

COHESIVE DEVICES IN ANJAM DISCOURSE

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February, 1992

TABLE OF CONTENTS

0.	Introduction	1
0.1.	Cohesion	1
0.2.	Procedure	1
1.	Description	2
1.1.	Lexical cohesive devices	2
1.1.1.	Vocabulary items from a common semantic domain	2
1.1.2.	Parallel expressions	5
1.1.3.	Pronouns	8
1.1.4.	Substituting specific for generic	8
1.1.5.	Synonyms and antonyms	10
1.1.6.	Repetition of the verb	11
1.1.7.	Sandwich structures	11
1.2.	Pronouns	12
1.3.	Role	15
1.4.	Conjunctions	17
1.4.1.	Temporal conjunctions	18
1.4.2.	Non-temporal conjunctions	20
1.5.	Tail-head linkage	21
1.6.	Verb morphology	22
1.7.	Order	24
2.	The absence of these cohesive devices as indicative of boundaries of larger grammatical units	27
3.	Conclusion	27
4.	Bibliography	28

0. Introduction

Anjam is a non-Austronesian language of Papua New Guinea, spoken by approximately 1300 people living in four villages (two on the coast and two inland) located 30 miles south of Madang on the road leading to Saidor. The people have had mission contact from earliest times, and today there are small Lutheran churches in Lalok and Bom villages. The sources for the data in this paper came from texts narrated by men from Lalok village and also from texts written by young men from Lalok.

0.1. Cohesion

It has been my desire in writing this paper to discover the customary ways in which speakers of the Anjam language link together sentences within larger grammatical units, such as paragraphs and episodes; and to show how their absence is used to indicate the boundaries between these larger units. To discover what constitutes natural orderly progression in Anjam texts has been my aim throughout. It will be shown that different discourse genre exhibit some differences in the way they tie texts together. A number of important surface structure cohesive devices in the Anjam language have been brought to light as a result of writing this paper, which the following analysis will show.

Therefore, my basic definition of cohesion is that it is a feature that binds or holds together grammatical units in a discourse in such a way that the discourse proceeds naturally and in an orderly and logical manner. It will be argued in this paper that the Anjam cohesive devices presented qualify as cohesive markers.

0.2. Procedure

A variety of narrative, procedural, descriptive, and hortatory texts were taken from (1) primarily oral discourse by male adult speakers in Lalok village, which were recorded on cassette tape, transcribed, and then analyzed with cohesion in mind. Particularly well-told narratives were chosen, and the charting method used was that of Robert C. Thurman (Grimes, 1975). The charting allowed me to see at a glance a number of surface structure cohesive devices that, hopefully, when applied to the translation of the New Testament into the Anjam tongue, will result in a readable, orderly, and natural style. Texts used were also taken from (2) written discourse by native speakers, which were subsequently typed and corrected for spelling errors.

1. Description

In this paper, I will describe seven devices that occur in Anjam discourse by which cohesion is accomplished. Devices that are characteristic of certain discourse types will be indicated. Many examples will be adduced as evidence that each of the seven features listed does indeed serve as an important cohesive device in Anjam discourse.

1.1. Lexical cohesive devices

Seven different categories of devices that can be described as giving lexical cohesion to a discourse are evident in the Anjam texts I examined. Words that are related in the minds of the native speakers provide an important means of weaving texts together.

1.1.1. Vocabulary items from a common semantic domain

The most general type of lexical cohesion regards the common semantic domain of words that give lexical cohesion to a text, as the following examples will show.

- (1) Qari wo tuwe nangi qobun gogeteb. Nangi qobun
Cassowary and chicken they canoe boarded. They canoe

gogetsiba qari a jarq di awoej.
boarded and cassowary he seat on sat.

'A cassowary and a chicken boarded a canoe. They boarded the canoe and sat on the seat.'

The word used for 'seat' in this sentence is one particularly used for the plank on which people sit or on which cargo is placed in canoes. Hence, it is a word that is semantically related to canoes in the village peoples' minds.

- (2) Wangaim a bej. Bonaqa minjej, "Ni
Crocodile he came. He came and he said to him, "You

kunjan ani."
eater big (are)."

'A crocodile came. He came, and he (a man) said to him, "You are a big eater."'

The word for 'big eater' here is a strong one, often associated in the people's minds with animals like crocodiles or pigs.

- (3) Nangi alile dia awesoqneb. Awesonabqa sonib
They beach on sat. They sat and sandflies

nangi na uninjroqneb.
they were biting them.

'They sat on the beach. They sat and sandflies were biting them.'

Sandflies and the beach are words belonging to the same semantic domain in the Anjam people's thinking.

- (4) Nangi wauq dia wauoqneb. Waueqnabqa
They garden at were working. They were working and

sen tulan kankannjrej.
sun very much made them hot.

'They were working at the gargen. They were working and the sun made them very hot.'

The village people associate their work in the gardens very closely with sweating under the hot sun.

- (5) Qolo jige a neiesoqnej. Neiesonaqa aqa
Night late at he was sleeping. He was sleeping and his

ai aqa buga laqnej.
mother her ghost was wandering about.

'Late at night he was sleeping. As he was sleeping, the spirit of his mother was wandering about.'

The people closely associate the wandering about of dead relatives' spirits with late at night.

