific items are assumed to be (but not) understood.

The most common form of identification used is simply to
express the name of a person, place, or object. This assumes that
the listener immediately identifies that verbal signal with the
exophoric information already present in his consciousness and is
able to fully identify the person, who is simply named. People or
objects familiar to the hearer because of personal experience or
known history, may simply be referred to as, for example:

(32) <u>Vavine mo´amo´aidi</u>   or   <u>´Auvea</u>
      woman   old   important:man
      `The old woman.´                  `The important man.´

Iamalele is a language without a system of definite/indefinite
articles, and this is compensated for by extensive use of
possessives. If a person is already identified, in a text, or known
exophorically, other participants related to him will usually be
identified by the possessed kin term.

(33) a. <u>Isikeli tama -na</u>   b. <u>Lubeni ma   yana vavine</u>
          Isikeli father his   Lubeni with his   wife
          `Isikeli´s father´             `Lubeni and his wife´

The complex system of Iamalele possessives is so important to the
cohesion of discourse that it will be discussed fully in section 6.

5.2 THE HIERARCHY OF ANAPHORIC IDENTIFICATION

A participant, once identified, will be referred to again in the
discourse by a `lower level´ form of identification. For example, a
person identified initially by a relative clause will in future be
referred to simply by the 3rd person singular prefix on the verb.
The hierarchy of identification is as follows:

Relative clause < noun phrase < noun < pronoun < affix.

This means that a participant identified by one of the above
referentials will be later identified by a referential to the right
in the hierarchy. Should this order be violated, it indicates that
the referent has been re-introduced after being "off stage". It is
done to avoid ambiguity with other participants or to bring him
into a more prominent position in the plot.

5.3 TYPES OF REFERENCE

Following Halliday and Hassan (1975:37) there are 3 types of
reference in English discourse used to retrieve the identification
of a participant already referred to, i.e. personal, demonstrative
and comparative. Iamalele reference will be looked at under these
headings.

5.3.1 PERSONAL REFERENCE

All Iamalele verbs are prefixed for subject and suffixed for object
by the following affixes. These and the free-form pronouns are
given briefly in Table 2.

Table 2

Person	Singular		Plural	
1	a-	`I´	´a-	`we´ (excl)
	-ku	`me´	-ma	`us´ (excl)
			ta-	`we´ (incl)
			-da	`us´ (incl)
2	´u-	`you´	´wa-	`you´
	-mu	`you´	-mi	`you´
3	i-	`he, she, it´	i-	`they´
	-ni	`him, her, it´	-di	`them´

(34) e.g. ´a-nike-di
           we hit   them
          `We (excl.) hit them´

The following free-form pronouns also occur in Iamalele, and take suffixes as given in Table 2, except 3rd person singular, which has the suffix -na.

The limiter pronoun set:

    ´aise-ku   `only I´ etc.

The intensifier set:

    tauni-ku   `I myself´ etc.

The indefinite identifier set:

    kamani-ku   `I, the one who ....´

The specifier set has a separate form shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Person	Singular		Plural	
1	yau	`I´	´ima	`we´ (excl)
			ida	`we´ (inc)
2	´omu	`you´	´omi	`you´
3	taunina	`he, she, it´	taunidi	`they´

Each of these personal pronouns, when used anaphorically gives cohesion to discourse. Except in direct speech, they cannot stand alone, but always refer back to a participant already identified. The choice as to which set of pronouns is used depends on whether the participant is to be referred to by the unmarked (or expected) form, or whether he is to be highlighted and made more prominent by use of emphasis, specification, or contrast. As Iamalele verbs are always affixed for subject and object, there is concord between any nominal or pronominal forms used in a clause and the verbal affix.

5.3.2 DEMONSTRATIVE REFERENCE

Demonstrative reference is one of the forms used in Iamalele to highlight or focus attention on a particular item. One type of demonstrative reference is to refer back to participants, props, or locations already identified or given in the text. This takes the form of the affix -nina or -nidi meaning `the before-mentioned one ....´ or `the before-mentioned ones ....´. Previously mentioned locatives are identified by bei `there´, or beidimo `along there´. These forms are also used in a dependent clause to further specify or elaborate on something already mentioned.

