

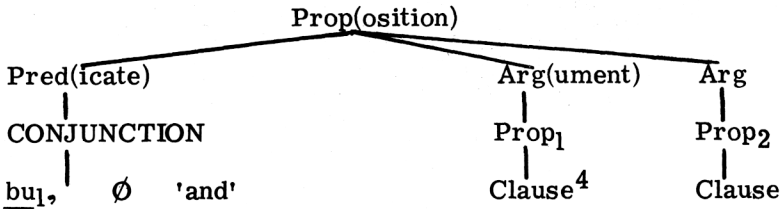
SOME INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONS IN JEH

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0. Introduction. In this study¹ I wish to present the main features of some Jeh² clause connectives. In doing so, it is assumed that some sort of semantic characterization describes the underlying unity which may be expressed by more than one syntactic form. Recent semantically oriented efforts in linguistics have made effective use of notions from predicate calculus to symbolize semantic structure³. Following that general approach, interclausal relations in Jeh are viewed as 'predicates' and the clauses they connect as 'arguments' or 'terms' (in the logical sense of these designations). Against this background specific aspects of the syntactic encoding of these relations in Jeh are described informally.

1. Conjunction. The semantic structure underlying interclausal CONJUNCTION may be diagrammed as follows:



Sentences (1)-(4) below are examples of Jeh CONJUNCTION in its ultimate surface realization:

- (1) A-Wī bu₁ A-Tinh bloh choõ
 David and Tinh past return
 'David and Tinh have come home.'
- (2) A-Wī bloh choõ bu₁ A-Tinh bloh choõ
 David past return and Tinh past return
 'David has come home and Tinh has come home.'
- (3) Chõk 'bõk Kuan bu₂ tẽl wal dõh tõdrong
 but hon(orific) district then answer say give matter
 'nhai-'nhuai bloh tũm nĩ, bu₁ sang kl ẽn 'bõk
 this and that past every all and after this he hon.
 Kuan bu₂ wal ẽih bloh dõh gũ 'bõk thay
 district then say himself past give pl(ural) hon. teacher
 põgang bloh chũu chõk lõng ấy.
 medicine past go get up there recently

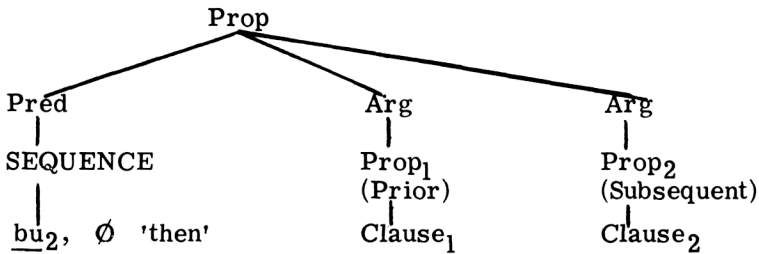
'The District Chief then answered saying all he had to say about the matter, and after this, he, the District Chief, then said he himself had just sent the medics to go up and get her.'

- (4) Ến kãt nah hau, au kãt nah mou.
 he lie side there I lie side here
 'He dropped over there, I dropped over here (during an ambush).'

Notice first that sentence (1) constitutes an example of Jeh phrasal conjunction, in which the two names A-Wī and A-Tinh are conjoined by bu₁. While the question of how best to explain phrasal conjunction has been debated in linguistic literature, one very plausible approach is to derive (1) from a conjunction of two clauses as in (2). That is, in (2) by deleting the material bloh choõ from clause₁, since it is identical with that in clause₂, one obtains exactly sentence (1). Assuming this analysis, one may say that bu₁ expresses the notion of CONJUNCTION in a fairly straightforward way. The association of phrasal and sentence conjunction through the use of the form bu₁ placed syntactically directly between the two conjoined constituents

is helpful, because there occurs another homophonous form which I have numbered bu₂ which has different syntactic and semantic characteristics and must therefore be kept distinct. Sentence (3) provides examples of both bu₁ CONJUNCTION and bu₂ SEQUENCE (discussed further in section 2). Sentence (4) reflects the fact that CONJUNCTION may be signalled syntactically by simple juxtaposition of the two conjoined clauses with no overt linking morpheme present (i. e. \emptyset , or asyndeton in classical grammar). In fact, statistically \emptyset is a far more frequent manifestation of CONJUNCTION than is bu₁.

