

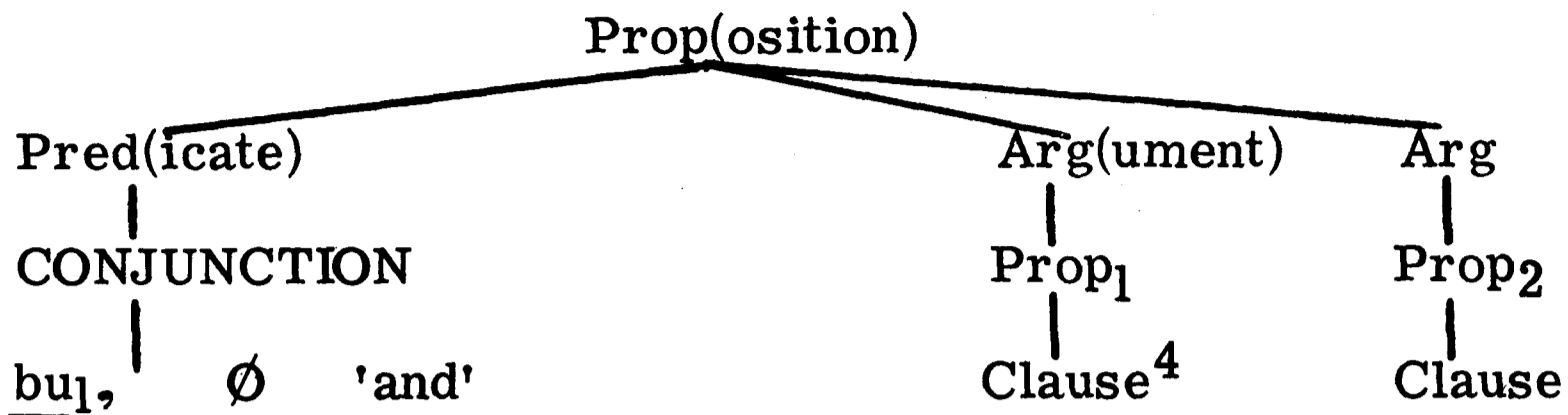
# SOME INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONS IN JEH

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0. Introduction
1. Conjunction
2. Sequence
3. Disjunction
4. Condition
5. Purpose
6. Concession
7. Amplification
8. Adversion
9. Reason

0. Introduction. In this study<sup>1</sup> I wish to present the main features of some Jeh<sup>2</sup> 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 structure<sup>3</sup>. 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-Wĩ bu<sub>1</sub> A-Tinh bloh choĩ  
 David and Tinh past return  
 'David and Tinh have come home.'
- (2) A-Wĩ bloh choĩ bu<sub>1</sub> A-Tinh bloh choĩ  
 David past return and Tinh past return  
 'David has come home and Tinh has come home.'
- (3) Chők 'bők Kuan bu<sub>2</sub> təl wal dòh tởdrong  
 but hon(orific) district then answer say give matter  
 'nhai-'nhuai bloh tũm nĩ, bu<sub>1</sub> sang kì ẻn 'bők  
 this and that past every all and after this he hon.  
 Kuan bu<sub>2</sub> wal ẻih bloh dòh gũ 'bők thay  
 district then say himself past give pl(ural) hon. teacher  
 pởgang bloh chũu chők lỏng ẻy.  
 medicine past go get up there recently