Integrally related to the cohesive device of common semantic domains are expectancy chains, which also are a lexical cohesive device that occur in all types of Anjam discourse genre. They are an important tool in Anjam for giving a text naturalness and orderly progression and thus ease of reading and understanding. This has been demonstrated again and again as the village people have had opportunities to practice reading in their own language, especially reading early efforts at Scripture translation. It has been demonstrated that often when they hesitate in their reading or read haltingly at any one place, it is due to the lack of cohesion resulting from the absence of expectancy chains. These hesitations occurs much less frequently when the people read texts produced from oral discourse and those based on discourse written by native speakers, since these much more reliably follow the language rules of expectancy chaining. Expectancy chains refers to

the use of words naturally expected to follow the words just used, as the following examples will show. They occur frequently in procedural discourses, apparently for the purpose of making each step of a procedure as expected and easily anticipated as possible in order to allow for it to be retained in the minds of the learners.

- (6) A quni ojej. Ojsiqa di oyoosi gilej.
He oar held. He held it then he rowed and he went.

'He held the oar. He held it and rowed and went (sailed) along.'

Oars, rowing, and going are all expected to follow one another in a matter of course.

- (7) Nangi bosib tamo nangi uratnjrnab
They came and men they they left them and

nangi mandamq aieb.
they to the ground went down.

'They came (in the boat) and let off the men, and they (the men) went down to the ground (disembarked).'

Being let off a boat must be followed by going down to the ground, if the language is to be natural and expected in Anjam.

- (8) Nam tulan koba koroiyosim namyuo tunguyosim pulon
Wood very much gather and fire light and flame

bumbunyoqnqas.
will really go up high.

'When (you) gather very much wood and light it the flame will really go up high.'

This procedural discourse explained to a small child^c uses a very obvious expectancy chain concerning the common use and characteristics of fire.

- (9) Sen a oqimqa di wau a qatrentimqa a bole
Sun it will go up then garden it light and it really

yugwas.
will burn.

'When the sun goes (high) then burn off the (new) garden, and it will really burn well.'

This example is from another procedural discourse given to young children making the natural association of the hot sun with the successful burning off of new gardens.

- (10) Qanin a namoqna qamimqa a sub miligiq di
 Taro garden it first dig and it hole inside in
 sqas.
 it will stay.

'First dig the taro garden and then it (the taro) will stay inside the hole.'

The expectancy chain of 'dig' and 'hole' makes for ease of understanding in this procedural discourse.

- (11) Sen koba oqsiqa mam enjrej.
 Sun much came up and hunger (it) gave to them.

'There was much sun and (so) a famine occurred.'

The people often associate famines with long heat and dry spells in the Anjam-speaking area.

- (12) A talq gilsiq di soqnej.
 He house went and inside he was.

'He went into the house and was (there).'

This is an example of an expectancy chain that would not be needed in English, since the clause 'and was (there)' would not be required by the grammatical constraints of English as in Anjam.

- (13) Nangi tal walatosib gam koba walatosib
 They houses decorated and road big decorated and
 rariosib ban ojoqneb.
 lined up and hands were shaking.

'They decorated the houses and decorated the big road and (then) lined up and were shaking hands (with the big leader who came to visit).'

The lining up and shaking of hands is inseparately connected with the decorating of the houses and particularly of the big road in the Anjam community.

1.1.2. Parallel expressions

The following are examples of parallel expressions, which lend cohesion to a discourse by utilizing different ways of saying essentially the same thing. By using parallel expressions, the speakers and writers are bringing about surface structure lexical ties. I have found these to be especially common in hortatory and procedural discourses in

Anjam. In the case of hortatory discourses, the speaker uses these parallel expressions to impress his exhortations upon his hearers and to drive home his point. In the case of procedural discourses, these parallel expressions serve to indelibly impress upon the mind of the hearer the procedure in order for him to remember how to follow the instructions given.

- (14) Kumbra uge gagoq bqas iga singila na
 Fortune bad to us will come (if) we strength with

pailyqom. Jagwa uge bqas segi segi
 we will pray. Rumors bad will come (if) each each

singilaqom.
 we will stand strong.

'If bad fortune comes to us, we will strongly pray.
 If bad rumors come (about us), we will stand strong.'

In a sermon text, the speaker was encouraging his hearers to be strong and pray by repeating his exhortation in different words.

- (15) Was a padalqo iga olo osi bqom.
 Brother he has fallen down (if) we back take will
 come.

Tamo ugeqo iga osimqa Qotei aqa
 Man has gone bad (if) we take him God His

banq di atqom.
 hand in we will put.

'If a brother has fallen down (in sin), we will receive him back (into fellowship). If a man has gone bad, we will put him into God's hand (care).'

The pastor is here persuading his congregation to deal kindly with a fellow villager who has behaved unseemly by reinforcing his point with parallel expressions.

- (16) Gago medabu na iga ugeteqnum. Gago areqalo a
 Our mouth with we are doing wrong. Our thinking it

lana lana gileqnu.
 nothing nothing is going.

'With our mouth we customarily do wrong. Our thinking is going around and around without (convictions).'

The pastor in talking about new year's resolutions is recounting forcefully with parallel expressions the misdeeds of the past year.

- (17) Iga na titsim gago jejamuq atqasai.
We pull him and our on skin we will not put.

Iga na qaja are bulyetqajqa tigeltqasai.
We fight heart to change we will not stir up.

Iga na anjam bei bei minjqasai.
We talk other other we will not speak to him.

'We will not pull him and (forcefully) bring him
to our side (thinking, convictions). We will not stir
up fighting in order to change his heart. We will not
say all kinds of talk to him (to persuade him).'

A village leader in the midst of turmoil over what to
do about a village man whom the church people wanted to
coerce into changing his pagan ways urged them through a
variety of expressions not to force him against his will.

- (18) Awa qasunyoqnimqa iga mati wauqasai.
Rain doesn't let up we first will not work.

