A SYNTACTIC AND PRAGMATIC DESCRIPTION
OF VERB STEM ALTERNATION IN K’CHÔ,
A CHIN LANGUAGE

by

Kee Shein Mang

Presented to the Graduate School of Payap University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

PAYAP UNIVERSITY, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

November 2006
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and my two children, who had to cope with the extremities of life on their own in Chin State during the years of my study in Thailand.

I am proud to be a $K’Chō$ and dedicate this work to my fellow $K’Chō$ people.

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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the grammatical and pragmatic aspects of verb stem alternation in K’Chò, a southern Kuki-Chin language of Tibeto-Burman family.

Generally, verbs in K’Chò have two phonologically distinct forms. The two forms are called stem I and stem II, and they occur in different syntactic and pragmatic environments.

This thesis investigates factors that determine the stem choice in K’Cho. Syntactic and pragmatic factors are the two principal factors determining stem alternation in K’Chò. Syntactic factors are found in nominalization, relativization, valence changes, and clause linking. Pragmatic factors include information structure and deontic modality.

The interaction of information structure and verb stem alternation is the significant outcome of this thesis. Unmarked focus types such as sentence focus, predicate focus, and narrow focus require the use of stem I, while marked narrow focus and contrastive focus require the use of stem II.
ชื่อเรื่อง: การบรรยายลักษณะทางไวยากรณ์และวัจนปฏิบัติของการแปรรูปเค้าศัพท์ในภาษาไทยในกลุ่มภาษาเดิน

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บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้ศึกษาลักษณะทางไวยากรณ์และวัจนปฏิบัติในการแปรรูปเค้าศัพท์ในภาษาคอว์ (อี๋) ซึ่งเป็นภาษาสกุลคุคิฉิ่นใต้ในตระกูลทิเบต-พม่าโดยทั่วไปคํากริยาในภาษาคอว์แต่ละคําจะมีรูปเค้าศัพท์กริยาที่แตกต่างกันอยู่ 2 รูป เรียกว่า รูปเค้าศัพท์กริยา I (stem I) และ รูปเค้าศัพท์กริยา II (stem II)แต่ละรูปเค้าศัพท์กริยาจะมีสภาวะแวดล้อมทางไวยากรณ์และวัจนปฏิบัติที่ต่างกัน

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้ศึกษาหาปัจจัยที่มีผลต่อการแปรรูปเค้าศัพท์กริยาพบว่าปัจจัยทางไวยากรณ์และปัจจัยทางวัจนปฏิบัติเป็นปัจจัยหลักที่สำคัญปัจจัยด้านไวยากรณ์ประกอบด้วย การสร้างนาม (nominalization) การสร้างอนุพัทธ์สัมพัทธ์ (relativization) การเพิ่มลดภาคประธาน/กรรม (valency...
changing) และการเข้มอนุประโยค (clause linking) ปัจจัยด้านวัฒนปฏิบัติ
ประกอบด้วยการเน้นจุดสำคัญของสาร (information focus) และทัศนภาวะ (deontic
modality)

การเน้นจุดสำคัญของสาร (information focus) เป็นหัวข้อหลักใน
การศึกษาครั้งนี้ พบร่างจุดสำคัญเป็นกลาง (unmarked) เช่น จุดสำคัญระดับ
ประโยค (sentence focus) จุดสำคัญระดับภาคแสดง (predicate focus) และจุดสำคัญ
ระดับแคบ (narrow focus) จะใช้รูปคำพิเศษกริยา I ส่วนรูปคำพิเศษกริยา II จะใช้
เมื่อเน้นจุดสำคัญอย่างแตกต่าง (marked) เช่น จุดสำคัญแบบเน้นแคบ (marked
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<table>
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<th></th>
<th>First person</th>
<th>IRRL</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>JUSS</td>
<td>Jussive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Agent (transitive subject)</td>
<td>NF</td>
<td>Non-Future</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Applicative morpheme</td>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>Number</td>
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<td>Aspect</td>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>Object</td>
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<td>ASP</td>
<td>Auxilary</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Patient (transitive object)</td>
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<td>Causer 2</td>
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<td>Causative</td>
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<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Complementiser</td>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
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<td>COMP</td>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Question</td>
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<td>CONJ</td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Intransitive Subject</td>
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<td>DAT</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>SBJ</td>
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<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>Tense, Aspect, Modality</td>
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<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>TOP</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Future</td>
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<td>IMP</td>
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Stem alternation is a well-known characteristic of verbs across Kuki-Chin languages. It has also been a stimulating topic of concentrated investigation and discussion for linguists working on Chin languages such as Tiddim, Sizang, Mizo, Lai, Bawm, Zahau, and Daai. This thesis is a grammatical approach to the issue of stem alternation, considering syntactic and pragmatic environments that trigger the choice of one verb stem in favor of another in K’Chò. This study also adds a much needed syntactic description of the phenomenon to the existing study of phonological characteristics of verb stem alternation in K’Chò.

Chapter 1 contains a general introduction to the K’Chò people and language and a brief grammatical overview of K’Chò. A literature review of stem alternation in Kuki-Chin languages is presented in chapter 2 along with the criteria for determining which stem is which in K’Chò. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 contain the main data description and discussion of this thesis. The research findings are summarized in chapter 6.

1.1 The K’Chò language and its speakers

K’Chò /kxo\1/ or /kxou\1/ are the people who live mainly in Mindat and Kanpetlet townships of southern Chin State, western Myanmar. The K’Chò also call the language they speak K’Chò. Gordon (2005) lists the total population at about 30,000.

1.1.1 Name of the people and the language

K’Chò is the ethnonym of the people. It is a sociocultural label for speakers of several different language varieties who share significant cultural features and
consider themselves to be one unified group. This thesis will draw on data from one of the K’Chò speech varieties so that language variants are not contributing to the variation in the choice of verb stems (see: section 1.5.7).

K’Chò people are also known by several other names, such as Müün, Ng’mèèn, Mindat Chin, Cho Chin, Yawdwin Chin, Chinbok, and Chinme. These are often used interchangeably to refer to this same group of people (cf. Grierson 1904, Gordon 2005). Sometimes, some of these names are reported to be names of linguistically distinct groups (Peterson 2000:4). Therefore, a short discussion regarding these various names will be given here.

Müün¹ /mi:n⁵/ is name of a K’Chò sub-group. Other K’Chò main sub-groups are Daai /dai/ (see Hartmann, forthcoming) and M’kààng² /m.ka:n⁵/ (see Figure 3).

Ng’mèèn /ŋ.me:n⁴/ refers to a sub-group of Müün living north of the K’hngigüng³ /k.hŋi.yŋ⁵/ river tract. The term seems to be originally used by another sub-group of Müün called the K’hngiGuyung⁴ /ŋi.juŋ⁵/, who live along the southern bank of the K’hngigüng river. Hartmann-So’s (1988) informant believes that the word came from name of a type of deer called the ‘Ng’mèèn deer’. However, it seems quite plausible rather, that the name is derived from the Müün village, which has existed on the northern side of the K’hngigüng river tract since well before

¹ Hartmann-So (1988) seems to give a Daai rendering, ‘Ngmuün’ for the word which the people themselves pronounce ‘Muün’ without the initial velar nasal /ŋ/. No one seems to know the origin and meaning of this term. There are some opinions about where it etymologically came from. Hartmann-So (1988) speculates that it is derived from the word ‘Ng’meen’. The Daai spelling seems to have led her to this conclusion. During personal contact in 2005, an informant from Ng’Bong village claims that the word comes from the name of a mountain called Müün m’htuang ‘Mt. Müün’ in the Hlet-lông area. Some K’Chò tribes invoke the name of the mountain during their sacrificial prayers. And they began to be known as Müün after the mountain.

² According to my experience, these people call themselves ‘Kaang’ without the initial bilabial nasal. They were also known as cane-belly Chins after the cane rings they wore around their waists.

³ K’hngigüng is the local name, which in Burmese is called Chi chawng or the Chi river.

⁴ The word ‘K’hngiGuyung’ is not well-accepted by the people themselves. They like to refer to themselves as Maung Ng Thang or Maung Ng Thang K’chààng ‘descendants of Maung Ng Thang’. The name seems to have been applied to them by the people they call Ng’mèèn. According to Buning and Eugene (2001), the name is derived from the ‘K’Hngigüng River’.

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1 Müün is a K’Chò sub-group. Other K’Chò main sub-groups are Daai (see Hartmann, forthcoming) and M’kààng (see Figure 3).

2 According to my experience, these people call themselves ‘Kaang’ without the initial bilabial nasal. They were also known as cane-belly Chins after the cane rings they wore around their waists.

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Mindat was founded. The K’hngiyung people refer to the northern bank of K’hngigüng river, the side where the Ng’mèën village and Mindat are located, as Ng’mèën-ga ‘Ng’meen side of the river’, probably meaning ‘the Ng’mèën village side of the river’. And they also referred to the people on the northern bank as Ng’mèën k’chààng ‘the Ng’mèën people’. In any case, Ng’mèën is an exonym for a sub-group of K’Chò.

Mindat Chin /mindat tʃin/ is a loconym ‘The Chin of Mindat’, an inclusive generic name for all the Chins of different languages and/or dialect groups living within the township of Mindat, similar to the terms Hakha Chin, Falam Chin, Tidim Chin, and Matupi Chin; terms that refer to the Chins inhabiting those townships irrespective of their linguistic and sociocultural diversity.

Cho (Chin) is Burmanized pronunciation of K’Chò. Yawdwin Chin ‘Chins of Yaw region’ seems to be an old generic term of the British colonial period for some southern Chin groups, especially those, including K’Chò, within the Pakhukku Hill tracts of the British administration.

In older literature (e.g. Greirson 1904:II:647), the K’Chò were also known collectively along with other southern Chin groups as Chinbok5 or Chinme, which are Burmese derogatory terms meaning ‘rotten Chin’ and ‘black Chin’ respectively. These terms should no longer be used.

The name K’Chò is the most fundamental autonym the people use to refer to themselves. In cultural and traditional religious functions, the people routinely use the name K’Chò, never sub-group names Müün, Ng’mèën, Daai, M’kang. The first Primer in the language printed in 1935 also clearly attests to the name by labeling the textbook in the local language as K’Chò k’chū - ‘The K’Chò language’.

5 When the K’Chò orthography was first developed and a primer was made for teaching in some local schools, it was called Cho Khi ‘Cho language’ in the native language, but the English title puts it as the Chinbok dialect of Chin (Anon. 3: 1935). Later, it was changed to Cho ca or K’Chò ca ‘the K’Chò language’. So the autonym at least dates backs to then.
The name *K’Chò* also seems to be analogous with other autonyms for different Chin groups such as *Zo, Mizo, Laizo, Asho*, and *Hyo*. It is often used by the *K’Chò* people as a generic name for all the Chin people; * Yöpá K’Chò* ‘Northern Chin’, *Àsho K’Chò* ‘Asho Chin’, *Båtú K’Chò* ‘Matu Chin’ and so on.

Furthermore, some people believe that the name is derived from the word *K’Chò* ‘higher location’. *K’Chò* people identify themselves as *K’Chò* and call their neighboring Chins down the Yaw valley northeast of Mindat as *Dó* ‘flat land or valley’ probably meaning ‘Plain or Valley Chins’.

The name *K’Chò* in this thesis will refer to the *Hmong-K’Cha* variety of *Ng’meen* (excluding *Hlet-long*), which is a sub-group of *Müün* (see Figure 4). It should be noted that currently there is some confusion regarding which dialect is representative of *K’Chò*. The dialect described in this thesis is the variety in which the *K’Chò* orthography was first developed in 1935 and officially taught as *K’Chò* language in local schools of Mindat and Kanpetlet townships of Southern Chin State.⁸

### 1.1.2 Geographical location

Speakers of *Müün*, a variety of *K’Chò*, to be described in this thesis live mainly in Mindat township, some reside in Kanpetlet township of southern Chin State, and there is one village in Matupi township⁹. The language is generally bounded in the

---

⁶ Buning and Eugene (2001: 106 ff) and *Kyūì Lè Om* (in his 2005 ‘Political Statement’ on the K’Chò-Net) clearly state that ‘*K’Chò*’ means ‘High land’. Hartmann (forthcoming: 25) says *K’Chò* simply means ‘Chin’. It may be correct that *K’Chò* may be used to mean ‘Chin’ in its contemporary meaning, but, it may not be etymologically. ‘Chin’ is a Burmese word while *K’Chò* is not. Even if the word ‘Chin’ comes from the Chin word *Khààng* or *kxààng* ‘man’ as some suggest, the word ‘Chin’ and *K’Chò* are semantically distinct.