2. Sequence. The logical basis for the interclausal relation SEQUENCE is diagrammed as:



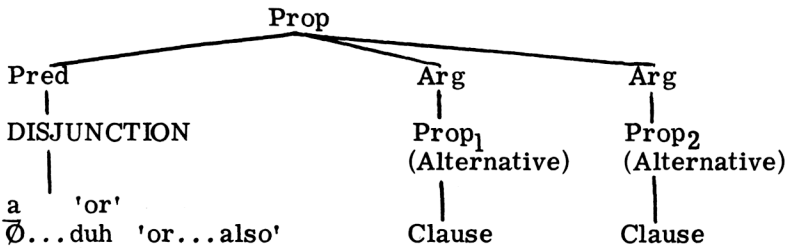
Sentences (5)-(8) below manifest Jeh SEQUENCE:

- (5) Y-Chei sak kōtao wah Yǎ cha, Yǎ bu₂
 Y-Chei skin sugar cane share Gr(andma) eat Gr then
 tōsip jip cha kōtao Y-Chei sak dōh.
 break suck eat sugar cane Y-Chei skin give
 'Y-Chei skinned sugar cane to share with Grandma; Grand-
 ma then broke, sucked and ate the sugar cane Y-Chei had
 skinned for her.'
- (6) Yúan sang tǎp hop, bu₂ pōtou dōh nhlah kāt.
 we past meet then show give house sleep
 'We'll finish meeting, then show you where to sleep.'
- (7) Baǎ tōnoh dōh bǎl ěn tōdrong i bloh sang (ěn)
 Father explain give them matter this past finish (he)
bu₂ choō kāt.
 then go home sleep
 'Father finished explaining to them about this matter then
 went home to sleep.'
- (8) Chau chiù reng 'ya mih tang blī, choō
 Grandchild goes search tobacco at place corn returns
 wah Yǎ.
 share Gr

'Grandchild goes and searches for tobacco in the cornfield, (then) returns to share with Grandma.'

SEQUENCE is manifested by the form bu_2 'then' (homophonous with bu_1 CONJUNCTION described in section 1). Semantically SEQUENCE relates temporally ordered events. Syntactically, note that bu_2 occurs not between two clauses as does bu_1 but rather as in sentence (5) directly following the subject of the second clause, i. e. following $\text{Y}\check{\text{a}}$. In sentence (6) bu_2 occurs directly between the two clauses, but this is because the subject of Clause₂ has been deleted. Sentence (7) shows that if an optionally deleted subject (e. g. $\check{\text{e}}\text{n}$) needs to be clarified, the Jeh speaker introduces it preceding bu_2 . Example (8) illustrates simple juxtaposition of Clause₁ and Clause₂, i. e. bu_2 is replaced by \emptyset morphemic marking.

DISJUNCTION in Jeh may be described in terms of the following structure:

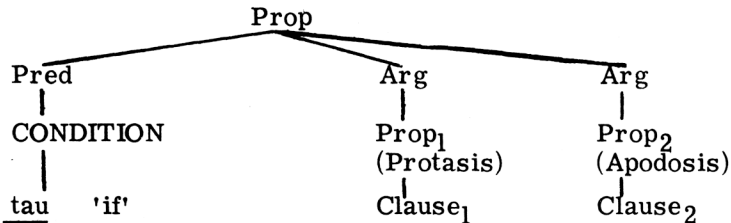


Sentences (9)-(13) below exemplify DISJUNCTION in Jeh:

- (9) Mi chù pøjou a dei chù pøjou?
 you go market or not go market
 'Are you going to the market or not going to the market?'
- (10) Mi chù pøjou a dei?
 you go market or not
 'Are you going to the market or not?'
- (11) Ĕn chù pøjou a ěn chù hōc heh?
 he go market or he go study huh
 'Is he going to the market or is he going to study?'
- (12) Mi chù j̀ng a tők se?
 you go foot or ride car
 'Are you going on foot or by car?'
- (13) Au chù j̀ng, (au) tők se duh 'lou.
 I go foot I ride car also can
 'I can go on foot, or I can also go by car.'