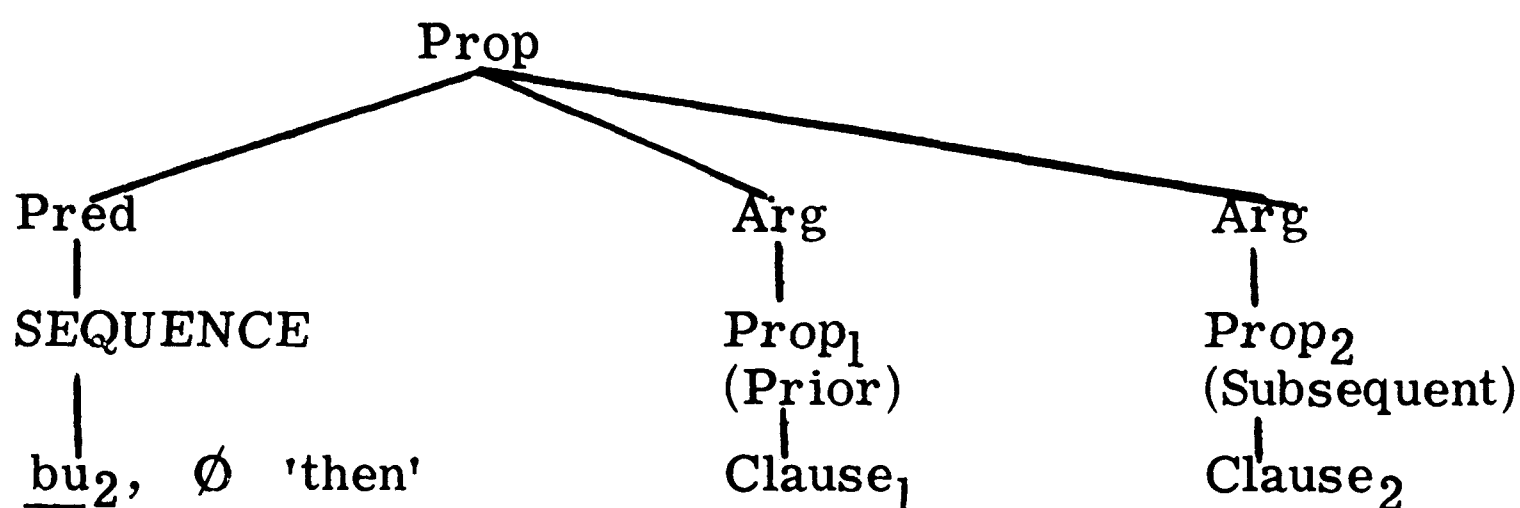
'The District Chief then answered saying all he had to say about the matter, and after this, he, the District Chief, then said he himself had just sent the medics to go up and get her.'

- (4) ẻn kẫt nah hau, au kẫt nah mou.  
 he lie side there I lie side here  
 'He dropped over there, I dropped over here (during an am-bush).'

Notice first that sentence (1) constitutes an example of Jeh phrasal conjunction, in which the two names A-Wĩ and A-Tinh are conjoined by bu<sub>1</sub>. 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 choĩ from clause <sub>1</sub>, since it is identical with that in clause <sub>2</sub>, one obtains exactly sentence (1). Assuming this analysis, one may say that bu<sub>1</sub> expresses the notion of CONJUNCTION in a fairly straightforward way. The association of phrasal and sentence conjunction through the use of the form bu<sub>1</sub> placed syntactically directly between the two conjoined constituents

is helpful, because there occurs another homophonous form which I have numbered bu<sub>2</sub> which has different syntactic and semantic characteristics and must therefore be kept distinct. Sentence (3) provides examples of both bu<sub>1</sub> CONJUNCTION and bu<sub>2</sub> 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 bu<sub>1</sub>.

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 bu<sub>2</sub>  
 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; Grandma then broke, sucked and ate the sugar cane Y-Chei had skinned for her.'

- (6) Yúan sang tǎp hop, bu<sub>2</sub> 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 (ě)  
 Father explain give them matter this past finish (he)  
bu<sub>2</sub> choō kāt.  
 then go home sleep

