

## COHERENCE DISCOURSE STRATEGIES OF *PASAMBAHAN*: MINANGKABAU CULTURAL DISCOURSE

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### Abstract

*Pasambahan* is one of the well-known spoken discourses in Minangkabau. It is a medium to demonstrate the speaking skills between a spokesperson on behalf of the host and a spokesperson on behalf of the guests in several traditional events in Minangkabau. This research reveals the phenomena of cohesion and semantic coherence in the *pasambahan* discourse. Therefore, this qualitative research aimed to find out the cohesive devices of the coherence relationship and the ways to achieve coherence in *pasambahan*. The data was taken from *Alur Panitahan Adat Minangkabau* book written by Jamin (2006). The results depict that as a discourse, *pasambahan* shows the symptoms of cohesion and coherence. The text coherence is achieved in two ways. The first one is done explicitly, which is marked by the reiteration of keywords, the use of consistent pronouns, and the use of conjunctions. The second one is done implicitly, where no lingual markers are used but the ideas are arranged in chronological orders and coherent meaning is achieved through semantic relationships between sentences which form the text.

**Keywords:** cohesion, coherence, cohesive devices, *pasambahan*

### Abstrak

*Pasambahan* adalah salah satu wacana lisan yang terkenal di Minangkabau yang digunakan media sebagai media komunikasi yang menunjukkan keterampilan berbicara antara juru bicara tuan rumah dan juru bicara dari pihak tamu pada beberapa acara tradisional di Minangkabau. Penelitian ini mengungkap adanya gejala kohesi dan koherensi semantik dalam wacana *pasambahan*. Oleh karena itu, penelitian kualitatif ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui perangkat kohesif wacana dan cara-cara untuk mencapai koherensi dalam *pasambahan*. Data dalam bentuk teks *pasambahan* diambil dari buku *Alur Panitahan Adat Minangkabau* yang ditulis oleh Jamin (2006). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa sebagai wacana, *pasambahan* menunjukkan gejala kohesi dan koherensi. Koherensi teks dicapai dengan dua cara. Yang pertama secara eksplisit yang ditandai dengan pengulangan kata-kata kunci, penggunaan kata ganti yang konsisten, dan penggunaan konjungsi. Yang kedua dengan cara implisit, yang tidak ditandai oleh pemarkah lingual tetapi ide disusun secara kronologis dan koherensi dicapai melalui hubungan semantik antara kalimat yang membentuk teks.

**Kata kunci:** Kohesi, koherensi, perangkat kohesif, *pasambahan*

## INTRODUCTION

*Pasambahan* is a type of Minangkabau oral literature that is commonly found in Minangkabau traditional ceremonies. Some examples are the inauguration ceremony of *Datuak* and *Panghulu* ‘Minangkabau traditional leader’, wedding ceremony, funeral, ceremonies related to the

construction of a house, and also ceremonies related to the birth of a child. In each ceremony, there is a series of events where *pasambahan* is used in conveying the purpose of the event. In a wedding ceremony, for example, the series of events are *pasambahan batuka tando* ‘*pasambahan* used in engagement ceremony’, *pasambahan* done before and after the banquet, *pasambahan* to pick up and take the bride, and *pasambahan* when asking the guests to leave the house.

*Pasambahan* is a conversation between two parties, namely *si pangka* ‘the host’, and *si alek* ‘the guest’ to convey the intention with respect. Each party has a *juru sambah* ‘spokesperson’ who has been chosen through deliberation. A spokesperson must memorize the words, expressions, sentences, proverbs, and verses which are often used and conveyed in *pasambahan* for a particular event. In the rest of this paper, the spokesperson of the host will be referred to as S1 and the spokesperson of the guest as S2.

*Pasambahan* comes from the word *sambah*, added by the circumfix *pa-/an*, which means a respectful and solemn statement, or words addressed to people who are glorified. People of different ages and social status may gather in the *pasambahan*. This makes all participants in the gathering have to use *kato malereng* ‘the style of language used among people who respect each other because of kinship or occupational relations’. This style of language is characterized by the use of typical expressions, proverbs, and verses.

In *pasambahan* there are several elements of Minangkabau culture such as mutual respect which is reflected in how to greet other people by calling him on his customary titles such as *Sutan, Malin, Bagindo* ‘title given to a married man’. Other cultural elements are the culture of democracy, precision, and rigor, as well as obedience to the custom. The value of mutual respect in *pasambahan* is also seen from the use of indirect statements or figurative language. In this case, the aim of using a figurative language is to show politeness to others. Besides, figurative language is more poetic and is characterized by many expressions, *pepatah petitih* ‘proverb’, *pantun* ‘verses’, as well as regular sentence arrangements, so that it sounds rhythmic and melodious (Djamaris, 2002).

Seeing from its linguistic characteristics, *pasambahan* can be classified as a discourse. It is usually in the form of a dialogue between S1 and S2 and consists of language units joined together into a unit of meaningful text. *Pasambahan* seems to meet the definition of discourse proposed by several experts. Brown & Yule (1983), for example, stated that discourse is a complete recording of language about communication events. Halliday & Hasan (2014) stated that discourse is not just a collection of sentences arranged without any relationship. The sentences that make up *pasambahan* as discourse are arranged in such a way that the hearers can feel the relationship between one sentence and the other. Schiffrin (1994) stated that discourse is language in use and is carrying out its functions. Meanwhile, Foley (1997) stated that the products and cultural practices of a society can also be referred to as discourse.

*Pasambahan* is indeed a cultural practice in Minangkabau society which functions as media of communication between people who are involved in a particular cultural event. A study by Kasih (1994) reveals that *pasambahan* fulfills seven textuality standards as proposed by De Beaugrande & Dressler (1981). They are (1) cohesion, (2) coherence, (3) intentionality, (4) acceptability, (5) informativity, (6) situationality, and (7) intertextuality. The seven standards can be explained as follows.

For cohesion and coherence, *pasambahan* discourse shows the order of words, phrases, clauses, and sentences that form a unified text. *Pasambahan* shows a semantic relationship between propositions which ultimately form a whole meaning. As for intentionality and acceptability, they are related to the attitude or intention of the spokesperson who produces the text and the attitude of the recipients who hear the text. Informativity shows an extension where the presentation is new or out of the estimation of the recipient of the text. As a text, *pasambahan* shows information from the forms of words used to strengthen the information that has been conveyed before. Even though *pasambahan* has its own pattern, speakers can add new words as variation and additional information. Situationality is related to a situation in which *pasambahan* is used. As previously stated, *pasambahan* is commonly used in traditional events such as weddings, funerals, and so on. Finally, intertextuality involves the dependency on knowledge of one text to the previous texts. The influence of the previous text is very important in *pasambahan*. For example, the content part of *pasambahan* depends on its opening part and closing part. The speakers' knowledge of the *pepatah petitih* 'proverbs', *pantun* 'verses', and other expressions will also greatly support the smoothness or fluency of the communication.

