

DISCOURSE COHESION IN A HIGHLAND LANGUAGE OF P.N.G.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Halliday and Hasan (1976:293) have stated that "the expression of the semantic unity of (a) text lies in the cohesion among the sentences of which it is composed." Without cohesion a text would not exist, but would simply be a series of unrelated utterances. In encoding the message he wishes to convey, a speaker makes use of various cohesive devices, without which he would be unable to maintain integrity in that which he is communicating. A cohesive device, then, is any structure, whether phonological, syntactic or semantic, by which the speaker binds his series of statements into a coherent whole. In this paper I focus on the syntactic elements of the language which a speaker of Fore manipulates to hold the hearer's attention.

I use the term 'hearer' rather than 'reader' since this group of people are only in recent years achieving any degree of literacy. But since the discussion does not include phonological aspects of cohesion in Fore, this presentation would apply equally to written materials in Fore, with the following limitations: (i) many context-sensitive arrangements, which are often considered performance liberties, do not appear when the language is written rather than spoken; (ii) the number of verb forms used to cover the same content is drastically reduced, and many of the verbs are shortened to their stripped-down forms; and (iii) more non-verb referential items appear when the immediate social context is removed.

In focussing on syntactic aspects of Fore, I am not attempting to present a grammar of Fore. That has been done in Scott 1978. Neither am I attempting to present an analysis of style according to the various discourse genres in the Fore repertoire (c.f. Longacre

1972; Scott 1973). Rather, in considering cohesion on Fore at the discourse level, I am focusing on those devices within his syntax which the Fore speaker either may or must use to bind sentences together into a coherent whole.

The devices under discussion are grouped under the two main headings: those which involve cataphoric reference, and those which are anaphoric. The sample texts demonstrating usage of these devices are then presented.

2. CATAPHORA

Cataphoric reference in Fore is of three types, of which the main one is the forward-looking switch-referencing system. The others involve cataphoric inflection or pronoun usage that is separate from the switch-referencing system, and the introduction of longer passages of direct speech.

2.1 THE (CO- AND) SWITCH-REFERENCING SYSTEM

Typical of Papuan-type languages, Fore is a co-referencing and switch-referencing language. Although, as pointed out by Li and Lang (1979: 309), most Papuan-type languages have what may be considered some kind of ergative case marking, they are syntactically nominative-accusative. It is the agent of transitives which shares semantic and syntactic properties with the subject of intransitives. (Co- and) switch-referencing systems align with this agent/subject combination. Thus the notorious medial verb of Papuan languages anticipates whether the agent or subject of a following verb is to be the same as, or different from, its own.

In Fore, all conjoining of clauses is achieved via the morphology of medial verb forms. There are no free-form conjunctions whatever, which is unusual even for Papuan languages, since most exhibit a mixture of free-form conjunctions and medial verbs (see e.g. Franklin 1971: 36, 40; Wells 1979: 15, 32).

In Fore, the co-/switch-referencing system applies to co-ordinating structures. (Subordinated forms, on the other hand,

generally give no anticipation of the following subject/agent. These are exemplified in Section 1.2.) Both co- and switch-referencing forms anticipate a following subject/agent, with switch-referencing forms also incorporating a separate inflection for their own subject/agent. Co-referencing forms mark three types of relationship: either sequential action, as shown in (1), simultaneous action (2), or general co-ordination (3). In each example the last morpheme of the first verb anticipates the subject/agent of the following one. In forms (1) and (2) only, the bracketted portion may be omitted to produce a stripped-down form giving a much closer syntactic binding between the two actions.

- (1) mǎe-ma(gi-na) wa-'k-iy-e.
 get-sequence-conjoiner-he₁ go-future-he₁-indicative
 'He will get (it) and (then) go.'
- (2) mǎe-'te(-gi-na) wa-'k-iy-c.
 get-simultaneity-conjoiner-he₁ go-future-he₁-indicative
 'He will take (it).'
- (literally: "He will get and go.")
- (3) mǎe-nta-na wa-'k-iy-e.
 get-coordination-he₁ go-future-he₁-indicative
 'He will get (it) and (he will) go.'