⁷ These Chins call themselves *Rungtu*. But, they are more widely known by their Burmese name *Taungtha*, which the people themselves readily accept. Incidentally, like many other ‘Chin’ groups living outside Chin State, they do not like to consider themselves as Chin.

⁸ Jordan’s (1965) ‘Chin dictionary and grammar’ also is in the same variety.

⁹ Some *K’Chò* people moved into *Matupi* township and set up a village called *Dìng* in the 1960’s.
west by K’Chò sub-groups of Daai and Kàäng, in the north by Rawng-tu\textsuperscript{10} and in the east by Taungtha (Rungtu), and in the south by Daai.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{map.png}
\caption{Map of Chin State showing K’Chò region (Adapted from Khoi Lam Thang 2000)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{10} This group was formerly referred to as Weilong (Grierson 1904, Bradley 1997), and the government administration grouped them under the name M’Kàäng or Kàäng. However, the Kàäng people used to call them Yö Kàäng. Recently, the people identify themselves as Rawng-tu.
Figure 2: Map of K’Cho area (adapted from Hartmann-So 1988)
1.2 Genetic affiliation

This section is divided into four parts: the first three look at the wide genetic affiliation of K’Chò and the last section looks at the internal linguistic relations of K’Chò.

1.2.1 The place of Chin in Tibeto-Burman languages

Chin languages belong to the Kuki-Chin sub-branch of Kuki-Chin-Naga in the Tibeto-Burman family (Gordon 2005). Bradley (1997) classifies Chin languages under Kuki-Chin-Naga, which is part of the Northeastern India branch of Tibeto-Burman language family. However, higher level classifications are still uncertain. In any case, Chin languages form a clear cluster within Tibeto-Burman.

1.2.2 The place of K’Chò in Chin languages

Traditionally, linguists have classified Chin languages basically into three main groups: Northern, Central, and Southern based on geographic location (cf. Grieson 1904, Bradley 1997, Khoi Lam Thang 2000). However, recently Peterson (2000) proposed only two main groups: Central (the traditional Central Chin languages excluding Mara) and Peripheral (the traditional Northern and Southern Chin languages excluding Khumi).

K’Chò clearly belongs to what has been delineated as the Southern group (or Peterson’s Peripheral Group) of the Kuki-Chin branch of the Tibeto-Burman family.

1.2.3 The place of K’Chò in Southern Chin languages

Hartmann-So (1988) classified southern Chin languages into two main sub-groups (Figure 3). She regards the name Cho (K’Chò) as the super-ordinate name of five
southern Chin languages: Matu, Chinpon, Daai, Müün, and Mkaang. The K’Chò variety of this thesis is Müün under this Cho group. Therefore, the name K’Chò will refer to Müün.

1.2.4 Internal classification of Müün

According to my own field observations, and personal contact with speakers over the years in Mindat, the following broad generalizations can prove helpful in distinguishing Müün varieties of K’Chò. The main varieties are Ng’meën, Nitú, M’kang and the majority of Daai seem to regard themselves as K’Chò. However, I learned that some people from the west Daai area used to refer to the people to their east as K’Chò pá ‘K’Chò man/people’. This raises a question whether even some sub-groups of Daai had K’Chò as their super-ordinate name before. At this point, I am not in the position to comment whether Matu and Chinpon consider K’chò as their super-ordinate name either.
K’hngiyung, and probably Ng’Gah\textsuperscript{12}/ŋ.ya?/ as shown in Figure 4. Ng’mèën can further be divided into two main sub-groups: the variety spoken along the Hlet-lòng river tract and one spoken in Mindat and along the two river tracts of the Hmóng-lòng and K’Cha-lòng, and also some villages north of Myincheitawng or Mt. Myinchei, locally called Pùghü m’htuung ‘Grandfather Mountain’.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure4.png}
\caption{Internal classification of K’Chò (Müün)}
\end{figure}

Hartmann-So (1988) gives the following list as Müün sub-group names: Ng’mèën, Ng’lung Tu, Ha Ta, Kyuun Ta, Nitu, Ma Ngthang (Ng’hngi Long / Nghngi Yung), Mvak Lò\textsuperscript{13} (Kyung So, Mlung So), Kyah Long, and Hlet Long.

From my experience, Ng’mèën and Hlet-lòng are names signifying linguistically more or less cohesive groups, the latter being a variety of the former (see Figure 4). Nìtú and Ma Ng’thang (K’hngilòng/K’khngiyung) are tribally as well as linguistically distinct groups. Other terms like Ng’lung Tú, Hnga Htà (Hnga ta), Kyuun Htà (Kyüün ta), M’va-k’lò\textsuperscript{14} (Kyüng Hlo, M’lung Hlo) are tribal names rather than names of linguistically defined groups.

\textsuperscript{12} I have no reliable information on the status of this group. Some information indicates that the name itself is not a native one and somewhat disapproved of by the people themselves.

\textsuperscript{13} Hartmann-So spells as Mbak lo, which is Mvá-k’lò in K’Chò.

\textsuperscript{14} Such names as Müün, Ng’mèën, Kaang, and Daai refer to linguistically distinct and geographically as well as socio-culturally defined groups, which often embrace a number of different tribes. For example, Müün (K’chò in this thesis) is linguistically more or less a unified group within which can be enumerated the tribes of (1) M’vá-k’lò (those who migrated from Bama/Burmese area or the Yaw valley east of Mindat), (2) M’Kàäng-k’lò (those who came from the M’Kàäng group, i.e., Nìtú, Lehman (1963:86) also noted that some M’Kaang becoming Ng’mèën are called M’Kak-tu.), and (3) K’Khaan-k’chák (those who dropped from above- including K’hngiyung, Lautu, and etc.).
The K’Chò varieties shown in Figure 4 are groups that exist, like any neighboring linguistic groups, in the manner of dialect continuity rather than with clear and discrete boundaries. Each group also has its own internal variations. Generally, the Nitú variety is spoken in the Mòne or Maw river (locally known as Hmaa-lòng, one of the tributaries of Myit-tha river) region north of Mindat in over 30 villages. Hlet-lòng variety is spoken in about 12 villages along the Hlet-lòng river tract west of Mindat. K’hmóng-lòng and K’cha-lòng varieties are spoken in Mindat, along the two river tracts of K’hmóng-lòng and K’cha-lòng by about 40 villages. K’hnigüng is mainly spoken by some 30 villages south of K’hnigüng river and 5 villages in Kanpetlet township. Ng’Gah is spoken by about 17 villages in Kanpetlet township.

1.3 Socioculture and religion

The land of the Müün K’Chò people is mountainous and there is no flat land. The mountain ranges around Mindat generally run from West to East and they are separated by deep gorges with swift running rivers. The weather is generally much cooler than the Yaw valley in the east and the Daai area in the West.

The people are swidden farmers. Culturally, they have many traditions in common with neighboring groups (Daai, Kaang, and Matu) such as mithan feasts, face tattooing, and blood feuds. Müün men used to knot their hair on top of the head,

Ng’Lùng-tú and Ma-hlo (Ma-so) are the two major sub-groups of M’vá-k’ló. From these two main sub-groups branch off a dozen other smaller tribes: Tai-hlo (Tai-So), Kyüün-hlo, M’lung-hlo, Ha-htá, Kyüün-htá, and other numerous clans with -hlo(-so) and -htá (-ta) suffixes.

Lehman (1963:86) observed that Daai are made up of various displaced people heterogeneous both linguistically and culturally. This seems to be supported by the fact that there are some stone dolmans around Mindat attributed to the Daai people as Daai lung ‘Daai dolmans’. Some Daai in Kanpetlet are Tai Hlo (Taiso), who are said to be related to the Tai Hlo group of Mindat. Moreover, some northern Daai people, particularly from Athêt-chéng and Òk-chéng villages, claim to be Kyüün-htá tribe of Ng’lung-tú group, which is one of the main tribal groups of Müün. The K’Chò oral history recounts that the M’vá-k’ló group entered the current region from the Yaw valley and wandered off to the west as far as the confluence of Phung-lòng (Lemyo river) and Òt-long (one of its tributaries). Then, they migrated back to the current region. It is possible that the Daai group claiming to be Kyüün-htá tribe of K’Chò remained behind when others backtracked. During the influx of the M’vá-k’ló group from the Yaw valley, the present K’Chò region was said to be occupied by Kò-tú and Mah-tú tribes with whom they apparently intermarried. These people are not seen in the area today. It seems that they were either totally assimilated or pushed further west and south by the influx of the M’va-k’lo group.
while Daai and Kààng tended to knot their hair over their forehead. Müün traditional dress also used to be different from that of Daai and Kààng. Lehman (1963:84) noted that the Müün (he used Ng’mèën) have some distinctive material culture that is not found among the tribes to their west (Daai and Kààng) such as multicolor-striped blankets, men’s sitting cloth (puumhlui), men’s loincloth or genital sheath¹⁵, and some other items. But these distinctions are not so obvious anymore, as most people have abandoned wearing hair-knots, and non-native dress has been replacing the traditional costumes.

Face tattoo¹⁶ patterns of women can also distinguish the Müün from Daai and Kààng. The Müün face-tattoo pattern has semi-circles on vertical lines, while the pattern of Daai and Kààng is black dots all over the face. Like many other traditional customs, face-tattooing is not practiced among younger generations anymore.

Müün music is also different from that of the Daai and Kààng. The Müün orchestra uses six heavy-resonant brass gongs (even 12 are said to have been used before) along with a drum and mini-cymbal, and the rhythm is lively. Daai and Kààng use three or four light and less resonant plate-like gongs, which are much similar to the northern Chin gongs, and a drum. The Daai melody also seems to the author to be more similar to that heard among the northern Chins and the Shans. Some Daai and Kààng also share with the northern Chins some wind instruments and the singing style called la-sak. Müün people never sang with instrumental accompaniment. Women generally sing solo, and men either solo or

¹⁵ Men of some tribes to the west of Müün, unlike Müün men who cover the whole front part with the loincloth, are said to wrap the male organ with the loincloth exposing the testicles on either side of it.

¹⁶ Tattoo patterns among Chin groups are interesting. Leman (1963) notes that the further one moves to the west from the Burmese lowlands the more the density of the tattoo diminishes. The ‘Chinpon’ or Üppü tattoo is painted-black. Some Daai and Kààng wear dots all over the face making it almost as dark as the Chinpon’s. Some Daai wear stripes up their face with vertical lines. The Müün tattoo has two or three vertical lines on each side of the face with semi-circles along the outer-edges of these. Some tribes between Mindat and Matupi have a single Y-shape tattoo in the middle of the forehead. Some Matu tribes wear a curve line on each side of the face in the shape of parenthesis ( ) and a straight line from top of the forehead and along the nose to the chin. Some other pattern can be found further western and southern Chin groups.
duet. Singing is always spontaneous and impromptu, requiring a good command of the lyric language, customs, and history of the group.

*Müün* folk stories recount a creation story, how death came upon man, and the great inundation. *Müün* people used to burn the dead, and put the bone pot under the stone dolmans constructed during mithan sacrifices, and believe in the life after. Today, Buddhism and Christianity have replaced the traditional religion to a large extent.

### 1.4 Sociolinguistic situation

The *Hmong-K’Cha* variety of *Müün* was developed as the *K’Chò* orthography and taught as the official *K’Chò* language in local schools of Mindat and Kanpetlet townships since 1935. But it has never been successfully taught despite several attempts. The writing of the language has not been practiced by the people themselves except by some churches in the form of Bible translation, hymns, and prayers.

Geographical proximity to the Burmese lowlands and contact with Burmese speaking people over the years seem to have reshaped the *K’Chò* language as significant number of Burmese words became established in the *K’Chò* vocabulary as can be seen in Jordan’s (1969) dictionary. Recently, Burmese has become more influential and will continue to increase in dominance, as is the case in most languages of the various ethnic groups in the country, since it is the national language and the sole language of instruction at school. The presence of a strong Burmese speaking community in Mindat as traders, government employees, army personnel with their families, and Buddhist missionaries also reinforces the influence of Burmese language.

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17 A French missionary to the region noted his bewilderment at the *Müün* folklores similarity to some Bible stories.
Moreover, as Mindat is the district administration center of southern Chin State, speakers of other Chin languages from all over Chin State are also present causing other changes to K’Chò language. Recently, the language has drawn the attention of some linguists, and there have been some studies on the language from modern linguistic point of view. Therefore, it is hoped that the study of the K’Chò language from a linguistic point of view will contribute to the maintenance of it to some extent or at least the language will be documented before its total assimilation into the mainstream Burmese culture and language.