This paper tries to look at the integrity of *pasambahan* discourse that is formed by cohesion and coherence. The study of *pasambahan* with a discourse analysis approach is considered important because there have not been previous studies that looked at *pasambahan*, specifically, from a discourse perspective. Analyses of *pasambahan* have been carried out by several researchers such as Nuri (1977), Bakar (1997), Kasih (1994), Rosnilawati, Ermanto, & Juita (2013), Novianti (2017), and Denafri (2018). However, they analyzed *pasambahan* from different approaches. The first two writers, Nuri (1977) and Bakar (1997), looked at *pasambahan* from a literature point of view. In those research reports, they both focused on the *pasambahan* tradition as part of the culture of the Minangkabau people. Kasih (1994) analyzed *pasambahan* with the ethnolinguistic approach. In this research, he tried to look at *pasambahan* concerning the social and cultural life of his speech society by applying the theory of De Beaugrande & Dressler (1981). Rosnilawati, Ermanto, & Juita (2013) and Denafri (2018) analyzed *pasambahan* from pragmatic perspectives, speech acts in communication and politeness principle. Finally, the language style of *pasambahan* was analyzed by Novianti (2017). Besides those previous researches, research on a similar discourse was also carried out by Mulyana, Ramlan, & Wijana (2002), who discussed the discourse coherence of Javanese wedding speech that is known as *sesorah*. They focused on conjunctions which are used as lingual markers of discourse coherence which are directly related to the types and patterns of coherence.

In this paper, the author directed the objectives of conducting a study on *pasambahan* discourse in Minangkabau cultural ceremonies at two main areas, namely (1) the form of linguistic markers (cohesive devices) of the coherence relationship and (2) the ways to achieve coherence in *pasambahan*. This study is interesting to do due to the uniqueness of *pasambahan* discourse. The integrity of *pasambahan* cannot be analyzed by only looking at formal relationships between words, phrases, and sentences. A more in-depth study of the meaning of the sentences forming the text must be done because the language used in *pasambahan* is metaphorical. There are so many *pepatah petitih* 'proverbs' and *pantun* 'verses' that are meaningful in the *pasambahan* text. This means semantic studies of the *pasambahan* text need to be carried out first, and after that, the study of the integrity of the text can be carried out in more detail. In this paper, I analyzed the discourse unity by first analyzing the metaphorical meanings of the proverbs and verses contained in *pasambahan*. This paper describes four ways of achieving discourse coherence in *pasambahan*.

They are the reiteration of key words, the consistent use of pronouns, the use of conjunctions, and finally, the arrangement of ideas in a chronological order.

## METHODOLOGY

The research data that were in the form text of *pasambahan* were taken from one written source, that is, a book of collection of *pasambahan* entitled *Alur Panitahan Adat Minangkabau* written by Jamin (2006) which contains *pasambahan* used in Agam. The book contains a variety of *pasambahan* used in several cultural events in Minangkabau, but the writer only chose *pasambahan makan minum 'pasambahan conveyed before the banquet'* as the data used in this study. The data source is indeed old enough but is still relevant to be used in this present research since *pasambahan* is inherited from generation to generation without any significant changes related to the word choice and the language style.

The data analysis is carried out with a document review technique which is a qualitative research method. The use of this technique is intended in the framework of discourse analysis which aims to prove and explain the various ways to achieve coherence in *pasambahan*. Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents – both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material. Like other analytical methods in a qualitative research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2012). Document analysis involves skimming (superficial examination), reading (thorough examination), and interpretation. Skimming is a superficial examination to determine the part of the text that is directly related to the research topic. Then, reading as a thorough examination means that we have to take a closer look at the selected data and then perform coding and make category classification based on the theories employed in this analysis. They are the four ways to achieve coherence proposed by Oshima & Hogue (2006) and cohesion proposed by Halliday & Hasan (2014). The results of the data analysis are presented by using tables and descriptive explanations.

## ANALYSIS

In *pasambahan*, the text coherence is achieved in two different ways. The first one is done explicitly, which is marked by the reiteration of keywords, the use of consistent pronouns, and the use of conjunctions. The second one is done implicitly, where no lingual markers are used but the ideas are arranged in chronological orders. By so doing, the coherent meaning is achieved through semantic relationships between sentences which form the text.

### **Achieving discourse coherence through reiteration of key words<sup>1</sup>**

Reiterating keywords is the way to achieve coherence that is mostly found in the data. Reiteration of keywords might be in the form of REPETITION (repeating the exact same words), SYNONYMY (words that have the same meaning), ANTONYMY (words that are opposite in meaning). The data show a number of repetitive keywords such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The way to achieve the coherence of this discourse can be classified into coherence with linguistic markers, that is, coherence achieved explicitly by using cohesive devices. A coherence relation pattern may occur between paragraphs or between sentences.

Table 1. Reiteration of key words

Cohesive Devices	Repeated linguistic unit	Free translation	Coherence relation pattern between	
REPETITION	<i>manitah</i> (v)	speak	Sentences	
	<i>panitahan</i> (n)	remark	clauses	
	<i>hidangan</i> (n)	dishes	clauses	
	<i>mupakat</i> (n)	deliberation	clauses	
SYNONYMY	<i>baiyo</i> (v)= <i>barundiang</i> (v) = <i>bamupakat</i> (v)	discuss	sentences and clauses	
	<i>jalang</i> = <i>silau</i> (v)	visit	clauses	
	<i>mambaok kato jo mupakat</i> = <i>maambiak bana jo baiyo</i>	deliberate	clauses	
	<i>balayianyo nak sampai ka pulau</i> = <i>bajalannyo nak basampaikan ka bateh</i>	finishing the work that has started	clauses	
	<i>karajo nan bapokok</i> = <i>silang nan bapangka</i>	the host	clauses	
	<i>lompek dibari basitumpu</i> = <i>cancang dibari balandakan</i>	giving an appropriate reason for doing something	clauses	
	<i>capek kaki</i> = <i>ringan tangan</i>	diligent	clauses	
	<i>rokok bagiliang lah baisok</i> = <i>siriah bakapua lah bakunyah</i>	the work that has been finished	clauses	
	<i>dinan luruih makanan tali</i> = <i>dinan bungkuak makanan siku</i>	choosing the right way to do the right work	clauses	
	<i>kato surang dibulati</i> = <i>kato basamo bapaiyokan</i>	decision	clauses	
	<i>pandang jauhah balayangkan</i> = <i>pandang dakek batukiakkan</i>	take a look at all aspects	clauses	
	ANTONYMY	<i>tapi</i> (adv) vs <i>tengah</i> (adv)	side vs middle	clauses
		<i>jauhah</i> (adj) vs <i>dakek</i> (adj)	far vs near	clauses
<i>masuk</i> (v) vs <i>kalua</i> (v)		enter vs exit	clauses	