There is only one basic form for switch-referencing verbs in Fore, irrespective of the timing relationship between the actions. Example (4) illustrates how the switch-referencing verb in Fore anaphorically reflects its own subject/agent, while also anticipating that of the following verb.

- (4) maey-a:-'ka-na wa-'k-iy-e.
 get-he₁conjoiner-he₂ go-future-he₂-indicative
 'When he gets (it) another will go.'
 'literally: 'He₁ will get and he₂ will go.'

Haiman (1980: 188) notes a similar arrangement for Hua. He points out that in Hua it is the presence of two subject/agent referents, one anaphoric and one anticipatory, which marks and switch-referencing forms. In co-referencing forms, the overt anaphoric

referent is obligatorily omitted.

In both Fore and Hua, the cataphoric referencing system very strongly binds what a speaker utters, by guiding the hearer to anticipate the performer of an action about to be discussed.

In previous years this switch-referencing system has been labelled 'chaining' (see e.g. McCarthy 1965: 5), but it is by no means a simple chaining system linking actions lineally (see e.g. Reesink, 1982). Embedding abounds, which prevents simple chaining (see Scott 1973: 5).

The structure which shows this lack of complete linearity most transparently is what I have termed the 'paralleled' sentence. This occurs when the switch-referencing system anticipates a certain subject/agent, but the following verb does not reflect that subject. Rather, the anticipated subject is further down the line. A simple example is given in (5).

- (5) ká: 'waina-ba ína: tã-m-e-gí-'ta,
one person₁-focus taro us-give-he₁-conjoiner-we₃
 to kã: 'waina-ba ágo tã-m-e-gí-'ta,
another one person₂ yam us-give-he₂-conjoiner-we₃
 ago mãy-un-e.
already get-we-₃indicative

'One person has already brought us taro, and another, yams.'
 (literally: *'One person gave us taro, another person gave us yams, and we already received (them).'*)

Here each -'ta (underlined) preceding the comma anticipates the agent of the final action. It is as though the speaker has brought us to a junction, then left us there while he brings in his other piece of information, before continuing on with his narration. By means of the anticipatory subject/agent marker, he has held the hearer's attention during the diversion, and has thus used switch-referencing to maintain the cohesion of his discourse.

Another aspect of the co-/switch-referencing system is seen during the change from single to multiple subject/agent reference,

where the single is considered a unit within the multiple reference. (I use the phrase 'single to multiple' to cover any change to a greater number, and 'multiple to single' to cover any such change to a lesser number.) The acceptable way of telegraphing a single to multiple change in Fore is to use a switch-referencing form, as in (6).

- (6) ká: 'wae 'íy-e-gí-nisi a-wáe-ge
 one woman₁ ascend-she₁-conjoiner-they₂ her-husband-and

tum-es-e.
 descend-they₂-indicative

'A woman went up and then came down with her husband.'
 (literally: 'One woman ascended and (she?) and her husband descended.')

As with many structures seeking to reflect real life, there is often potential ambiguity in a statement such as (6). There is no structural reason here for the woman to be considered as returning with her husband, although this would be the preferred initial interpretation apart from any context to the contrary. Exactly the same form could be used were another person to have returned with her husband. This may be why occasionally a co-referencing form is used, as in (7), although this is considered a performance error when uttered in isolation, and needs a specific context to be considered acceptable.

- (7) ? ká: 'wae 'í-ma-gi-na a-wáe-ge
 one woman₁ ascend-sequence-conjoiner-she₁ her-husband-and

tum-es-e.
 descend-they₁-indicative

'A woman went up and came down with her husband.'

