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	blɔ⁶	kʰuᴬnɔ²le⁶	kə	bə⁴	læ kʊᴬlæ³kə³	tə²	lɔ³	...
one	time	Khunawlei	will	must	go trading		thing	SEP.

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

le⁶kʰβ tə	yɔ³	ʔəwæ⁶		læ³	tə²	lɔ³
later	one	morning	he	go	thing	SEP.

'Later, one morning, he **left.**'

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[1]According 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)

$t^h\!i^4$	$wæ^6$	$lə^6$	$?ə$	$dæ^6$	$p^h o^6$	ma^3	$?ə\theta a^5$	$kəs^h yæ^6 kəs^h yɔ^6$
see	SC.	that	her	hut	little	do	itself	sweep and clean

$dɔ^5$	$mə^3 \hbar o^3 t^h\!i^4 \hbar o^6$	$p^h ɔ^6$	xa^1	$?ə\theta a^5$	$?əxo^6$	$?əwæ^6$
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.'

$?əxo^6$	$bə^4$	$tə$	ni^3	$?əwæ^6$	$pə^1 ma^3$	$?ə\theta a^5$
that is why	happen	one	day	she	pretend	herself

$lə^6$	$læ^3$	$s^h u^6$	$k^h\!i^5$	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 $?əxo^6$, '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)

t^hi^4	$wæ^6$	$bə^6$	$dɔ^5$	$læ^3$	ni^1	kwa^2	$wæ^6$	$lɔ^3$
see	SC.	trap	and	go	enter	look	SC.	SEP.

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

$læ^3$	ni^1	$wæ^6$	$dɔ^5$	$hæ^6$	ke^3	$t^hɔ^4$	$tə$	$θe^6$	$le^3bə^4$
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)

$ʔəwæ^6$	$mə^6$	$kədɔ^5 ʔə$	p^hi^6	$lə^6$	ke	$læ^3$	xe^6	ne^2
he	ask	again his	grandmother	that	will	go	beg	for

$ʔɔ^3$	$tə^2mə^3$	$lə^6$	$sɔ^3pə^3$	$ʔə$	ni^2	pu^3	$lɔ^3$
him	work	at	king	his	palace	inside	SEP.

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

$ʔə$	p^hi^6	$læ^3$	xe^6	ne^2	$ʔɔ^3$	$tə^2mə^3$	$lə^6$
his	grandmother	go	beg	for	him	work	with

$tə^2pli^3 tə^2p^hi^5$	$ʔəpu^3$	$lɔ^3$
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)

$p^ho^4xæ^6$	p^ho^6	$læ^3$	$kwi^1lɔ^3$	$pejo^3$	$ʔɵɵ^6$	$lɵ^6$
orphan	little	go	throw	dragon	dead	at

$tɵ^2trɔ^3$	pu^3	$lɔ^3$
ravine	inside	SEP.

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

wi^3	$dɔ^5$	$ʔɵwæ^6$	$læ^3$	le^4	kwi^1	$pejo^3$	$ʔɵ$	$θwi^4$
finish	and	he	go	lick	away	dragon	its	blood

$lɵ^6$	$sɔ^3pɵ^3$	$p^ho^6mi^4$	$ʔɵ$	$bo^5kepɵ^3$	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 $d\jmath^5$ 'and', however, may signal an additive relation or a temporal relation, depending on the surface structure context in which it is present. The word $\textit{?}\textit{exo}^6$ '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 $d\jmath^5$ 'and'. However, the additive relation is not the only relation which may be signalled by this conjunction; $d\jmath^5$ may also express temporal relation[2] (see section 3.2.4.)

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[2]This observation is confirmed by both my informants.

As observed in the stories used in this study, the conjunction $d\eth^5$ '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)

$p^h\!\ae^6$	$?\theta$	$p^h\!\!f^6$	$t\theta$	$?o^4$	$l\theta^6$	hf^4	$?\theta k^h\theta^6$	$?\theta$
time	his	grandmother	not	stay	at	house	while	her

hf^4	$b\theta^4$	$t\theta^2$	$k^h w\ae^6\theta o^4 k^h w\ae^6 p l\eth^6$	$x\theta^1$	$?\theta\theta\theta^5$	$d\eth^5$
house	happen	thing	sweep clean	always	itself	and

$me^3\hbar o^3 t^h\!\!f^6\hbar o^3$	$se^2 ko^5$	$p^h\eth^6$	$x\theta^1$	$?\theta\theta\theta^5$	$l\eth^3$
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)

$?\theta$	$w\theta^3$	$?\theta$	mi^3	me^2	$w\ae^6$	$s\eth^3$	$k^h u^4 n\eth^2 le^6$	$d\eth^5$
her	husband	his	name	be	SC.	Mister	Khunawlei	and

$?\theta$	$m\theta^6$	$t\theta k^h\eth^6$	$?\theta$	mi^3	me^2	$w\ae^6$	$n\eth^2 mi^4 ?e^6$	$l\eth^3$
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, $d\eth^5$ '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 $ba^4s^ha^4$ 'but (ordinary)' or θana^1ke^6 'but (emphatic)'. The former may apply both between clauses (example 9) and between sentences[3] (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)

me^2le^6	$\theta awae^6$	ba^4	θe^6	θabh^4	le^6	s^ha^6	wae^6	θak^ha^6
since	she	must	watch	betel	that	sell	SC.	while

θaxo^6	θa	$mae^1\theta a^4$	θu^6	$ba^4s^ha^4$	θa	si^6	$k^h\beta$	$k^h\jmath^6$
so	her	face	black	but	her	hand	two	N.Cl.