In *pasambahan*, REPETITION is the most commonly used cohesive devices found in the data. REPETITION occurs because of the frequent use of the words considered important to emphasize the subject in the context of a banquet. Repetition always occurs in almost all parts of *pasambahan*. The statement of S1 will be repeated by S2 and vice versa. The pattern of coherence that is formed can be between clauses or sentences. From the data sources that have been studied, the words listed in Table 1 above are the most commonly used ones. In other words, in *pasambahan* before a banquet, these keywords frequently appear.

Besides repetition of key words shown in the above table, the data also show that there are REPETITIONS of the whole sentences or utterances, not just words, done by the spokesperson of both parties. It is done systematically when giving a response to a statement or question. The following is an example of repetition in the *pasambahan*:

## (1) S1:

<i>Nan</i>	<i>manjadi</i>	<i>panitahan</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>Malin.</i>	<i>Maagak</i>
That	become	discussion	with	Malin	considering
<i>di hari</i>	<i>baiak</i>	<i>sahari</i>	<i>nangko,</i>	<i>limbago</i>	<i>hujan</i>
on the day	good	a day	this	container	rain
<i>lai</i>	<i>bapuhun,</i>	<i>pane</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>baraso,</i>	<i>karajo</i>
there is	have a tree	hot	there is	have taste	work
<i>dibari</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>bapokok,</i>	<i>silang</i>	<i>dibari</i>	<i>ba</i>
is given	that	basic	across	is given	with
<i>nan</i>	<i>pangka.</i>	<i>Iyo</i>	<i>di hari</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>kapatang</i>
that	beginning	correct	on the day	that	yesterday
<i>alah</i>	<i>disarayo</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>mudo</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>capek</i>
already	being asked	boy	young	who	fast
<i>kaki</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>ringan</i>	<i>tangan,</i>	<i>masuk</i>	<i>ka labuah</i>
feet	who	light	hand	enter	to the road
<i>tapi</i>	<i>kalua</i>	<i>ka labuah</i>	<i>tengah,</i>	<i>manibokan</i>	<i>padah</i>
the side	exit	to the road	the middle	give	invitation
<i>namonyo.</i>	<i>Kok</i>	<i>jauah</i>	<i>surek</i>	<i>talayang</i>	<i>kok</i>
its name	if	far	a letter	be sent	if
<i>hampia</i>	<i>padahan</i>	<i>tibo.</i>			
close	invitation	come			

‘On this very special day, the host has invited all the guests by asking young people to spread the invitations and to deliver messages.’

<i>Duduak</i>	<i>sabanta</i>	<i>diantaronyo</i>	<i>rokok</i>	<i>bagiliang</i>	<i>lah</i>
sit	for a moment	in between	cigarette	rolled	already
<i>baisok,</i>	<i>siriah</i>	<i>bakapua</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>bakunyah.</i>	<i>Pandang</i>
smoked	beetle leaf	have lime betel	already	be chewed	gaze
<i>jauah</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>balayangkan,</i>	<i>pandang</i>	<i>dakek</i>	<i>batukiakan.</i>
far	already	look forward	gaze	close	look down

‘In this event all the invited guests had gathered and had conversed with each other.’

<i>Satantang</i> about	<i>hampia</i> close	<i>nan</i> that	<i>batukiakan,</i> be held	<i>iyolah</i> correct-PART	<i>hidangan</i> dish
<i>nan</i> that	<i>ka tengah</i> put in the middle	<i>nan</i> that	<i>barupo</i> like	<i>mintak</i> ask	<i>dilieq</i> be seen
<i>nan</i> that	<i>baraso</i> have taste	<i>mintak</i> ask for	<i>dicubo,</i> have been tried	<i>balaianyo</i> the sailing	<i>nak</i> will
<i>sampai</i> arrive	<i>ka pulau,</i> to the island	<i>bajalannyo</i> walk	<i>nak</i> will	<i>basampaikan</i> be finished	<i>ka bateh,</i> to the limit
<i>dek</i> by	<i>niniak</i> elderly people	<i>mamak</i> uncle	<i>sarato</i> and	<i>sudaro</i> relatives	<i>kito</i> our
<i>nan</i> who	<i>hadir.</i> present				

‘After paying close attention to the situation, the dishes are available, ready to be eaten by all guests.’

Before giving any response, S2 repeats the whole sentence said by S1 above to make sure that what he has heard is correct. He gives a response at the end of his saying as follows:

S2:

<i>Nan</i> that	<i>manjadi</i> become	<i>panitahan</i> discussion	<i>jo</i> with	<i>Malin.</i> Malin	<i>Maagak</i> considering
<i>di hari</i> on the day	<i>baiak</i> good	<i>sahari</i> a day	<i>nangko,</i> this	<i>limbago</i> container	<i>hujan</i> the rain
<i>lai</i> there is	<i>bapuhun,</i> have a tree	<i>paneh</i> hot	<i>lai</i> there is	<i>baraso,</i> have taste	<i>karajo</i> work
<i>dibari</i> is given	<i>nan</i> that	<i>bapokok,</i> basic	<i>silang</i> across	<i>dibari</i> is given	<i>ba</i> with
<i>nan</i> that	<i>pangka.</i> beginning	<i>Iyo</i> correct	<i>di hari</i> on the day	<i>nan</i> that	<i>kapatang</i> yesterday
<i>alah</i> already	<i>disarayo</i> asked	<i>anak</i> boy	<i>mudo</i> young	<i>nan</i> who	<i>capek</i> fast
<i>kaki</i> feet	<i>nan</i> who	<i>ringan</i> light	<i>tangan</i> hand	<i>masuk</i> enter	<i>ka labuah</i> to the road
<i>tapi</i> the side	<i>kalua</i> exit	<i>ka labuah</i> to the road	<i>tengah</i> the middle	<i>manibokan</i> to give	<i>padah</i> invitation
<i>namonyo.</i> its name	<i>Kok</i> if	<i>jauah</i> far	<i>surek</i> a letter	<i>talayang</i> be sent	<i>kok</i> if

<i>hampia</i>	<i>padahan</i>	<i>tibo.</i>
close	invitation	come

‘On this very special day the host has invited all the guests through by asking young people to spread the invitations and to deliver messages.’