Awa koba boqnimqa iga lana tarinosim kokoqyoqnqom.
Rain much comes we just wait and we will watch.

'If the rain doesn't let up, we will not work at first.
If much rain comes, we will just wait and watch.'

In this procedural discourse about how to plant a
garden, the Anjam speaker is impressing his point upon the
memory of the learner with parallel expressions.

- (19) Iga gento koba yeqnum.
We tabooing (law) much we are doing.

Iga Qotei aqa medabu kalil gingenyeqnum.
We God His mouth all are cutting.

'We all customarily are doing much breaking of (God's
law.) We all customarily are disregarding God's
commands.'

These are two ways of saying the same thing in Anjam
hortatory discourse for emphasis.

- (20) Ni anjam palontqa osim mati Qotei
You talk to preach are about first God

pailyqam. Ni tamo ungasari nangi anjam minjrqa
pray to. You men women them talk to say to

osim mati Qotei minje, "Aqaryaibime."

are about first God say to (imp.), "Help me (imp.)."

'When you are about to preach, first pray to God.
When you are about to say (God's) talk to men and
women, first (pray) to God (and) say, "Help me."

This final example of parallel expression as a lexical cohesive device in Anjam discourse is much like the Hebrew prophets' employment of parallelism in their poetry to reinforce their message.

1.1.3. Pronouns

Pronouns add lexical cohesion to a text by having in them a part of the meaning of the noun which they refer back to. Since pronouns are such an important lexical cohesive device, they will be dealt with as a separate device in Section 1.2. below.

1.1.4. Substituting specific words or expressions for generic words or expressions

This kind of cohesive device is especially common in descriptive, procedural, and hortatory discourse in Anjam. This device adds descriptive detail, flavor, and color to Anjam discourses. In the case of hortatory discourses, it serves to drive home the message more forcefully, and in procedural discourse it helps the hearers to retain the information given. It is a similar device to parallel expressions in that it gives cohesion to a text by utilizing different expressions for saying essentially the same thing.

(21) Nango tal qeliani. Nango asa tal.
Their house very big. Their spirit house.

'(It was) their very big (important) house. (It was) their (ancestral) spirit house.'

In this sentence of a discourse describing the old customs of the ancestral spirit worship house, it is first referred to euphemistically as their important house and then specifically identified as the magic house where ancestral spirits were worshiped and communicated with.

(22) Jejamu kalil je agu kalil ya miligiq di
Skin all section mid all water inside there
soqnej.
was.

'(His) whole body, (that is, his) whole mid-section was inside the water.'

In this and the following example of sentences in a narrative discourse, descriptive detail is highlighted by generic-specific expressions, a lexical cohesive device.

- (23) Popa a oqsiq di awoosiqa singa ban kalil
Ghost it went up and there sat and legs hands all

lubtekritonaqa solu ani bul solu trugu
curled up and house insects' like house white ants'

goge di awesoqnej.
top on it was sitting.

'The ghost went up and there sat and curled up all its legs and hands and like an insects' house (specifically) like a white ants' house it was sitting on top.'

- (24) Iga kalil Qotei aqa tamo. Iga Qotei aqa dungenge,
We all God His people. We God His girls,

Qotei aqa ungasari, Qotei aqa tamo.
God His women, God His men.

'We are all God's people. We are God's girls, God's women, God's men.'

In this sentence of a hortatory discourse, the preacher is driving home the universality of God's goodness by first generically referring to all God's people and then categorizing them specifically by age and sex, a device lending lexical cohesion to the text.

- (25) Was a ugeqo, une yqo, iga
Brother he has gone bad, sin he has done, we

oqom.
will receive him.

'If a brother has gone bad, if he has committed a wrong, we will receive him.'

In this sentence of a hortatory discourse, the generic 'gone bad' is specifically identified as having committed a sin.

- (26) Wau juwoqne. Nam qomelenoqne.
(New) garden clean up. Wood cut up.

'Clean up the new garden area. Cut up all the old trees, stumps, etc.'

- (30) A wauq dena bosiqa aqaratej. A neiesoqnej.
He garden from came and rested. He laid down.

'He came from the garden and rested. He laid down.'

These uses of synonym as a lexical cohesive device in Anjam discourse demonstrate the ways in which they tie the text together in a way naturally suited to the people's way of thinking.

- (31) Ni moiqasai. Ni nam sqam.
You will not die. You life will be.

'You will not die. You will be (with) life.'

The antonym 'life' is given in contrast with the idea of death in this sentence of a hortatory discourse in a natural lexical tie. The specific name for this kind of structure, in which the first sentence states in the negative the idea reiterated in the second half, is often called a *litotes*. The next example is also of this sort.

- (32) Iga uge kalil. Iga sobolesai.
We bad all. We exist not good.

'We are all bad (sinners). We do not live well.'

1.1.6. Repetition of the verb

This lexical cohesive device is one that is so important in Anjam discourse that it merits separate treatment as a major cohesive device in Section 1.5. below under the heading of 'Tail-head linkage.'

1.1.7. Sandwich structures

I have observed the use of sandwich structures in several places in Anjam narrative discourse that serve to give cohesion to the texts as well as to mark the boundaries of the paragraphs of which they are a part. The following paragraph in an Anjam narrative text about the various activities of a villager on a particular day is bounded at its beginning and end by a nearly identical expression.

- (33) Bati di e qe qa laqnem. Ijo angro nangi
Day that I fish for was going. My sons they

gaigai kondan uyeqnub deqa nangi tulau
always yams are eating so they very

asginjreqnu. Nangi tulau wagmeinjreqnu.
are tired (of that). They very are hungry for meat.