1.5 An Overview of K’Chò phonology and grammar

This section briefly introduces the phonology and typology of K’Chò grammar to provide a background to the thesis. The phonological inventory of the language, tone and vowel length, word order typology, postpositions, case marking on the arguments, and verbal indexations are discussed briefly.

For instance, K’Chò normally uses the particle neh for 3rd person agreement in interrogative sentences. E.g. Gai neh ang? ‘Is s/he well?’ Today, the particle is used indiscriminately for all persons. For example: Na hngu neh ang formerly would mean ‘Does/did s/he see me?’ But, now people use it to mean ‘Do/did you see him/her/it?’ This shift seems to have begun with some non-native or other variety of K’Chò speakers who do not make this distinction.
1.5.1 Phonological inventory

*K’Chò* has 28 consonants and seven vowels (Nolan 2000).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Interdental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vl stops</td>
<td>p, pʰ</td>
<td>t, tʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>k, kʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingressive</td>
<td>ɓ, ɗ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vl fricatives</td>
<td>ŋ, x, h</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd Fricatives</td>
<td>v, J, ɣ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vl Affricates</td>
<td>tθ, kx</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd Affricates</td>
<td>dʒ, ky</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m, ŋ</td>
<td>n, (ŋ)</td>
<td></td>
<td>η, ŋ̥</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l, ł</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clusters</td>
<td>p, pʰ, l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: *K’Chò* consonants

K’Chò vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Center</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i, i:</td>
<td>i, i:</td>
<td>u, u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e, e:</td>
<td>ã, ã:</td>
<td>ã, ã:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a, a:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>ëi, ai, ui, œi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: *K’Chò* vowels
Tone is an important feature of K’Chò phonology. Nolan (2000) identified four tones in K’Chò: high, low, rising, and falling. The first three are mutually contrastive, but the falling tone is found in a few grammatical items and mainly as the result of morphological coalescence. Vowel length is also contrastive in the language.

### 1.5.2 Word order typology

K’Chò, like most Tibeto-Burman languages, is an SOV language as shown in (1) and (2). It can also have OSV order in order to reflect the discourse prominence of or focusing on the object as in (3). When none of the arguments are overtly case-marked, SOV is the only acceptable interpretation as in (4).

1. **S V**
   
   *Vok dông-ci.*
   
   pig run.1-NF
   
   The pig ran.

2. **S O V**
   
   *Ui noh vok htuí-ci.*
   
   dog ERG pig bite.1-NF
   
   The dog bit the pig.

3. **O S V**
   
   *Vok ui noh htuí-ci.*
   
   pig dog ERGbite.1-NF
   
   It was the pig that the dog bit.

4. **S O V**
   
   *Vok ui htuí-ci.*
   
   pig dog bite.1-NF
   
   The pig bit the dog/*The dog bit the pig.

### 1.5.3 Head-dependent ordering

K’Chò is a head final language as can be seen by (1) SOV word order (see 1.5.2); (2) TAM are marked by post-verbal particles; (3) nominal arguments are followed by case markers; (4) topic marker occurs after the topicalized arguments. K’Chò is a head-marking language in that the arguments are indexed with the head or the verb.
1.5.4 Case marking

*K’Chò* exhibits ergative-absolutive alignment in case marking on arguments as shown in (5) and (6).

(5)  
\[
\text{Vok} \quad \text{shi(k)}^{19}\text{-ci}.  
\]
\[
Pig \quad \text{die.1-NF}  
\]

The pig died.

(6)  
\[
\text{Ui} \quad \text{noh} \quad \text{vok} \quad \text{htui-ci}.  
\]
\[
\text{Dog} \quad \text{ERG} \quad \text{pig} \quad \text{bite.1-NF}  
\]

The dog bit the pig.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Vok} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{Ui-noh} & \quad \text{Vok} \\
\text{A-ERG} & \quad \text{P}
\end{array}
\]

The subject of intransitive sentence in (5) and the object in (6) are unmarked or marked absolutive, while the subject of transitive sentence in (6) is marked by *noh* ‘ergative’.

The recipient in *K’Cho* is marked with the particle *am* as in (7).

(7)  
\[
\text{Om} \quad \text{noh} \quad \text{Yong} \quad \text{am} \quad \text{pàpai} \quad \text{pe(k)-ci}.  
\]
\[
\text{Om} \quad \text{ERG} \quad \text{Yong} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{flower} \quad \text{give.1-NF}  
\]

Om gave flowers to Yong.

1.5.5 Personal pronouns and possessive pronouns

*K’Chò* personal pronouns and possessive pronouns are shown in the following table (cf. see also Table 4 on person and number indexation on verbs). *K’Chò* generally distinguishes singular, dual, and plural. First person dual and plural numbers are further distinguished between exclusive and inclusive.

---

19 (k) is epenthetic /k/. Short open syllables are closed with /k/ when followed by ci ‘Non-Future’ and khai ‘Future’. Notice that no epenthesis occurs in the case of an open syllable with diphthong (i.e., long) vowel in the same environment as shown in (6).
### Table 3: K’Chò personal pronouns and possessive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Personal pronoun</th>
<th>Possessive pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>kei</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>keini</td>
<td>kaní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inclusive</td>
<td>nikni</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>keimi</td>
<td>kami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inclusive</td>
<td>mik-mí</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>nang</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>nangni</td>
<td>nani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>nangmí</td>
<td>nami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>ani</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>ngani</td>
<td>ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>ngami</td>
<td>ami</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.5.6 Verbal indexation

K’Chò verbs normally carry preverbal pronominal indexation and post-verbal number indexation of their syntactic subject and object in addition to TAM markers (see Bedell 2000). The K’Chò verb has two slightly different structures determined by the stem of the verb root as given below.

**Stem I Verb Phrase structure**

1/2SBJ.PER&NUM-1/2OBJ.PER–Stem.I – 1/2/3OBJ.NUM-TAM- 3SBJ.NUM (DL & PL)

**Stem II Verb Phrase Structure**

1/2/3SBJ.PER&NUM-1/2OBJ.PER -Stem-II - 1/2/3OBJ.NUM-TAM

The above verb phrase structures are exemplified by (8) and (9).
(8)a. *Keini noh a-k’hmó gui kani-Ø-hngu-gui-ci.*
1DL ERG child PL 1DL.SBJ-3OBJ-see.I-PL-NF
We two (exclusive) saw the children.

child DL ERG 2PL 3SBJ-2OBJ-see.I-PL-NF-DL
The two children saw you (plural).

(9)a. *Nangni noh a-k’hmó gui nani-Ø-hnguh-gui.*
2DL ERG child PL 2DL.SBJ-3OBJ-see.II-PL
You two saw the children.

child DL ERG 1PL(excl) 3DL.SBJ-2OBJ-see.II-PL
The two children saw us (plural).

Generally, the way syntactic subject and object are marked on the verb is restricted by three factors, namely verb stem, argument type, person.

First, stem I allows 1st and 2nd person subjects to be marked preverbally with respect to both person and number as shown in (8a). Third person subject is zero marked on stem I with respect to person, but it is marked post verbally with respect to number as (8b) shows. Stem II root, on the other hand, is preverbally marked with 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person subject with reference to both person and number as shown in (9a&b).

Secondly, only 1st and 2nd person object are marked preverbally on both stem I and stem II with regard to person, and they are marked post verbally with reference to number as shown in (8b) and (9b). Third person object is zero marked with respect to person, but it is marked with respect to number post verbally as (8a) and (9a) show.

Person and number indexation of subject and object arguments on the verb are shown in table (4). (cf. possessive pronouns in 1.5.5).

Interestingly, the K’Chò 1st and 2nd person verbal indexations, unlike case marking on the arguments (cf. 1.5.4), show nominative-accusative.
(10) **Ka-ip-ci.**  
1SG.SBJ-sleep.1-NF  
I sleep/slept.

(11) **Ka-ning-hngu(k)-ci.**  
1SG.SBJ-2OBJ-see.1-NF  
I see/saw you.

(12) **Na-dóng-ci.**  
2SG.SBJ-run.1-NF  
You run/ran.

(13) **Na-na-hngu(k)-ci.**  
2SG.SBJ-1OBJ-see.1-NF  
You see/saw me.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post Verb</th>
<th>Pre-Verbal Verb Roots</th>
<th>Pre-Verbal</th>
<th>Post Verb</th>
<th>Post Verb</th>
<th>Post Verbal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>-goi</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>kani-</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>kami-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-guí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>nining-</td>
<td>-goi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Dual</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nami-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-guí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Ø/a-</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-goi</td>
<td>-goi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Ø/ani-</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-guí</td>
<td>-guí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Ø/ami-</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: K'Chò person and number indexations on verb
If we look at the first person indexations on the verb in (10) and (11), the subject argument of both S and A are marked identically by ka-, but first person P in (13) is marked differently as na-. Likewise, identical morpheme na- is co-indexed with the verb with regard to the 2nd person S and A in (12) and (13). However, the co-indexation for 2nd person P is ning- as in (11).

1.5.7 Verb stem alternation

In K’Chò, like other Chin languages, many verbs have two distinct forms called stem I and stem II. This verb stem alternation is considered to be a Proto-Kuki-Chin feature. Different Kuki-Chin languages have retained this feature to a greater or lesser extent. In K’Chò, the majority of verb roots do not show overtly distinct forms. However, the two stems can be distinguished as they differ in the way they can be morphologically marked and in syntactic environments they can occur. Verbal alternation is an important grammatical notion in the language. The appropriate use of each stem is determined by the syntactic and/or pragmatic context.
1.5.8 Tense

*K’Chò* distinguishes two tenses: namely, Non-Future (which includes past and present time) and Future.

(14)  *A-k’hmó ip-ci.*

child sleep.I-NF

The child slept or is sleeping or sleeps.

(15)  *Mindat ah ka-htein-khai.*

Mindat to 1SG.SBJ-go.I-F

I will go to Mindat.

When the verb is marked with -ci, the verb is in the Non-Future tense, which means the tense can be either past or present as shown in (14). Future time is generally shown by -khai as (15) shows.

1.6 Orthography used in this thesis

The examples in this thesis are given in the *K’Chò* orthography. *K’Chò* has not completely standardized the orthography despite some effort by the local literature committee since it was developed in 1935. A few people have even proposed their own version of the orthography.

In this thesis, the original orthography is followed with some modifications. In the traditional orthography, tone and vowel length have not been marked. In this thesis, tone will be marked on lexical items, but grammatical items will be left unmarked for tone. Unmarked lexical items will represent High tone. Low tone will be marked with the diacritic (´), and rising tone with (´). Long vowels will be written by doubling the vowel. For more discussion on tone in the language, see Nolan (2000 and 2006).
1.7 Research goal

This present research aims at explaining verb stem alternation in K’Chò by uncovering the conditioning factors for the stem choice.

The study of the phonological aspects of stem alternation in the language has been conducted by Nolan (2003). Thus, this research will serve as a complementary study to the existing phonological study of stem changes in the language, bringing a more comprehensive coverage of the phenomenon in the language. Moreover, the research will also shed light on the verb stem studies across Chin languages.

1.8 Hypothesis

This thesis is based on the following hypothesis.

Verb stem choice cannot be attributed to only a single factor. The stem choice in K’Chò can only be described by considering two parameters: namely syntactic and pragmatic factors.

1.9 Research Methodology

This research is not based on a particular formalized linguistic theory; it is more descriptive in nature aiming to provide data and analysis for any syntactic theory.

The steps in the analysis and description are as follows:

First, all possible syntactic environments of the two variant stems of a verb are collected. The author, as a native speaker, largely depended on native intuition and on a few existing texts in the language for such work. Some previous verb stem studies in other Chin languages, particularly Lai and Daai, also are helpful resources for identifying certain similar syntactic environments.

The accumulated syntactic environments are sorted and classified into three main syntactic levels, namely intra-clausal, inter-clausal, and matrix clause levels.
Then, the data is analyzed for pinpointing the determining factors triggering the stem choice.

Some example sentences are adapted from texts and others examples are constructed by the author. All the examples are checked by two native speakers for validity and naturalness: Rev. Ng’Thang Ngai Om and B. Ghung Om, who are acting members of the *K’Chò* Literature Committee.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND STEM DEFINITION

2.0 Introduction

This chapter contains a literature review of verb stem alternation studies in Chin languages, as well as offering a set of criteria that will be used for stem definition that will be used for this thesis.