<i>Duduak</i>	<i>sabanta</i>	<i>diantaronyo</i>	<i>rokok</i>	<i>bagiliang</i>	<i>alah</i>
Sit	for a moment	in between	cigarette	rolled	already
<i>baisok,</i>	<i>siriah</i>	<i>bakapua</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>bakunyah,</i>	<i>pandang</i>
smoked	betel leaf	lime betel	already	chewed	gaze
<i>jauah</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>balayangkan,</i>	<i>pandang</i>	<i>dakek</i>	<i>batukiakan</i>
far	has been	look forward	a gaze	close	look down

‘In this event all the invited guests had gathered and had conversed with each other,’

<i>Satantang</i>	<i>hampia</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>batukiakan,</i>	<i>iyolah</i>	<i>hidangan</i>
about	close	that	look down	correct-PART	the dish
<i>nan</i>	<i>ka tengah</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>barupo</i>	<i>mintak</i>	<i>dilieq</i>
that	put in the middle	that	like	ask	be seen
<i>nan</i>	<i>baraso</i>	<i>mintak</i>	<i>dicubo,</i>	<i>balaianyo</i>	<i>nak</i>
that	having taste	ask for	have been tried	the sail	will
<i>sampai</i>	<i>ka pulau,</i>	<i>bajalannyo</i>	<i>nak</i>	<i>basampaikan</i>	<i>ka bateh,</i>
arrive	to the island	walk	will	be arrived	to the limit
<i>dek</i>	<i>niniak</i>	<i>mamak</i>	<i>sarato</i>	<i>sudaro</i>	<i>kito</i>
by	elderly	uncle	and	relatives	our
<i>nan</i>	<i>hadir.</i>				
who	present				

‘After paying close attention to the situation, the dishes are available, ready to be eaten by all guests.’

<i>Baitu</i>	<i>lalunyo</i>	<i>tadi</i>	<i>di Sutan Sati?</i>
that is how	the way	just now	according to Sutan Sati

‘Is that what you (Sutan Sati) said just now?’

Example (1) above contains a respectful greeting from the S1 to S2. The host explained that before the event was held, they have invited the guests to attend their event. The word *padah* ‘betel leaf or cigarette used as an invitation’ and *surek* ‘letter/message’ refer to the invitation of the event. In Minangkabau, the invitation might be delivered in two ways, if the invited guests live in the surrounding area, the invitation will be presented by a piece of betel leaf or a cigarette



if it is conveyed by a man to a man. If the guests are far apart, they will be invited by an invitation letter or a messenger. It is stated in proverb *kok jauh surek talayang, kok hampia padahan tibo* ‘the guests who live far away are sent an invitation letter, guests who live near the venue are given betel leaves or cigarettes as an invitation’. In giving a response, S2 repeats all sentences previously uttered. REPETITION of these words and sentences cannot be denied is the most explicit way to achieve discourse coherence found in the data. This REPETITION does not only occur in one part of *pasambahan* but in some parts which are generally question and answer sessions between the two spokespersons.

This REPETITION was deliberately carried out in every type the *pasambahan* discourse in every region in Minangkabau. The value contained in it is the value of accuracy and precision. S1 and S2 are required to carefully describe what is conveyed by the interlocutor. What is said by the spokesperson of one party must be repeated by the one of the other parties to make sure that what he has heard is not wrong. After repeating, S1/S2 also needs to ask if what he said is correct or not by saying *Iyo baitu lalunyo tadi di Sutan Sati?* ‘Is that what you said earlier?’. After the interlocutor agreed to the question, then S1/S2 began to answer it (Djamaris, 2002).

Besides REPETITION, SINONYMY and ANTONYMY are two other reiterations commonly found in *pasambahan*. *Baiyo* and *barundiang* ‘deliberate’ are two synonymous words that have the same semantic meaning. *Jauh* ‘far’ and *dakek* ‘close/near’ are opposite in meaning. A lot of SYNONYMS and ANTONYMS show unique forms that they are not words but metaphorical phrases or clauses. The following are some examples.

(2)

<i>Balaiyanyo</i>	<i>nak</i>	<i>sampai</i>	<i>ka pulau,</i>
sailing	will	arrive	to the island

‘sailing to the island’

<i>Bajalannyo</i>	<i>nak</i>	<i>sampai</i>	<i>ka bateh.</i>
walk	will	arrive	to the limit

‘walking to the destination’

The proverb in (2) means finishing the work in order to achieve the target. A job that must be completed is compared to sailing and walking which must achieve its goals. The findings also show some *pepatah petitih* ‘proverbs’ that contain words that are ANTONYMS but the metaphorical meaning is SYNONYMOUS. This case can be seen in examples (3), (4), and (5) below.

(3)

<i>Di</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>luruhi</i>	<i>makanan</i>	<i>tali</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>bungkuak</i>	<i>makanan</i>	<i>siku</i>
at	that	straight	food	rope	at	that	bent	food	elbow

‘Everything has its uses and benefits.’

*Luruhi* ‘straight’ and *bungkuak* ‘bent’ are ANTONYMS, but metaphorically, the meaning of this proverb is SYNONYMOUS, namely doing a job correctly and assisted by the right tools.

(4)

*Kato surang dibulati kato basamo bapaiyokan*  
 word alone made into circle word together be discussed

‘The result of the discussion is better than own decisions’

*Surang* ‘alone’ and *basamo* ‘together’ are ANTONYMS, but metaphorically the meaning of this proverb is SYNONYMOUS, namely the result of the deliberation is better than one’s own decision.

(5)

*Pandang jauh balayangkan pandang dakek batukiakan*  
 gaze far look forward a gaze close look down

‘paying close attention to all aspects’

*Jauah* and *dakek* are ANTONYMS, but metaphorically the meaning of this proverb is SYNONYMOUS namely paying close attention to all aspects.