Deqa e na minjrem, "Ningi mati soqniye.
So I said to them, "You first stay (here).

E alile aisiy ijo qobun gogetosiy
I beach will go to and my canoe will get into

qe koba osi bqai." E degsi minjrem.
fish much I will get and come." I thusly told them.

Deqa e qe qa laqnem.
So I fish for was going.

'That day I was going for (the purpose of) fishing. My sons are always eating yams, so they are very tired (of that). They are (customarily) very hungry for meat. So I said to them, "You first stay (here). I will go to the beach and get into my canoe and I will get much fish and come (back)." I told them that. So I was going for (the purpose of) fishing.'

1.2. Pronouns

Pronouns serve as an important cohesive device in Anjam discourse in that a person or thing is traced through a discourse by the use of them. In Anjam discourse, after a participant has first been introduced, he is thereafter referred to by either a pronoun, demonstrative, or verb affix unless confusion would result as to who is being referred to, in which case he would again be overtly identified by his name, kinship role, or whatever. In the following narrative text, the use of pronouns is demonstrated and explained. The characters are a young boy named Koro, his several companions, their parents, and a crocodile.

(34) 1. Nami angro bei aqa nam Koro soqnej. 2. A
Before child a his name Koro was. Him

wangaim na ej deqa aqa sa anjam e saqai.
crocodile got so his story talk I will story.

3. Angro kinilala nangi kalil gaigai yalqajqa
Children little they all always to swim

giloqneb. 4. Giloqnsibqa gaigai menin qai
were going. They were going and always stones small

di yaq waiyeqnabqa
those in the river they were throwing and

aieqnaq nangi olo bunuqna
they were going down and they again afterwards

kumboqosib aioqnsib menin gai
were going under and going down and stones small

di oqnsib olo poloqneb.
those they were retrieving and again were surfacing.

5. Ariya bati bei nangi olo gileb.
All right day on a certain they again went.

6. Olo gilsibqa yayalosibqa menin waiysib
Again they went and they swam and stones threw and

kumbuqoqnsi oqnsib olo
they were going under and (stones) getting and again

poloqneb. 7. Ariya ololokoba na
they were surfacing. All right again together

waiysib nangi olo kumbuqosibqa nangi
they threw it and they again went under and they

qudei poleb. 8. Onaqa a polosai.
some surfaced. That occurring he did not surface.

9. A torei yaq dia loumej. 10. Onaqa
He completely river in was lost. That occurring

nangi angro qudei poleb qaji tigelosiba
they children some surfaced who they stood and

tarineb. 11. Tarinonab ugeinjrej.
waited. They waited and nothing happened.

12. A kumbuqej di torei wangaim na
He went down under when completely crocodile

osiq ulanej. 13. Ariya nangi
got him and he fled. All right they

polosiba jaraiosi gogetosibqa
surfaced and fled and went up out (of the water)

goge dia tigelesonab
top (of the bank) on they were standing and

wangaim na osi oqsiq yuwal goge
crocodile took him and went and ocean surface

dia otej. 14. Wangaim na soqtsiq
on he was floating. Crocodile lifted him and

aqa qore goge dia neiotej. 15. Onaqa
his back up on he laid him. That occurring

nangi jaraisi aisib qureq dia brantosai.
they fled and went and village at they did not go.

16. Nangi jaraisiba nanuq di soqneb.
They fled and bush at they were.

17. Onaqa nango meani tarinonab
That occurring their parents were waiting

ugeinjrej. 18. Onaqa nangi qa
nothing happened. That occurring them for

nameb. 19. Nameb nangi
they searched. They searched and they (children)

jaraisibqa nanuq di sonab itnjreb.
fled and bush in they were and they found them.

Osi nenemnjreb, "Ningi kiyqa
That occurring they asked them, "You why

jaraionub?" 21. Onaqa mareb, "Iga
have fled?" That occurring they said, "We

angro qujai Koro wangaim na oqo." 22. Ariya
child one Koro crocodile got." All right

nango meani na qure nangi minjronab
their parents village (people) they told them and

nangi beleneb.
they came.

'1. Before there was a child named Koro. 2. A crocodile nabbed him. I will tell a story about that. 3. The little children were all always going to swim. 4. They were going and always throwing pebbles in the river and would go in and retrieve the pebbles and come back up. 5. All right, one day they went again. 6. They went again and were swimming and they were throwing pebbles into the water and going in and getting them and coming up again. 7. All right, they all threw a pebble in and again went under and some of them surfaced. 8. But he did not surface. 9. He was completely lost in the river. 10. So those children who surfaced stood (on the bank) and waited. 11. They waited but nothing happened (he didn't appear). 12. He had submerged and a crocodile had completely taken him and fled. 13. All right, they had surfaced and fled and gone

up out of the river and were standing up (on the bank) and the crocodile had taken him and gone and was floating on the surface of the ocean. 14. The crocodile lifted him up and laid him on his (the crocodile's) back. 15. Then they fled and went but did not come to the village. 16. They fled and stayed in the bush. 17. So their parents waited for them but nothing happened (they didn't show up). 18. So they searched for them. 19. They searched and they found them wherethey had fled to the bush and were. 20. Then they asked them, "Why did you flee?" 21. Then they said, "A crocodile got one child Koro." 22. All right, their parents told the village people and they came.'

