

CHAPTER 3

COHESION THROUGH LINKAGE AND CONJUNCTION

In the previous chapter, we discussed the deep and surface structures of Sgaw Karen oral folk narrative discourses. In this chapter, we shall examine how the textual cohesion can be achieved by linkage and conjunction. These two similar mechanisms are important factors in the maintenance of the structural cohesion of the text; they serve to connect one element to another, signalling redundancy as well as linearity from which discourse cohesion is obtained.

As stated above, both linkage and conjunction basically involve the connection of one element to another. Linkage is signalled by the use of repetition or partial repetition of a preceding unit as the start of the next. This linkage may occur between two paragraphs (e.g., '*They got into their car and **drove away.***' ... '***After driving for 3 miles,** they stopped at a restaurant.*') or between two sentences (e.g., '*She looked at her cat and **patted** it gently. **While patting the cat,** she heard a scream from her bedroom.*'), resulting in cohesion, as Grimes says:

Linkage, or repetition of what was just said as a means of getting started on the next part, provides **cohesion within paragraphs in some languages and between paragraphs in the others.** (Grimes 1984:259; emphasis added)

According to the data, Sgaw Karen linkage appears to play a major role in maintaining cohesion within paragraphs. Inter-paragraph linkage is comparatively rare (see section 3.1).

Conjunction serves to connect two units together on the basis of different semantic relations. For example, we can have two sentences connected together on the basis of a time relation, as in '*He finished two glasses of wine. **Then** he ordered a bottle of brandy.*' (See section 3.2.)

3.1 Linkage

Linkage types vary from language to language and also from genre to genre within a given language (e.g., procedural vs. narrative), and even from sub-genre to sub-genre within a given genre (e.g., first person vs. third person narrative, or spoken vs. written style). In narrative discourse, Longacre (1983) reports that there are three major forms of linkage in the narrative category. These are Head-head, Tail-head and Summary-head linkage.

In regard to the specific surface structure linkage of discourses, we find in narrative discourse very prominent use of **head-head linkage** (i.e., the first sentence of one paragraph cross-references to the first sentence of the following paragraph) and **tail-head linkage** (in which the last sentence of one paragraph cross-references to the first sentence of the following paragraph). Tail-head linkage may be varied to **summary-head linkage**, i.e., having done all this, they then proceeded to... (Longacre 1983:9; emphasis added)

These three types of linkage described by Longacre were observed to occur in the Sgaw Karen folk narrative discourses studied. In addition to these three types of linkage, I also found another type of linkage which I term "body-head" linkage.

In section 3.1.1, we shall discuss inter-paragraph linkage while in section 3.1.2, we shall discuss inter-sentential linkage.

3.1.1 Inter-paragraph Linkage

According to the Sgaw Karen data in this thesis, three types of inter-paragraph linkage occur with only one occurrence of each.¹ Interestingly enough, each Sgaw Karen story studied displays more frequent use of inter-sentential linkage mechanisms than inter-paragraph linkage mechanisms.

3.1.1.1 Head-head Linkage

Head-head linkage involves a cross-reference between the first sentence of one paragraph and the first sentence of the following paragraph. In the following example from 'The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey', sentence 4, which is the initial sentence of the second paragraph, is cross-referenced to sentence 9, which is the initial sentence of the third paragraph.

- (1) "The Story of khunawlei and Nawmuey" (S 4, 9)

tə *bɪb⁶* *k^hu⁴na²le⁶* *kə* *bə⁴* *læk^u⁴læ³ka³* *tə²* *lɔ³* ...
one time Khunawlei will must go trading thing SEP.

'Once, Khunawlei had to go selling things.'...

le⁶k^hp⁶ *tə* *ɣɔ³* *ʔewæ⁶* *læ³* *tə²* *lɔ³*
later one morning he go thing SEP.

'Later, one morning, he left.'

¹According to my language informants, Sgaw Karen written narratives display more frequent instances of this kind of linkage.

3.1.1.2 Summary-head Linkage

Summary-head linkage involves a cross-reference between the final sentence of one paragraph and the initial sentence of the following paragraph, as illustrated in the example below.