It is laid out as follows: Section 2.1.1 summarizes phonological perspectives of stem changes in the previous literature; 2.1.2 presents grammatical perspectives of stem alternation. In section 2.2 of this chapter, a set of criteria used for defining the stems for K’Chò is outlined.

2.1 Literature Review

The phenomenon of verb stem alternation has been studied in several Chin languages to varying depths. The previous studies on verb stem alternation are surveyed from phonological and grammatical perspectives. The existing studies of verb alternation include representative languages from all three major branches of Chin as shown in Figure 6.
Figure 6: Chin languages in which verb stem has been studied.

The analysis of verb stem alternation has been conducted most extensively for the Central Chin languages. The Central Chin languages in which verbal alternation has been studied include Mizo, also called Lushai or Lushei (Bright 1957 and 1964, Hillard 1975, Chhangte 1986, 1993), Lai (Lehman 1982 and 1996, Melnik 1997, Kathol and VanBik 2002, Kathol 2003), Zahau (Osborne 1975, Yip 2003), and Bawm (Löffler 1973, 2002).

From the Northern Chin group, Tiddim (Henderson 1965) and Sizang (Stern 1963) have been studied.

The study of alternation in the Southern Chin languages has only recently been carried out for Daai (Hartmann 2002 and forthcoming) and K’Chò (Nolan 2003).

2.1.1 Phonological perspectives

Most verb stem alternation studies in Chin languages have dealt primarily with the phonological properties involved in the alternation. Since this thesis is a syntactic/pragmatic study of the alternation, it will not go into details of phonological perspectives of verb stem alternation. A summary of features and tendencies will suffice.
Studies of the phonological characteristics of stem alternation of verbs in Chin languages seem to vary slightly according to the perspective each linguist takes. Generally, many verbs in Chin languages have two phonologically distinct forms, which are called stem I and stem II respectively. Stem alternation of verbs in principle involves both segmental and tonal changes. Some linguists seem to examine the alternations primarily from their tonal perspectives (Stern 1963, Löffler 1973 and 2002, Osburne 1975, Yip 2003). Others take into account both tonal and segmental changes in their analysis (Bright 1975, Hillard 1975, Chhangte 1993, Melnik 1997, Kathol and VanBik 2002, Hartmann 2002, and Nolan 2003).

Despite the different approaches, some generalities in the phonological characteristics of verb stems appear to run across the Chin languages.

- Not all verbs in Chin languages exhibit overt stem alternation.
- Some traits of the stem changes are predictable or regular, but others are not.
- Some stem alternating verbs involve both segmental and tonal features. Some have only segmental and others only tonal modification.

Predictability of stem changes seems to vary with the individual language and/or the approach adopted by each linguist.

General tendencies of segmental modifications in deriving stem II from stem I include:

- Closure of open syllables
- Modification of final consonants: (1) change from velar nasal final to alveolar nasal, (2) oral stop final to glottal stop, (3) final nasal to oral stop, (4) addition of glottal stop to liquid and nasal finals (central and northern Chin languages)
- Vowel length adjustment (lengthening/shortening of vowels)

Since this thesis is concerned with the grammatical perspective of the alternations, it will not pursue further the details of phonological perspectives. But will proceed
with an overview of grammatical perspectives of the phenomenon as presented in studies of Chin languages.

2.1.2 Grammatical perspectives

This section surveys the syntactic distribution and accounts of verb stem alternation in Chin languages from previous studies.

2.1.2.1 Tiddim

Henderson (1965:84-89) gives three main syntactic domains for Tiddim Chin in which stem alternation occurs, namely main clauses, adjunctive clauses, and nominal phrases. All these syntactic domains can be either in the indicative or subjunctive mood.

She attributes the stem choice conditioning factor for Tiddim Chin in main clauses to the “conclusiveness” of the utterance. A conclusive sentence selects stem I form of the verb, while inconclusive sentence the stem II form. This conclusiveness and inconclusiveness of sentences are represented by indicative and subjunctive mood respectively. Some inconclusive sentences, however, may also take the stem I verb when the verb means ‘doing something for someone’.

All adjunctive clauses take the verb in the stem II form. However, adjunctive clauses which are followed by the particle (conjunction) *la*, take the verb in its stem I form.

In a noun phrase consisting of a verb as the head, the verb form is always Stem II. In a compound noun phrase, which is a noun phrase comprising a noun and a verb form, the verbal constituent may be either Stem I or Stem II. The verbal constituent which conveys a ‘permanent state’ of the noun it co-occurs with is Stem I. The verbal constituent referring to a change in the state of its object argument, on the other hand, is Stem II.
2.1.2.2 Zahau

Osborne (1975) reports the following syntactic environments of stem I and II in Zahau. She also examined verbal alternation for Zahau in three main syntactic scopes: matrix clauses, subordinate clause (relative clauses and other subordinate clauses), and nominalization and verb-compounding.

Relative clauses and subordinate clauses, which are marked by various subordinators (*leh* ‘if’, *hnu* ‘after’, *hlaan* ‘before’, *veek* ‘since’, and *brang* ‘because’) uniformly select stem II in the subordinate clause.

In nominalization with nominalizing suffixes (*-nak* ‘thing’, *lam* ‘way’, *daan* ‘custom’, *ding* ‘verbal patient’) and nominalization without overt nominalizer, the verb is Stem II. As an exception, nominalization with the agentive nominalizing suffix *–tu* selects Stem I.

When verbs are followed by the causative suffix *–ter* and the benefactive suffix *–sak*, the verb is Stem II.

**Account of Stem II in Zahau**

Osborne (1975) proposes that stem choice in Zahau is determined by information focus. In a sentence, the theme of a sentence generally conveys old information and thus is less dynamic in communication, whereas the rheme of a sentence is more dynamic in communication as it expresses new information.

Following this principle, focusing on the rheme in Zahau is associated with stem I, and focusing on the theme is associated with stem II. In unmarked sentences of Zahau, the focus naturally falls on the verb or rheme. Therefore, unmarked sentences call for the verb in stem I. Focusing on the theme of a sentence rather than the rheme, on the other hand, requires stem II because the rheme is in non-focal status.
Relative clauses and other subordinate clauses are in non-focal use because they are just part of the theme of a sentence or subordinated to the matrix clause. As a result, the verb in relative clauses and various other subordinate clauses is Stem II.

Nominalized verbs are also in the Stem II form as they are being deprived of potentiality to serve as the main verb or rheme. And verbs with -ter ‘causative’ and -sak ‘benefactive’ suffixes, the focus is on the suffixes, and thus the matrix verb is in its Stem II form.

2.1.2.3 Mizo

Chhangte (1986 and 1993) gives the following syntactic environments for stem I and II in Mizo. The main syntactic environments are subordinate clauses, nominalization, and interrogatives.

Subordinate clauses include relative clauses, conditional clauses, cause-effect clauses, clauses of simultaneous actions. The verbs in these subordinate clauses are always Stem II. In Chhangte (1993), relative clauses are further distinguished such that subject relativization requires Stem I, while object relativization requires Stem II. Verbal complement clauses of complement taking verbs select Stem I, while nominal complements choose Stem II.

Agent nominalization selects stem I form of a verb. Non-subject nominalization such as object nominalization, instrument nominalization, and location nominalization, on the other hand, selects Stem II form.

Subject questions require stem I form of the verb, while non-subject questions in transitive sentences require stem II form.

Account of stem II in Mizo

Chhangte (1986) offers information focus, saliency, and animacy to account for the stem changes in Mizo. Old information, which is less focused, is generally
related to stem II. Likewise, animate agents and more salient constructions select stem I.

Old information is less focused and often in a subordinate construction. Therefore, various subordinate clauses take stem II form of the verb.

When an intransitive subject is questioned, stem I is used and if the object is questioned, stem II is used. Stem II is also used in the compound words of benefactive, causatives, and comitatives as the object is less focused or passivized. Animacy is the determining factor for stem choice in nominalization. More animate agentivizers use stem I, while the simple nominalizer -na uses stem II.

2.1.2.4 K’Chò

Although not a syntactic account, Nolan (2003) outlined the following grammatical contexts of the two stems for K’Chò.

In K’Chò, stem I form of the verb is found in both in matrix and subordinate clauses. Matrix sentences in which stem I occurs may be marked by ci ‘realis’, khai ‘irrealis’, and/or imperative markers.

Stem II form of the verb is used in some matrix clauses for discourse purposes. Subordinate clauses before the grammatical markers (ung ‘when/if’, kon ah ‘after’, and ah phäh ah ‘for’) normally have the verb in stem II form.

Account of Stem II

Nolan (2003) states in passing that, grammatically, stem II in K’Chò is a nominalized form of a verb as it can be modified by possessive pronouns or genitive noun phrase. Since his was not a syntactic account, the syntactic account of stem I and II in K’Chò can be viewed as not yet investigated.
2.1.2.5 Daai

Hartmann (2002) gives syntactic environments for the two alternating stems of a verb in Daai as below.

Stem I verb forms are found in the following syntactic contexts:

1. Finite clauses marked by tense kti and kkhai
2. Imperative, interrogative, permissive, negative clauses
3. Non-finite clauses marked by conjunction lü
4. Complement clause marked by kti, kkhai
5. Agent relativization

Stem II verb forms are found in the following syntactic contexts:

1. Subordinate or non-finite clauses with conjunctions: ta, jata, üng, vai, phäh
2. After subject agreement
3. Before particle vai (various readings)
4. Complement clause marked by vai
5. Relativizing place/quality of action
6. Before auxiliaries pee:t, shak, püi, taak
7. Nominalization

Account of stem II in Daai

Hartmann (2002) does not offer an account for stem alternation in Daai Chin. Hartmann (forthcoming), however, proposes transitivity and other specific constructions as the main constraints of stem choice in the language. She also proposes a default-overriding interaction among these constraints for stem determination in Daai Chin (which is similar to the case proposed by Kathol and VanBik (2002) for Lai).

The base or default stem in Daai Chin is stem I (her stem B) for intransitive verbs, and stem II (her stem A) for transitive verbs.
Environments for overriding the intransitive default stem are shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overriding environments</th>
<th>The default stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constituent narrow focus questions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The applicative suffixes</td>
<td>&gt;&gt; Intransitive stem I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The subjunctive mood <em>vai</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinate clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Stem I overriding constraints

Default stem I in negative, imperative, and interrogative is overridden by applicative, and subordinate clause.

Either stem I or stem II form is selected to form different types of nominalization. Stem II is used for general nominalization, and stem I for noun-verb compounding.

Transitive default stem II is overridden by the following constraints.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overriding constraints</th>
<th>Transitive default stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent focusing</td>
<td>Transitive stem II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future tense</td>
<td>Transitive stem II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>&gt;&gt; Transitive stem II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes/no question</td>
<td>Transitive stem II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Transitive stem II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause-chaining</td>
<td>Transitive stem II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Stem II overriding constraints
2.1.2.6 Lai

Stem alternation study in Lai receives the most advanced treatment in Chin languages. Kathol and VanBik (2002) give the following core syntactic environments for stem I and stem II in Lai.

Lehman (1996) also summarizes the syntactic environments of stem I and II for Lai as follows. Stem I of intransitive verbs is used in plain, tensed finite declarative clauses and stem II in gerundives and nominalizations with –nak. For transitive verbs, stem I is used in all contexts except in the negative sentence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem I</th>
<th>Stem II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked intransitive sentence</td>
<td>Unmarked ergative sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked non-ergative sentence</td>
<td>Adverbial clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negation, Imperative</td>
<td>Obj. Relativizing clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj. Relativizing clause</td>
<td>Non-Subj./Ergative Subj. Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes-No/Intr/Non-ergative Subj. Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Syntactic environments of stem I and II in Lai

Account of stem II in Lai

According to Kathol and VanBik (2002), stem alternation constraints in Lai cannot be pinned down to a single parameter. Generally, stem choice in Lai depends on transitivity, ergativity of a transitive sentence, and also some other construction specific constraints. These constraints either work in isolation or in a default-overriding principle.

Transitivity of a verb correlates with stem choice in Lai. Stem I is the default stem for intransitive verbs, and Stem II is the default for transitive.

For transitive sentences, ergativity further determines the verb stem choice. When the subject argument is marked with ergative case, the verb is stem II. When it is
not marked with ergative case, the verb is stem I. They analyze the non-ergative transitive construction as equivalent to an antipassive construction.

A subject relativizing clause requires the stem I form of the verb, while an object relativizing clause takes stem II. They also propose that the stem I choice in subject relativization may be explained by antipassive construction.

There are also other construction specific constraints. Negative sentences, imperative sentences, and yes/no questions require stem I, while adverbial clauses require stem II.