(35) We´e no´o wala´ai nageneye **bei** **a-miamia** a-´ise-di.
    And at   forest inside where I stay I saw them

    `And inside that forest **where** I **was staying,** I saw them.

This type of reference, as can easily be seen, is critical as an anaphoric device to give discourse cohesion, allowing easy reference to an item already identified. This is the unmarked form in discourse and enables the participant to be unambiguously referred to without necessarily singling him out for special high-lighting.

The other type of reference available using demonstratives, is that of description, pointing out, or making prominent. Where both the speaker and hearer are in a real world situation where visual clues are present, these demonstratives are used to point out something. This usage is exophoric, and does not add to the cohesion of discourse.

(36) Aitoi no´o tomogo
    who that man
    `Who is that man?´

In written or spoken discourse, however, these demonstratives are used to highlight a situation or participant which may or may not have already been mentioned in the text. In some senses these demonstratives parallel the possessive markers:

(37) a. ´amu bawe bwaikina.   b. no´o bawe bwaikina.
       your pig big   that pig big
       `Your pig is big.´          `That pig is big.´

   c. no´o tomotoga foa
      those people four
      `Those four people over there.´

If the demonstrative follows the noun, it is merely a non-specific describing or modifying feature.

(38) <u>tomotoga</u> <u>no´o</u>
     people   those

     `Some of those men.´

Iamalele demonstratives have the ability of being able to identify or make prominent items in the following localities: near the speaker, near the hearer, remote from both, upwards or downwards away from both the speaker and hearer.

A matrix in Table 4 gives a complete listing of the demonstratives and their uses.

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Table 4

Iamalele demonstratives

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	adjacent to hearer	adjacent to speaker	remote from both	up from both	down from both	anaphoric reference
Specific demons.	we´e siwe	side de´e	sino no´o	ta´e	va´e	-nina
Non-spec. demons.		de´e	no´o			-nina
Locative demons.	siwebei	de´e sidebei sidebega	no´o no´obei sinobega	ta´e ta´ebei ta´ebega	va´e va´ebei va´ebega	bei beidimo

5.3.3 COMPARATIVE REFERENCE

In most discourse, the speaker wishes to further identify items, and a common way is to compare or contrast them with things already mentioned in the text, or to compare them with some exophoric item which is already in the consciousness of the hearer.

In Iamalele various means are used to compare the topic item with something else identical with it, to compare it with something

else that is similar to it, or with something which is quite
different to it and which contrasts to it. Comparison can also be
made by singling out the topic item of a group of items and making
it more specific.

In English it is simple to compare properties of various
items. It is, for example, easy to say, "This house is bigger than
that one", but in Iamalele the comparison must be made in the form,
"This one is small, that one is big", or in the form, "This one is
big, that one is very big".

As a set of referential devices these comparative categories
contribute to cohesion of a text, particularly when the two items
being specified, compared, or contrasted are already given in the
text. These are discussed next.

(a) Items further specified with reference to an identical item or
property

    a. <u>vesala</u> `It is identical´

      (39) <u>no´o</u> <u>welavi</u> <u>´adi</u> <u>´ailuga</u> <u>´adi</u> <u>vemanawe</u> <u>**i**</u> **-vesala.**
           those tree   their two   their length   they same
           `Those two trees are the same height.´

    b. <u>´ana</u> <u>fata</u> `Is equal to´

      (40) <u>´ageyafayafa</u> <u>de´e</u> <u>**´amu**</u> <u>**fata.**</u>
           shoe   this your equal
           `This shoe is your size (i.e. the same size as your
           foot).´

This form also has the meaning of `being equal to a task´, e.g.
`You are able to do it´.