Note that Koro is referred to simply by a pronoun after his introduction by name in line 1. When another single character is referred to in line 12, namely, the crocodile, he is immediately again overtly referred to in line 13, since he is a single character who must not be confused with Koro, who as the main participant of the story continues to be referred to by pronouns or verb affixes. All the young boys (including Koro) are referred to by pronouns after their introduction in line 3 up until line 10, where the young boys who surfaced when Koro did not are referred to overtly as a new group of boys, now identified as some children, Koro excepted. This new group minus Koro is hereafter referred to by the pronoun. When their parents are introduced in line 17, the children continue to be referred to by pronouns only, and when confusion would result between them and their parents, the latter are again referred to overtly (line 22), and the earlier introduced and more prominent group, namely, the young children, continue to be referred to by pronouns (as is the case with Koro). So we see it is a general rule in Anjam narrative discourse to refer to main participants by pronouns as exclusively as possible after their initial introduction by name or description.

1.3. Role

In a number of narrative Anjam texts, kinship role is used to identify and trace participants through a text as a means of cohesion, as the following example shows.

(35) 1. Una bei aqa angro aiyel yaq na
 Woman a her children two river in

kilakilanti oqeb.
 were netting fish and went up (river).

2. Onaqa una dena aqa angro qelikoba
 That occurring woman that her child older

di minjej, "Ni jaga osimqa jaga
that she said to him, "You sibling take sibling

wo eri soqniye. Awesoqniqbqa
with here stay (imp.) While you (pl.) are sitting,

e mati qari aqa wauq oqsiy bqai."
I first cassowary his garden will go to I will come."

3. Minjnaqa a nawi osiqa nangi
She having told him, he sibling took and they

yaq di awesoqneb. 4. Onaqa
river (bank) there were sitting. That occurring,

aniqali a oqej. 5. Onaqa aqa angro
mother she went up. She went up and her child

aqa nawi osiqa nangi di tarineb.
his sibling took and they there waited.

6. Tarinonab qoloej. 7. Onaqa aqa
They waited and it became night. So her

angro a maej. 8. Aqa nawi kinala di
child he cried out. His sibling younger that

mungum qa akamej. 9. Akamonaq maej
milk for cried. He cried and he (the elder) cried

out, "Ai. Jaga bubu emeno."
"Mother. Sibling (for) milk is crying out."

10. Degonaq ugeiyej.
That occurring, nothing happened. (No one came.)

11. Onaqa a tigelosiq aqa nawi osiq
That occurring, he stood and his sibling took and

a walwelej. 12. Walwelosiq nawi osi
he walked. He walked and sibling took and

sumsiq geibe aqa talq di brantej. 13. Geibe
he went and in-law his house at arrived. In-law

qa brantosiq di soqnej. 14. Onaqa
to he arrived and there he stayed. That occurring

geibe na minjej, "Ningi ijo naun ombla
in-law said to him, "You (pl.) my wife with

giliye." 15. Onaqa nangi wauq gileb.
go (imp.)" That occurring, they to garden went.

16. Nawi a moiej qaji talq di atsiqa geibe
 Sibling he died that house at put him and in-law

 wo soqneb.
 with they were.

'1. A certain woman and her two children were netting fish as they were going up river. 2. Then that woman said to her elder offspring, "You take (your) sibling and stay here with (your) sibling. While you're sitting, I'll first go up to the cassowary's garden and (then) I'll come (back)." 3. When she told him (that), he took (his) sibling and they (two) sat at the river. 4. Then the mother went up. 5. When she went up, her child took his sibling and they waited there. 6. They waited and night fell. 7. Then her child cried out. 8. His little sibling cried for milk. 9. He cried and (the elder sibling) yelled, "Mother. Sibling is crying for milk." 10. But no one came. 11. Then he stood up and took his sibling and he walked. 12. He walked and took (his) sibling and went and arrived at his in-law's house. 13. He arrived at his in-law's house and was there. 14. Then the in-law said to him, "You (pl.) go with my wife." 15. So they went to the garden. 16. He put (his younger) sibling, who had died (by this time), in the house and he was with the in-law.'

Kinship roles are very important in the Anjam community in referring to participants. That is why kinship role is often used, rather than pronouns, as a cohesive device. In some stories, it has been observed that the participant other than the one who is the topic is regularly referred to by kinship relationship to that main participant rather than by a pronoun.

1.4. Conjunctions

Conjunctions by their very nature serve as cohesive devices; that is, they are linking words and join together grammatical units. Conjunctions in Anjam that function on the discourse level are primarily of two kinds: temporal and non-temporal. The temporal conjunctions encode relations between grammatical structures that are chronological, whereas non-temporal conjunctions encode non-chronological relations. Temporal adverbs as well serve as a cohesive device, as the next sub-section will show.

1.4.1. Temporal conjunctions and adverbs

Temporal conjunctions and adverbs are common in narrative discourse, since the narration of chronologically-related events is the primary characteristic of this discourse genre. In the following portion of an Anjam narrative discourse, the importance of temporal conjunctions and adverbs as a cohesive device in Anjam is apparent. The temporal conjunctions and adverbs are in all CAPS.

- (36) 1. NAMI tamo bei a laqnej. 2. GAIGAI nam
Before man a he was around. Always tree
- qeli qujai unoqnej. 3. Qebari nangi
big one he was watching. Birds they
- boqnsibqa nam di aqa gei tulan koba
were coming and tree that its fruit very much
- deqa qebari GAIGAI boqnsibqa nam gei di
so birds always were coming and tree fruit that
- uyoqneb. 4. Tamo di a laqnsi
were eating. Man that he was going around
- GAIGAI unoqnej. 5. ARIYA degsi GAIGAI
always he was watching. All right, thusly always
- yoqnej. 6. BATI BEI a neiej. 7. NEBEONAQA
he was doing. Day one he slept. The next day
- NOBQOLO AMBRU a tigelosiq NAMI oqej. 8. Qebari
morning dark he got up and before went. Birds
- nangi bosaisonab a NAMI oqej. 9. Oqsiq
they had not come yet and he before went. He went
- nam goge di awesoqnej. 10. Sonaq BUNUQNA
tree top on he was sitting. He was and later
- qebari nangi beleneb. 11. Belenosib awoeqnab
birds they came. They came and were sitting
- tamo a DENA ban waiysiq ojelenoqnsiq
man he at that time hand threw and was grabbing them
- mandamq breinjroqnej. 12. ARIYA degyeqnaqa
to ground was throwing them. All right, doing that
- BATI DI buga tamo a bej. 13. Bosiq minnej,
time that ghost man he came. He came and told him,

"Was, qebari waiyim bem."
 "Brother, birds throw (imp.) and let them come."