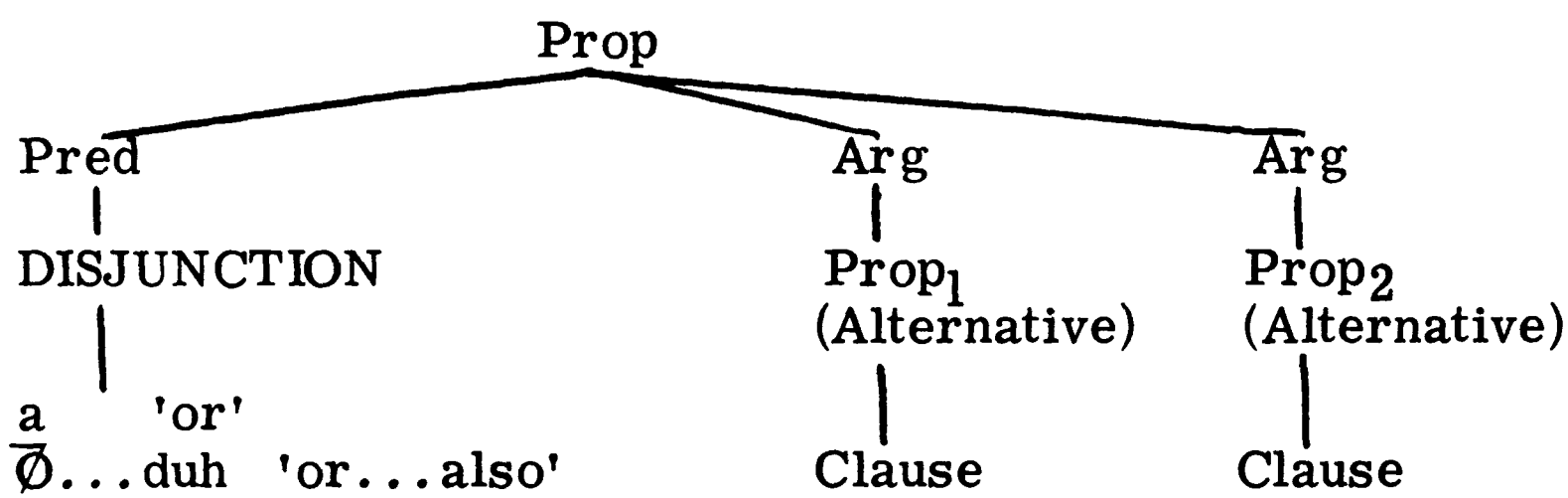
'Father finished explaining to them about this matter then went home to sleep.'

- (8) Chau chiù reng 'ya mih tang bli, 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  $\text{bu}_2$  'then' (homophonous with  $\text{bu}_1$  CONJUNCTION described in section 1). Semantically SEQUENCE relates temporally ordered events. Syntactically, note that  $\text{bu}_2$  occurs not between two clauses as does  $\text{bu}_1$  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)  $\text{bu}_2$  occurs directly between the two clauses, but this is because the subject of Clause<sub>2</sub> 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  $\text{bu}_2$ . Example (8) illustrates simple juxtaposition of Clause<sub>1</sub> and Clause<sub>2</sub>, i.e.  $\text{bu}_2$  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 ch̀iù p̄jɔu a dei ch̀iù p̄jɔu?  
you go market or not go market

'Are you going to the market or not going to the market?'

(10) Mi ch̀iù p̄jɔu a dei?  
you go market or not

'Are you going to the market or not?'

(11) Ěn ch̀iù p̄jɔu a ěn ch̀iù h̄c heh?  
he go market or he go study huh

'Is he going to the market or is he going to study?'

(12) Mi ch̀iù j̀ng a t̄k se?  
you go foot or ride car

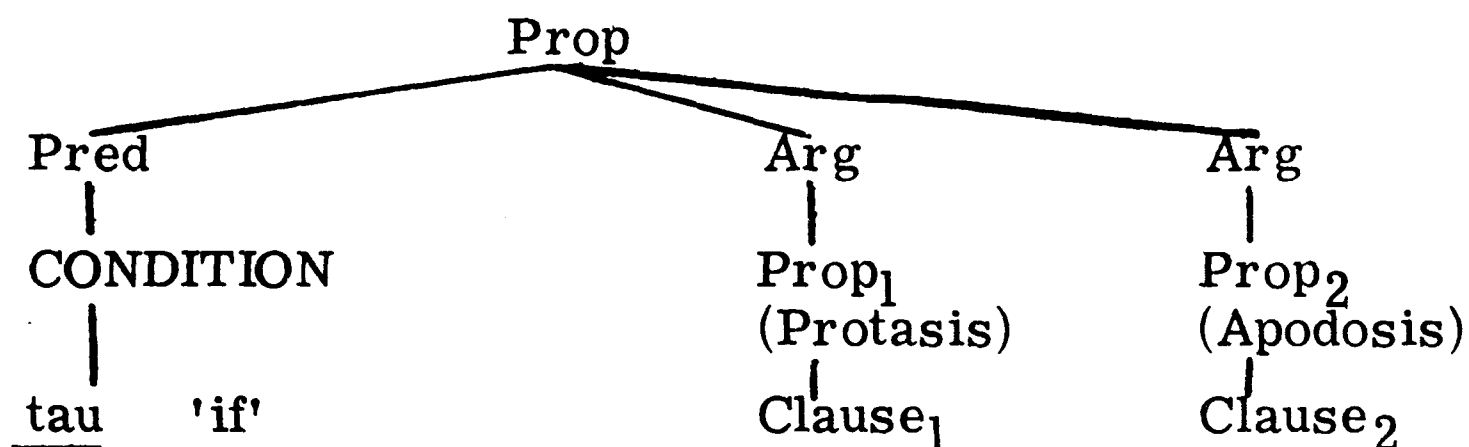
'Are you going on foot or by car?'