They explain that these individual default constraints interact with each other to further determine stem choice. They propose a default-override principle for the interaction of these constraints within a clause following Optimality Theory. The default-overrideing principle for Lai laid out by Kathol and VanBik (2002) is reproduced in the following diagram. The constraint in column C will be neutralized by the one in B, and the constraint in column B in turn by those in column A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Polar Question</td>
<td>Relative clauses =&gt; Negation =&gt; Lexical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinate clauses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject Questions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7: Default-Overriding mechanism in Lai (Kathol and VanBik 2002)

The above ranking of constraints and their default-override rules are irrelevant for subject questions. They argue that the subject questions must have their own constraint rules that the lexical constraint overrides the negation constraint.

Lexical => Negation
Kathol (2003) reorganizes the above mechanism from a different angle. Valence (transitivity and ergativity) and polarity (negation) are the default constraints for the selection of either stem I or II. These default constraints are called ‘soft-constraints’. They are overridden by a particular constructional constraint like an affirmative ergative environment. These in turn are overridden by the clause-type constraints of polar questions and subordinate clauses.

In summary, verb-stem studies in Chin languages with respect to their morphological characteristics and motivating factors of stem choice have been outlined. Criteria used in distinguishing which stem is which will be spelled out in the subsequent section.

2.2 Stem designation in Chin languages

In this section, a short description of the verb stems and criteria used to distinguish the base stem and derived stem or stem I and stem II from the two alternating stems in K’Chò are presented.

First, we will briefly review how the two stems are labeled in other Chin languages. Linguists use different terms to refer to the alternating stems of verbs in Chin languages. Some use the terms Stem I and Stem II; others call them Primary and Secondary stems. Still others call them Stem A and Stem B.

Linguists almost universally accept that stem I is the base/primary form and stem II is the derived/secondary form. Melnik (1997:167-168) and Hartmann (1988 and forthcoming), however, propose for Lai and Daai that stem II is the root form and stem I is the derived form for some type of verbs in the two languages. Lehman (1996:5) also holds a similar line of explanation for Lai transitive verbs.

The term stem I and stem II will be used in this thesis for the two alternating forms in K’Chò.


2.2.1 The Verb Stem in K’Chò

In this section, we want to formulate criteria for stem designation in K’Chò.

Like in other Chin languages, many K’Chò verbs show two phonologically distinct forms.

(16) and (17) exemplify the two variant forms of a verb in K’Chò.

\[(16) \text{Pá } \text{ip-ci}. \]  
Father sleep.1-NF  
Father sleeps/slept.

\[(17) \text{Pá a-ih kòn ah na-lo(k)-ci.}\]  
Father 3SG.SBJ-sleep.II after PART 2SG.SBJ-come.I-NF  
After father had slept, you came.

In (16), the verb ip ‘sleep’ occurs in a simple clause and, in (17), it occurs in a subordinate clause. The two clauses obviously select different forms of the verb. Such distinct forms of a verb will be called Stem I and Stem II in this thesis. Nolan (2003) contains a comprehensive list of examples from the lexicon divided into classes by morphological behavior.

2.2.2 Stem Definition in K’Chò

Nolan (2003) has shown that some K’Chò verbs have two identifiably distinct forms called Stem I and Stem II. However, the majority of verbs in K’Chò show no overt phonological change in their verb stems. Therefore, phonological changes do not offer a viable means for distinguishing variant stems for all verbs. But all is not lost some morpho-syntactic and syntactic behaviors can be used as more universal diagnostic indicators of stem status.

Following Bedell (2002), these morpho-syntactic behaviors are used as general principles for stem distinction in K’Chò. The form which may be marked with tense/aspect -ci ‘Non-Future’ or -khai ‘Future’ but not with ‘3rd person subject

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20 (k) represents an epenthetic /k/, which normally closes open-syllable verbs with short vowel when followed by ci ‘Non-Future’ or khai ‘Future’.
agreement’ is called stem I, while one which can be marked with ‘3rd person subject agreement’ but not with -ci ‘Non-Future’ or -khai ‘Future’ is called stem II. Following these criteria, the form of the verb ‘sleep’ in (16) is stem I, while the one in (17) stem II in this thesis.

Stem I = ø (3SG/DL/PL) + verb root + tense (ci ‘Non-Future’ or khai ‘Future)

Stem II= 3SG/DL/PL + verb root + (-tense)

A brief, rather generalized, preview of stem distribution can be listed as follows:

Intransitive and transitive main clauses  Stem I or II
Non-final switch-reference clauses  Stem I
ah marked complement clauses  Stem I or II
Unmarked complement clauses  Stem II
Adverbial clauses  Stem II
Subject nominalization  Stem I
Non-subject nominalization  Stem II

However, there are restrictions based on syntactic and pragmatic issues, which will be the main discussion in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

We have established which stem is which for K’Chò. Now, we want to begin the main discussion concerning different syntactic and pragmatic environments which govern stem determination in the language.
CHAPTER 3

INTRA-CLAUSAL FACTORS

3.0 Introduction

This chapter contains a discussion of stem determining factors within a clause. The main constructions examined at this level are nominalization, relativization, and valence changes. Stem choice in nominalization constructions are discussed in 3.1. Stem choice in relative clauses and valence changes are discussed in 3.2 and 3.3 respectively.

3.1 Interaction of verb stem and argument types in nominalization

This section looks into stem choice in argument nominalization and action nominalization. In argument nominalization, there is a straightforward correlation between argument type and the stem choice. Subject argument nominalization calls for stem I, while non-subject argument nominalization such as instrument, and location, on the other hand, select stem II. Further, stem II is always used in action nominalization. Now, we will turn to discussion on each type of nominalization.

3.1.1 Subject nominalization and verb stem choice

Subject argument nominalization consists of two main types: one with overt subject argument and another without overt subject argument. In either case, the verb involved in the construction is always stem I.
3.1.1.1 Nominalization with overt subject argument

Normally, intransitive verbs are nominalized along with their subject arguments as shown in (18a)-(21a).

(18)a. \( Ng'ai-k'kài \)
crab-k.climb.\text{I}
climbing crab

b. *\( Ng'ai-kai \)
crab-climb.\text{II}

(19)a. \( ui-k'shì \)
dog-k.die.\text{I}
dead dog

b. *\( ui-shih \)
dog-die.\text{II}

(20)a. \( gà-k'kyù= \)
enemy-be.scared.\text{I}
coward enemy

b. *\( gà-kyùḥ \)
enemy-be.scared.\text{II}

(21)a. \( Khaan-k'yòòng k'khá \)
sky-k.fly.\text{I}
bird

b. *\( Khaan-yoon k'khá \)
sky-fly.\text{II}

In (18a)-(21a), the verbs \( kài \) 'climb', \( shì \) 'die', and \( kyù= \) 'be afraid' collocate with their syntactic subjects. In (21a), the predicate (the verb and location) precedes the subject argument. This kind of construction will be called subject nominalization. Subject nominalization uniformly requires stem I as shown in (18a)-(21a). Stem II form is not acceptable as can be seen by the ungrammaticality of (b) examples.21

The verbal elements in these constructions correspond to attributives in English. Jordan (1969: Grammar p.7) calls the verbs in these constructions in \( K'Chò \) 'attributive verbs'. Lehman (1975:27-35) also calls them 'contracted relative clauses'. They can be indeed paraphrased into relative clauses as in (22).

\[21\text{ Verbs in this kind of construction acquire the glottal prefix \text{/k- } as seen in (18)-(21)a. Their finite stem I forms do not have the prefix \text{/k- } as in (22). The occurrence of the prefix seems to suggest that the analysis of stem I form in this particular construction as the case of nominalization is correct. Verb with inherent initial glottal \text{/k-}, nasal \text{/m-}, and \text{/ng- } morphemes do not change. e.g. \text{Tui-ng'ling } 'hot water'\]
(22)a. **Kái-ci** ah ng’ái
climb.1-NF REL crab
the crab that climbs/climbed

b. **Shì-ci** ah ui
die.1-NF REL dog
the dog that died

c. **Kyùezi** ah gâ
be.scared.1-NF REL enemy
the enemy that is coward

d. **Khaan ah yòòng-ci** ah k’khá
sky at fly.1-NF REL bird
bird that flies/flew in the sky.

However, the constructions in (18a)-(21a) are assumed as nominalization constructions in this thesis.

In summary, intransitive subject nominalizations with overt syntactic subject uses stem "I"\(^{22}\). In the following section, we will continue to examine nominalization of verbs without overt subjects.

\(^{22}\) There is a group of a few K’Chò verbs, which use a form peculiar to them in this type of construction. Nolan (2003) calls them stem III.

a. **Shin ah k’chààng ni(k)-ci.**
This PART man be.good.1-F
This man is good.

b. **Shin ah k’chààng a-nìi ung**
this PART man 3SG.SBJ-be.good.11 PART
If this man was/is good,

c. **Shin ah k’chààng-k’nì**
this PART man-k-be.good.111
This good man

The stem I form of the verb ni ‘good’ in (a) is an open syllable with short vowel, while its stem II has long vowel nìi as shown in (b). Both stem I and stem II are high tone. The stem in subject nominalization in (c) differs from both stem I and stem II forms in (a) and (b). It has a rising tone k’nì. There exist a few verbs which exhibit three distinct forms as such in K’Chò. Further research is necessary to determine the full nature this verb class.
3.1.1.2 Nominalization without overt subject argument

In another type of subject argument nominalization, the subject argument itself is omitted. The verb phrase or the predicate represents its syntactic subject argument. The construction in (21a) can occur without the subject argument k'khá 'bird' as in (23a).

(23)a. \textit{Khaan-k'yòòng}
\textit{sky-fly.I}
sky-flying (one) or sky-flyer


b. *\textit{Khaan-yoon}
\textit{sky-fly.II}

In such subject nominalization in which the subject argument is not overtly present, the predicate represents the subject argument. In (23a), the verb \textit{yòòng} ‘fly’ and the location word \textit{khaan} ‘above or sky’ together refer to the entity that flies. The phrase thus means 'someone or something that “verbs” in the given location'. In other words, the phrase refers to the subject argument of the verbal element in the phrase, which is not overtly present in the phrase. Notice that the argument being referred to by such nominalized phrase is an indefinite. The verb form in this specific construction is stem I as shown by (23a), but stem II is ungrammatical as shown by (23b).

Such intransitive subject argument nominalization is common in \textit{K’Chò} and more examples are given below.

(24)a \textit{lam-k'hteit}
\textit{road-k.go.I}
traveler

b. *\textit{lam-hteih}
\textit{road-go.II}

(25)a \textit{lo-k'ip}
\textit{hill.farm-k.sleep.I}
one that sleeps in hill farms

b. *\textit{lo-ih}
\textit{hill.farm-sleep.II}
Intransitive subject nominalization without overt subject argument requires stem I morphology as in (24a)-(26). Stem II forms of the verb may not be used as (24b) and (25b) show. The verb in (26) does not exhibit overt stem change, but is interpreted as stem I due to the restricted environment.

Transitive subject nominalization is also formed in the same way. It normally consists of a transitive verb and its direct object as in (27)-(30).

(27)a  ngá-*k'shùi
     fish-k.search.I
     fisherman

b. *ngá-*shuí
     fish-k.search.II

(28)a  ei-*k'shòòng
     food-k.cook.I
     cook

b. *ei-*shoon
     food-k.cook.II

(29)a  k'am-*k'yòi
     pot-k.sell.I
     pot-seller

*b. k'am-*yoih
     pot-k.sell.II

(30)a  m'guk-*k'èi
     stolen.thing-k.eat.I
     thief (stolen thing eater)

*b. m'guk-*ei
     stolen.thing-k.eat.II

In (27a)-(30a), each phrase consists of a transitive verb and its direct object argument. The phrase refers to the subject argument of the verbal element in the phrase, meaning 'someone who does the action conveyed by the verb to the collocating noun'. In other words, the phrase refers to the subject argument of the nominalized predicate. This type of phrase will be called transitive subject argument nominalization. Such transitive subject nominalization also calls for stem I as in (27a)-(30a). Stem II may not be used for subject argument nominalization as in (27b)-(30b).

As shown above, both intransitive and transitive subject nominalization choose Stem I. However, they cannot be marked for tense as (31) shows.
Phrases of both intransitive and transitive subject nominalization can function as non-subject argument of a clause as (32) shows.

(32)a. Tam noh ng’ai-k’kài ghà pha(k)-ci.
Tam ERG climbing-crab ten catch.I. NF
Tam caught ten climbing-crabs.

b. Ei-k’shòòng am ài-meh ka-peit.
cook to chicken-meat 1SG.SBJ-give.II
I gave the chicken to the cook.