Note that in (7) the anticipatory morpheme (underlined) must anticipate the same subject/agent as for the verb to which it is affixed. To anticipate a different subject, as in (8), results in confusion, thus breaking down the cohesion, and is considered unacceptable.

- (8) * ká: 'wae 'í-ma-gi-nisí a-wáe-ge
 one woman₁ ascend-sequence-conjoiner-they₁ her-husband-and
 tum-es-e.
 descend-they₁-indicative

'A woman went up and then came down with her husband.'

While single to multiple changes are signalled by switch-referencing forms, multiple to single changes involve co-referencing forms, as seen in (9). It should be noted that again the anticipatory morpheme does not reflect the actual subject/agent to follow (as the unacceptable alternative in (9) illustrates), but reflects what the structure of the grammar itself would have expected.

- (9) tasíge-bá { i-ma-gi-ra
 we₁-focus { ascend-sequence-conjoiner-we₁ } ná-bi-né
 * i-ma-gi-∅ { ascend-sequence-conjoiner-I I } I-alone-myself
 tũm-uw-e.
 descend-I₁-indicative

'We both went up but I was the only one to come down.'
 (literally: 'We both ascended and I alone descended.')

To have used a switch-referencing form would also have been totally unacceptable (10), since the single is already included within the multiple reference in a part-to-whole relationship.

- (10) tasíge-bá { * iy-e-ga-ra
 we₁-focus { ascend-we₁-conjoiner-we₂ } ná-bi-né
 * iy-e-ga-∅ { ascend-we₁-conjoiner-I₂ } I-alone-myself
 tũm-uw-e.
 descend-I₂-indicative

'We both went up but I was the only one to come down.'

A further potential ambiguity arises when two switch-referencing forms occur in sequence, as in (11). Is the subject/agent of the third verb the same as or different from that of the first? There is no adequate structural provision made for the hearer to determine

3. ANAPHORA

Anaphora in Fore is made up largely of inflection of the verb. Other devices which also give cohesion to discourse by anaphoric means include demonstratives and pronouns, and repetition of verbs in a different form.

3.1 ANAPHORIC COHESION VIA INFLECTION

Fore, as are other Papuan languages (see Wurm 1975: 185), is highly inflecting. It makes use of both subject/agent and object reference in its verb structure.

Subject/agent reference has already been seen in every illustration given thus far, and reflects both person and number (16-18). By this means the speaker continues to refer back to participants introduced earlier, thus maintaining strong cohesion throughout his discourse.

- (16) yaga: wa-y-e.
pig₁ go-it₁- indicative

'The pig goes.'

- (17) áe-ge nâe-gé wa-us-e.
he-and I-and₁ go-we(dual)₁- indicative

'He and I both go.'

- (18) tíge-bá w-a:w-e
you(plural)₁- focus go-you(plural)₁- indicative

'You are all going.'

Object reference is confined to certain verbs. Three-place verbs invariably reflect their indirect object (19). Some two-place verbs reflect the direct object (20), while other two-place verbs choose not to (21).

- (19) na-ba: yáya: a-m-uw-e.
my-father₁ pig him₁-give-I-indicative

'I give my father a pig.'

- (20) yaga: a-ga-uw-e.
 pig₁ it₁-see-I-indicative
 'I see a pig.'
- (21) yaga: máey-uw-e.
 pig get-I-indicative
 'I receive a pig.'

Haiman (1980: 200) notes that in Hua such reference marks human objects: direct objects of transitives, indirect objects of ditransitives. Fore marks non-humans also, as in (20), but usually uses the third singular form for non-humans, irrespective of the actual number being referenced.

Both indirect and direct object referents make use of the same prefixal paradigm, with interpretation of the kind of object in each instance being made on the basis of the particular verb root. Again, these inflections contribute to the cohesion of a discourse by referring back to participants introduced earlier.

Noun phrase arguments are not usually repeated once they have been introduced. This omission of noun phrases in subsequent clauses is itself a powerful cohesive device in Fore. Actions are thus bound together by common arguments, as will be seen shortly in the two illustrative texts.