(13) Au ch̀iù j̀ng, (au) t̄k 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 Clause<sub>1</sub> and preceding Clause<sub>2</sub>. The only constraint on the order of propositions is that a negative proposition must appear as Clause<sub>2</sub> as in sentence (9). Notice that the normal elliptical version of (9) is (10), in which repetitious material has been deleted from Clause<sub>2</sub> 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 Clause<sub>2</sub> 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, ěn dei wă cha.  
if fish not good she not want eat

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

(15) Tau Baă dei chiu sosoõ dei, doh Boõ  
if Father not go look to find later Grandfather  
duh tŕloõ ka tì.  
also burn on hand

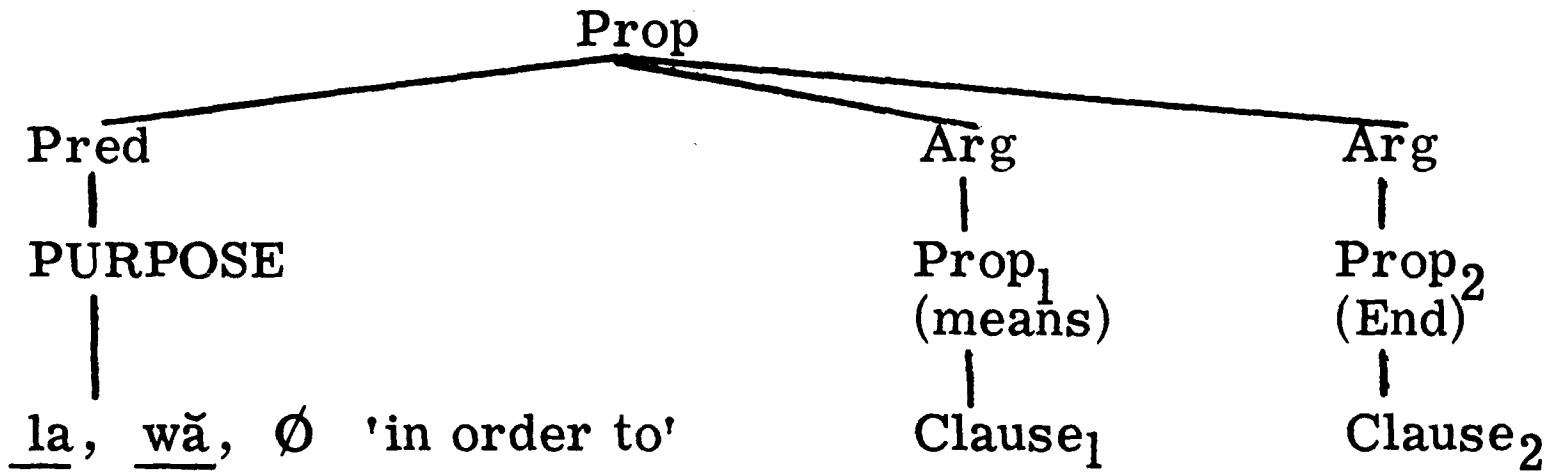
'If Father had not gone to find it, later Grandfather also would have gotten burned on his hand.'

(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 Clause<sub>1</sub> followed by the conditioned proposition, or 'apodosis', as Clause<sub>2</sub>. Tau 'if' is attached directly before Clause<sub>1</sub>. 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 dòn mi lian la ruat dòn au pheì.  
 I give you money in order to buy give me rice  
 'I'll give you money to buy rice for me.'