14. Onaqa qebari beqnab
 That occurring, birds were coming and

ojelenoqnsiq mandamq waiyeqnaq
 he was grabbing them and to the ground throwing them

tamo mandamq di soqnej qaji a na osiq
 man ground on was that he was getting them and

uyoqnej. 15. Uyeqnaq BATI DI
 was eating them. He was eating them and time that

a poiyej, "O, tamo endi buga tamo."
 he understood, "Oh, man this ghost man."

' 1. ONCE UPON A TIME a certain man lived. 2. He was ALWAYS was spying on a certain large tree. 3. (As he watched,) birds would come and because the tree's fruit was so plenteous, they would come and eat the fruit. 4. That man was hanging around and ALWAYS watching this. 5. ALL RIGHT, he was ALWAYS doing this. 6. ONE DAY, he was sleeping. 7. AT DAYBREAK WHEN IT WAS MORNING AND STILL DARK, he got up and went BEFORE (THE BIRDS CAME). 8. When the birds had not come yet, he came AHEAD (OF THEM). 9. He came and sat up in the tree. 10. He was there and LATER the birds came. 11. They came and sat down (in the tree) and THEN the man reached out and was catching the birds and throwing them to the ground. 12. ALL RIGHT, he was doing like that and AT THAT TIME a ghost man came. 13. He came and said to him, "Brother, throw the birds down here." 14. So as the birds were coming he was catching them and throwing them to the ground, and the man who was on the ground was taking and eating them. 15. As he was eating them AT THAT TIME he (the man in the tree) understood, "Oh, this man is a ghost man."

It is evident from the above portion of an Anjam narrative text that a vital element of the cohesiveness of Anjam narrative discourse would be missing if not for the presence of temporal conjunctions and adverbs. Note the sentence-initial occurrences of the Anjam particle translated by the English phrase "All right." It serves as somewhat of a time orienter in Anjam narrative discourse, indicating that a certain series of events are completed and that the hearer is ready to be oriented to the development of the next series of events.

1.4.2. Non-temporal conjunctions

Non-temporal conjunctions are common in hortatory discourse, since they serve as logical relators. The following portion of a sermon in an Anjam hortatory text shows the extensive use of conjunctions such as "therefore," "but," "because," "if," and "in order to," which I have indicated in all CAPS.

- (37) 1. Une bei e qa bqas DI e osi
 Trouble a me to comes if me they will take and
 gilsib tonto talq di atqab.
 and go and jail house in they will put me.
2. Une bei brantqas DI iga kalil are
 Trouble a will come if we all livers
 gulubeigwas. 3. E Qotei anjam qa are
 will be with heavy. I God's talk about liver
 gulubeigwasai. 4. DEQA ningi
 will not be with a heavy. Therefore, you (pl.)
- Qotei anjam qa wauoqniye. 5. DENA
 God's talk about be working (imp.) Because of that
 e gulube oqai DI ungum. 6. DI KIYAQA? Qotei a
 I heavy will get if maski. Why is that? God He
- bunuqna e osim sawa boleq di atqas.
 later me will get and place good at he will put me.
7. Bini iga Qotei aqa tamo. 8. DEQA iga segi
 Now we God His people. Therefore, we each
 segi are qalqom, "Iga Qotei aqa wau
 each liver will hit (think), "We God His work
 geregere ojonum kio?" 9. Was
 very well have been holding to or not?" Brother
 bei endi moiqas DI iga aqa jejamu qa are
 a here will die if we his body about liver
 qalqasai. 10. Aqa jejamu padalqas
 will not hit (think). His body will perish
 DI aqa qunun oqwas. 11. A moiqas
 but his soul will go up (to God). He will die
 DI a olo nambile sqas. 12. DEQA iga
 if he again (with) life will be. Therefore, we

a qa are ugeigwasai. 13. Iga
him about liver will not be bad for us. We

gaigai degsim are qalsim sqom.
always thusly liver will be hitting and will be.

14. DI KIYAQA? Mandamq endia Qotei a ni
Why is that? On ground this God He you

metmqas DI ni oqwam. 15. Pol
will call you if you will go up (to Him). Paul

a tonto talq aiej DI a ulonosai.
he jail house to went but he didn't fall (lose faith).

16. A Qotei geregere dauryqajqa DEQA a
He God very well to follow in order to he

singila na tigelesoqneb. 17. A singila na
strength with stood. He strength with

tigelosai QAMU a nami ulonej QAMU.
did not stand if he before fell would have.