DISJUNCTION in Jeh is expressed by the form a 'or' positioned following Clause₁ and preceding Clause₂. The only constraint on the order of propositions is that a negative proposition must appear as Clause₂ as in sentence (9). Notice that the normal elliptical version of (9) is (10), in which repetitious material has been deleted from Clause₂ leaving behind only *dei* 'negative'. The elliptical form (10) occurs more often than the full form (9). Sentence (11) reflects that not only negative-positive alternatives, but also two positive propositions may be related by DISJUNCTION. Sentence (12) reflects that a 'or' appears in questions, but (13) shows that in statements DISJUNCTION has \emptyset interclausal link and a Clause₂ preverbal *duh* 'also' as its manifesting form.

4. Condition. CONDITION in Jeh is diagrammed as follows:



Sentences (14) and (15) below illustrate Jeh CONDITION

(14) *Tau ka dei liam, ɛn dei wã cha.*
if fish not good she not want eat

'If the fish is not good, she doesn't want to eat it.'

(15) *Tau Baã dei chù ssoõ dei, doh Boõ*
if Father not go look to find later Grandfather
duh tɔloõ ka tì.
also burn on hand

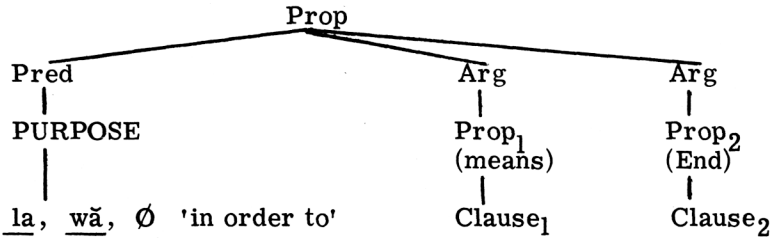
'If Father had not gone to find it, later Grandfather also would have gotten burned on his hand.'

(16) **Mi kau au, tau mi tau 'mriah.*
you call me if you see rain

'You call me, if you see it raining.'

The semantic relation CONDITION is manifested as *tau* 'if'. The proposition which states the conditioning factor, that is the traditional 'protasis', occurs only as Clause₁ followed by the conditioned proposition, or 'apodosis', as Clause₂. *Tau* 'if' is attached directly before Clause₁. Sentences (14) and (15) then are grammatical, but (16) is ungrammatical in Jeh.

5. Purpose. The diagram following describes PURPOSE in Jeh:

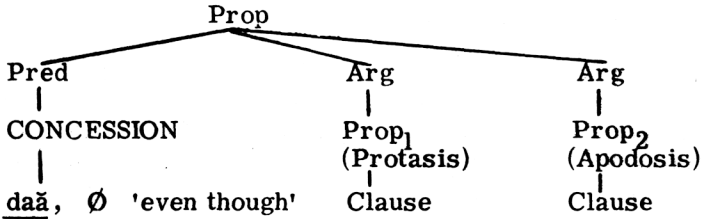


Sentences (17)-(20) below are examples of Jeh PURPOSE:

- (17) Au dōh mi lian la ruat dōh au pheī.
 I give you money in order to buy give me rice
 'I'll give you money to buy rice for me.'
- (18) Baǎ chū reng koh rojəl la lon
 Father go search chop bamboo in order to sharpen
 pī amal.
 make punji
 'Father is going out to chop bamboo in order to sharpen it
 for a punji stick.'
- (19) Au dōh mi lian (au) wǎ mi ruat dōh au pheī.
 I give you money I want you buy give me rice
 'I'll give you money I want (in order for) you to buy me rice.'
- (20) Au dōh mi lian chū ruat dōh au pheī.
 I give you money go buy give me rice
 'I'll give you money to go buy rice for me.'