(18) Baǎ chù reng koh rojèl la lon  
 Father go search chop bamboo in order to sharpen  
 pǐ amal.  
 make punji

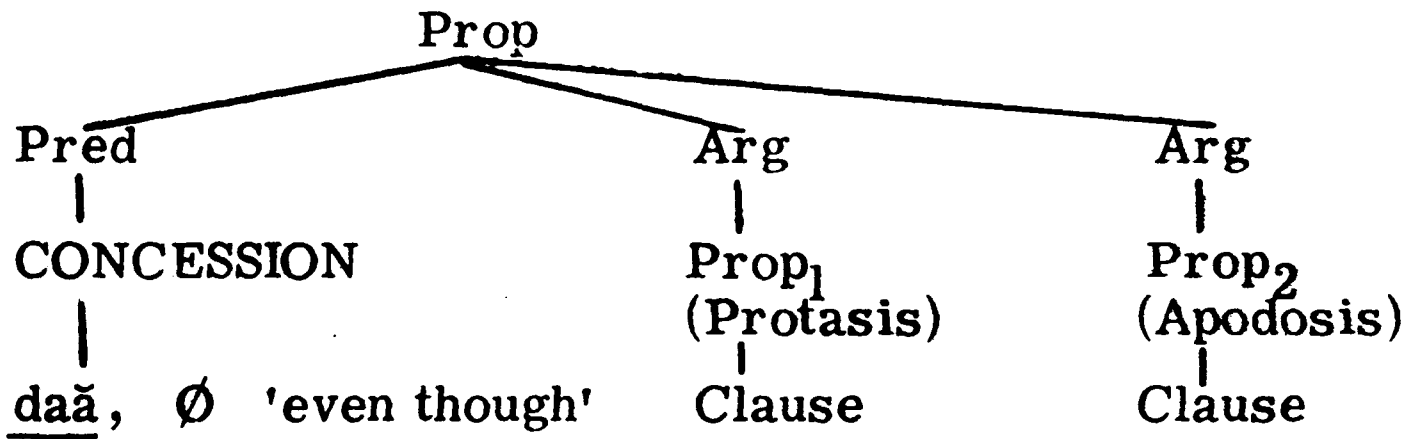
'Father is going out to chop bamboo in order to sharpen it for a punji stick.'

(19) Au dòn mi lian (au) wǎ mi ruat dòn au pheì.  
 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 dòn mi lian chù ruat dòn au pheì.  
 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 Clause<sub>1</sub> which manifests a 'Means' proposition and Clause<sub>2</sub> 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 Clause<sub>1</sub> is identical with the subject of a verb wǎ 'want' which commands Clause<sub>2</sub>. While the full construction including the parenthesized subject au 'I' (sentence (17)) is possible in Jeh, it rarely occurs. Rather wǎ stands between Clause<sub>1</sub> and Clause<sub>2</sub> 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:

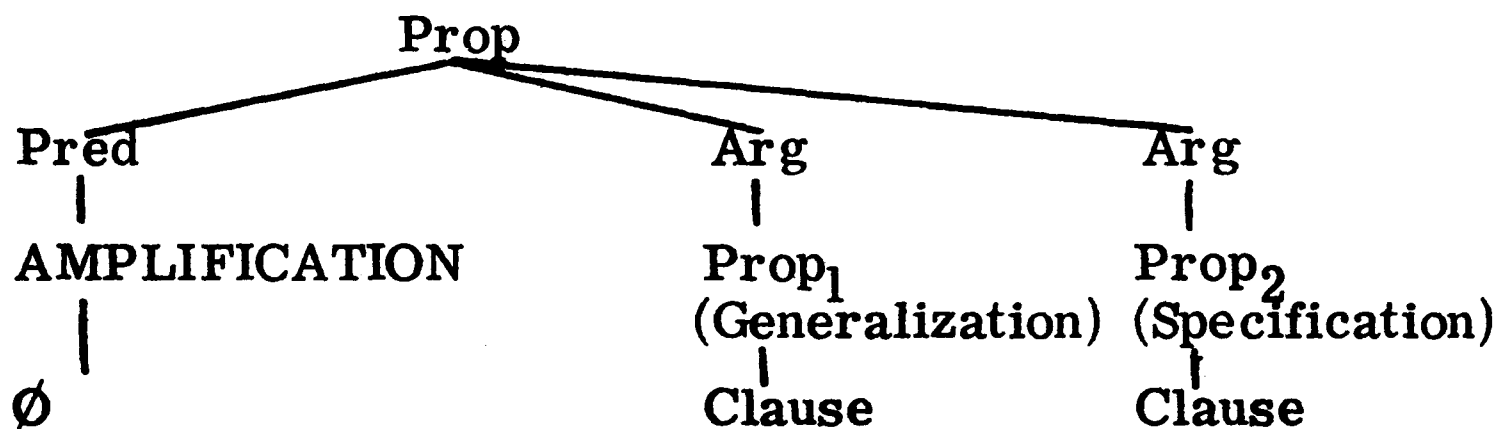
(21) Daă au dei 'nhoh, ěn duh khõm au ch̀u.  
 even though I not want he also force me go  
 'Even though I don't want to, he still forces me to go.'