' 1. IF a trouble comes to me (I am accused of it), they will take me and put me in jail. 2. IF a trouble comes, we all will have heavy hearts. 3. I won't have a heavy heart where God's word is concerned. 4. THEREFORE, you (pl.) be working for the sake of God's word. 5. IF I get a heavy BECAUSE OF THAT, maski. 6. WHY IS THAT? God will later get me and take me to a good place. 7. Now we are God's people. 8. THEREFORE, we each will think, "Are we holding God's work very well?" 9. IF a brother here dies, we will not think about his physical body. 10. His physical body will perish BUT his soul will go to God. 11. IF he dies, he will again have life. 12. THEREFORE, we will not be with sad hearts for him. 13. We must always think thusly. 14. WHY IS THAT? IF God calls you (while you are) on this ground, you will go (to Him). 15. Paul went to jail, BUT he didn't lose faith. 16. He stood strong. 17. IN ORDER TO follow God very well, he stood strong. 18. IF he had not stood strong, he WOULD HAVE lost faith long ago.

1.5. Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage is a major cohesive device in Anjam. In tail-head linkage, the beginning of a sentence repeats all or part of an event in the preceding sentence. It serves as a sort of back-reference. Sometimes only a pro-verb

occurs. This kind of cohesive device moves the event-line along smoothly and thus provides crucial cohesion to the text. The following portion of an Anjam narrative text provides typical tail-head linkage of this sort.

- (38) 1. Bati bei wagme kalil koroosibqa nango maruro
Day one animals all gathered and their feast
- koba atqa osibqa qaireb.
big to plan they were about and they discussed (it).
2. Qairosibqa bati ateb. 3. Mareb,
They discussed (it) and day they set. They said,
- "Bati deqa iga goiqom. Goisim lou
"Day on that we will cook. We will cook and dance
- tugwom." 4. Degsi marsibqa bati waiyeb.
we will do." That they said and day they set.
5. Bati waiysib kalil koroeb.
Day they set and all they gathered.
6. Koroosib lou tugwajqa walaeb.
They gathered and dance in order to they dressed up.
7. Walaosib nango ingi kalil namyuoq di
They dressed up and their food all fire on
- ateb. 8. Atsib nangi lou tuoqneb.
they put. They put it and they dance were doing.

' 1. One day all the animals gathered and as they were about to have their big feast they discussed it. 2. They discussed it and set a day. 3. They said, "On that day we will cook. We will cook and (then) dance." 4. When they said that, they set a day. 5. Having set a day, they all gathered (on that day). 6. They gathered and dressed up to dance. 7. They dressed up and put their food on the fire. 8. When they put it, they danced.'

1.6. Verb morphology

Verb tense adds cohesion to procedural, hortatory, and narrative texts in Anjam. Procedural texts are cast in the future tense, narrative texts in the past, and hortatory texts in the present (with exhortations to future performance given in future tense, illustrations given in past tense, and hypothetical situations given in future tense). The fact that all the verbs in a text have the same tense adds a feature of cohesion to the text. For instance,

if there is a change of tense and the tense span is broken, there is a boundary and lack of cohesion, as when a narrative is told in past tense and then there is a switch to present tense at the peak. Examples of brief Anjam texts of varying genre in which the verb tense remains the same and, thus, serves as a cohesive device are given below.

Hortatory text:

Present tense -

- (39) Iga Qotei aqa tamo. Ningi Qotei anjam qalie.
 We God His people (are). You God's talk know.
- Iga powo eqnum. Iga Pol aqa anjam
 We understanding are receiving. We Paul his talk
- sisiyeqnum.
 are reading.
- 'We are God's people. You (pl.) know God's word.
 We are receiving understanding. We are reading Paul's talk.'

Future tense -

- (40) Satan a e qa bqas di e ugeqai.
 Satan he me to will come if I will go bad.
- Deqa singila na pailyiye. Iga segi Qotei anjam
 So strength pray (imp.) We each God's talk
- qusimqa poigwas. Yamban tamo bei
 will hear and understand. Bush man a
- bosim mergwasai.
 will not come and tell us (God's word).
- 'If Satan comes to me, I will go bad. Therefore
 strongly pray. Each of us will hear God's word and
 understand it. A bush man will not come and tell us.'

Past tense -

- (41) Perau a Rawa angro soqnej. A na tamo bei
 Perau he Rawa man was. He man a
- gingenyonaga moiej. Deqa a tonto talq
 cut up and and he died. So him jail house
- di waiyeb.
 in they threw him.

Perau was a Rawa man. He cut up a man and he died.
So they threw him into jail.'

Procedural text:

(42) Ni ya dosim taqal gumatosim
You river will cross and other side go over to and

aisim banjer unsim olo
go and garden house you will see and again

bosim ya dosim tenetsim
you will come and river you will cross go over and

walwelosim ni Buram qureq di brantqam.
you will walk and you Buram village in will arrive.

'You will cross the river to the other side and go from there until you see the garden house, and then you will come back and cross the river again and walk a ways until you arrive in Buram village.'

It is notable about the Anjam use of tense as a cohesive device that the speakers and writers are very consistent in sticking to the same tense throughout the text without reverting to another tense, as if intent on maintaining the natural and orderly progression of the discourse.

1.7. Order

Chronological and logical order lend cohesion to a text. This section is related to section 1.4., where the focus is on the use of conjunctions as linking words joining together a series of grammatical units, which helps the reader to proceed naturally through the discourse. Here, the focus is on the expected *order* of events or procedures in the discourse. The ordering of main events or main procedures is expected. If they are out of order, a signal of some sort is required to show that the chain has been broken. Flashback and foreshadowing are examples of broken order. The feature of order is evident in the following two Anjam texts, the first of which is a narrative and the other procedural. Note the signaling used when an event is out of order.

