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 the 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.
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 background 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: i -a'ava
it finish

Statement: Iobiola 'ifwai kukua i -mie -di
Iobiola some thing he brought them

Amplification: mwali, bwagaga, le'a i -mie -di
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) Dioni tamu tutudaba i -'idewa -i, yau wata tamu
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) Tutuya fuedi ta-na -vetafewa kebu ta-na -mia -mia
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 meaningless. 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: A-baila sikulu  
I dislike school
Link: we’e
but
Antithesis: ta-na -toke sikulu  
we will strong school
'I hate school. But we will work hard at it.'

(23) Thesis: I -tauya  
they leave
Antithesis: kebu tonovi -di i -da -mai Saibutu  
not straight their they until 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 -ga, 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 'ai’edi 'if'.

(24) Link: 'ai’edi  
if
Protasis: 'omu taiadi 'wai-ku-ye  
you with to me at
Apodosis: matatabu-na safaili-na  
all it light it
'If you are with me, everything will be easy.'

(25) Protasis: 'wei bwaiki-na i -na -wei -ga  
rain big it it int rain extn
Apodosis: no’o welavi-nidi i -na -etovoyoai-di  
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 Iamalelele 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.
Table 1
Iamalele conjunctions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Intra clause</th>
<th>Inter clause</th>
<th>Inter sentence</th>
<th>Inter paragraph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bei</td>
<td>'there'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wata</td>
<td>'and, also'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'alo</td>
<td>'or'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nika</td>
<td>'immediately'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>begaidi</td>
<td>'therefore'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fai</td>
<td>'because'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faifaina</td>
<td>'for that reason'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faifainanina</td>
<td>'for that previously mentioned reason'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siwe</td>
<td>'but'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aiédi</td>
<td>'if'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i’a’ava</td>
<td>'when it’s finished'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutuyanina</td>
<td>'when'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagami</td>
<td>'first'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulieta</td>
<td>'later'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bega</td>
<td>'so, so then'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side beni’odi</td>
<td>'it’s like that'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we’e</td>
<td>'but, and'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>'continuing on with the next topic'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Occurs only between paragraphs if the preceding 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 wata bega 'so again', wata fai 'also because', and i’a’ava mulieta 'later, after it was finished'.

It is interesting to note that when logical conjunctions such as aalo 'or' and fai '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) Bega ta-na -talatutuledi.
so we int imitate:them
fai natudiavo i -tau -yedi.
because their:children they allowed them
fai tamadiavo i -matayaka.
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 tomogo tutuya fuedi taunina toveyaoga
a man time many he hunter
'There was a (certain) man who frequently hunted.'
(28) I Ñasetai 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
a woman
A (certain) woman
b. tamu ʻaiata, Octomuba 23
one day October 23
'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 ʻeda
Saibutu its road
'The Saibutu road.'
b. imula Fergusson
Island Fergusson
'Fergusson Island.'
c. ʻatamana 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 fuédí maki i ʻavula.
people all betel: nut they chew
'All the people chew betel nut.'
b. me Dobu
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) Vavine mo'amo'aidi or 'Auvea
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. Isikeli tama -na
Isikeli father his
'Isikeli's father'
b. Lubeni ma yana vavine
Lubeni with his wife
'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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Excl. Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>'I'</td>
<td>'a-'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>'me'</td>
<td>'a- us'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'a- us' (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'ta- we' (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'ta- us' (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>'u-'</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td>'wa-' 'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td>'wa-' 'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>'he, she, it'</td>
<td>i- 'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>'him, her, it'</td>
<td>-di 'them'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yau</td>
<td><code>ima (ima, we</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I'</td>
<td>(excl)), we` (inc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>`omu</td>
<td>'omi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>taunina</td>
<td>taunidi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he, she, it'</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) Weʻe noʻo walaʻai nageneye bei a-miamia a-ʻise-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 noʻo tomogo
who that man
ʻWho is that man?ʻ