(22) ěn duh khõm au ch̀u ih l̀k, daă 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 t̀h wa, ěn bloh r̀gày 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 daă 'even though' which attaches immediately before Clause<sub>1</sub> when it manifests the protasis, as in sentence (21). Note, however, that the protasis may, though less frequently, appear as Clause<sub>2</sub>. In case CONCESSION receives no overt marker (Ø), the protasis occurs as Clause<sub>1</sub> 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 k̀yau, ěn bǎ wah Yǎ 'long.  
 Y-Chei not selfish she carry share Grandma wood  
 'Y-Chei is not selfish, she carries wood to share with Grandma.'

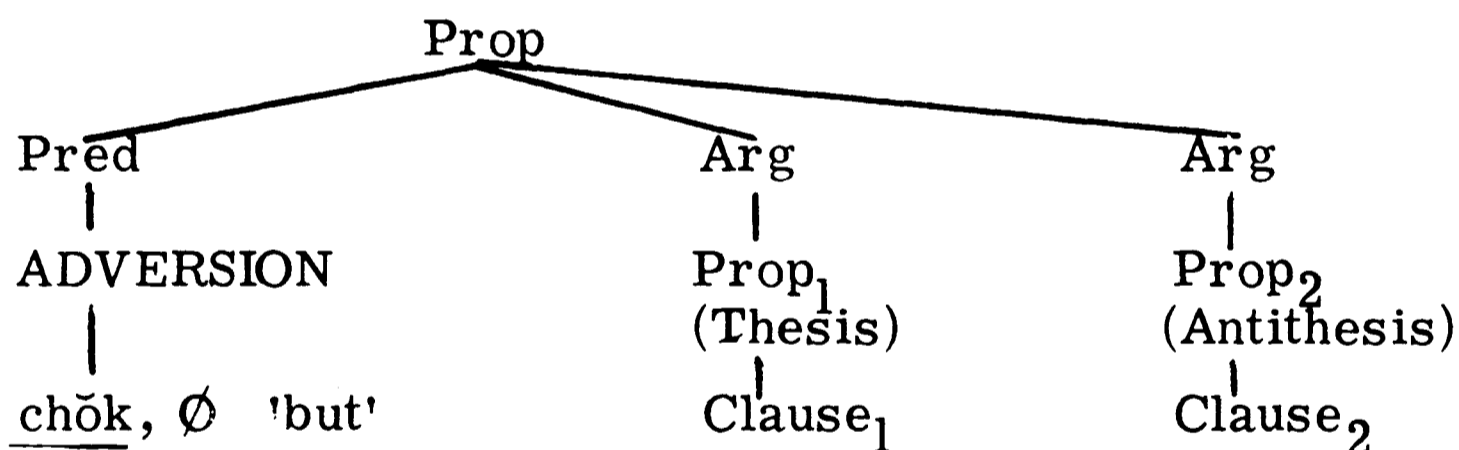
(25) Dōk ěn duh rōmaã jei, dei ei pol la cha.  
 monkey he also hard up very not any cooked rice to eat  
 'The monkey he is also very hard up, (he) hasn't any cooked rice to eat.'

(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 Prop<sub>1</sub> may occur either as Clause<sub>1</sub> as in (24) and (25) or it may appear as Clause<sub>2</sub> as in (26).