(2) "The Story of Nyali" (S 27-28)

t^hA $wæ^6$ $læ^6$ $ʔə$ $dæ^6$ p^hO^6 $mæ^3$ $ʔəθæ^5$ $kəs^hYæ^6$ $kəs^hYɔ^6$
 see SC. that her hut little do itself sweep and clean

 $dɔ^5$ $mæ^3$ hO^3 t^hP hO^6 $p^hɔ^6$ $xə^1$ $ʔəθæ^5$ $ʔəxO^6$ $ʔəwæ^6$
 and things like rice and water cook already itself so she

 $kəmə^6$ $kəmə^4$ $wæ^6$ $lɔ^3$
 surprise SC. SEP.

'She was very amazed to see that the little hut had been made clean and tidy, and things like rice and water had cooked themselves.'

$ʔəxO^6$ $bə^4$ $tə$ $nɪ^3$ $ʔəwæ^6$ $pə^1$ $mæ^3$ $ʔəθæ^5$
 that is why happen one day she pretend herself

 $læ^6$ $læ^3$ s^hU^6 $k^hɪ^5$ pu^3 $lɔ^3$
 that go to field inside SEP.

'Therefore, one day, she pretended to go to the field.'

In this example, sentence 27 is the last sentence of the paragraph that represents the second Pre-peak Episode. Sentence 28, the first sentence of the next paragraph, the Peak, begins with the word $ʔəxO^6$, 'that is why' summarising the events in sentence 26.

3.1.1.3 Body-head Linkage

The other form of paragraph level linkage present in the materials is what I term Body-head Linkage. In body-head linkage, a paragraph-medial sentence cross-references

to the first sentence of the following paragraph. To illustrate this phenomenon, let us look at the free translation of the pertinent paragraph from "The Story of Mueyaephae".

- (3) "The Story of Mueyaephae" (S 8-14; pp. 137-138)

Paragraph 2 : Pre-peak Episode 1

(8) When they grew up, Mr La went to work in the jungle. (9) As for Mueyaephae, she stayed in the village. (10) **She had to go sell some food in Chiang Mai, a town in Thailand.** (11) She painted her entire body black in order that people would not recognise her. (12) Thai people heard about her, so they came to look at her. (13) But seeing that she had dark complexion, they were not satisfied.

Paragraph 3 : Pre-peak Episode 2

(14) One time, **Mueyaephae went to sell betel leaves in Chiang Mai.**

In example 3, sentence 10 in the middle of the paragraph is from the first Pre-peak Episode. This sentence is cross-referenced by the first sentence of the following paragraph which begins the second Pre-peak Episode.

3.1.2 Inter-sentential Linkage

In this section, we shall discuss two types of linkage which function between sentences. The first is tail-head linkage (section 3.1.2.1), and the second is summary-head linkage (section 3.1.2.2).

3.1.2.1 Tail-head Linkage

In the Sgaw Karen folk stories in this study, the most common form of sentence-level linkage is tail-head linkage in which repetition or partial repetition of one sentence occurs at the beginning of the following sentence, as in the example below.

(4) "The Story of Saw Ker" (S 8-9)

tʰʌ wæ⁶ bə⁶ dɔ⁵ læ³ nɪ¹ kwə² wæ⁶ lɔ³
 see SC. trap and go enter look SC. SEP.

'Seeing the trap, it **went inside to look.**'

læ³ nɪ¹ wæ⁶ dɔ⁵ hæ⁶ ke³ tʰɔ⁴ tə θe⁶ lə³ bə⁴
 go enter SC. and come back up not able at all

'**Going inside**, it could not come out.'

In this example, part of the final clause of sentence 8 is repeated in the beginning of sentence 9, creating a link between the two sentences. Consider also the following example from "The Story of the Brave Orphan".

(5) "The Story of the Brave Orphan" (S 8-9)

ʔəwæ⁶ mə⁶ kedɔ⁵ ʔə pʰɤ⁶ lə⁶ kə læ³ xə⁶ ne²
 he ask again his grandmother that will go beg for

ʔɔ³ tə² mɔ³ lə⁶ sɔ³ pɔ³ ʔə nɪ² pu³ lɔ³
 him work at king his palace inside SEP.