3.2 ANAPHORIC DEMONSTRATIVES AND PRONOUNS

As mentioned above, noun phrases are not usually repeated once they have been introduced. When, however, a text digresses and then returns to a previous referent, the referent will commonly be reintroduced by an anaphoric proform: either a demonstrative noun phrase (22), or some type of relative clause construction (23).

- (22) ... $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pi} \quad \text{ntágara} \\ \text{that} \quad \text{man} \\ \text{pabí} \quad \quad \text{ntágara} \\ \text{particular} \quad \text{man} \\ \text{kana:} \quad \quad \text{yagara} \\ \text{aforementioned} \quad \text{man} \end{array} \right\} \dots$

'... the man (already) referred to ...'

The above may be used in various ways. They may function as demonstrative pronouns or demonstrative adjectives, as in (25) and (26) respectively, or they may function as locational referents (27). They may also incorporate the two basic locational suffixes (28, 29) or the directional suffixes (30-32). Adverbial forms also exist (33). (Initial accents are dropped when immediately followed by another accent.)

- (25) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pí-'pa} \\ \text{that-focus} \\ \text{mó-'pa} \\ \text{thatdownthere-focus} \end{array} \right\} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{áe-'ena-wé.} \\ \text{he-genitive-thing-indicative} \end{array}$
 'That is his.'

- (26) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pi} \\ \text{that} \\ \text{mo} \\ \text{thatdownthere} \end{array} \right\} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{ntága-ba} \quad \text{áe-'ena-wé.} \\ \text{pig-focus} \quad \text{he-genitive-thing-indicative} \end{array}$
 'That pig is his.'

- (27) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pí} \\ \text{there} \\ \text{mó} \\ \text{downthere} \end{array} \right\} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{mi-nt-íy-é.} \\ \text{be-perfect-he-indicative} \end{array}$

- (28) $\text{pi-'tá} \quad (\text{or: } \text{mo-'tá}) \quad \text{mi-nt-íy-é.}$
 there-at downthere-at be-perfect-he-indicative
 'There he is.'

- (29) $\text{pi-'pí} \quad (\text{or: } \text{mo-'pí}) \quad \text{mi-nt-íy-é.}$
 there-in downthere-in be-perfect-he-indicative
 'He is in there.'

- (30) $\left\{ \begin{array}{lll} \text{pi-'tí} & (\text{or: } \text{pi-'tá-'i}) & \text{wa-y-e.} \\ \text{there-to} & \text{there-at-to} & \text{go-he-indicative} \\ \text{mo-'tí} & (\text{or: } \text{mo-'tá-'i}) & \text{tum-íy-e.} \\ \text{downthere-to} & \text{downthere-at-to} & \text{descend-he-indicative} \end{array} \right\}$
 'There he goes.'

- (31) $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{pi-'pí-nti} & \text{wa-y-e.} \\ \text{there-in-to} & \text{go-he-indicative} \\ \text{mo-'pí-nti} & \text{tum-iy-e.} \\ \text{downthere-in-to} & \text{descend-he-indicative} \end{array} \right\}$
 'He is going in there.'

- (32) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pi-'tá-sa} \\ \text{there-at-from} \\ \text{pi-'pí-sa} \\ \text{there-in-from} \\ \text{pi-'tí-sa} \\ \text{there-to-from} \\ \text{pi-'pí-nti-sa} \\ \text{there-in-to-from} \\ \text{but not: * pi-sá} \\ \text{there-from} \end{array} \right\}$ kana-y-e.
 come-he-indicative
 'Here he comes.'
 in (to)
 (literally: 'From at (to) he comes.'
 to

- (33) pí-ya: (or: mó-ya:) p-íy-e.
 that-like thatdownthere-like do-he-indicative
 'He does (it) like that.'