PURPOSE is commonly expressed in Jeh by positioning the form la 'in order to' between Clause₁ which manifests a 'Means' proposition and Clause₂ which manifests an 'End' proposition, e.g. sentences (17) and (18). There is also another PURPOSE construction as in (19), in which the subject in Clause₁ is identical with the subject of a verb wǎ 'want' which commands Clause₂. While the full construction including the parenthesized subject au 'I' (sentence (17)) is possible in Jeh, it rarely occurs. Rather wǎ stands between Clause₁ and Clause₂ and constitutes the real surface signal for PURPOSE. In fact, wǎ in this sense and wǎ literally meaning 'want', seem to have become distinct because of this construction. Sentence (20) shows that PURPOSE may be expressed with no overt morpheme marker (i.e. Ø).

6. Concession. The semantic structure typifying interclausal CON-
 CESSION is diagrammed as follows:

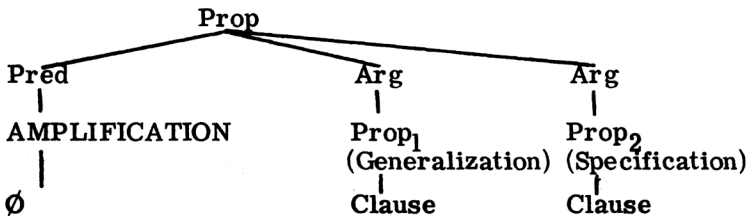


Sentences (21)-(23) exemplify CONCESSION in Jeh:

- (21) Daã au dei 'nhoh, ěn duh khõm au chlu.
 even though I not want he also force me go
 'Even though I don't want to, he still forces me to go.'
- (22) ěn duh khõm au chlu ih lõk, daã au dei 'nhoh.
 he also force me go really even though I not want
 'He still really forces me to go, even though I don't want to.'
- (23) Y-'Lay dei wa tih wa, ěn bloh røgày tan mok.
 Y-'Lay not yet big yet she past skillful weave blanket
 '(Even though) Y-'Lay isn't big yet, she is already skillful
 at weaving blankets.'

The concessive notion is regularly expressed by daã 'even though' which attaches immediately before Clause₁ when it manifests the protasis, as in sentence (21). Note, however, that the protasis may, though less frequently, appear as Clause₂. In case CONCESSION receives no overt marker (Ø), the protasis occurs as Clause₁ as in (23).

7. Amplification. The structure of interclausal AMPLIFICATION in Jeh may be diagrammed as follows:



Sentences (24)-(26) below exemplify Jeh AMPLIFICATION

- (24) Y-Chei dei køyau, ěn bã wah Yã 'long.
 Y-Chei not selfish she carry share Grandma wood
 'Y-Chei is not selfish, she carries wood to share with
 Grandma.'

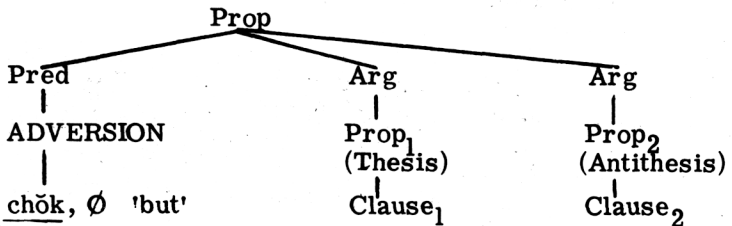
(25) Dök ěn duh rōmaã jei, dei ei pol la cha.
 monkey he also hard up very not any cooked rice to eat
 'The monkey he is also very hard up, (he) hasn't any cooked rice to eat.'

(26) Dei ei a ai wah Yã 'ya, au Yã arah
 not any who share Grandma tobacco I Grandma neglected
 jei.
 very

'There is no one sharing tobacco with Grandma, I Grandma am very neglected.'

Semantically AMPLIFICATION relates a proposition that makes a general statement with one that adds specific detail to the theme. Syntactically no overt morpheme (\emptyset) marks the relation and the generalizing Prop₁ may occur either as Clause₁ as in (24) and (25) or it may appear as Clause₂ as in (26).