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. ʻamu bawe bwaikina.  b. noʻo bawe bwaikina.
your pig big that pig big
ʻYour pig is big.ʻ ʻThat pig is big.ʻ

  c. noʻo tomotoga foa
those people four
ʻThose four people over there.ʻ

If the demonstrative follows the noun, it is merely a non-specific
describing or modifying feature.
(38) **tomotoga no’o**
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>adjacent to hearer</th>
<th>adjacent to speaker</th>
<th>remote from both</th>
<th>up from both</th>
<th>down from both</th>
<th>anaphoric reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specific</td>
<td>we’e</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>sino</td>
<td>ta’e</td>
<td>va’e</td>
<td>-nina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demons.</td>
<td>siwe</td>
<td>de’e</td>
<td>no’o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-spec.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-nina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demons.</td>
<td>de’e</td>
<td>no’o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demons.</td>
<td>siwebei</td>
<td>sidebei</td>
<td>no’obei</td>
<td>ta’ebi</td>
<td>va’ebi</td>
<td>bei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sidebega</td>
<td>sinobega</td>
<td>ta’ebega</td>
<td>va’ebega</td>
<td></td>
<td>beidimo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Lamalele 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. vesala 'It is identical'

(39) no’o welavi ādi ʿailuga ādi vemanawe i -vesala.
      those tree  their two  their length  they same
      'Those two trees are the same height.'

b. ʿana fata 'Is equal to'

(40) ʿageyafayafa deʾe ʿamu fata.
      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

baniʿodi '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
- 'weuva.
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) **A-nago bulamakau a-ˈisedi bawe baniˈodi bawe siaidi**
I go cow I saw:them pig like pig small
**bulamakau bwaikidi.**
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) **Tawou baniˈodi siwe tawou bwaikidi.**
wallaby like but wallaby big

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

The specifier **tulina** '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) **ˈInava-nina kebu i -da -ˈewai, ˈinava tulina**
Drum that not they not get drum different
tomogo ˈana dabidabi i -ˈewai i -naweni.
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 **tamu** 'one', **ˈifwaidi** 'some', and **saiˈafo** '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) .... *igana 'aitamogana i -'anita'i i -'ewa -i i
fish one it fell he took it he
- vetagovi. Kebu i -da -'aniaga, sai'afo i
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) .... 'uvi i -venatune -di. Tamu 'uvi 'wainega
yams she give:birth them one yam by
i -voi we'e tamu 'uvi 'wainega i -kuna.
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
indeterminate 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inalienable</th>
<th>Alienable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st singular</td>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd &quot;</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd &quot;</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(alternate form)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exclusive</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st inclusive</td>
<td>-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd plural</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd &quot;</td>
<td>-di</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Inalienable possession

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

\[
(51) \quad \text{a. tama -ku } \quad \text{b. 'age-ku} \\
\text{father my } \quad \text{leg my} \\
\text{ 'my father' } \quad \text{ 'my leg'}
\]

\[
\text{c. 'atumai-na} \\
\text{good his} \\
\text{ 'he is good' (lit. his goodness)}
\]

(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:

\[
(52) \quad \text{a. 'aku subia} \\
\text{my praise} \\
\text{ 'my praise' (coming from another person)}
\]
b. 'ana bawe
his pig
'his pig' (a gift from another person)

c. 'amu wagava
your name
'your name'

d. 'aku veba
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 unrrl 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
```
There was a man who hunted all the time.

He did not plant food.

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

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

So then this woman fled and went to her brothers.

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

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

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

His dogs’ names are these, Maigidudubala, Walidumodumo, Wala aianabadibadi, 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 Ilamalele 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 mulieta, 'later', while indication that a longer time has passed is indicated by such phrases as: i-ʻatai 'it became day', lovane 'that night', and ʻawaʻawai-e 'the next day'.

Major changes in temporal setting are indicated by such phrases as: tamu tutuya 'another time', tamu ʻaiata 'another day', or wetaʻi fuedi i-ʻaʻava '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) Bega ʻasiau ʻida tomotoga ʻinava ta-ʻasetai.
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 ʻasiau '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 preceded 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 operating 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 utterances.

Where there is a change in spatial setting, new participants introduced; and a conjunction appearing, all these factors interacting 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.
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 exponential 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    intensive 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.
REFERENCES