'He asked his grandmother again **beg the king to give him a job in the palace.**'

ʔə pʰɤ⁶ lə³ xə⁶ ne² ʔɔ³ tə² mɔ³ lə⁶
 his grandmother go beg for him work with

tə² pli³ tə² pʰɤ⁵ ʔəpu³ lɔ³
 fright; fear inside SEP.

'With fear and fright, **his grandmother went to beg for the job.**'

In this example, the partial repetition of the final (reported) clause in sentence 8 functions as the start of the following sentence (9).

3.1.2.2 Summary-head Linkage

The other form of inter-sentential linkage is summary-head linkage which, as Longacre (1983:9) points out, varies from tail-head linkage. In summary-head linkage, the final clause of a sentence is replaced with the summary word *wi*³ 'finish' followed by *dɔ*⁵ 'and'. This combination means "After doing (something), ...", (or เสร็จแล้ว... 'finished already' in Thai).

(6) "The Story of The Brave Orphan" (S 30-31)

*pʰo*⁴*xæ*⁶ *pʰo*⁶ *læ*³ *kwi*¹*lɔ*³ *pəjɔ*³ *ʔeθ*⁶ *lɔ*⁶
 orphan little go throw dragon dead at
*tə*²*tro*³ *pʊ*³ *lɔ*³
 ravine inside SEP.

'The little orphan **threw away the dead dragon in the ravine.**'

*wi*³ *dɔ*⁵ *ʔewæ*⁶ *læ*³ *le*⁴ *kwi*¹ *pəjɔ*³ *ʔe* *θw*⁴
 finish and he go lick away dragon its blood
*lɔ*⁶ *sɔ*³*pə*³ *pʰo*⁶*mɪ*⁴ *ʔe* *bo*⁵*kepə*³ *ne*⁴ *lɔ*³
 from king daughter her cheek that SEP.

'**After that** (having thrown away the dead dragon), he went to lick the dragon's blood from the king's daughter's cheek.'

As this example shows, sentence 31 begins with the summary of the preceding sentence. In this way a link is created contributing to the cohesion within the paragraph.

3.2 Conjunction

Another set of mechanisms which provide cohesion within a surface structure unit are Conjunctions. These operate both between sentences and between clauses.

Brown and Yule (1983:191) summarise the concept of conjunction as being expressed by "formal markers which relate what is about to be said to what has been said before". Consequently, the cohesive effect of the text is provided by the conjunctive markers connecting one sentence or one clause to the other on the basis of one of the following relations: Additive, Adversative, Causal or Temporal. It is not uncommon that one formal marker may exhibit a different relation, as pointed out by Brown and Yule (1983:192).

It is, of course, not the case that any of these formal markers stands in a simple one-to-one relationship with a particular cohesive relation: *and*, for example, can occur between sentences which exhibit any one of the four relationships mentioned in (2). Neither is it the case that the posited relationships cannot be held to exist in absence of formal markers.

According to the data, most conjunctive elements in Sgaw Karen generally exhibit straightforward relationships with certain cohesive relations. The conjunction *dʒ*⁵ 'and', however, may signal an additive relation or a temporal relation, depending on the surface structure context in which it is present. The word *ʔəxo*⁶ 'so' has two functions. Besides expressing a causal relation, this word is also a type of linkage which generally functions between sentences (see example 2).

3.2.1 Additive Conjunction

Additive conjunction, or what Longacre (1983:81) terms Coupling, involves the non-temporal "and" notion. In Sgaw Karen, this relation is signalled by the word *dʒ*⁵ 'and'. However, the additive relation is not the only relation which may be signalled by this conjunction; *dʒ*⁵ may also express temporal relation² (see section 3.2.4.)

²This observation is confirmed by both my informants.

As observed in the stories used in this study, the conjunction *dɔʔ⁵* 'and' usually functions to signal an additive relation in the Stage of some legends and entertainment stories, or in the Closure of some legends.