8. Adversion. Interclausal ADVERSION in Jeh is diagrammed as follows:



Sentences (27)-(32) exemplify ADVERSION in Jeh:

(27) ěn pĩ nhlah chök gù phì ěn bu chuh pōroõ lòi.
 he make house but those enemy his then fired burn up
 'He built a house, but his enemies then burned it up.'

(28) Baã jèng 'yaã mēe chļu leng play chök nhìah
 Father therefore took older go pick fruit but house
 toõ lay roõ.
 further keeps burn

'Father therefore carried brother to go pick fruit, but the house kept on burning.'

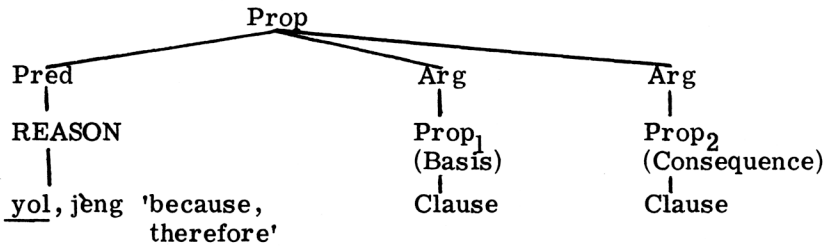
(29) ěn ruat ca chök ca bu om.
 he buy fish but fish then spoiled

'He bought fish, but the fish then spoiled.'

- (30) Ĕn pit bli chōk 'wǎn bu tung lòi.
 she plant corn but someone then steal all
 'She planted corn but someone then stole it all.'
- (31) Boō jah kip, ěn dei jah kōnei.
 Grandfather get turtle he not get rat
 'Grandfather got a turtle, (but) he didn't get a rat.'
- (32) Au pī nhlah, au dei jah 'way.
 I make house I not get live
 'I built a house, (but) I didn't get to live in it.'

ADVERSION is explicitly signalled by the form chōk 'but', which is positioned syntactically between Clause₁ and Clause₂. Prop₁ as 'Thesis' is invariably encoded as Clause₁ while Prop₂ 'Antithesis' is always Clause₂. With this overt marker chōk the antithesis always introduces a change of subject along with contrastive material, i.e. a dramatic or undesirable turn of events, or a situation contrary to expectation, sentences (27)-(30). Notice that in sentences (31) and (32) simple juxtaposition of Clause₁ and Clause₂ expresses the adversative sense; when the subject of Clause₁ and Clause₂ is the same, ∅ interclausal link is obligatory.

9. Reason. The following diagram typifies Jeh REASON:



Sentences (33)-(38) below are examples of REASON in Jeh:

- (33) Yol au jī, au jèng chiu nhlah pōgang.
 because I sick I therefore go house medicine
 'Because I am sick, I am therefore going to the hospital.'
- (34) Au chlu nhlah pōgang yol au jī
 I go house medicine because I sick
 'I'm going to the hospital because I am sick.'
- (35) A-Thao ěn bloh chiu mih 'long gri, ěn jèng tau
 A-Thao he past go to tree banyan he therefore see
 plāk jòh.
 bird peck

'A-Thao he went to the banyan tree, he therefore saw the birds pecking.'

- (36) Yol A-Thao bloh chùu mih 'long gri, ěn jèng
because A-Thao past go to tree banyan he therefore
tau plāk jòh.
see bird peck

'Because A-Thao went past the banyan tree, he therefore saw the birds pecking.'