Phrases of intransitive and transitive subject nominalization are direct object and indirect object of the sentences respectively in (32a) and (32b).

It has been clearly evidenced that both intransitive and transitive subject nominalization selects stem I in K’Chò. It will be shown in the following section that non-subject nominalization chooses stem II.

3.1.2 Non-subject nominalization and verb stem choice

Non-subject nominalization includes direct object, instrument, location, and action nominalization. All types of non-subject nominalization, unlike in subject nominalization, use stem II morphology.
3.1.2.1 Direct Object argument nominalization

In K’Chò, a bare stem II form of a transitive verb can play the role of its own direct object argument as in (33a) and (34a).

(33)a  phuih  (34)a  ei
        carry.with strap.from  eat. II
        thing that is carried  food (thing eaten)

b.  *phūi  b.  *èi
    carry.with strap.from.head. I  eat. I

c.  *phùi-ci  c.  *èi-ci
    carry.with strap.from.head. I-NF  eat. I-NF

The stem II forms in the above examples mean ‘something that is being “verbed”’, which means they refer to the direct object argument of the verbal element in question. Such stem II forms of a verb in the role of its own direct object will be called direct object nominalization. Stem I form of a transitive verb, with or without tense marking, may not stand for its own direct object argument as shown in (33b&c) and (34b&c).

In (35a) and (36a), the stem II form of the verbs shòòng ‘cook’ and pha ‘catch’ occur in noun phrases.

(35)a  [ka  shoon]  èi  tu  diūt  ā!  (36)a  [ka  pha]  èi  tu  diūt  ā!
1 POSS cook. II  eat. I also  AUX IMP
    Just eat what I cooked/my cooking. 23

b.  *ka-shòòng  èi  tu  diūt  ā!
    1SG.SBJ-cook. I  eat. I also  AUX IMP

c.  *ka-pha-ci  èi  tu  diūt  ā!
    1SG.SBJ-cook. I-NF  eat. I also  AUX IMP

23 The morpheme ka before stem II in (35a) is taken as possessive pronoun. It can be paraphrased into a genitive phrase: kei ah shoon ‘1SG GEN cook. II’. The same morpheme ka before stem I in (35b&c), on the other hand, is treated as verbal indexation.
Beginning from the story of the two (men) possessed by the spirit/(the two men of the spirit’s catching)

b. *kho ah pha goi ah mòòng ung lèng neh
   spirit GEN catch.I DL GEN story at begin.I CONJ

c. *kho ah pha-ci goi ah moong ung leng neh
   spirit GEN catch.I-NF DL GEN story at begin.I CONJ

The stem II forms in the noun phrases within square brackets in (35a) and (36a) refer to ‘something cooked’ and ‘someone/something caught’ respectively. The stem II form in (35a) is modified by a possessive pronoun and the one in (36a) is modified by a genitive phrase and a numeral. This indicates that the stem II forms in the examples are grammatically nominal. Both non-finite and finite stem I may not occur in such position as the ungrammaticality of (35b,c) and (36b,c) show.

3.1.2.2 Instrument, location, and temporal nominalization

Nominalization of other categories such as instrument, location, and time also select stem II as (37a) - (41a) show.

Instrument

(37)a. ka meh ah-nák kah ghát-ci.
   1S meat cut.II-nak NEG be.sharp.I-NF
   my meat-cutting thing/instrument is not sharp.

b. *ka meh át-nák kah ghát-ci.
   1S meat cut.I-nak NEG be.sharp.I-NF

(38)a. a ngoh-nák hnut-ci.
   3S sit.II-nak break.I-NF
   chair/thing of his/her sitting-on broke.

b. *a ngò-nák hnut-ci.
   3S sit.I-nak break.I-NF
Location

(39)a. *meh ah-nák ah k’pi dad-ci.
meat cut.II-nak at fly be.many.I-NF
There are a lot of flies where meat was cut/at the meat-cutting place.

b. *meh út-nák ah k’pi dad-ci.
meat cut.I-nak at fly be.many.I-NF

(40)a. ka ngoh-nák ah ló (lo å!)
1S sit.II-nak to come.1 (come IMP)
Come to where I sit/my sitting place.

b. *ka ngò-nák ah lô.
1S sit.I-nak to come.1

Time

(41)a. a hteih-nák hmūp thùm lo chūtah
3S go.II-nak day three come.1 CONJ
After the time of his going had become three days

b. *a hteï-nak hmūp thùm lo chūtah
3S go.I-nak day three come.1 CONJ

In nominalization of instrument, location, and time, the generic nominalizer suffix –nák is used. The stem II form with the nominalizer –nák refers to the instrument or location or time of the action denoted by the nominalized verb. The nominalizer suffix –nák may not co-occur with stem I form of a verb as in (37b)-(41b). The stem II form in this type of nominalization can also be modified by possessive pronoun as in (37a), (38a), (40a), and (41a).
### 3.1.2.3 Action nominalization

Stem II form of a verb may be used as an argument of a verb.

(42)a  
\[ \text{Thah} \ na-gah-khai. \]
beat.\text{II} 2SG.SBJ-get.1-F
You will get beating.

b. *\[ \text{That} \ na-gah-khai. \]
beat.\text{I} 2SG.SBJ-get.1-F

c. *\[ \text{That-ci} \ na-gah-khai. \]
beat.\text{I-NF} 2SG.SBJ-get.1-F

(43)a  
\[ \text{loo-bii} \ kà(k)-ci. \]
field-work.\text{II} be.hard.1-NF
Working-the-field (farming) is hard.

b. *\[ \text{loo-bi} \ kà(k)-ci. \]
field-work.\text{I} be.hard.1-NF

c. *\[ \text{loo-bi(k)-ci} \ kà(k)-ci. \]
field-work.1-NF be.hard.1-NF

(44)a  
\[ \text{ka} \ lam-hteih \ noh \ na-m’goi-ci. \]
1POSS road-go.\text{II} ERG 1SG.OBJ-CAUS.sick.1-NF
My road-traveling made me sick (I’m sick from my travel).

b. *\[ \text{ka} \ lam-hteit \ noh \ na-m’goi-ci. \]
1POSS road-go.\text{I} ERG 1SG.OBJ-CAUS.sick.1-NF

c. *\[ \text{ka} \ lam-hteit-ci \ noh \ na-m’goi-ci. \]
1POSS road-go.1-NF ERG 1SG.OBJ-CAUS.sick.\text{I-NF}

The highlighted stem II elements in the phrases of the above examples generally correspond to English abstract nouns of ‘verb-ing’ such as ‘beating’, ‘working the field’, and ‘road-traveling’. Such stem II form of a verb, denoting an activity, will be called action nominalization. Such stem II forms function as arguments of the matrix verb: subject arguments of intransitive and transitive verbs in (43a) and (44a); and object argument of a transitive verb in (42a). A nominalized transitive verb may retain its object argument as in (43a), and nominalized intransitive verbs also may retain location as in (44a). Stem I is unacceptable in such action nominalization as the (b) and (c) examples show.
3.1.3 Summary

It has been well evidenced that stem choice in various types of nominalization is primarily determined by the argument types. Subject argument nominalization selects stem I, while other types of nominalization require stem II. The discussion in section 3.1 is summarized in Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem I</th>
<th>Stem II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject nominalization</td>
<td>Non-subject nominalization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Interaction of verb stem with argument type in nominalization

Now, we will look at stem choice in valence changing operations in the subsequent section.

3.2 Relativization and stem choice

Relative clauses further demonstrate that subject correlates with stem I, and non-subject with stem II. Relativizing the subject argument selects stem I, while non-subject argument relativization is associated with Stem II. A detailed account of relative clauses in K’Chò is presented in Bedell and Mang (2006).

3.2.1 Subject relativizing clause

In a clause in which the subject argument is relativized, the verb is always Stem I. A relative clause in K’Chò is normally marked by the particle /ah/. 

K’chùah ah k’chààng

speak.I-NF REL man

The man who spoke

b. *k’chü/a-k’chü ah k’chààng

speak.II/3SG.SBJ-speak.II REL man

(46)a Vok htui-khai ah ui

Pig bite.I-F REL dog

The dog that will bite the pig

b. *Vok htuih/a-htuih ah ui

Pig bite.II/3SG.SBJ-bite.II REL dog

Stem I is used when both intransitive and transitive subject arguments are relativized as in (45a) and (46a). Notice also that the Stem I forms are marked with tense/aspect ci ‘Non-Future’ in (45a) and khai ‘Future’ in (46a). Stem II is unacceptable as (45b) and (46b) show.

3.2.2 Non-subject relativizing clause

As opposed to the subject argument relativization, non-subject argument relativization requires stem II.

When a direct object is relativized, stem II is used as in (47a) and (48a). Stem I cannot be used as shown in (47b) and (48b).

(47)a Ami-hnguh-te ah àihli

3PL.SBJ-see.II-ASP REL star

The star which they saw

b. *Ami-hngu-te-ci ah àihli

3PL.SBJ-see.I-ASP-NF REL star

(48)a. na-tüih ah k’chààng

2SG.SBJ-send.II REL man

The man you sent

b. *na-tüi-ci ah k’chààng

2SG.SBJ-send.I-NF REL man

Indirect object relativization also uses stem II as in (49a). Stem I cannot be used as (49b) shows.
When the location and instrument are relativized, stem II is used as in (50a) and (51a), but stem I cannot be used as (50b) and (51b) show.

In (50a) and (51a), the applicative –na takes the stem II form of the verbs hteit ‘go’ and shòong ‘cook’ (see 3.3.2.2). The applicative –na itself shows stem variation. The stem I form –na being high tone and open syllable, the stem II form –nák is with rising tone and velar stop final. Location and instrument relativization in (50a) and (51a) require the applicative -na in stem II. Stem I is unacceptable as (50b) and (51b) show.

24 Jordan did not seem to understand the distinction between stem I and II forms of a verb. He gave two K’Chò sentences as the equivalent of the English sentence ‘I know what you said’: ‘Na piein ci cuh ka hmat ci’ and ‘Na piein cuh ka hmat ci’. In fact, the two K’Chò sentences are different. The latter is equivalent to the English sentence, but the former is not. The verb at issue is piein ‘say’. In the former sentence, the verb is marked by tense/aspect ci ‘Non-Future, but it is not in the latter. He did notice the presence/absence of the tense/aspect morphemes. But, he did not explain the reason.

To return to the two example sentences, both clauses with the verb piein ‘say’ are marked as object arguments of the matrix sentence by the demonstrative cuh. First, the verb in question does not exhibit overt stem change. The only difference between the two clauses is the presence of the tense/aspect ci ‘Non-Future’ in the subordinate clause. The presence/absence of the tense/aspect morpheme ci marks crucial semantic difference between the two. The clause marked with ci ‘Non-Future’ is a headless subject relative clause. The one without ci, on the other hand, is a headless object relative clause. Therefore, the first sentence means ‘I know (the one who) is telling tales about me’ and the second sentence, ‘I know what you said’.
Stem I in subject relativization can be marked with *ci ‘Non-Future’ and *khai ‘Future’ as shown in (45a) and (46a). In non-subject relativization, tense marking on stem II with *ci ‘Non-Future’ and *khai ‘Future’ is not allowed as (47b) and (48b). Future time in the relative clause may only be marked with *vai ‘irrealis’ as (52a) shows.

(52)a  *Ami-hnguh-vai ah àihli
3PL.SBJ-see.II-IRRL REL star
The star which they will see

b.  *Ami-hngu-khai ah àihli
3PL.SBJ-see.I-F REL star

3.2.3 Headless relative clauses

In *K’Chò*, a relative clause can be without an overt head (see Bedell and Mang 2006).

(53)a  *[Shààng-cì] noh gah-ci; [shùì-cì] noh hngu(k)-ci.
ask.1-NF ERG get.1-NF search.1-NF ERG find.1-NF
(One that) asks gets, (one that) seeks finds.

b.  Shààng-cì ah k’chàng noh gah-ci;
ask.1-NF REL man ERG get.1-NF
shùì-cì ah k’chàng noh hngu(k)-ci.
search.1-NF REL man ERG find.1-NF
The man that asks gets, the man that seeks finds.

ask.II ERG get.1-NF search.II ERG find.1-NF

The two clauses within square brackets are subject arguments as they are marked with *noh ‘ergative’. But no noun is present in them. The two clauses within square brackets in (53a) are in fact headless relative clauses, which play the role of the head noun they modify, that is, ‘one who asks’ and ‘one who searches’ respectively. The head nouns may be provided as in (53b). As the two clauses modify the covert subject arguments of the relative clauses, they are headless subject relativizing clauses. In such headless subject relative clauses the verb is stem I as in (53a). Stem II cannot be used as (53c) shows.
Non-subject relative clauses also can occur without an overt head. The two clauses within brackets in (54a) are headless relative clauses, whose covert head nouns are object arguments of the relative clauses.