(7) "The Story of Nyali" (S 6)

pʰæ⁶ ʔə pʰɿ⁶ tə ʔo⁴ lə⁶ hʰ⁴ ʔəkʰ⁶ ʔə
 time his grandmother not stay at house while her
hʰ⁴ bə⁴ tə² kʰwæ⁶ θo⁴ kʰwæ⁶ pɿ⁶ xə¹ ʔəθə⁵ dɔʔ⁵
 house happen thing sweep clean always itself and
mə³ ɦo³ tʰɿ⁶ ɦo³ se² ko⁵ pʰɿ⁶ xə¹ ʔəθə⁵ lɔ³
 things like rice and water also cook always itself SEP.

'While his grandmother was not at home, her house was always swept tidy and clean, **and** things like rice and water always cooked, too.'

(8) "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey" (S 2)

ʔə wə³ ʔə mi³ me² wæ⁶ sɔ³ kʰu⁴ nɔ² le⁶ dɔʔ⁵
 her husband his name be SC. Mister Khunawlei and
ʔə mə⁶ təkʰɿ⁶ ʔə mi³ me² wæ⁶ nɔ² mʰ⁴ ʔə⁶ lɔ³
 his wife as for her name be SC. Nawmuey SEP.

'Her husband's name was Khunawlei **and** his wife's name was Nawmuey.'

In example 7, the relation between the second and the third clauses of sentence 6 is additive not temporal; the grandmother saw that the house had been cleaned and the food had been cooked. In example 8, *dɔʔ⁵* 'and' in sentence 2 joins the first and the second clauses, exhibiting an additive relation; that is, there was a husband and there was his wife.

3.2.2 Adversative Conjunction

Adversative conjunction, or Contrast (Longacre 1983:83), refers to notional "but" relations. Halliday and Hasan (1976:250) define the basic meaning of the adversative relation as being "contrary to expectation". According to the Sgaw Karen folk stories in this study, the adversative relation may generally be signalled by either *ba⁴s^ha⁴* 'but (ordinary)' or *θana¹ka⁶* 'but (emphatic)'. The former may apply both between clauses (example 9) and between sentences³ (example 10); whereas the latter, rarely found, usually occurs only in the sentence-initial position, functioning as a sentence connector rather than as a clause conjunctive. This is demonstrated in example 11.

(9) "The Story of Mueyaephae" (S 15)

<i>me²le⁶</i>	<i>ʔəwæ⁶</i>	<i>ba⁴</i>	<i>θe⁶</i>	<i>θəbk⁴le⁶</i>	<i>s^ha⁶</i>	<i>wæ⁶</i>	<i>ʔək^ha⁶</i>
since	she	must	watch	betel that	sell	SC.	while
<i>ʔəxo⁶ ʔə</i>	<i>mæ¹θa⁴</i>	<i>θu⁶</i>	<i>ba⁴s^ha⁴</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>s^ha⁶</i>	<i>k^hʔ⁶</i>	<i>k^hʔ⁶</i>
so her	face	black	but	her	hand	two	N.Cl.
<i>tək^hʔ⁶ wə⁶</i>	<i>wæ⁶</i>	<i>lɔ³</i>					
as for	white	SC.	SEP.				

'Because she had to take care of the betel she was selling, her face was still black but her hands became white.'

(10) "The Story of Mueyaephae" (S 19-20)

<i>sɔ³pə³</i>	<i>pə¹</i>	<i>ʔɔ³</i>	<i>d⁵</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>θ⁴</i>	<i>mə⁶</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>ɣə³</i>	<i>ʔəθo⁵</i>
king	keep	her	as	his	lesser	wife	one	N.Cl.	such

³According to my informants, the end of a sentence is normally clearly marked in Sgaw Karen; an affirmative sentence ends with *lɔ³*, a negative with *ba⁴*, a light imperative with *təke⁴* and an interrogation with a question word.

ye³ ye³ lo³
good good SEP.

'The king had her as one of his lesser wives.'

ba⁴s^ha⁴ ʔəwæ⁶ ʔo⁴ wæ⁶ tə ni¹ ba⁴
but she live SC. not happy NC.

'But she lived unhappily.'

In example 9, the adversative *ba⁴s^ha⁴* 'but' joins two clauses, linking them together into a sentence. In example 10, on the other hand, *ba⁴s^ha⁴* 'but' functions as a sentence connector connecting sentences 19 and 20.