(b) Items further specified with reference to a similar item or
property

    <u>bani´odi</u> `similar to´

(41) Tomotoga faifaida i -vetafewa 'ida **bani'odi** ta-na
      people for:us he persisted we   likewise we shall
      -'idewadewa
       work

      `He persisted on our behalf, **in the same manner** we will
      work.'

(42) Balau **side bani'odi**. Yogo   kasikasisidi ta-na
      sorcery this like   fetish strong   we will
      -'ewadi....
       take ....

      `Sorcery is **like this**. We take strong fetishes .....'

This form is also used frequently to compare topic item against a
known standard in the hearer's knowledge.

(43) Kwamana-nina 'akonadi i -wafa 'ana fata bani'odi
      child   that already he die his size like
      Mata'olo'ola.
      Mata'olo'ola

      `That child had already died, being **like** Mata'olo'ola
      in size.'

(c) Items contrasted with a dissimilar item
Negated forms of the referential devices discussed in the two
previous sub-sections can be used to contrast an item in text.

(44) ·'A-mai   me   Niu Gini   yadi vanuga **kebu bani'odi**
      we came people New Guinea their houses not like
      Iamalele yada vanuga.
      Iamalele our house

      `We came and the New,Guinea peoples' houses **weren't like**
      our Iamalele houses.'

(45) 'Ai bwaikina i -'alata **kebu 'adi fata** i -na
      fire big   it burn   not their equal they will
      -'weuya.
       put:out

      `A big fire was burning and they **weren't able** to put it
      out.'

As previously mentioned, Iamalele makes comparisons, not by
using comparative modifiers as such, but by contrasting two levels

of modification or activity. The example (46) illustrates a
comparison in size between a standard (the pig) known to the
hearer, and an entity of unknown size (the cow).

   (46) <u>A-nago</u> <u>bulamakau</u> <u>a-´isedi</u>   **<u>bawe</u> <u>bani´odi</u> <u>bawe</u> <u>siaidi</u>**
         I go   cow   I saw:them pig like   pig small

         <u>bulamakau</u> <u>bwaikidi</u>.
         cow   big

         `I went and saw some cows, they are **like pigs, but pigs
         are small, cows are big.`**

Frequently the modifier on the topic item is elided when
compared to a known item whose size is specified.

   (47) <u>Tawou</u>   <u>bani´odi</u> <u>siwe</u> <u>tawou</u>   <u>bwaikidi</u>.
         wallaby like   but wallaby big

         `It (tree kangaroo) was like a wallaby, but wallabies
         are big` (inferring the tree kangaroo was small).

The specifier <u>tulina</u> `other´, `different to´ is also used to
contrast topic items with other items, either previously mentioned
in the text, or referred to as having different quality or
location.

   (48) ´<u>Inava-nina</u> <u>kebu</u> <u>i</u>   <u>-da</u> <u>-´ewai</u>, ´<u>inava</u> **<u>tulina</u>**
         drum   that not they not get   drum   different

         <u>tomogo</u> ´<u>ana</u> <u>dabidabi</u> <u>i</u> <u>-´ewai</u> <u>i</u>   <u>-naweni</u>.
         man   his carving   they get   they take

         `They didn´t take that drum, but they got the **other**
         (different) drum that the man had carved and took it
         away.`

(d) Items further specified as one of a set

The words <u>tamu</u> `one´, ´<u>ifwaidi</u> `some´, and <u>sai´afo</u> `part´ are used
in Iamalele to further specify a particular item or person and to
refer to them as a part of a unit or group already mentioned in the
text. These words may also give specification of an item as a part
of a larger entity beyond the immediate text, but in these cases
the reference does not add to the cohesiveness of the text.