Of these demonstratives, only pí 'that' in its various forms is widely used as a referential device aiding textual cohesion. The remaining demonstratives are usually used only as situational referents, tying a text to its real world context.

As mentioned earlier, first and second person pronouns may be used thematically, bringing the hearer back from a diversion. This will be seen shortly in the second sample text. Apart from such usage, pronouns are redundant in the sense that the inflection of the verb carries the major cohesive load, with pronouns being used mainly for emphasis.

3.3 COHESION VIA 'TAIL-HEAD' LINKAGE

A third type of anaphoric cohesion is the repetition of a verb in a medial form. In Fore, a verb which does not have any

cataphoric referencing (i.e. a final or a subordinate form: 'tail') may be repeated in medial format (as 'head') to continue the utterance, and so maintain cohesion. This may be done using either a co-referencing form (34) or by switch-reference (35).

(34) ... máe-'k-iy-e. máe-ma-gi-na ...
 get-future-he₁-indicative get-sequence-conjoiner-he₁
 '...he will get (it). When he gets (it), he will ...'

(35) ... máe-'k-iy-e. máey-a:-'ki-ni ...
 get-future-he₁-indicative get-he₁-conjoiner-they₂
 '... he will get (it). When he gets (it), they will ...'

A proform is also common when this repetitive device is used. The medial from in (35), for example, could just as easily have used the root for 'do', as seen in the alternatives presented in (36, 37).

(36) ... máe-'k-iy-e. pí-ya: p-é-'ki-ni ...
 get-future-he₁-indicative that-like do-he₁-conjoiner-they₂
 '... he will get (it). When he does that, they will ...'

(37) ... máe-'k-iy-e. áe p-e-'ki-ni ...
 get-future-he₁-indicative where do-he₁-conjoiner-they₂
 '... he will get (it). When he does so, they will ...'

This type of linkage appears to be widely used in Papuan languages (see e.g. Potts, 1982). In Fore, such repetition is widely used in oratory, and lends itself admirably to written format as Fore speakers become literate. The device itself enables longer statements to be broken into smaller and more manageable pieces for both slow writers and slow readers, without losing anything of the cohesiveness of the total text.

3.4 PARAGRAPH MARKERS

The 'tail-head' linkage just outlined serves much like the mortar in house-building. Does it bind the bricks together or, as someone has asked, does it really keep them apart? In a sense the repetition of a verb in a different form informs the hearer that a

certain section of the discourse is complete (e.g. a semantic paragraph). But while separating such paragraphs, it also binds them together.

Another such thematic device is the occurrence of paragraph markers or thought separators. In Fore, the most common such device is the word *pígoyé* in its various forms. To the chagrin of prescriptive educationists I have labelled its English meaning as 'all right'. Variations of this word may be seen introducing the first sample text, and at various spots throughout the second. It has no syntactic linkage with what precedes it, but is often co-referenced to that which follows.

In similar vein are *pabígoyé* 'completely finished' (which occurs at the end of the second text, but may also occur as a paragraphing device), *pabíyé* 'finished' and *píyé* 'so'.

4. SAMPLE TEXTS

4.1 'THE LIZARD'

At this point we shall look at two sample texts in Fore to demonstrate some of these cohesive devices. The first text chosen was collected as a written text by a newly literate Fore speaker, and is regarded as completely grammatical by those who have since heard it read.

(38) 'THE LIZARD,' a Children's Story narrated by Joel Kavare.

- a) *pígo-yá*
all right-juxtaposition
(so)
'Now ...'
- b) *ko'i-wáma-ba* *pa-nk-agú-ta* *mi-nt-íy-é.*
lizard-agent-focus *sun-genitive-base-at* *be-perfect-it-indicative*
(lizard) *(in sunshine)* *(it was)*
.. there was a lizard basking in the sun.
- c) *mi-nt-é-gí-na*
be-perfect-it-conjoiner-he
(it was and he)
Then ...