It is shown from the analysis that reiteration or repetition is not only found in the level of words or phrases but also sentences, and even paragraphs. Reiterations that occur in almost every part of the text make it unique and differentiate it from other texts.

#### Achieving discourse coherence by using consistent pronouns

Pronoun is a general dummy word used to refer to someone or something. Reference concerns the relation between a discourse element and a preceding or following element. Reference deals with a semantic relationship between propositions. In the case of reference, the meaning of a dummy word can be determined by what is imparted before (anaphora) or after (cataphora) the occurrence of the dummy word. The coherence relation pattern can be between sentences and between paragraphs. This way of achieving coherence is also classified into coherence with linguistic markers. Table 2 shows the use of pronouns in achieving discourse coherence.

**Table 2. Pronouns**

<b>Pronoun</b>	<b>Antecedent</b>	<b>Free translation</b>	<b>Coherence relation pattern between</b>
<i>baliau</i> ‘3SG’	<i>Niniak mamak</i>	respected people	sentences paragraphs
<i>baliau-baliau</i> ‘3PL’	<i>Niniak jo mamak, sarato sudaro nan hadir</i>	respected people and all the relatives	sentences paragraphs
<i>kito</i> ‘1PL’	<i>Niniak jo mamak, nan tuo-tuo, cadiak pandai, sudaro kasadonyo</i>	elderly people, intelligent people, all relatives	sentences paragraphs
<i>ambo</i> ‘1SG’	<i>Malin Mudo or Sutan Sati</i>	spokesperson	sentences paragraphs

The use of pronouns can be seen in the following example that shows the coherence between paragraphs.

(6)

<i>Di</i>	<i>maso</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>tadi</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>taanta</i>	<i>di</i>	<b><i>ambo</i></b>	<i>kapado</i>
At	moment	that	just now	already	delivered	by	I	to
<i>Malin</i>	<i>panitahan</i>	<i>dari</i>	<i>karajo</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>bapokok</i>	<i>silang</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>bapangka</i>
Malin	discussion	from	work	that	have basic	across	that	have beginning

‘I have told you about the message from the host’

<i>Baa</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>Malin</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>dibaok</i>	<i>adat</i>	<i>bakato</i>	<i>baiyo</i>
How	at	Malin	already	is taken	custom	say	deliberate
<i>bajalan</i>	<i>bamuah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hadapan</i>	<b><i>niniak</i></b>	<b><i>jo</i></b>	<b><i>mamak</i></b>	<b><i>sarato</i></b>
walk	have	to	in front of	elderly	and	uncle	and
	willingness						
<b><i>nan</i></b>	<b><i>sudaro</i></b>	<i>nan</i>	<i>hadir</i>				
that	relatives	who	present				

‘The problem was discussed with all guests who are present.’

<i>Nan</i>	<i>pambarian</i>	<i>dari</i>	<b><i>baliau</i></b>	<b><i>baliau</i></b>	<i>alah</i>	<i>dapek</i>	<i>kabulatan</i>	<i>kato</i>	<i>jo</i>
that	answer	from	they	they	already	get	deal	word	and
<i>mupakat</i>	<i>saiyo</i>	<i>sakato</i>	<i>sahati</i>						
deal	one word	one	one						
		word	heart						

‘The guests have achieved an agreement.’

<i>Sapanjang</i>	<i>parmintaan</i>	<i>karajo</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>bapokok</i>	<i>silang</i>	<i>nan</i>
as long as	request	work	that	having basic	across	that
<i>bapangka</i>	<i>itulah</i>	<i>di dalam</i>	<i>adat</i>	<i>insyaa Allah</i>	<i>akan</i>	<i>mambari</i>
have	that-PART	inside	custom	with God’s	will	give
beginning				will		
<i>dan</i>	<i>mamparkanankan</i>	<i>niniak</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>mamak</i>	<i>sarato</i>	<i>sudaro</i>
and	permit	elderly	and	uncle	and	relatives
<b><i>kito</i></b>	<i>nan</i>	<i>hadir</i>				
our	who	present				

‘Because the host's request was in accordance with the custom, the guests would approve it’

There are not many pronouns that are used in a variety of *pasambahan* from various regions in Minangkabau. Example (6) is uttered by S1 to S2 in responding to S2 who says that the guests

have agreed to start eating and drinking. The pronoun *ambo* '1SG' refers to S1. *Ambo* is used instead of *denai*, *aden*, or *den* which is also used as a first singular person (1SG). The form *ambo* was chosen for politeness sake, considering that usually the person who becomes the spokesperson is a young person who is chosen based on an agreement. Then, *baliau-baliau* '3PL' refers to *ninik jo mamak sarato sudaro nan hadir*. Besides *baliau-baliau* '3PL', *baliau* '3SG' as a singular form is usually used to refer to *niniak mamak* 'the respected people'. *Baliau* is commonly used instead of *inyo* '3SG' for the sake of politeness. Next is *kito* '1PL', which refers to S1 and S2. The pronouns discussed here belong to anaphoric reference. Example (7) below is an example of coherence between sentences.

(7)

<i>Panitahan</i>	<i>Malin</i>	<i>itupun</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>sapanjang</i>	<i>adat.</i>	<i>Sungguahpun</i>
discussion	Malin	that	already	as long as	custom	although
<i>baitu,</i>	<i>karano</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>di hadapan</i>	<i>niniak</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>mamak</i>
like that	because	there is	in front of	elderly	and	uncle
<i>nan</i>	<i>tuo-tuo</i>	<i>cadiak</i>	<i>pandai</i>	<i>sarato</i>	<i>sudaro</i>	<i>nan</i>
who	elderly	clever	smart	and	relatives	who
<i>basamo,</i>	<i>ambo</i>	<i>ambiak</i>	<i>pulo</i>	<i>kato</i>	<i>baiyo</i>	<i>bajalan</i>
together	I	take	also	word	deliberate	walk
<i>bamuah,</i>	<i>mananti</i>	<i>Malin</i>	<i>sakutiko</i>			
have	wait	Malin	for a			
willingness			moment			

'What you have told is to comply with the custom. However, because there are many guests here, I have to discuss it with them first. Please wait a moment.'

<i>Baa</i>	<i>di kito</i>	<i>tu?</i>	<i>Kok</i>	<i>bisiak</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>samo</i>
how	according to us		If	whisper	already	the same
<i>kadangan,</i>	<i>kok</i>	<i>himbau</i>	<i>lah</i>	<i>kalampauan.</i>	<i>Nan</i>	<i>kabarinyo</i>
hear	if	call	already	passed	that	decision
<i>baa</i>	<i>di kito</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>basamo?</i>			
how	according to us	that	together			

'What do you think? We have heard what he said. What is our decision?'