$tak^h\jmath^6$	wa^6	wae^6	$l\jmath^3$
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)

$s\jmath^3pa^3$	pa^1	$\jmath^3$	di^5	θa	θi^4	ma^6	ta	ya^3	$\theta e\theta o^5$
king	keep	her	as	his	lesser	wife	one	N.Cl.	such

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[3]According the my informants, the end of a sentence is normally clearly marked in Sgaw Karen; an affirmative sentence ends with $l\jmath^3$, a negative with ba^4, a light imperative with $take^4$ and an interrogation with a question word.

ɣe³   ɣe³   b³
good   good   SEP.

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

ba⁴sʰa⁴   ʔəwæ⁶   ʔo⁴   wæ⁶   tə   nɨ¹   ba⁴
but   she   live   SC.   not   happy NC.

'**But** she lived unhappily.'

In example 9, the adversative *ba⁴sʰa⁴* 'but' joins two clauses, linking them together

into a sentence. In example 10, on the other hand, *ba⁴sʰa⁴* 'but' functions as a sentence

connector connecting sentences 19 and 20.

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

ʔə   pʰβ   sⁱ⁵sʰə⁶   ʔɔ³   lə⁶   ʔəwæ⁶   tə   me²
his   grandmother reply   him   that   he   not   be

pɣa³kəɲɔ⁶   ba⁴   ʔəxo⁶   tə   θe⁶   ba⁴
people   NC.   so   not   can   NC.

'His grandmother replied that she could not di 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

$\text{?}\text{əxo}^6$ 'so' and $\theta\text{ə}\text{tə}^5\text{dɔ}^5$ 'therefore'[4]. When $\theta\text{ə}\text{tə}^5\text{dɔ}^5$ 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 $\text{?}\text{əxo}^6$, as illustrated in the following example.

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

$k^h\text{u}^4\text{nɔ}^2\text{le}^6$	$\theta\text{e}^4\text{nə}^6$	wæ^6	le^6	$\text{?}\text{əwæ}^6$	me^2	tə	lu^6
Khunawlei	know	SC.	that	he	if	not	pour

lɔ^3	$\text{?}\text{ə}$	ko^1	$\text{?}\text{ə}$	θwi^4	dɔ^5	$\text{?}\text{ə}$	mə^6	$\text{pu}^3\text{p}^h\text{læ}^6$	tə
down	his	throat	its	blood	and	his	wife	free	not

θe^6	$\text{le}^3\text{bə}^4$
able	at all

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

$\text{?}\text{əxo}^6$	$\theta\text{ə}\text{tə}^5\text{dɔ}^5$	le^6k^hi^6	$\text{kə}\text{tə}^2$	læ^3	$\text{?}\text{o}^4$	wæ^6	le^6	$\text{tə}^2\text{pu}^3$
so	therefore	time	most	go	stay	SC.	at	hole

$k^h\text{o}^4\text{t}^h\text{ɔ}^5$	dɔ^5	ku^5	lɔ^3	$\text{?}\text{ə}$	ko^1	lɔ^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)

$\text{?}\text{əwæ}^6$	$\theta\text{e}^4\text{nɔ}^2$	$\text{?}\text{ə}$	p^hi^6	$\text{?}\text{ə}$	$\text{tə}^2\text{kə}\text{to}^3$	$\text{?}\text{əxo}^6$
he	remember	his	grandmother	her	word	so

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

$\text{?}ewæ^6$		$t\text{ɔ}^3$	$l\text{ɔ}^3$	$b\text{ə}^6$		$t^h\text{ɔ}^4$	$t\text{ə}^2$	$b\text{ɔ}^6$	$b\text{ɔ}^6$
he		kneel	down	worship		up	thing	yellow	yellow

ne^4	$l\text{ɔ}^3$
that	SEP.

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

In this example, $\text{?}\text{ə}xo^6$ 'so' conjoins the two clauses in a cause-effect order. In some cases, $\text{?}\text{ə}xo^6$ 'so' may be used in conjunction with $me^2l\text{ə}^6$ 'since' to tightly and emphatically connect two clauses. However, only a few instances of $me^2l\text{ə}^6$ occur in the data. Consider the following example.

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

$me^2l\text{ə}^6$	θo^6	$\text{?}\text{ə}xo^6$	$me^4\text{?}\text{ɪ}^6$	$\text{?}\text{ɔ}^1$	$\text{?}\text{ə}^6$	$t^h\text{ɔ}^4$	$t\text{ə}^2$	$\text{?}\text{ə}xo^6$
since	oil	so	fire	burn	much	up	thing	so

$n\text{ɔ}^2m^A\text{?}e^6$	$\theta\text{ə}^6$	kwi^1	$wæ^6$	$t\text{ə}pu^3x\text{ɔ}^6$	$d\text{ɔ}^5$	$\text{?}\text{ə}$
Nawmuey	die	away	SC.	same place	with	her

wa^3	$l\text{ɔ}^3$
husband	SEP.