- d) *mási-ntó* *w-a:-gí-na-ba*
boy-diminutive *go-he-conjoiner-it-focus*
(little boy) *(he went and it)*
 ... a little boy went by and ...
- e) "kagú *pa:'pá:-'pa:'pá:-ntó-wé"* *u-nta-na,*
dust *uncle-uncle-diminutive-indicative* *say-coordinate-it*
(he is a dusty little uncle) *(it said, and it)*
 ... it said: "That is my dirty little uncle," and ...
- d) *aragá-nto* *w-á:-gí-na-ba*
girl-diminutive *go-she-conjoiner-it-focus*
(little girl) *(she went and it)*
 ... a little girl went by and ...
- g) " *a'pa: ráre-'táre 'á'to-ntó-wé "*
grease smeared-smeared niece-diminutive-indicative
(she is a grease-smeared little niece)
- l-y-e..*
say-it-indicative
(it said)
- '... it said: "That is my lovely little niece."

... which may explain why little boys kick lizards, but little girls let them be!!

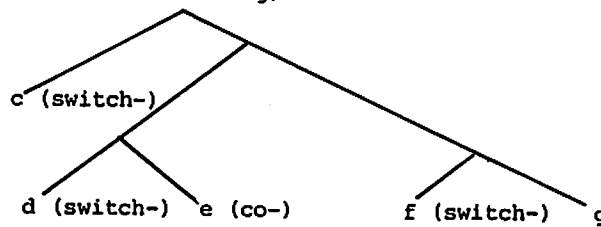
The text starts typically with an attention-getter, the paragraphing *pígoyé*, in (a). Clause (b) then introduces *ko'i* 'lizard' as subject/agent, along with its location in space. Once the stage has been set, the final verb form in (b) is repeated in medial form in clause (c). This repetition of the type given earlier in (35), binds the introduction to the remainder of the text. Noun phrases have not been repeated; their omission reflects the strong cohesion between (b) and (c).

The switch-referencing form of (c) indicates that a different subject/agent (*mási-ntó* 'boy') will occur in (d). In turn, the switch-referencing form of (d) indicates a different subject for (e). Although not stated, the subject in this context can only be interpreted as *ko'i* 'lizard' who is doing the talking.

Note that in (e) the co-referencing form *untana* 'it said, and it' serves to break the discussion concerning the boy from that concerning the girl, while still maintaining cohesion of the whole. This co-referencing form anticipates that *ko'i* 'lizard' will be the subject or agent of a following clause. This occurs in (g), but not before clause (f) with its new subject *aragáto* 'little girl' has intervened.

The intrusion of clause (f), my 'parallel' sentence exemplified earlier in (5), demonstrates that this Papuan discourse is not simply one of clause-chaining, but of hierarchical structure. As diagrammed in (39), clauses (d) and (e) are closely linked, as are (f) and (g), with clause (c) reflecting the stage set for both.

(39) Semantic Cohesion of (38: c-g):



While (39) above may express the semantic cohesion of these five clauses, the grammatical structure is somewhat skewed, as one would expect in real language. If the syntax were totally synchronised with the semantic hierarchy here, (d) would be in switch-referencing form in anticipation of (e), as would (f) in anticipation of (g). They are! The combination (d-e) would be co-referenced in anticipation of the (f-g) combination, which it is! And clause (c) would be co-referenced in anticipation of the combination (d-e-f-g). But it is not! Thus while (39) may display the semantic structure of the communication, (40) reflects the syntactic cohesion.