In example (7) above, *kito* '1PL' refers to all the guests who participate in the discussion. The guests may consist of the *niniak jo mamak* 'the respected people', *nan tuo-tuo* 'the elderly people', *cadiak pandai* 'the intelligent people', and *sudaro nan basamo* 'all relatives'. All guests will conduct a deliberation led by the *niniak mamak* 'respected people'. The spokesperson will use *kito* '1PL' to refer to all guests who will deliver the results of the deliberation. Those pronouns are the most commonly used pronouns in *pasambahan*. The limited use of pronouns in

*pasambahan* might be due to the high frequency of using proper nouns in the form of names of people or other terms of address such as *mamak*, *mak datuak*, and *tuan* in *pasambahan*.

### Achieving discourse coherence by using conjunctions

Another way to achieve coherence with linguistics markers is by using conjunctions. Conjunctions are used to connect idea between words, phrases, or clauses. Without these forms, fluent writing would be more difficult. Two types of conjunctions, coordinative conjunctions and subordinate conjunctions, are found in *pasambahan*. Some of the coordinate conjunctions are shown in table 3 and subordinate conjunction is in Table 3 below.

**Table 3. Coordinating conjunctions**

Conjunction	Meaning	Function
jo	and	cumulative
sarato	and	cumulative
atau	or	disjunctive
tapi	but	adversative

The coordinating conjunction *jo* ‘and’ and *sarato* ‘and’ show cumulative functions in compound sentences. In this context, *jo* and *sarato* are SYNONYMOUS which are interchangeable. Both can be conjunctions between words and between phrases, such as examples (8) and (9) below.

(8)

*Batinnyo kapado sagalo niniak jo mamak.*  
heart to all elderly and uncle

‘Indeed, to all people I respect’

(9)

*Dek karano lah dalam adat, lah ka mambari sarato*  
because already inside custom already will give and  
*ka mailimuan niniak mamak sakaji guru, lah basanang*  
will agree elderly uncle the same teacher already happy  
*hati karajo nan bapokok silang nan bapangka*  
heart work that have basic across that have  
beginning

‘The host is very pleased because all the guests have agreed.’

*Jo* ‘and’ in (8) connects two nouns namely *niniak* ‘elderly’ and *mamak* ‘uncle’ while *sarato* ‘and’ in (9) connects two verb phrases namely *ka mambari* ‘will give’ and *ka mailimuan* ‘will give’. Basically, Minangkabau language does not have a specific word that is equivalent to the meaning ‘and’. The basic meaning of the word *jo* is ‘with’ (Syarif & Rosa, 2014). However, in certain contexts the word *jo* can be used with the meaning ‘and’ as stated in example (8) and (9) above. Generally, *jo* means ‘and’ in compound sentences that combine words with words or phrases

with phrases. However, if the parallel part is a clause with a clause, *jo* is often ungrammatical. Therefore, Jufriзал (2012) stated that a coordinative conjunction in the Minangkabau language can be replaced with a pause between the combined clauses. This case is also found in *pasambahan* as shown in example (10).

(10)

<i>Karano</i>	<i>di Malin</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>takiro-kiro,</i>	[ ]	<i>di ambo</i>
because	according to Malin	already	predicted	[pause]	according to me
<i>alah</i>	<i>manjadi</i>	<i>agak-agak</i>	<i>pulo,</i>	<i>eloklah</i>	<i>panitahan</i>
already	become	thinking	also	it's	discussion
				better	
<i>Kito</i>	<i>bari</i>	<i>parantian.</i>			
we	give	ending			

'Because we all agreed, we should end our conversation.'

The next one is the coordinating conjunction *tapi* 'but' which connects clauses to clauses as in example (11).

(11)

<i>Sakiro-kiro</i>	<i>panitahan</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>pangka</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>ambo</i>	<i>jawab,</i>
if	discussion	that	the	already	I	answer
			beginning			
<i>tapi</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>kabarinyo</i>	<i>ambo</i>	<i>japuik</i>	<i>ka hadapan</i>	<i>mamak.</i>
but	that	decision	I	pick up	in front of	uncle

'I have responded the request from the host but the final decision will be yours.'

*Tapi* 'but' shows an adversative relationship between the clause *Sakiro-kiro panitahan nan pangka alah ambo jawab* and *nan kabarinyo ambo japuik kahadapan mamak*. In both the *pasambahan* data, there is no coordinative conjunction *tapi* that connects words to words and phrases to phrases.

**Table 4. Subordinating conjunction**

Subordinating Conjunction	Meaning	Function
sungguahpun	although	to introduce an opposite idea or contrast
kok	if	to introduce a condition
karano	because	to introduce a cause and effect relation

The *pasambahan* data shows that the same type of conjunction is frequently used, including subordinate conjunctions. Examples of some subordinating conjunctions are as follows.

**Conjunction as a marker for an opposite idea or contrast**

(12)

<i>Buah</i>	<i>panitahan</i>	<i>Sutan</i>	<i>lah</i>	<i>dalam</i>	<i>adat.</i>	<b><i>Sungguahpun</i></b>
the fruit	discussion	Sutan	already	inside	custom	although
<i>lah</i>	<i>dalam</i>	<i>adat,</i>	<i>dek</i>	<i>duduak</i>	<i>surang</i>	<i>sampik</i>
already	inside	custom	because	sit	alone	
<i>duduak</i>	<i>basamo</i>	<i>lapang,</i>	<i>dibao</i>	<i>kato</i>	<i>baiyo</i>	<i>bajalan</i>
sit	together	spacious	be taken	'word	'agree'	'walk'
<i>bamuah,</i>	<i>dijapuik</i>	<i>kabarinyo,</i>	<i>kahadapan</i>	<i>niniak</i>	<i>mamak</i>	<i>sakaji</i>
have	picked up	answer	in front of	elderly	uncle	the same
willingness						
<i>guru.</i>						
teacher						

'What you convey is in accordance with custom but even so I still have to consult with other guests.'

***Sungguahpun*** is a subordinating conjunction which functions as a marker of contrast between sentences. The sentences being contrasted are '*buah panitahan Sutan lah dalam adat.*' and '*Lah dalam adaik, dek duduak surang sampik, duduk basamo lapang...*' In example (12) above, ***sungguahpun*** contradicts a situation where, although the statement delivered by S1 has already obeyed the rules of Minangkabau custom, the speaker still has to deliberate on the decisions with the *niniak mamak* 'the respected people' and other guests.