(54)a  
\[Nani-\text{ng'yaқ}, \ [nani-\text{hnguh}] \text{ phung cuh}\]  
\[2\text{DL.SBJ-hear.II} \quad 2\text{DL.SBJ-see.II} \quad \text{every DEM}\]  
Every (thing that) you heard and saw,

b.  
\[Nani-\text{ng'yaқ} \ ah \ k'chü, \ nani-\text{hnguh} \ ah \ bii \ \text{phung cuh}\]  
\[2\text{DL.SBJ-hear.II} \quad \text{REL word,} \quad 2\text{DL.SBJ-see.II} \quad \text{REL work every DEM}\]  
Every word that you heard and every deed that you saw

c.  
\[*Nani-\text{ng'ya-ci}, \ nani-\text{hngu-ci} \ \text{phung cuh}\]  
\[2\text{DL.SBJ-hear.I-NF} \quad 2\text{DL.SBJ-see.I-NF} \quad \text{every DEM}\]  

In such a headless relative clause modifying a covert object argument, the verb is in stem II. Stem I is unacceptable as shown in (54c).

Similarly, indirect object relativizing clauses, location and instrument relativizing clauses can also stand without the overt head noun they modify as in (55a) and (56a). Stem I may not occur in those relative clauses as (55b) and (56b) show.

(55)a  
\[Om \ \text{noh papaі} \ a-\text{pеit} \ \text{lo(k)-ci}.\]  
\[Om \ \text{ERG flower} \quad 3\text{SG.SBJ-give.II come.I-NF}\]  
(The one) whom Om gave flower came.

*b.  
\[Om \ \text{noh papaі} \ \text{pe-ci} \ \text{lo(k)-ci}.\]  
\[Om \ \text{ERG flower} \ \text{give.I-NF come.I-NF}\]

(56)a  
\[ka-\text{nogoh-nák} \ \text{di-ci}.\]  
\[3\text{SG-sit.II-na.II ruin.I-NF}\]  
Thing that I sat on (my chair) ruined.

*b.  
\[ka-\text{nogoh-na} \ \text{di-ci}.\]  
\[3\text{SG-live.II-na.I ruin.I-NF}\]
3.2.4 Summary

We have examined stem choice in relativization in this section. Stem choice in relativization also is determined by the argument that is being relativized. Stem I is used when the subject is relativized. Non-subject relativization, on the other hand, uses stem II.

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Non-subject relativization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Interaction of verb stem with argument type in relativization

3.3 Verb stem choice in valence changes

Correlation between verb stem and argument type is also borne out in valence changes. Stem I is utilized when the syntactic valence of a transitive verb is decreased to only subject argument. Conversely, increasing the number of the existing valence of a verb (normally by increasing the number of non-subject arguments) calls for stem II.

3.3.1 Stem choice in valence decrease

Valence decreasing processes in K'Chô include deriving intransitive, reflexive, and reciprocal verbs from transitive verbs. Generally, valence decrease is coded on the verb with the derivational velar nasal prefix ng-. Valence decreasing in fact deprives a verb of non-subject argument/s. Therefore, allowing a verb to have only the subject argument conditions the choice of stem I.
3.3.1.1 Stem choice and detransitivizing

In K’Chò, intransitive verbs can be derived from transitive verbs with the derivational prefix ng-\(^{25}\). This prefix codes a decrease in valence. When the verb is prefixed with ng-, it may have only the subject argument as in (57b) and (58b).

(57)a  *Om noh k’tung ung ng’yá bat-ci.*  
Om ERG post at bag hang.up.I-NF  
Om hung up a/the bag on the post.

b.  *K’tung ung Om ng’bat-ci.*  
post at Om ng-hang.up.I-NF  
Om hangs (clings) to the post.

c.  *K’tung ung Om ng’bah-ci.*  
post at Om ng-hang.up.II-NF

(58)a  *Ui noh vok na(k)-ci.*  
dog ERG pig bark.at.I-NF  
The dog barks/ed at the pig.

b.  *Ui ng’na(k)-ci.*  
dog ng-bark.at.I-NF  
The dog barks/ed.

c.  *Ui ng’nák-ci.*  
dog ng-bark.at.II-NF

\(^{25}\) In K’Chò, there are some verbs with inherent initial velar nasal morpheme /ng-/ These verbs are mostly intransitive as shown in the sentence (1a) and (2a) below. Causative verbs are derived with the addition of the derivational prefix /m-/ and the use of stem II as shown in (1b) and (2b) In fact, the whole paradigm of derivations in the language is yet to be studied.

(1)a.  *Ng dué-ci.*  
stand.I-NF  
She/he/it stands/stood.

(1)b.  *Om noh Mang m’dúih-ci.*  
Om ERG Mang CAUS.stand.II-NF  
Om made Mang stand.

(2)a.  *Ui goi ng’tu-tu-ci-goi.*  
dog DL fight.I-AUX-NF-DL  
The two dogs had a fight (fought each other)

(2)b.  *Ui goi m’tuk-tu-goi-ci.*  
dog DL CAUS.fight.II-AUX-DL-NF  
S/he made/caused the dogs fight.
The verbs *bat* ‘hang up something’ and *na* ‘bark at’ in (57a) and (58a) each have a syntactic valence of two. In (57b) and (58b), the same verbs are marked with the derivational velar nasal prefix *ng*-26. The number of arguments of the derived verbs is reduced to one, which is undoubtedly the subject. Only stem I form may be used in deriving a mono-valence verb from a transitive verb. Stem II may not be used as in (57c) and (58c).

3.3.1.2 Deriving reflexive and reciprocal verbs

In *K’Chò*, reflexive and reciprocal verbs are also derived from transitive verbs with the same derivational prefix *ng*-.

(59)a  
*Tam noh meh k’khım on át-ci.*  
Tam ERG meat knife with cut.I-NF  
Tam cut meat with a/the knife.

b.  
*Tam k’khım on ng’át-ci.*  
Tam knife with ng-cut.I-NF  
Tam cut himself with a knife.

c. *Tam k’khım on ng’áh-ci.*  
Tam knife with ng-cut.II-NF  

In (59b), reflexive verb *ng’át* ‘cut self’ is derived from the prefix *ng-* and the stem I form of the transitive verb *át* ‘cut’. Stem II form may not be used to derive reflexive verbs as (59c) shows.

Examples (60) and (61) are instances of deriving reciprocal verbs from transitive verbs.

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26 According to Comrie (1985: 309), the form that lacks an affix is considered to be the base verb form and the one with an affix the derived one. Following this criteria, the verbs *bat* ‘hang up’ and *na* ‘bark at’ in (43a) and (44a) are considered to be the base verb. Whereas, the forms with the velar nasal prefix are taken as the derived forms.
(60a) *Om noh Yóng *hngu*(k)-ci.
Om ERG Yong see.1-NF
Om saw Yong.

b. *Om lah Yóng ng’hngu*(k)-ci-goi.
Om and Yong *ng*-see.1-NF-DL
Om and Yong met (saw each other).

c. *Om lah Yóng ng’hnguh-ci-goi.
Om and Yong *ng*-see.11-NF-DL

(61a) *Ui noh vok htu-i-ci.
dog ERG pig bite.1-NF
The dog bit the pig.

b. *Ui gui ng’htui-ci-gui.
Dog PL ng-bite.1-NF-PL
Dogs were biting (one another).

c. *Ui gui ng’htuih-ci-gui.
Dog PL ng-bite.11-NF-PL

In (60a) and (61a), the verbs *hngu* ‘see’ and *htui* ‘bite’ are transitive verbs. The ones with the derivational prefix *ng*- in (60b) and (61b) are reciprocal verbs. Such reciprocal verbs are derived from stem I form of the base verb. Stem II may not be used to derive a reciprocal verb as (60c) and (61c) show.

There are other types of verbs derived from transitive verbs with the same derivational prefix *ng*-

(62a) *Om noh Pái am pàpai pe(k)-ci.
Om ERG Pai to flower give.1-NF
Om gave flower to Pai.

b. *M’hú ng’pe(k)-ci.
flu ng-give.1-NF
The flu spreads (the flu is being transmitted).

c. *M’hú ng’pett-ci.
flu ng-give.11-NF
(63)a. *K'am kyang\text{-}ci.
   pot put.on.hearth-fire.1-NF
   S/he put the pot on the hearth-fire.

b. K'am ng\text{/}kyang\text{-}ci.
   pot ng-put.on.hearth-fire.1-NF
   The pot is on the hearth-fire (it is being put on the hearth-fire).

c. *K'am ng\text{/}yän\text{-}ci.
   pot ng-put.on.hearth-fire.1-NF

(64)a Páithiim noh a pó pyein\text{-}ci.
   Paihtiim ERG 3SG.POSS friend tell.1-NF
   Paihtiim gossiped about her friend.

b. Páithiim ng\text{/}pyein\text{-}ci.
   Paihtiim ng-tell.1-NF
   Paihtiim gossips.

The verb in (62a) is a ditransitive verb. Those in (63a) and (64a) are monotransitive verbs. The verbs in (62b)-(64b) are intransitive verbs derived with the derivational prefix ng-.. In derivation of such intransitive verbs, stem II may not be used as in (62c) and (63c). The verb pyein ‘tell/say’ in (64a) is stem-invariant.

The semantic aspect of these derived verbs is interesting. Jordan (1969) argues that derived verbs like (62b) and (63b) in K’Chò are passive in nature. The flu needs some host or agent to facilitate its transmission and the pot may not get on the hearth-fire by itself but someone must put it there. The derived verb in (64b) is somewhat different from the former two. It implies that the person (or the spirit) is in the habit of doing the action denoted by the verb.

The derived verbs in (62b) and (63b) are not considered as passive forms. Passive construction generally has three main features, namely demotion of syntactic subject, promotion of the object, and morphological change of the verb. The prefix ng- is not a passivizer as can be seen from examples (60) and (61) where the object argument is deleted. Therefore, the function of the use of ng- is to code the removal of an argument and as a result the remaining argument is the subject.
We have seen that in K’Chò valence decreasing operations such as de-transitivizing, deriving reflexive, reciprocal, and other types of intransitive verbs require stem I form of the base verb. In other words, turning a transitive verb into a mono-valence verb, which is allowing it to have only the subject argument, correlates with stem I. Stem II may not be used in valence decreasing derivations. As the derived verb is being used in an atypical valence pattern, K’Chò uses stem I to code this feature.

In the following section, we will see the correlation between increasing the valence of a verb, exclusively by the addition of a non-subject argument, and stem choice.

3.3.2 Verb stem choice in valence increase

Valence increase is associated with stem II in K’Chò. Valence-increasing includes deriving causative and applicative verbs from intransitive and/or transitive verbs.

3.3.2.1 Causatives

In K’Chò, causative verbs are derived from the stem II form of both intransitive and transitive verbs.

(65)a.  A-k’hmó ip-ci.
       child  sleep.I-NF
       The child sleeps/slept.

b.  Yóng noh a-k’hmó m’ih-ci.
    Yong  ERG child  CAUS-sleep.II-NF
    Yong put the child to sleep.

c. *Yóng noh a-k’hmó m’ip-ci.
    Yong  ERG child  CAUS-sleep.I-NF

d.  Yóng noh a-k’hmó ih-hlak-ci.
    Yong  ERG child  sleep.II-CAUS-NF
    Yong asked/made the child sleep.

e. *Yóng noh a-k’hmó ip-hlak-ci.
    Yong  ERG child  sleep.I-CAUS-NF
In (65a), the verb *ip* ‘sleep’ is intransitive. The causative verb in (65b) is derived by prefixing the causative morpheme *m*- to the stem II form of the verb *ip* ‘sleep’. The causative verb derived with the prefix *m*- signals direct causation. A causative verb derived by suffixing -*hlak* to the stem II, on the other hand, conveys indirect causation as shown in (65d). Stem I form of the verb is unacceptable to form both direct and indirect causative verbs as (65c) and (65e) show.

In (66a), a double causative verb is derived from the intransitive verb *ip* ‘sleep’. The stem II form of the base verb is consistently used, and stem I is unacceptable as shown in (66b).