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



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

(27) Ěn pĩ nhlah chōk gù phì ěn bu chuh pōroō 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 chlu leng play chōk nhiah  
 Father therefore took older go pick fruit but house  
 toō lay roō.  
 further keeps burn

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

(29) Ěn ruat ca chōk ca bu om.  
 he buy fish but fish then spoiled

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



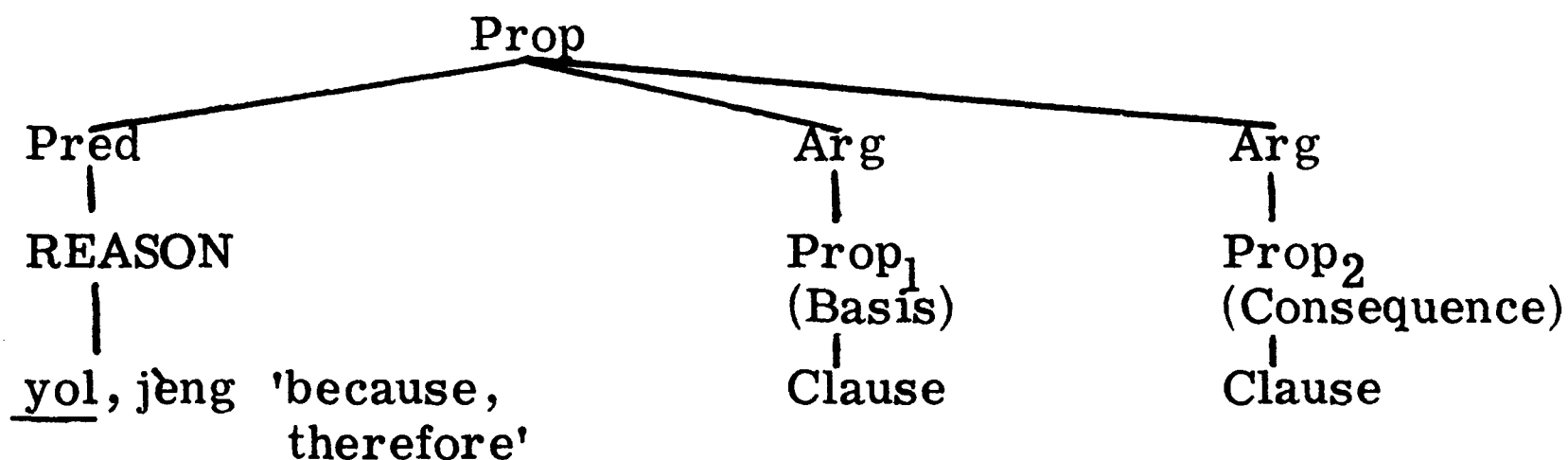
(30) Ĕn pit bli chők 'wǎn bu tung lòi.  
 she plant corn but someone then steal all  
 'She planted corn but someone then stole it all.'

(31) Boõ jah kip, ĩn dei jah kōnei.  
 Grandfather get turtle he not get rat  
 'Grandfather got a turtle, (but) he didn't get a rat.'

(32) Au pĩ 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 chők 'but', which is positioned syntactically between Clause<sub>1</sub> and Clause<sub>2</sub>. Prop<sub>1</sub> as 'Thesis' is invariably encoded as Clause<sub>1</sub> while Prop<sub>2</sub> 'Antithesis' is always Clause<sub>2</sub>. With this overt marker chők 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 Clause<sub>1</sub> and Clause<sub>2</sub> expresses the ad-versative sense; when the subject of Clause<sub>1</sub> and Clause<sub>2</sub> is the same,  $\emptyset$  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 jĩ, 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 chiu nhlah pōgang yol au jĩ  
 I go house medicine because I sick  
 'I'm going to the hospital because I am sick.'

(35) A-Thao ĩn bloh chiu mih 'long gri, ĩn 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 chiu 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