(49) .... <u>igana</u> ´aitamogana <u>i</u> -´anita´i <u>i</u> -´ewa -<u>i</u> <u>i</u>
        fish   one   it fall   he took it he

     -<u>vetagovi</u>. <u>Kebu</u> <u>i</u> -<u>da</u> -´aniaga, **sai´afo** <u>i</u>
     cook   not   he not eat   part   he

     -´alatonovi-mo.
     taste   just

     `.... one fish fell down, he took it and cooked it. He
     did not eat it, but just tasted **a little** of it.´

(50) .... ´<u>uvi</u> <u>i</u> -<u>venatune</u> -<u>di</u>. **Tamu** ´uvi ´wainega
        yams she give:birth them   one   yam   by

     <u>i</u> -<u>voi</u>   <u>we´e</u> **tamu** ´uvi ´wainega <u>i</u> -<u>kuna</u>.
     he paddle and one yam by   he poled

     `.... she gave birth to the yams. **One** of the yams
     paddled, and **one** of the yams poled.´

As we have seen, these three major types of reference, i.e.
personal, demonstrative and comparative, are used by Iamalele
speakers to specifically refer to some form already mentioned in
the text, with the purpose of limiting or extending the form, and
hence being an important factor in continuity and cohesion of the
text.

5.3.4 POSSESSIVE REFERENCE

One of the most important and frequent ways in which a Iamalele
speaker gives cohesion to discourse, is to make extensive use of
the system of possessives. As Iamalele lacks definite and
indefinite articles, the speaker has only the options of
demonstratives and possessives to link participants and props to
each other. In addition, because Iamalele society is face-to-face
and kinship based, extensive use is made of kin terms rather than
names, and all kinship terms are always intimately possessed. A
further pressure to use possessives, is the fact that in the
Iamalele society, it is forbidden to say the names of any person
related to one´s wife or one´s husband. This means that in day-to-
day life, possessed nouns are frequently used, and this can readily
be seen in texts.

The Iamalele system of possessives is shown in Table 5.

Table 5

	Inalienable	Alienable	
		Subordinate	Dominant
1st singular	-ku	ʹaku	yaku
2nd "	-mu	ʹamu	yamu
3rd "	-na	ʹana	yana
(alternate form)		ʹai	yai
1st exclusive	-ma	ʹama	yama
1st inclusive	-da	ʹada	yada
2nd plural	-mi	ʹami	yami
3rd "	-di	ʹadi	yadi

(a) Inalienable possession

Relates to items which are obligatorily possessed such as kinsfolk, body parts, and personal attributes:

    (51) a. tama -ku   b. ʹage-ku
           father my   leg my
           ʹmy father´   ʹmy leg´

          c. ʹatumai-na
             good   his
             ʹhe is good´ (lit. his goodness)

(b) Alienable possession

Subordinate or objective possession indicates that the possessor is not necessarily active toward the possessed item, and is often the goal or experiencer by reason of a previous action. It relates to such things as personal belongings, food, name, and feelings:

    (52) a. ʹaku subia
           my   praise
           ʹmy praise´ (coming from another person)

b. ´ana bawe
   his pig

  `his pig´ (a gift from another person)

c. ´amu wagava
   your name

  `your name´

d. ´aku vebae
   my   feelings

  `my feelings´

Dominant or agentive possession indicates that the possessor
is active, influential towards, or in ownership of the possession.
It relates to such things as food for giving away, house and ones´
wife.

(53) a. yana bawe
      his pig

     `his pig´ (for giving away not to eat)

b. yadi vanuga
   their house

  `their house´

c. yamu vavine
   your woman

  `your wife´

In the following text, it can be seen how there is a chaining
and cohesion of participants and props by the use of possessives.

001 Tamu tomogo tutuya fuedi taunina toveyaoga.
    one man   time   many he   hunter

002 Kebu ´ani´ani i -da -bakubakula.
    not   food   he unrl plant

003 Yana vavine bawe ´ani i -baila fai ´aiata ´aitamogana
    his wife   pig eating she dislike because day   one

    ´aitamogana bawe i -´ani´ani we´e ´ani´ani kebu.
    one   pig she eat   but food   not