(11) "The Story of Nyali" (S 11-12)

ʔə p^hʃ s⁵s^hə⁶ ʔɔ³ lə⁶ ʔəwæ⁶ tə me²
his grandmother reply him that he not be
pɣa³kəŋɔ⁶ ba⁴ ʔəxo⁶ tə θe⁶ ba⁴
people NC. so not can NC.

'His grandmother replied that she could not do it because he (Nyali) was not a human being.'

θəna¹ke⁶ ʔəwæ⁶ ʔə θa⁵ tə ha⁵ɣɔ³ ba⁴
however he his heart not upset NC.

'However, he was not upset.'

In example 11 above, the word *θəna¹ke⁶*, the emphatic form of expressing an adversative relation, serves to join sentences 11 and 12.

3.2.3 Causal Conjunction

A third type of conjunction is causal conjunction and involves cause-and-effect relations. In Sgaw Karen, these relations may be expressed through the conjunctions

$\gamma\theta x\theta^6$ 'so' and $\theta\theta i\theta^5 d\gamma^5$ 'therefore'⁴. When $\theta\theta i\theta^5 d\gamma^5$ is used, it functions to add emphasis and is likely to serve as a sentence connector, rather than as a simple conjunction. It may also be used in conjunction with $\gamma\theta x\theta^6$, as illustrated in the following example.

(12) "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey" (39-40)

$k^h u^4 n\gamma^2 l\theta^6$	$\theta\theta^4 n\theta^6$	$w\theta^6$	$l\theta^6$	$\gamma\theta w\theta^6$	$m\theta^2$	$t\theta$	$l\theta^6$
Khunawlei	know	SC.	that	he	if	not	pour
$l\gamma^3$	$\gamma\theta$	$k\theta^1$	$\gamma\theta$	θw^4	$d\gamma^5$	$\gamma\theta$	$m\theta^6$
down	his	throat	its	blood	and	his	wife
							$p\theta^3 p^h l\theta^6$
							free
							$t\theta$
							not
$\theta\theta^6$	$l\theta^3 b\theta^4$						
able	at all						

'Khunawlei realised that unless he poured down the blood of his throat, his wife would never be freed.'

$\gamma\theta x\theta^6$	$\theta\theta i\theta^5 d\gamma^5$	$l\theta^6 k^h \theta^6$	$k\theta^2$	$l\theta^3$	$\gamma\theta^4$	$w\theta^6$	$l\theta^6$	$t\theta^2 p\theta^3$
so	therefore	time	most	go	stay	SC.	at	hole
$k^h \theta^4 t^h \gamma^5$	$d\gamma^5$	$k\theta^5$	$l\gamma^3$	$\gamma\theta$	$k\theta^1$	$l\gamma^3$		
mouth	and	cut	down	his	throat	SEP.		

'Therefore, finally, he went to the mouth of the hole and cut his throat.'

In addition, the basic form of causal relation in Sgaw Karen spoken folk narrative is generally expressed in the "cause-before-effect" order both between clauses (examples 13 and 14) and between sentences (examples 15). The reverse order (i.e., "effect-before-cause") has also been observed (example 16).

(13) "The Story of Saw Ker" (S 49)

$\gamma\theta w\theta^6$	$\theta\theta^4 n\gamma^2$	$\gamma\theta$	$p^h \theta^6$	$\gamma\theta$	$t\theta^2 k\theta^3$	$\gamma\theta x\theta^6$
he	remember	his	grandmother	her	word	so

⁴According to my informants, this conjunction is more common in written style.

$\gamma e w \alpha \alpha^6$ $t \gamma^3$ $l \gamma^3$ $b a^6$ $t^h \gamma^4$ $t a^2$ $b \gamma^6$ $b \gamma^6$
 he kneel down worship up thing yellow yellow

$n e^4$ $l \gamma^3$
 that SEP.

'Remembering his grandmother's words, he knelt down to worship that yellow thing.'