(13)

<i>Panitahan</i>	<i>Malin</i>	<i>itupun</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>sapanjang</i>	<i>adat.</i>
discussion	Malin	that	already	as long as	custom
<b><i>Sungguahpun</i></b>	<b><i>baitu,</i></b>	<i>karano</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>di hadapan</i>	<i>niniak</i>
although	like that	because	there is	in front of	elderly
<i>mamak</i>	<i>amboada</i>	<i>ambiak</i>	<i>pulo</i>	<i>kato</i>	<i>baiyo</i>
uncle	I	take	also	word	agree
<i>bajalan</i>	<i>bamuah.</i>				
walk	have				
	willingness'				

'What you convey is in accordance with custom but even so I still have to consult with other guests.'

***Sungguahpun*** in example (13) has the same function as the one in example (12). The difference lies on the word that follows it. In example (13) ***sungguahpun*** is followed by '*baitu*' which refers to *panitahan Malin itupun alah sapanjang adat* 'your speech is in accordance with the custom'.

The data shows several sentences that use two conjunctions sequentially in one clause such as example (14). Coordinative conjunction *tapi* 'but' is combined with subordinate conjunction *sungguahpun* 'although'. In fact, this is not a double conjunction because in Minangkabau it is considered as one conjunction and is synonymous with *sungguahpun* 'although'. It means that *tapi* and *sungguahpun* can be used independently as shown in example (13) where *sungguahpun* is used without *tapi*.

(14)

<i>Sapanjang</i>	<i>buah</i>	<i>panitahan</i>	<i>Sutan</i>	<i>tadi</i>	<i>tu</i>
as long as	fruit	discussion	Sutan	just now	that
<i>alah</i>	<i>tadacak</i>	<i>di adat,</i>	<i>talingka</i>	<i>di pusako,</i>	<i>tapi sungguhapun,</i>
already	proper	in custom	be surrounded	in the heritage	but although
<i>baitu lai</i>	<i>karano</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>pulo</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>manuruik</i>
like that	because	there is	also	that	according to
<i>undang</i>	<i>adat</i>	<i>baiyo,</i>	<i>bajalan</i>	<i>bamuah</i>	<i>kato</i>
rule	custom	deliberate	walk	have willingness	word
<i>surang</i>	<i>dibulati</i>	<i>kato</i>	<i>basamo</i>	<i>bapaiyokan</i>	
alone	made into circle	word	together	be agreed upon	

'What you convey is in accordance with custom but even so I still have to consult with other guests.'

#### *Conjunction as a marker of cause-effect*

*Karano* 'because' in (15) is a conjunction which marks the cause-effect relationship between clauses. The subordinate clause *karano lai duduak di hadapan niniak jo mamak sakaji guru* is a cause of something that has happened, which is stated in the main clause *ambo bao kato jo mupakaik*. This sentence means 'because the banquet was attended by many other guests, S2 could not make his own decision, and therefore he must first discuss with the other guests'.

In example (16), the cause-effect relationship between clauses is indicated by the conjunction *dek karano* 'because/because of'. In Minangkabau, this conjunction is considered as one conjunction and is synonymous with *dek* 'because' and *karano* 'because'. Hence, *dek* and *karano* can be used separately and interchangeably.

(15)

<i>Karano</i>	<i>ambo</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>duduak</i>	<i>di hadapan</i>	<i>niniak</i>
because	I	already	sit	in front of	elderly
<i>mamak</i>	<i>sakaji,</i>	<i>guru,</i>	<i>ambo</i>	<i>bao</i>	<i>kato</i> <i>jo</i>
uncle	the same	teacher	I	take	word    and



<i>mupakaik</i>	<i>manjapuikan</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>kabarinyo</i>
agreement	pick up	that	answer

‘I have to discuss it first because there are many other guests here.’

(16)

<i>Dek karano</i>	<i>ado</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>manuruik</i>	<i>undang,</i>	<i>adaik</i>
because	there is	that	according to	rules	custom
<i>bakato</i>	<i>baiyo</i>	<i>bajalan</i>	<i>bamuah,</i>	<i>dek</i>	<i>ambo</i>
talk	deliberate	walk	have willingness	because	I
<i>duduk</i>	<i>di hadapan</i>	<i>niniak</i>	<i>mamak</i>	<i>sakaji</i>	<i>guru</i>
sit	in front of	elderly	uncle	the same	teacher
<i>ikolah</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ambo</i>	<i>japuikan</i>	<i>ka</i>
this	that	will	I	pick up	to
<i>hadapan</i>	<i>mamak</i>				
in front of	uncle				

‘I have to discuss it first because there are many other guests here.’

### ***Conjunction as a marker of condition***

The following examples show conjunctions that state a condition.

(17)

<i>Apobilo</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>bamuloi</i>	<i>di niniak</i>	<i>mamak,</i>	<i>manuruik</i>
if	already	start	by elderly	uncle	according to
<i>malah</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>pangka</i>			
also	that	beginning			

‘If *mamak* has started, we will follow.’

<b><i>Kalau</i></b>	<i>alah</i>	<i>kasamo-samo</i>	<i>maelemukan,</i>	<i>ibarat</i>	<i>balayia</i>
if	already	will be the same	understand	like	sailing
<i>lah</i>	<i>sampai</i>	<i>ka pulau</i>	<i>bajalan</i>	<i>lah</i>	<i>sampai</i>
already	arrive	to the island	walk	already	arrive
<i>ka bateh</i>	<i>satantang</i>	<i>panitahan</i>	<i>elok</i>	<i>kito</i>	<i>bari</i>
to the limit	about	discussion	right	we	give
<i>parantian</i>					
a stop					

‘If all have agreed, we should finish the discussion.’

<b><i>Kok</i></b>	<i>bana</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>sahati</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>Sutan,</i>	<i>sapanjang</i>
if	right	there is	one heart	with	Sutan	as long as

<i>panitahan</i>	<i>dari</i>	<i>karajo</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>bapokok</i>	<i>silang</i>	<i>nan</i>
discussion	from	work	that	have basic	across	that
<i>bapangka</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>lah</i>	<i>dalam</i>	<i>adaik.</i>		
have the	that	already	inside	custom		
beginning						

‘If you agree, the work carried out by the host is in accordance with the custom.’