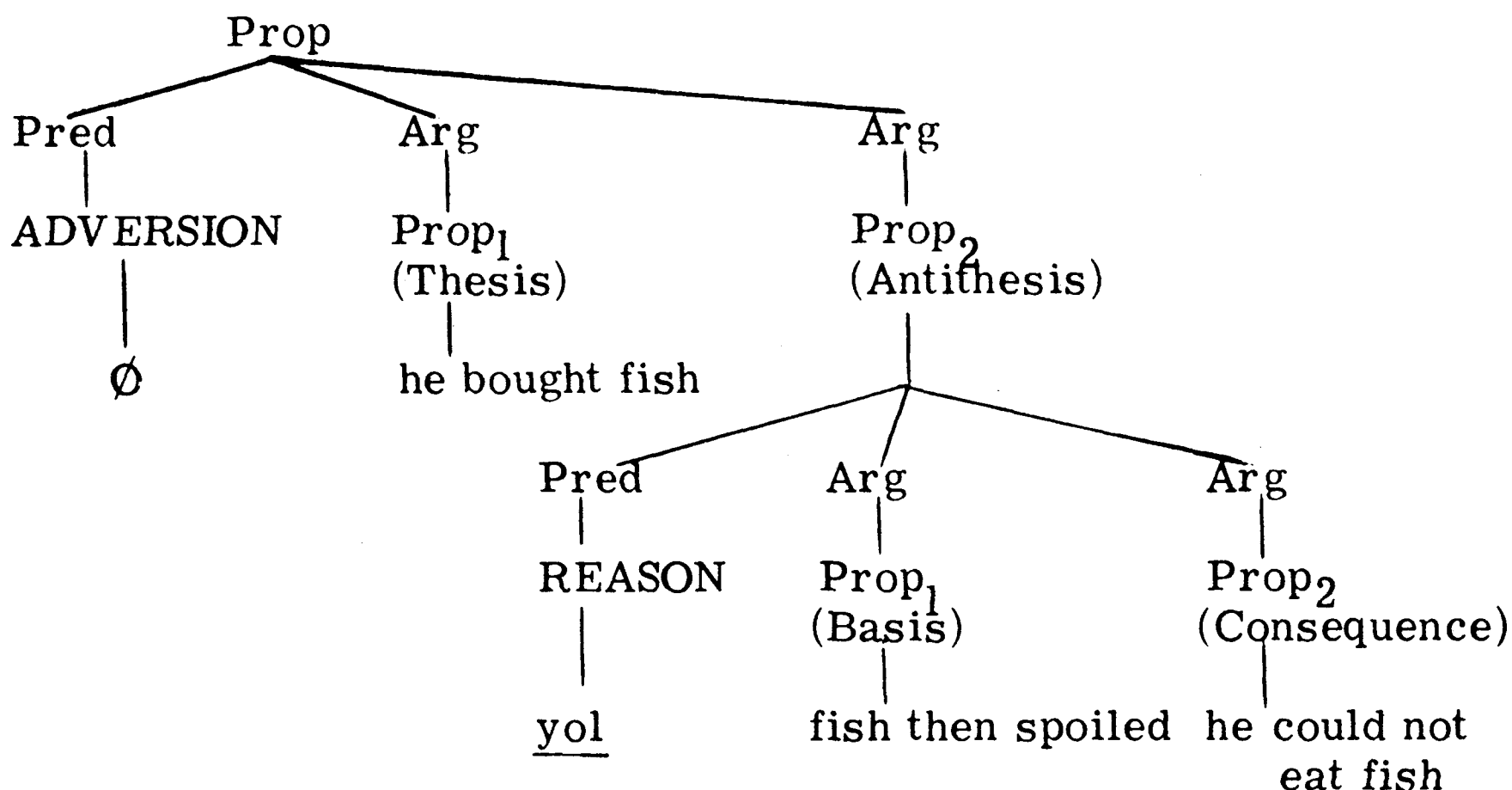
'He bought fish, but the fish then spoiled.'

- (38) Au wǎ ruat hmǎn 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 Prop<sub>1</sub> (Basis) appears as Clause<sub>1</sub> and Prop<sub>2</sub> (Consequence) appears as Clause<sub>2</sub>, 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 Prop<sub>1</sub> (Basis) to a Clause<sub>2</sub> position, jèng can never be fronted to a position in Clause<sub>1</sub> expressing Prop<sub>2</sub> (Consequence). Jèng always inserts directly following the subject of Clause<sub>2</sub>. As illustrated in (35), yol is optional preceding Clause<sub>1</sub>, while jèng is obligatory in Clause<sub>2</sub>. Comparison of (35) and (36) reveals the fact that the emphatic construction A-Thao ěn 'A-Thao he...' cannot co-occur with yol in Clause<sub>1</sub>.

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 Clause<sub>1</sub>, while Clause<sub>2</sub> overtly manifests the reason for the frustration. Sentence (38) further illustrates this usage of *yol*, Clause<sub>1</sub> 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 Clause<sub>2</sub> ('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 Clause<sub>1</sub> and Clause<sub>2</sub> 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 Clause<sub>1</sub> or Clause<sub>2</sub> position (though negative propositions in DISJUNCTION are constrained to appear in Clause<sub>2</sub>.)

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