004 <u>Tamu</u> <u>ʻaiata</u> <u>tomogo-nina</u> <u>i</u> <u>-nago</u> <u>i</u> <u>-veveyaoga</u> <u>yana</u> <u>vavine</u> <u>i</u>
    one   day   man   he go   he cont:hunt his   wife   she
<u>-tovoi</u>   <u>-ga</u>   <u>ʻana</u> <u>ʻuyua</u> <u>i</u> <u>-vetagovi</u> <u>nau</u> <u>bwaiki-na</u>
 stand:up emph his   riches she cook   dish big   its
<u>ʻwaineye.</u>
 in

005 <u>Bega</u> <u>vavine-nidi</u> <u>i</u> <u>-dega</u> <u>i</u> <u>-nago</u> <u>novu</u>   <u>-di</u> <u>-avo</u> <u>ʻwaidie.</u>
    so   woman this   she flee she go   brother her pl to

006 <u>Tutuya-nina</u> <u>tomogo-nina</u> <u>i</u> <u>-vilai,</u> <u>ʻana</u> <u>ʻuyua</u> <u>i</u> <u>-ʻiseni</u>
    time   this man   he return his   riches he saw

<u>nua</u> <u>-na</u> <u>i</u> <u>-sako</u> <u>wata</u> <u>i</u> <u>-vita.</u>
 mind his it bad   and it heavy

007 <u>Bega</u> <u>ʻana</u> <u>ʻuyua</u> <u>-nidi</u> <u>ma</u>   <u>nau</u> <u>-na</u> <u>i</u> <u>-evai</u>   <u>i</u> <u>-nago</u>
    so   his   riches these with dish its he carry   he go

<u>bwagal-e</u> <u>i</u> <u>-ʻetoyavule-ni.</u>
 cliff   to he tip:out   it

008 <u>Tamu</u>   <u>ʻaiata</u> <u>yana</u> <u>ʻouʻou-ve</u> <u>ʻadi</u> <u>ʻaisaya</u> <u>i</u> <u>-ʻidewai</u>
    another day   his   dog   pl their meat   he prepare
<u>i</u>   <u>-ʻani</u> <u>mulieta</u> <u>i</u> <u>-nago</u> <u>walaʻai-e</u> <u>i</u> <u>-na</u> <u>-veyaoga.</u>
they eat   later   he go   forest   to he int hunt

009 <u>Yana</u> <u>ʻouʻou-vo</u> <u>ʻadi</u>   <u>wagava</u> <u>side,</u> <u>Maigidudubala,</u> <u>Walidumodumo,</u>
    his dog   pl their   name   this
<u>Walaʻaianabadibadi,</u> <u>Vesebula,</u> <u>Matavali,</u> <u>Iawa,</u> <u>Bwageyoa.</u>

001   There was a man who hunted all the time.

002   He did not plant food.

003   His wife didn't like eating pig because she ate it every day,
      and there was no other food.

004   One day while this man was hunting, his wife got up and cooked
      his traditional wealth in a big pot.

005   So then this woman fled and went to her brothers.

006   When this man returned, he saw his riches and he was angry and
      sad.

007   So he took these riches of his, together with their pot and
      went to the cliff, and tipped them over the edge.

008   Another day he prepared his dogs' meat, they ate and later he
      went to the forest and hunted.

009   His dogs' names are these, Maigidudubala, Walidumodumo,
      Walaʻaianabadibadi, Vesebula, Matavali, Iawa, Bwageyoa.

6. A SUMMARY OF FEATURES WHICH WEAKEN COHESION, GIVING RISE TO
    DISCOURSE JUNCTURE

Having completed a survey of the features which give cohesion to
Iamalele discourse, it is appropriate now to look briefly at each

of these features and see how a weakening of cohesion gives rise to

discourse juncture. Rarely does just one of these features indicate

juncture, but combinations of several tend to occur together.

6.1 CHANGE IN TEMPORAL SETTING

Changes in temporal setting can be major or minor. Minor time
changes are usually part of a progressing event line, and simply
indicate the next action in the story. A limited span of time is
indicated by <u>mulieta</u>, `later´, while indication that a longer time
has passed is indicated by such phrases as: <u>i-´atai</u> `it became
day´, <u>lovane</u> `that night´, and <u>´awa´awai-e</u> `the next day´.