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

The conjunction $\text{?}\text{ə}xo^6$ '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 Mawtaw" (S 40-41)

$p^h\text{ɪ}^6$	$\text{?}o^4$	$t\text{ə}^2$	$d\text{ɔ}^5$	klo^4	te	$d\text{ɪ}^6$	$\text{?}i^3$	$l\text{ɔ}^3$
grandfather	stay	left	with	drum	one	N.Cl.	this	SEP.

'The grandfather was left alone with the drum.'

ʔəxo⁶ pʰɨ⁶   hæ⁶ ke³ so¹   klo⁴ ʔɨ³
so grandfather come back carry (in arms)   drum this

sʰɨ⁶ θəwɔ⁶ ʔəpɨ³ lɔ³
to village inside SEP.

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

As mentioned previously, there are a few instances where ʔəxo⁶ signals a cause-effect relation where the clause and/or sentence order is reversed. The word ʔəxo⁶, then, occurs at the end of the cause clause, as illustrated below.

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

bə⁴   læ³ pə³ xa¹ ʔə   kʰɨ⁵ dɔ⁵θo⁵   tə³mɨ³la¹ pʰo⁶
must go guard always his field as   wild animal young

təpʰɨ⁴ tə mə³ hə⁵yɔ³ ʔə   kʰɨ⁵ ʔəyɔ²   lɔ³
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.'

tʰo⁴ li¹   tʰɔ⁵ dɔ⁵ θɨ⁴   təpʰə⁴ pɔ⁶nɨ¹   mə³
bird squirrel   hog and porcupine Plural ever   do

hə⁵yɔ³   ʔə   kʰɨ⁵ ʔəxo⁶   lɔ³
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 ʔəxo⁶ 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 $d\mathfrak{o}^5$ 'and then' which functions between clauses and sentences. Moreover, in the Sgaw Karen folk narratives studied, $d\mathfrak{o}^5$ 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 $d\mathfrak{o}^5$ '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 $t\mathfrak{i}^3n\mathfrak{i}^3t\mathfrak{e}s\mathfrak{i}^6$, $t\mathfrak{i}^3n\mathfrak{i}^3m\mathfrak{e}^5$ 'then' (examples 19 and 20) and $t\mathfrak{e}k^h\mathfrak{i}^5...d\mathfrak{i}^5b\mathfrak{e}^4$ 'before' (example 21) which are less commonly used than is the conjunction $d\mathfrak{o}^5$. The first two, $t\mathfrak{i}^3n\mathfrak{i}^3t\mathfrak{e}s\mathfrak{i}^6$ and $t\mathfrak{i}^3n\mathfrak{i}^3m\mathfrak{e}^5$ 'then', function between sentences whereas $t\mathfrak{e}k^h\mathfrak{i}^5...d\mathfrak{i}^5b\mathfrak{e}^4$ 'before' generally functions within a sentence.

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[5]This observation is confirmed by both my informants.

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

læ³	dɨ⁵ne⁴	wæ⁶	pɵjɔ³	ʔɵθʲ	se²ko⁵	lɔ³
go	point, show	SC.	dragon	dead	also	SEP.

'He also showed the king the dead dragon.'

tɨ³nɨ³tɵsɨ⁶	sɔ³pa³	θe⁴ɲɐ⁶	ke³	tɐ²me²tɐ²θɔ⁶		ʔɵxo⁶
then	king	realise	back	truth		therefore

ʔɵθɐ⁵kʰɨ⁵	do⁴	mɐ⁵	lɔ³
happy, glad	big	much	SEP.

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

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

pɣɐ³	ʔo⁴	lɵ⁶	tɐ²lɔ²	pʰæ⁶ne⁴	tæ⁶	bɐ⁴	ʔɵwæ⁶θe⁴
people	live	at	place	there	tell	to	them

lɵ⁵	kʰlo⁴	ne⁴	pɣɐ³	bɐ⁴	do⁶	θe⁴pʰɐ⁵	dɔ⁵	sʰʊ⁵
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.'

tɨ³nɨ³mɐ⁵	ʔɵwæ⁶θe⁴	ʔɔ⁴	bɐ⁴	tɐ²	lɔ³
then	they	eat	at	thing	SEP.

'**Then**, they ate the snail.'

(21) "The Story of Mueyaephae" (S 29)

tɵkʰlɨ⁵	pɣɐ³	mɐ³θɨ⁶	ʔɔ³	dɨ⁵bɐ⁴	ne⁴	ʔɵwæ⁶	xe⁶
before	people	kill	her	before	that	she	ask

ke³	hɐ⁵	sʰʊ⁶	ʔɵ	mo²	ʔɵ	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 $d\sigma^5$ 'and, and then' exhibits a temporal relation, it can also signal an additive relation. The other conjunctions were observed to function straightforwardly.