In this example, $\gamma e x o^6$ 'so' conjoins the two clauses in a cause-effect order. In some cases, $\gamma e x o^6$ 'so' may be used in conjunction with $m e^2 l \alpha^6$ 'since' to tightly and emphatically connect two clauses. However, only a few instances of $m e^2 l \alpha^6$ occur in the data. Consider the following example.

(14) 'The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey' (S 49)

$m e^2 l \alpha^6$ θo^6 $\gamma e x o^6$ $m e^4 \gamma u^6$ $\gamma \gamma^1$ γa^6 $t^h \gamma^4$ $t a^2$ $\gamma e x o^6$
 since oil so fire burn much up thing so

 $n \gamma^2 m^4 \gamma e^6$ $\theta \beta^6$ $k w i^1$ $w \alpha \alpha^6$ $t e p u^3 x \gamma^6$ $d \gamma^5$ γa
 Nawmuey die away SC. same place with her

 $w a^3$ $l \gamma^3$
 husband SEP.

'But because it was oil, the fire blazed up and Nawmuey died at the place her husband had died.'

The conjunction $\gamma e x o^6$ 'so' may also be used inter-sententially to indicate a cause-effect relationship. In the following example (15), sentence 40 is the cause and 41 the effect.

(15) 'The Story of Phue Mawlaw' (S 40-41)

$p^h \gamma^6$ γo^4 $t e^2$ $d \gamma^5$ $k l o^4$ $t a$ $d \beta^6$ $\gamma \gamma^3$ $l \gamma^3$
 grandfather stay left with drum one N.CI. this SEP.

'The grandfather was left alone with the drum.'

$\gamma\theta x o^6$ $p^h f^6$ $h\alpha^6$ $k\theta^3$ so^1 klo^4 γp^3
 so grandfather come back carry (in arms) drum this

$s^h u^6$ $\theta\theta w\gamma^6$ $\gamma\theta p u^3$ $l\gamma^3$
 to village inside SEP.

'Therefore, the grandfather carried this drum back to the village.'

As mentioned previously, there are a few instances where $\gamma\theta x o^6$ signals a cause-effect relation where the clause and/or sentence order is reversed. The word $\gamma\theta x o^6$, then, occurs at the end of the cause clause, as illustrated below.

(16) "The Story of Phue Mawtaw" (S 8-9)

$b\theta^4$ $k\alpha^3$ $p\theta^3$ $x\theta^1$ $\gamma\theta$ $k^h f^5$ $d f^5 \theta o^5$ $t\alpha^3 m i^3 l\alpha^1$ $p^h o^6$
 must go guard always his field as wild animal young

$t\theta p^h u^4$ $t\theta$ $m\alpha^3$ $h\alpha^5 \gamma\gamma^3$ $\gamma\theta$ $k^h f^5$ $\gamma\theta \gamma\gamma^2$ $l\gamma^3$
 Plural not do damage his field purpose SEP.

'He had to keep watching his field in order to prevent wild animals from damaging his field.'

$t^h o^4$ $l i^1$ $t^h \gamma^5$ $d \gamma^5$ θu^4 $t\theta p^h \theta^4$ $l \gamma^6 n i^1$ $m\alpha^3$
 bird squirrel hog and porcupine Plural ever do

$h\alpha^5 \gamma\gamma^3$ $\gamma\theta$ $k^h f^5$ $\gamma\theta x o^6$ $l\gamma^3$
 damage his field because SEP.

'It was because birds, squirrels, pigs and porcupines had come and made damage to his field.'

In this example, the effect (i.e., that the grandfather had to go and guard his field) is mentioned first (sentence 8), followed by the cause (i.e., wild animals had caused damage to his field). Thus, in this case, the meaning of the word $\gamma\theta x o^6$ shifts from "therefore", "so" or "thus" to "because".

3.2.4 Temporal Conjunction

As stated previously, the majority of instances of temporal relation in Sgaw Karen spoken folk narratives are signalled by the word $d\alpha^5$ 'and then' which functions between clauses and sentences. Moreover, in the Sgaw Karen folk narratives studied, $d\alpha^5$ usually signals a temporal relation in the Peak of the story. It may also signal a temporal relation in a surface structure unit along the event-line, i.e., (Pre-peak, Post-peak) Episodes, Peak, and sometimes Closure, as shown in the following translated excerpts.