Major changes in temporal setting are indicated by such
phrases as: <u>tamu</u> <u>tutuya</u> `another time´, <u>tamu</u> <u>´aiata</u> `another day´,
or <u>weta´i</u> <u>fuedi</u> <u>i-´a´ava</u> `when many days were finished.´

Where there is digression from the event line to give
background, evaluation or collateral information, major time change
is overtly signalled. Where a folk narrative has been given (in the
distant past), an evaluation can follow to give the reasons for
some present day custom. For example, the story of the origin of
the drum is told, and at the completion the following sentence is
given:

(54) <u>Bega</u> <u>´asiau</u> <u>´ida</u> <u>tomotoga</u> <u>´inava</u> <u>ta-´asetai</u>.
      so   today   we   people   drum   we know
      `So today, we people know (how to make) drums.´

The time change from the distant past to the present time is
overtly marked by the time word <u>´asiau</u> `today´.

Where explanatory material interrupts the event line,
continuous aspect is used to indicate customary activities within

the culture, while punctiliar marking on verbs plus the time word
basenadi `long ago´ indicates background information.

Naturally, where there is a major change in temporal setting,
the cohesive features of temporal overlap, verb affixes and
conjunctions indicating continuity of time do not occur.

6.2 CHANGE IN SPATIAL SETTING

A new spatial setting usually follows the departure from one
location, and arrival at a new one, which may or may not be
mentioned by name. Where a new spatial setting is indicated, there
will be no cohesion anaphorically to previous mentioned locations
and the locative demonstrative bei `there´, will not occur. Such
changes often indicate a new section in the discourse.

6.3 INTERRUPTION OF THEME

Digression from the global theme, usually indicates a new section
in which background, collateral, or other information is inserted
in the event line of the main discourse.

The start of such embedded material is usually clearly
indicated by such features as:

> bei .... `there´, followed by information, usually historical
> in nature, describing previous action at that
> anaphorically mentioned place.

> we´e ... `but´, followed by information previously omitted
> from the event line.

> (55) **we´e bola kebu** ´a-da -le´wa Unuai, ´a-´isaobuma ....
>   but later not we irr arrive Unuai we look:down ....
>   `**Before** we arrived at Unuai, we looked down .....´

The example (55) is typical of the way in which flashback is
inserted into text.

Two other methods are frequently used to indicate non-event-
line information. The first is the use of direct speech, in which

the narrator will mention explanatory information given to a companion, as a direct quote. The second method is to refer by name to a location already departed and give further information about that place. This is usually in conjunction with a verb of motion or arrival.

(56) ´A-lewa   Unuai .....
we arrive Unuai

`Before, when we arrived at Unuai ....´ (having
previously left Unuai.)

Return from embedded material to the event line or to the global theme is often indicated by time or locale pick-up of the last time or location mentioned before digression. One other frequent method is the form sentence initially: wata `again´ or `also´, followed by continuous aspect on the verb.

6.4 JUNCTURE BY CONJUNCTION

As previously mentioned, even though Iamalele has quite a few conjunctions, they are infrequently used. This is especially so in regard to paragraph juncture, where they are used only in special cases. As indicated on the chart in section 4.0, we´e `but´ and wata `and´ or `also´, commence paragraphs containing embedded information, where they are used in a non-logical sense. The word bei `there´ is used sentence initially where a return to the event-line or global these is indicated, following embedded material. The word bega `so then´ is also infrequently used in a non-logical sense to introduce new sections of text.

Wherever side bani´odi `it´s like this´, or ´asa´aiana bani´odi `that is enough´, `it´s like this´ are used, a new paragraph commences, indicating imminent closure to a text. Other semantic summary or evaluative features also indicate imminent closure of the text.