(43) 1. Suwaneqnaqa nangi aiyel qun miligiq
As day was breaking they two bag inside

di sosibqa qun qujai di gentosib
in were and bag one that they cut and

puprugosib oqedeb. 2. Oqedosi
they jumped and got out. They got out and

gurgur ti sumeb. 3. Onaqa Kausi aqa
haste with they went. After that Kausi his

naugali wo bunu gilsib baun metnjrnab
wife with later they went and dogs called and

ugeinjrej. 4. Nangi
nothing happened. (The dogs didn't come.) They

nami puprugosib sumsib wagme nangi kalil
before they jumped and went animals they all

koroosib lou tuoqneb nango ambleq aieb.
had gathered and dance were doing their in midst went.

5. Ambleq aisibqa numqa yonabqa
In midst they went and to kill as they were about

qudei jaraieb qudei mandam miligiq qaji nangi
some fled some ground (live) inside that they

mandam miligiq aieb. 6. Qudei ya
ground inside they went. Some (live in) river

qaji nangi puprugosib ya miligiq aieb. 7. Qudei
that they jumped and river inside went. Some

bari ti nangi puprugosib jaraaiosib lan goge oqeb.
wings with they jumped and fled and sky above went.

8. Onaqa baun aiyel di bosibqa wagme bei
So dogs two those came and animal another

qalqa yonab sai nangi
to kill they were about to and they couldn't they

kalil jaraieb.
all had fled.

' 1. As day was breaking, while they both were inside the string bag, that one bag (several bags were inside one another) they cut through and jumped out and escaped. 2. They escaped and went off hastily. 3. Later after that Kausi and his wife went and call to the dogs, but none came. 4. They had before jumped out and gone and went into the midst of the animals that had gathered and were dancing. 5. They went into their midst and as they were about to kill them, some fled, the ground dwellers fled into the ground. 6. Some, the river creatures, jumped into the river. 7. Some, with wings, leapt up and fled going up into the sky. 8. So when those two dogs came and were about to kill the animals, they couldn't, they all had fled.'

The chronological ordering evident in this portion of Anjam narrative discourse is striking. In lines 3 and 4, the speaker stresses the point that it was later after the dogs had made their previous escape that the man and his wife came. In line 4, the animals had gathered before the dogs came into their midst. The commonly-used syntactical device to signal this flashback is the word nami ('before'). The events of lines 6 and 7 are signalled as contemporaneous with the events of line 5 by the syntactic device of lack of tail-head linkage sentence-initial. And in line 8, the animals all fleeing is prior in time to the dogs' inability to kill them.

- (44) 1. Sen a oqimqa di wau a qatrentimqa
Sun it will come then garden it you will light and
a bole yugwas. 2. Bini gago mandam endi a
it really will burn. Now our ground this it
degisi unu. 3. Sen bole oqimqa ni wauosim
like that is. Sun really will come you will work
ingi ingi kalil qatrentim a bole yusim
brush all you will light and it really will burn
'
mandam yuekritqas. 4. Amqa di ni wauqam.
ground will burn completely. Then then you'll work.
5. Nami moma nangi soqneb dego sai.
Before ancestors they lived it was like that not.
6. Nam banga qaleqnaq di nangi wauoqneb.
Tree leaves were dropping then they were working.
7. Bini iga degisi wauosaieqnum.
Today we like that don't work.

' 1. When the sun comes, then you are to light the (new) garden place and it will burn well. 2. Now our ground here is like that. 3. When the sun really comes, you are to work and light all the brush and it will burn really well and burn up the whole plot of ground. 4. Then, when that occurs, you are to work. 5. Before, when the ancestors lived, it wasn't like this. 6. When the leaves were falling, then they were working. 7. Now we don't work like that.'

Note in the above procedural Anjam discourse, the speaker stresses a chronological and logical order to the instructions given for beginning a new garden, and in several instances he breaks the order by overt grammatical markings. In line 1, he makes the point that when the dry

season comes, 'then' ('di') is the time to do the ground burning and clearing. In line 2 he reverts from future tense to present time by using the time word 'now' and the present tense verb. In line 4 two lexical units are employed to emphasize that when the conditions of line 3 are true ('amqa') 'then' ('di') is the time to work. Lines 5 and 6 are a flashback to the days of the ancestors, with a 'di' in the middle of line 6 emphasizing that when leaves fell, 'then' ('di') was when the ancestors customarily worked. And, finally, in line 7, the speaker reverts to present time with the time word 'now' and the present tense verb.

2. The absence of certain of these cohesive devices as indicative of boundaries of larger grammatical units

In Anjam discourse, such lexical cohesive devices as vocabulary items from a common semantic domain, expectancy chains, and sandwich structures, and such cohesive devices as pronouns, conjunctions, and tail-head linkage are found to occur within the larger grammatical unit of paragraph and not across its boundaries, due to change of subject, change of scene, or change of the speaker's perspective between paragraphs. For instance, in Anjam narrative discourse, the particle ariya occurs paragraph-initially instead of the normal sentence-initial tail-head linkage feature to indicate a different situation, orientation, or speaker perspective, or to indicate in some sense a completion of the events having taken place in the previous paragraph. Change of subject matter predictably cuts off expectancy chains in all types of Anjam discourse genre, though within the same discourse the similarity of subject between paragraphs is, of course, close enough to allow for some expectancy chaining. Vocabulary items changing from one semantic domain to another also may signal a cohesion breaker. Verb tense change and absence of tail-head linkage sentence-initial are other syntactic devices that can signal cohesion break and, hence, paragraph or episode boundaries.

3. Conclusion

In this paper I have attempted to present the major types of cohesive devices used in Anjam discourse. It is hoped that in the translation of the New Testament into the Anjam tongue, due attention and application will be given to the ways in which the native speakers employ these devices naturally in Anjam discourse.

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