- (17) "The Story of Phue Mawtaw" (S 32-34; p. 146)

(32) They said they would mourn for him for three days and three nights. (33) **And then** they wept and lamented for the grandfather. (34) **And** (then) they brought a bronze drum **and** (then) beat it while lamenting and weeping.

- (18) "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey" (S 33; p. 125)

(33) Then Khunawlei killed some animals **and** (then) collected the blood **and** (then) poured it down the hole.

As example 17 shows, all the events occur in temporal succession marked by $d\alpha^5$ 'and then'. In example 18, Khunawlei's killing of the animals occurred first, followed by the collecting and pouring of the blood, respectively.⁵

Other temporal conjunctions include $tr^3nr^3tesf^6$, $tr^3nr^3ma^5$ 'then' (examples 19 and 20) and $tək^hkr^5...d^5ba^4$ 'before' (example 21) which are less commonly used than is the conjunction $d\alpha^5$. The first two, $tr^3nr^3tesf^6$ and $tr^3nr^3ma^5$ 'then', function between sentences whereas $tək^hkr^5...d^5ba^4$ 'before' generally functions within a sentence.

⁵This observation is confirmed by both my informants.

(19) "The Story of the Brave Orphan" (S 36-37)

læ³ dʰne⁴ wæ⁶ pejo³ ʔeθ⁶ se² ko⁵ lɔ³
 go point, show SC. dragon dead also SEP.

'He also showed the king the dead dragon.'

ti³ ni³ tɔs⁶ sɔ³ pa³ θe⁴ na⁶ ke³ tɔ² me² tɔ² θɔ⁶ ʔexo⁶
 then king realise back truth therefore

ʔeθ⁵ kʰ⁵ do⁴ ma⁵ lɔ³
 happy, glad big much SEP.

'(Then) Knowing the truth, the king became extremely glad.'

(20) "The Story of Thawmepa" (S 36-37)

pya³ ʔo⁴ lɔ⁶ tɔ² lɔ² pʰæ⁶ ne⁴ tæ⁶ ba⁴ ʔewæ⁶ θe⁴
 people live at place there tell to them

lɔ⁶ kʰlo⁴ ne⁴ pya³ ba⁴ do⁶ θe⁴ pʰ⁵ dɔ⁵ sʰu⁵
 that snail that people must hit break and suck

ʔɔ⁴ lɔ³
 eat SEP.

'The people living in that area told them that they would have to break its shell and suck it.'

ti³ ni³ ma⁵ ʔewæ⁶ θe⁴ ʔɔ⁴ ba⁴ tɔ² lɔ³
 then they eat at thing SEP.

'Then, they ate the snail.'

(21) "The Story of Mueyaephæ" (S 29)

təkʰi⁵ pya³ ma³ θ⁶ ʔɔ³ dʰba⁴ ne⁴ ʔewæ⁶ xɛ⁶
 before people kill her before that she ask

ke³ ha⁵ sʰu⁶ ʔe mo² ʔe ʔo⁴ lɔ³
 back visit to her mother her presence SEP.

'Before the people would kill her, she asked them if she could go to see her mother.'

3.3 Summary

In this chapter we have studied linkage and conjunction mechanisms in Sgaw Karen oral folk narratives. These two mechanisms contribute to maintain the structural cohesion of the text in that they form a linear connection both between discourse elements and smaller elements within a paragraph.

As found in the Sgaw Karen stories in this study, the use of paragraph-level linkage appears to be fairly rare while inter-sentential linkage, on the other hand, is frequently employed to maintain structural cohesion. In addition to head-head, tail-head and summary-head linkage, I have also found in the Sgaw Karen data body-head linkage where a paragraph-medial sentence is cross-referenced by the first sentence of the next paragraph.

In section 3.2, we focused on four types of conjunction in Sgaw Karen: additive, adversative, causal and temporal. It is of interest to note that although in the majority of instances, the conjunction *do⁵* 'and, and then' exhibits a temporal relation, it can also signal an additive relation. The other conjunctions were observed to function straightforwardly.