Subordinating conjunctions showing a condition in the above examples are *apobilo*, *kalua*, and *kok* ‘if’. They are found in a sentence where one clause describes something that has happened or will happen if the condition of the other clause is satisfied. When placed at the beginning of the clause, these conjunctions describe the condition that needs to be met for something to happen.

The dialogue in (17) occurs when guests invite the host to eat the meals with them. So, the host not only serves the meals but also eats them. It is called *baso basi* ‘polite offer’ in Minangkabau. *Apobilo* and *kalau* ‘if’ are two conjunctions that function to show the condition between a subordinate clause and main clause. *Apobilo alah bamuloi di niniak mamak, manuruik malah nan pangka* means if the leader and the elderly people have started eating, the host will follow them. Then, the guest says *kalau alah kasamo-samo maalemukan* which means if all the guests and hosts in the room have agreed, eating and drinking could start immediately. *Kok* in (18) also shows a cause-effect relationship between the subordinate clause *Kok bana lai sahati jo Sutan* ‘if you agree’ and its main clause *sapanjang parmintaan dari karajo nan bapokok silang nan bapangka tu lah dalam adaik* ‘the work carried out by the host is in accordance with the custom’.

Some examples given above show us that sentences in Minangkabau tend to have more than one clause, especially in the language used in traditional events. The relations depicted by those clauses can be in the form of a compound or complex sentences. Compound sentences may consist of several coordinating conjunctions that relate word to word, phrase to phrase, or clause to clause. Moreover, subordinating conjunctions relate the main clause and subordinate clause by looking at the function given by the subordinate clause whether it introduces a contrast between ideas, condition, or cause-effect relations.

When comparing coherence achieved by using pronouns and conjunctions, it can be said that both devices create coherence between sentences. Moreover, pronouns do not only frequently occur between sentences but also between paragraphs.

### **Achieving discourse coherence by arranging ideas in logical orders**

In general, logical orders are the most important element in achieving discourse coherence. Chronological order is a kind of logical order used in *pasambahan* that is not marked by cohesive devices. Hence, the order of events that occur in *pasambahan* are presented chronologically without using any cohesive devices but through the use of expressions and proverbs whose meaning describes the order of the events. Logical orders in *pasambahan* are implied by the semantic relationship between sentences. Many of these sentences are metaphorical expressions so that in order to see the pattern of idea development, the writer must first analyze and explain the meaning of these expressions.

In *pasambahan*, the sequence of events is not marked by cohesive devices that are usually used to develop text chronologically. Rather, the relationship between the sequence of events is not explicitly stated, but it is implied from the chronological dialogue that contains many metaphorical expressions.

*Pasambahan* has its own rules and conditions. Although the rules are not written, the participants who are involved in *pasambahan* can follow it properly. The unwritten rules involve how to start *pasambahan*, style of language used, procedures for speaking (asking for and giving a response), the order of conversation, and how to end *pasambahan*. *Pasambahan* patterns tend to remain and can be applied to all regions in Minangkabau even though the dialects used are different. In general, *pasambahan* is developed by chronological order models as described below.

- (1) S1 asks permission to *manitah* 'speak',
- (2) S1 *manyambah* 'greet' all the guests who are represented by S2,
- (3) S1 says that they have prepared food and drinks which are ready to be eaten,
- (4) S2 replies the greeting then repeats S1's utterances about the food served,
- (5) S2 asks permission to conduct a deliberation with other guests about the host's request to immediately enjoy the meals,
- (6) S1 allows S2 to do so,
- (7) S2 informs all the guests that the host has invited them to eat and asks them to deliberate,
- (8) *Mamak* 'the elderly people' leads the deliberation,
- (9) All the guests agree,
- (10) *Mamak* conveys the agreement to S2,
- (11) S2 then delivers the result to S1,
- (12) S1 accepts the agreement,
- (13) S2 invites the host to take part in the meal,
- (14) *Pasambahan* ends.

In his research, Kasih (1994) revealed that there were several variations of *pasambahan* pattern. This variation occurs for several reasons, such as if the host does not know who the spokesperson of the guest is, if there is a lack of food in traditional events there must be some specific food that has to be served, or if the seats have not met the customary rules yet.

## CONCLUSION

*Pasambahan* is a typical cultural phenomenon from Minangkabau, West Sumatera. It is a medium of communication between the host and the invited guests at a banquet at some traditional events in Minangkabau. The typical language used and text structure are the distinguishing features of *pasambahan* to another text. It is a form of text, full of aesthetic concepts of ethnic Minangkabau community.

As a discourse, *pasambahan* shows the symptoms of cohesion and coherence. The text coherence is achieved in several ways, namely (1) reiteration of keywords, (2) the use of the consistent pronoun, (3) the use of the conjunction, and (4) the arrangement of ideas in chronological order. The ways mentioned from (1) to (3) show a big role of cohesive devices in achieving a strategy in achieving discourse coherence in *pasambahan*, which can be classified into two groups based on the presence of the markers of coherence within the text. The first one

is the pattern of coherence marked by linguistics units. Hence, it is an explicit relationship. Some markers found are REPETITION, SYNONYMY, ANTONYMY, PRONOUNS, and CONJUNCTIONS. The coherence relationship can occur between words, phrases, clauses, and sentences. However, the fourth way, that is the arrangement of ideas in a logical order, shows that coherence can be achieved without lingual markers. Hence, it is an implicit relationship. This kind of coherence is achieved through semantic relationships between sentences which form a text. By paying attention to the meaning of clauses and sentences used, the chronological order of *pasambahan* can be revealed.

### Abbreviations

1	first person
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
N	noun
PART	particle
PL	plural
S1	spokesperson of the host
S2	spokesperson of the guests
SG	singular
V	verb

### Note

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### ENDNOTE

<sup>1</sup> Oshima & Hogue (2006) used the term repetition of key nouns to referring to the repetitive usage of key nouns to achieve discourse coherence. I consider this is almost the same as the term reiteration put forward by Halliday and Hasan (2014) which is then divided into REPETITION, SYNONYMY, ANTONYMY, POLYSEMY, and COLLOCATION. In this paper, I will use the term REITERATION because in the *pasambahan* discourse several reiterations are found, not only repetition but also SYNONYMY and ANTONYM which have an important role in achieving the integrity of the discourse. Besides, the reiterated-words are not only nouns but also adjectives and verbs, so the reiteration of key words is considered relevant in this paper.

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