'ma:	kára:-ba	a-yá:
this	casuarina-focus	where-like
(this)	(this casuarina tree)	(how will you do)
pú-'kib-en-e-ma''		y-u-gú-Ø
do-future-you-indicative-quote		say-they-conjoiner-I
		(they said and I)

Now while we were putting on the roof, some of the workers came over and asked me what I would do about the casuarina tree nearby, ...

k) nae-bá to pí kára:-ba
 I-focus another that casuarina-focus
 (I) (another) (that casuarina tree)

a-ga-gá-'te-gi-Ø
 it-see-see-simultaneity-conjoiner-I
 (I looked at it and I)

... so I took another look at that casuarina tree ...

l) pfgo "áira'kú-gasí-ma-gi-Ø ká:'pa-bá
 all right fell-completive-sequence-conjoiner-I copper-focus
 (so) (I will fell it and I) (iron roof)

a-'ta-'k-uw-e'' o-'tá-'te-gi-Ø
 it-put-future-I-indicative say-put-simultaneity-conjoiner-I
 (I will put it on) (I decided and I)

... and decided to fell it while I was putting the roof on.

m) pfgo "áira'kúy-iy-ó'' u-wái-mi-'t-ó-gi-ni, they
 all right fell-you-imperative say-them-give-completive-I-conjoiner-
 (so) (you fell it) (I told them and they)

So I told them to fell it, ...

n) pfgo kára:-ba aira'kú-'t-á:w-e.
 all right casuarina-focus fell-past-they-indicative
 (so) (casuarina) (they felled)

... and so they felled it.

o) aira'kú-'t-ompé-'pa uwa: kampá tá'ku-nt-omé-ntana-ga
 fell-past-we-focus nothing not fall-perfect-it-thing-concerning
 (when we felled it) (concerning it not falling properly)

iga'ná: ūbu-'á-'ta-ma, pabí áoso yá:-nama
 vine tie-it-put-sequence particular green tree-thing
 (rope) (they tied it and) (that green tree thing)

kampá áira'kú-nta yá:-nama, pai-bú-máe-'te
 not fell-thing tree-thing pull-do-get-simultaneity
 (that unfelled tree thing) (they pulled it to and fro and)

wa-'te kana-'te pu-ma
go-simultaneity come-simultaneity do-sequence

kana: iga'ná:-bá aerisá-'kas-ú-gu-na
aforementioned vine-focus break-completive-they-conjoiner-it
(that rope) (they broke it and it)

But when we felled it, so that it did not fall the wrong way, they tied a rope to that *!?!* tree and pulled it to and fro until the rope broke ...

p) kana: yá-ba ta'kú-gasí-ma
aforementioned tree-focus fall-completive-sequence
(that tree) (it fell and)

kana: ná:-nte-'pá pabígo aigasá:ba-'ma
aforementioned house-my-focus finished wreck-sequence
(that house of mine) (it was completely wrecked and)

a'yá:-'wae wá-'tá-y-e.
all-totality go-past-it-indicative
(it was totally gone)

... and that tree fell and completely demolished that house of mine.

q) a'yá-'wae wá-t-á:gi-na
all-totality go-completive-it-conjoiner-it
(it was totally gone and it)

It completely demolished it ...

r) náe 'pi-'tá-'i-ba wáni taoséni kína
my there-at-to-focus one thousand kina
(there) (my one thousand kina)

wa-gá-i-'ta-y-é.
go-completive-past-it-indicative
(it was completely gone)

... and with it went a thousand dollars of mine.

s) na-mo 'pú-ma mi-ga-gá-'te-gi-Ø
my-nose do-sequence be-repeat-repeat-simultaneity-conjoiner-I
(I was sorry) (I was there and I)

So there I was sorrowing ...

t) to a-'ta-'te-gi-Ø
another it-put-simultaneity-conjoiner-I
(again) (I left it and I)

... but I started again ...