6.5 CHANGE OF REFERENCE

In section 5, the way in which participants and props are initially
introduced, and later anaphorically referred to was discussed. The
hierarchy of identification, when violated, indicates that the
referent has been respecified to avoid ambiguity, to bring him into
a more prominent position in the plot, or to indicate a new section
in the discourse. Wherever new participants are introduced, the
possibility of juncture exists.

Where there is definite juncture in text, the fuller means of
identification of participants, props, and locations will be used,
rather than a corresponding personal, demonstrative, or comparative
reference.

6.6 POSSESSIVES IN RELATION TO JUNCTURE

Possessives are a major form of cohesion in Iamalele text, but
naturally need to anaphorically refer back to some participant.
Where there is a major juncture in discourse, the participants are
often respecified, clearly giving the identity of the possessor.
This allows participants and props to be identified afresh in
relation to each other by use of possessives.

6.7 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES INDICATING JUNCTURE

A phonological sentence in Iamalele is an utterance terminated by
final falling intonation and pause. In fast speech however, these
two features may be almost non-existent so that sentence boundaries
often have to be grammatically defined.

Where a major division occurs in the discourse however, there
is complete falling of pitch and intensity (even in fast speech),
the tempo is reduced, and finally there will be pronounced pause.

As previously mentioned, a new sentence or section in the
discourse may be preceeded by the conjunction e, marked by rising
tone, and having the meaning of `Going on with the next topic....´.

7. CONCLUSION

In Iamalele discourse, as we have seen, there are many factors, both semantic and syntactic, which combine together to produce cohesion and unity. Similarly, it is the absence, or the weakening of these factors which give rise to juncture within the discourse.

It is apparent that there are grammatical features operationg beyond the sentence level in Iamalele discourse. These features aid cohesion, and their absence weakens it, giving rise to a valid linguistic potential for juncture.

It is unusual for just one of the features mentioned in section 6 to be the criterion for dividing a text up into paragraphs. Rather, it is a combination of several of them, working together in a semantico-syntactic relationship, which give reason for setting up a level of paragraph between sentence and complete discourse.

However, grammatical features are non-structured, and are often unpredictable. At lower levels in Iamalele grammar, the structure of for example, the clause, is highly predictable for the unmarked (or expected) form, but at higher levels the speaker has increasingly more choice in the way he structures his utterences.
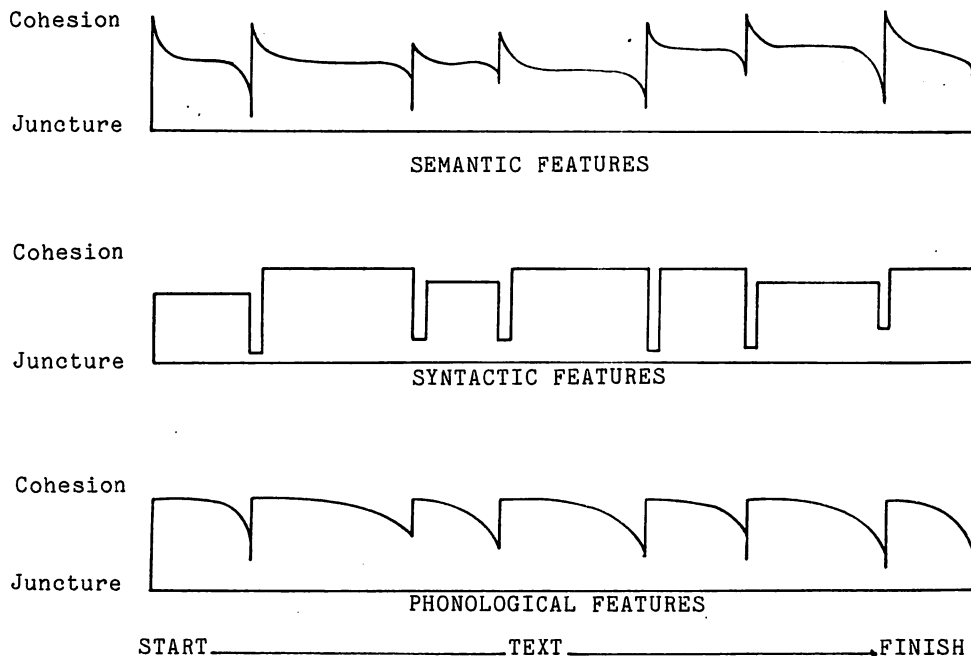
Where there is a change in spatial setting, new participants introduced, and a conjunction appearing, all these factors inter- acting together would be interpreted as juncture, giving rise to a new paragraph. Where there is a change in theme, and absence of anaphoric reference, juncture is accordingly by definition, indicated.