- (37) En ruat ka yol ka bu om.
he buy fish because fish then spoiled

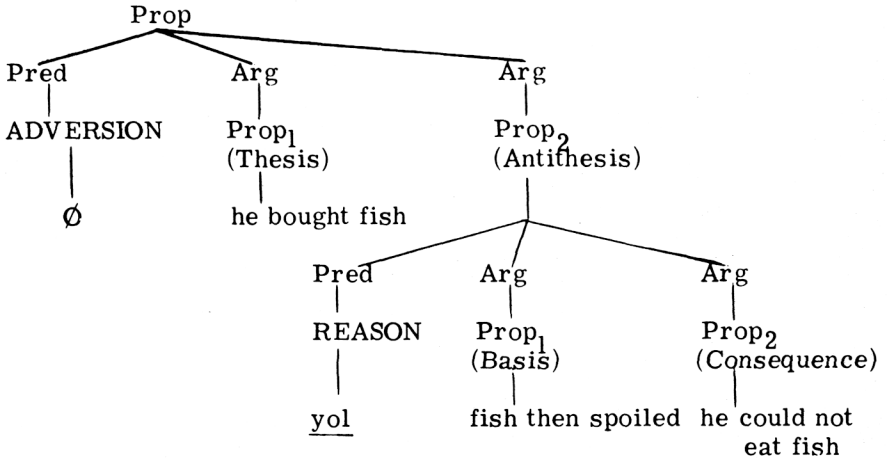
'He bought fish, but the fish then spoiled.'

- (38) Au wă ruat hmăn yol au dei lian.
I want buy clothes because I not money

'I want to buy clothes but I don't have money.'

The predicate REASON establishes an explanatory connection between events and the logical or practical basis for them. Syntactically, when Prop₁ (Basis) appears as Clause₁ and Prop₂ (Consequence) appears as Clause₂, the former is preceded by yol 'because' and the latter contains jèng 'therefore' as in sentence (33). If the order is reversed, however, as in (34), notice that while yol permutes with Prop₁ (Basis) to a Clause₂ position, jèng can never be fronted to a position in Clause₁ expressing Prop₂ (Consequence). Jèng always inserts directly following the subject of Clause₂. As illustrated in (35), yol is optional preceding Clause₁, while jèng is obligatory in Clause₂. Comparison of (35) and (36) reveals the fact that the emphatic construction A-Thao ěn 'A-Thao he...' cannot co-occur with yol in Clause₁.

An interesting kind of ellipsis takes place in Jeh involving the form yol. Consider sentence (37) which seems to say, 'He bought fish because (yol) the fish then spoiled'. However, as the translation under (37) makes clear, there is an adversative element present also. When I began studying Jeh, my reaction to this kind of sentence was that it showed yol to mean both 'but' and 'because', a rather unusual semantic range. The native speaker, however, explains that part of the meaning has not been made overt. I reconstruct the situation as deriving from the following underlying structure:



That is, a proposition containing a REASON relation has been embedded in a proposition containing an ADVERSION relation. However, ADVERSION receives no explicit expression as *chök* 'but', though the thesis proposition is expressed ('he bought fish'). The lower predicate *yol* does, on the other hand, appear along with its Basis proposition ('the fish then spoiled'), but the consequence proposition 'he could not eat the fish' is elliptically absent. Thus, *yol* in this construction signals the elliptical frustration of the events of Clause₁, while Clause₂ overtly manifests the reason for the frustration. Sentence (38) further illustrates this usage of *yol*, Clause₁ expressing a desire ('I want to buy clothes'), with *yol* here signalling an elliptical unfulfilled desire ('I'm not able to buy clothes'). The reason is overtly expressed in Clause₂ ('I don't have money').

FOOTNOTES

1. I wish to express thanks to my language helpers for their patient help with this study. Also appreciation is due Kenneth Gregerson who supplied the theory and the mode of presentation and constantly encouraged and helped during the writing of the paper.
2. Jeh is a Mon-Khmer language spoken by 10,000 people in Kontum Province, South Vietnam. My research on Jeh has been under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
3. Work (by now well-known) such as Bach (1968), Fillmore (1968), Grimes (1968), McCawley (1968), Langendoen (1969) and Lakoff (1970).

4. In the semantic diagram, clauses are labelled Clause₁ and Clause₂ to indicate syntactic order only when there is a correlation between proposition-type and clause order (see under SEQUENCE, CONDITION, etc.). In the case of coordinate relation CONJUNCTION and DISJUNCTION, however, clause order cannot be categorically stated, since either proposition can usually appear in either Clause₁ or Clause₂ position (though negative propositions in DISJUNCTION are constrained to appear in Clause₂.)

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