- u) to ká:-'i-sa yá: u-máe-te
 another one-to-from tree over-get-simultaneity
 (other timber) (I went and got and I)
 kana-ma-gí-Ø,
 come-sequence-conjoiner-I
 ... and went and got some more timber, ...
- v) to a-mpa-gí-Ø
 another overthere-sequence-conjoiner-I
 (again) (I arrived and I)
 ... and came ...
- w) ki-'t-úw-e.
 build-past-I-indicative
 (I built)
 ... and built again.
- x) to mé nká-'ta-'t-ô-gi-ni
 another downthere it-put-completive-I-conjoiner-they
 (again) (down there) (I put it and they)
 Again I put money down ...
- y) ki-'t-á:-ga-na
 build-completive-they-conjoiner-it
 (they built and it)
 ... and they built (this time a grass-roofed house), ...
- z) pígo má: mône-ntó-ba
 all right here money-diminutive-focus
 (so) (here) (little money)
 asú-bagibú-wá-'t-a:-gí-Ø
 up-finish-go-completive-it-conjoiner-I
 (it has finished and I)
 ... so now what little money I had left has all disappeared.
- A) ma: kái-'t-ô-ga-na
 here rouse-completive-I-conjoiner-it
 (here) (I have lost it and it)
 I have used it all up now ...
- B) uwá: wai-nt-íy-é.
 nothing be-perfect-it-indicative
 (nothing) (it is)
 ... and there is nothing left.

- C) pabígo-yé.
 finish-indicative
 (it is finished)
 'That is the end.'

This sadly humorous tale is tied together with both co-referencing and switch-referencing verb forms. I shall overlook the wealth of cataphoric referencing in these forms, in order to focus on some of the other means of cohesion exemplified in this text.

Firstly, 'tail-head' linkage occurs twice, in clauses (o) and (q). A type of 'tail-head' linkage by means of proform also occurs in both (g) and (x).

Demonstratives used anaphorically are pí 'that' in (k), pabí 'that particular' (o), and kana: 'the aforementioned', once in (o) and twice in (p). The use of kana: is particularly interesting. The speaker has already twice shown his frustration by the addition of -nama 'thing' to yá: 'tree' in (o). Now he further vents his frustration by the use of kana: three times in quick succession: kana: iga'ná:bá 'that rope,' kana: yába 'that tree,' and kana: ná:nte'pá 'that house of mine.' In so doing, he maintains an extremely high degree of cohesion with his text at this point. He also uses to 'another/again' four times in similar fashion later on in (t-x), much the same effect.

One of the cohesive devices used effectively here is the thematic use of the first person pronoun nâe 'I'. It helps set the stage in clause (a), then appears three times more when the text returns to first person subject/agent usage. The 'agent-line,' so called by Longacre and Levinsohn (1978: 106), is displayed in (42).

(42) Agent-line of (41):

SUBJECT/AGENT	CLAUSES	OVERT REFERENCE
<i>I</i>	a-g	naebá 'I'
<i>they</i>	h	uwóma kina'miba 'many people'
<i>I</i>	i	naebá 'I'
<i>they</i>	j	ká:'isa kina'miba 'some people'
<i>I</i>	k-m	naebá 'I'
<i>they</i>	n-o	∅
<i>tree</i>	p-q	kana: yába 'that tree'
<i>money</i>	r	wáni taoséni kína 'K1000'
<i>I</i>	s-x	(náe 'my' in clause r)
<i>they</i>	y	∅
<i>money</i>	z	má: mónentóba 'this money'
<i>I</i>	A	∅
<i>money</i>	B	∅

My last comment concerns usage of the paragraphing pígoyé 'all right.' In this next it occurs six times. Three of these introduce direct speech, in (d), (l) and (m), while one introduces action as a result of the direct speech, in (n). A fifth introduces the concept of the tree being a problem, in (j), while the last introduces the final comment about the rest of the money also disappearing, in (z).

5. SUMMARY

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 293) state that "typically, in any text, every sentence except the first exhibits some form of cohesion with a preceding sentence." This is certainly applicable to Fore, where inflections often refer back to noun phrase arguments given in earlier clauses. They further state that "some sentences may also contain a cataphoric tie, ... but these are much rarer, and are not necessary to the creation of a text." In Fore, however, a high functional load is placed on cohesion cataphorically, through its anticipatory co- and switch-referencing system.

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