Naturally there are many instances where the juncture is muddy or indistinct, and it is doubtful as to whether a new paragraph should be set up or not. It would seem however, that the important thing in analysis is not to necessarily discern clear paragraph breaks, but to give a satisfactory account of what a speaker is doing when he utters a cohesive and hence coherent discourse.

Because of the varying degree of cohesion, and the difficulty of consistently making definitive paragraph breaks, graphical representation of cohesion and juncture in Iamalele discourse is of limited value. Halliday and Hasan (1976:297) use sine waves to illustrate the periodic change in density of cohesive ties which give rise to paragraph juncture in English. However, this sinusoidal form is somewhat limited as a way to illustrate cohesive ties because natural language is anything but mathematically precise.

It is helpful to separate the three factors governing cohesion and juncture, representing them separately, not as an ideal sine wave, but as a parallel set of wave forms varying in frequency, amplitude and shape. In this way, representative characterisation can be made of the interaction of Phonological, Syntactic, and Semantic features in discourse. These features, although differing in character interact to give cohesion in text as shown in figure 1. Explanation of these wave forms follows the diagram.

Figure 1

Cohesion

Juncture

SEMANTIC FEATURES

Cohesion

Juncture

SYNTACTIC FEATURES

Cohesion

Juncture

PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

START_____TEXT_____→FINISH

As can be seen in Figure 1's graphical representation, the degree of cohesion varies, as does the definiteness of juncture. Wherever there is a negative going wave form, there is a potential new paragraph. These three features, however, do not always combine as neatly in phase as the figure would suggest.

The **semantic features** may be represented characteristically by a cotangent wave form, illustrating that the strongest features giving rise to a new paragraph, such as a new theme, temporal setting, occur initially in that paragraph, and that cohesive ties reduce in number toward the closure of the paragraph.

The **syntactic features** used to encode the cohesion of text, can be represented characteristically by an asynchronous square wave, the negative going pulse indicating that referential cohesion has ceased or reduced significantly. The positive going pulse

indicates that syntactic features are once again encoding the new
Semantic component.

The expotential decay wave form can be used to characterise
the part that **phonological features** play toward cohesion in text.
The falling curve illustrates the decrease in intensity and pitch
at paragraph boundaries.

It can be seen, that Semantic, Syntactic and Phonological
features all combine to give cohesion in the Iamalele language. As
these features weaken, so a new paragraph in the text is indicated.

NOTES

1. The Iamalele language is an Oceanic AN language, of the Massim
   Cluster belonging to the Bwaidoka family (Lithgow 1976:449).
   About 2,500 people living on the northern section of Fergusson
   Island in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea speak this
   language.
2. The abbreviations used in this paper are the following:

cont	continuous state	int	intentive aspect
emph	emphatic	m	sentence level clitic
extn	extension	pl	plural
imm	imminent aspect	unrl	unreal aspect

3. The paper was prepared at a discourse analysis workshop
   conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Ukarumpa,
   Papua New Guinea. I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Ray
   Johnston for his helpful comments in the preparation of this
   paper.
4. The texts examined were given by a large number of Iamalele
   men, but Manoa Tomakina of Naie village must be mentioned as
   one who gave and edited much of the material, and who, as a
   good friend for many years, has given me much insight into his
   language.

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