(66)a. *Nú noh Yóng am a-k’hmó m’ih-hlak-ci.*
Mother ERG Yóng DAT child CAUS-sleep.II-CAUS-NF
Mother asked/made Yóng to put the child to sleep.

b. *Nú noh Yóng am a-k’hmó m’ip-hlak-ci.*
Mother ERG Yóng DAT child CAUS-sleep.I-CAUS-NF
Some direct causative verbs are derived with the causative prefix *k*-.

(67)a. *Tam pang-ci.*
Tam be.deaf.I-NF
Tam is/was deaf.

b. *Ng’ai noh Tam k’pan-ci.*
song ERG Tam CAUS-be.deaf.II-NF
The song deafened Tam.

c. *Ng’ai noh Tam k’pang-ci.*
song ERG Tam CAUS-be.deaf.I-NF
The verb *pang* ‘be deaf’ in (67a) is an intransitive verb. The causative verb in (67b) is derived with the prefix *k*- from the stem II form of the verb *pang* ‘be deaf’. Stem I may not be used in this derivation as shown in (67c).

The following two sets of data provide evidence for verb stem alternation when causative verbs are derived from a transitive and ditransitive verb.
(68a) is a transitive sentence with mono-transitive verb èi ‘eat’ and (69a) is a transitive sentence with ditransitive verb pe ‘give’.

(68a) Yòong noh panshì è-ci.
    monkey ERG banana eat.1-NF
    The monkey ate banana.

b. Tam noh yòong am panshì m’bei-ci.\(^{27}\)
    Tam ERG monkey DAT banana CAUS-eat.\(\text{II}\)-NF
    Tam fed (gave) banana to the monkey.

c. *Tam noh yòong am panshì m’èi-ci.
    Tam ERG monkey DAT banana CAUS-eat.1-NF

d. Nú noh Tam am yòong panshì m’bei-hlak-ci.
    mother ERG Tam DAT banana CAUS-eat.\(\text{II}\) -CAUS-NF
    Mother made/asked Tam to feed the monkey banana.

e. *Nú noh Tam am yòong panshì m’èi-hlak-ci.
    mother ERG Tam DAT banana CAUS-eat.1-CAUS-NF

(69a) Tam noh Yah am pàpai pe(k)-ci.
    Tam ERG Yah to flower give.1-NF
    Tam gave Yah flowers.

b. Om noh Tam am Yah cuh pàpai péit-hlak-ci.
    Om ERG Tam DAT Yah DEM flower give.\(\text{II}\)-CAUS-NF
    Om asked/made Tam to give Yah flowers.

c. *Om noh Tam am Yah cuh pàpai pe-hlak-ci.
    Om ERG Tam DAT Yah DEM flower give.1-CAUS-NF

d. Om noh Tam cuh Yah am pàpai péit-hlak-ci.
    Om ERG Tam DEM Yah DAT flower give.\(\text{II}\)-CAUS-NF
    Om asked/made Tam to give Yah flowers.

e. *Om noh Tam cuh Yah am pàpai pe-hlak-ci.
    Om ERG Tam DEM Yah DAT flower give.1-CAUS-NF

The causative verbs in (68b) and (69b) are causative verbs derived from the two transitive verbs. (68d) is a double causative verb. In all the causative derivations,

\(^{27}\) Stem II of the verb èi ‘eat’ acquires the sound /b/ when the causative prefix /m-/ comes before it.
stem II of the base verb is used. Stem I is not acceptable as shown in (68c&e), and (69c&e).

Arguments of non-causative verbs and derived causative verbs are shown in Table 10. S is intransitive subject. A, P, and R are agent, patient, and recipient respectively. C1 and C2 are causer 1 and causer 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example sentence</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>SBJ</th>
<th>DO</th>
<th>IO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(65a), (67a)</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(65b), (67b)</td>
<td>Causative (m-/k/-hlak)</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(66a)</td>
<td>Double-causative (m-/k-)+-hlak</td>
<td>C2</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>C1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(68a)</td>
<td>Mono-transitive</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(68b)</td>
<td>Causative (m-, k-, -hlak)</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(68d)</td>
<td>Double causative (m-/k-) + -hlak</td>
<td>C2</td>
<td>A, P</td>
<td>C1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(69a)</td>
<td>Di-transitive</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(69b)</td>
<td>Causative (-hlak)</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>P, R</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(69d)</td>
<td>Causative (-hlak)</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>P, A</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Table of argument rearrangement of causatives verbs

From the above, it can be seen that S and A of non-causative verbs are being demoted to non-subject status when a causer is introduced. Therefore, valence increasing by causative derivation is in fact addition or increasing the existing number of non-subject arguments by demotion of S and A. In the case of double causative sentences, the C1 also is demoted to indirect object status, increasing the number of non-subject arguments further.

This process of addition or increasing the number of non-subject arguments through demotion of S, A, and C1 is coded on the verb by the use of stem II. This is further evidence of correlation between stem II and non-subject arguments discussion in 3.2.1.
We want to continue to examine the stem choice related to deriving various applicative verbs.

3.3.2.2 Applicatives

In K’Chò, derivation of applicative verbs from non-applicative verbs is associated with stem II morphology. There are two principal ways of deriving applicative verbs in K’Chò: (1) by using applicative suffixes and (2) using a bare stem II form as an applicative verb.

Jordan (1969: Grammar p.63-64) listed the following as applicative morphemes: –na, –pe, –püi, –shi, and –tá along with many other various types of other verbal affixes, which he called ‘Augmentative Verbal Affixes’. We will examine each case of deriving applicative verbs with these suffixes.

Applicative –na

Jordan (1969: 157-158) generally treats the post-verbal morpheme -na as an auxiliary except for one which he deemed to be a finite verb meaning ‘to own/possess’. Bedell and Mang (forthcoming) argue that synchronically it is not an independent verb, but an applicative morpheme in K’Chò although it exhibits stem alternation like an independent verb.

(70)a. M’vät shi(k)-ci.
   leech  die.I-NF
   The leech died.

b. M’vät noh m’shi shih-na(k)-ci.
   leech  ERG salt  die.II-APPL-NF
   The leech died from salt.

c. *M’vät noh m’shi shi-na(k)-ci.
   leech  ERG salt  die.I-APPL-NF

In (70a), the verb is intransitive with a valence of one. In (70b), the stem II form of the verb shi ‘die’ with the suffix -na takes an object argument in addition to the subject argument. The presence of the applicative morpheme -na requires the
object argument ‘salt’, which is also called ‘applied object’. Applicative suffix
-na, however, may not be used with stem I as (70c) shows.

When the applicative verb is derived from a transitive verb, non-subject arguments are readjusted.

(71)a Om noh k’khìm on meh át-ci.
Om ERG knife with meat cut.I-NF
Om cut meat with the knife.

b. Om noh k’khìm meh ah-na(k)-ci.
Om ERG knife meat cut.II-APPL-NF
Om used the knife for cutting meat.

c. *Om noh k’khìm meh át-na(k)-ci.
Om ERG knife meat cut.I-APPL-NF
In (71a), the transitive verb át ‘cut’ has two core arguments: ‘Om’ and meh ‘meat’, and one oblique argument k’khìm ‘knife’, which is marked by the instrument postposition on. The valence of the derived applicative verb with the suffix -na in (71b) increases to three core arguments: Om, khìm ‘knife’, and meh ‘meat’. The argument khìm ‘knife’, unlike in (71a), is marked as a direct object argument. This is the case of raising an oblique or peripheral argument of the base verb to a core argument or direct object of the derived applicative verb (Croft 1991:232, Payne 1997:186, Van Valin 2001:62, Kroeger 2004:65). Stem I of a transitive verb may not be used with the applicative -na as (71c) shows.

Applicative -pe

The applicative suffix -pe is identical in form with the verb pe ‘give’. Jordan (1969: grammar p.63) gives the meaning of this applicative as ‘in the place of/ on behalf of’. Applicative verbs derived with the suffix -pe also increase the valence of the base verb by one. More detailed treatment of -pe is offered in ‘Benefactives in K’Cho’ by Bedell and Mang (forthcoming).
(72)a. Om nòh k’htù la(k)-ci.
   Om ERG shirt take.1-NF
   Om took the shirt.

b. Om nòh Tam k’htù lák-pe(k)-ci.
   Om ERG Tam shirt take.11-APPL-NF
   Om took Tam’s shirt.

c. *Om nòh Tam k’htù la-pe(k)-ci.
   Om ERG Tam shirt take.1-APPL-NF

(73)a Meh èi-yop-ci.
   Meat eat.1-complete.ASP-NF
   He ate up the meat.

b. (Jordan 1969: Grammar p. 63)
   Meh cuh à-nà-ëi-pët-yop.
   Meat DEM 3SG.SBJ-1SG.OBJ-eat.11-APPL-complete.ASP.
   He ate up my meat.

   Meat DEM 3SG.SBJ-1SG.OBJ-eat.1-APPL-completely.

In (72a) and (73a), transitive verbs la ‘take’ and èi ‘eat’ take two arguments each.
In (73a), the 3rd person singular subject is inferred from the verb as it is unmarked
for person and number. In (72b) and (73b), stem II form of the two verbs with
suffix -pe have three arguments: additional argument Tam (recipient) in (72b) and
na (agreement with the recipient argument) in (73b). In (73b), the subject
argument and recipient are not overtly present. They are inferred from the
agreement marking on the verb. Stem I may not be used in deriving applicative
verbs with -pe as in (72c) and (73c).
Applicative -$püi$

Jordan (1969: grammar p.63) gives the meaning of the applicative -$püi$ as ‘to help someone doing something or to initiate/engage someone in doing something’.

(74)a  Kaap $yòòng$-ci.
       crow $fly$-NF
       The crow flew.

    crow ERG chicken $fly$-II-APPL-NF
    The crow flew away with the chicken (carrying it).

    crow ERG chicken $fly$-I-APPL-NF

(75)a  Nú bii $bi(k)$-ci.
       mother $work$ do-I-NF
       Mother did work (mother worked).

b.  Pá noh nú bii $bii$-$püi$-ci.
    father ERG mother $work$ do-II-APPL-NF
    Father helped mother (in/with) her work.

    father ERG mother $work$ do-I-APPL-NF

In (74), the verb $yòòng$ ‘fly’ is intransitive. The derived applicative verb in (74b) is a transitive verb. The verb $bi$ ‘do’ in (75a) is a mono-transitive verb, but the one derived with the suffix -$püi$ in (75b) is a ditransitive verb. The applicative suffix -$püi$ may be attached to only stem II form of a verb. It may not be derived from the stem I form of a verb as in (74c) and (75c).
Applicative -shi

Jordan (1969: grammar p.64) labeled this applicative as ‘marking assault’. It conveys the meaning that the action signified by the base stem is done upon the added argument.

(76)a. *Khò-k’nget lo(k)-ci.
spirit-evil come.I-NF
The devil came.

spirit-evil ERG Jesus come.II-APPL-NF
The devil came to Jesus.

spirit-evil ERG Jesus come.I-APPL-NF

(77)a. Nu noh shàmpài dèèng-ci.
mother ERG soya-bean pound.I-NF
Mother pounded the soya-beans.

b. Nu noh shàmpài m’ship on deen-shi-ci.
mother ERG soya-bean chili together.with pound.II-APPL-NF
Mother pounded the soya-beans with chili.

c. *Nu noh shàmpài m’ship on dèèng-shi-ci.
mother ERG soya-bean chili together.with pound.I-APPL-NF

The verb lo ‘come’ in (76a) is intransitive. The verb derived with the applicative -shi from its stem II, on the other hand, has direct object argument ‘Jesus’ as in (76b). The verb dèèng ‘pound’ in (77a) is a mono-transitive verb. Whereas, the derived verb with the applicative suffix -shi in (77b) is a ditransitive verb taking an additional object argument. In both cases, stem I may not be used in deriving applicative verbs with the suffix -shi as in (76c) and (77c).
Applicative \(-tá\)

Jordan (1969: Grammar p.64) states that the morpheme \(-tá\) indicates what is left behind upon leaving.

(78)a  
\[ K'pámi \text{ shí}(k)-\text{ci}. \]
\[ \text{man die.}^{\text{I-NF}} \]
The man died.

b.  
\[ K'pámi \text{ noh a-k'chú shíh-}tá-\text{ci}. \]
\[ \text{man ERG 3SG.POSS-wife die.}^{\text{II-APPL-NF}} \]
He died leaving his wife behind.

*c.  
\[ K'pámi \text{ noh a-k'chú shí-}tá-\text{ci}. \]
\[ \text{man ERG 3SG.POSS-wife die.}^{\text{I-APPL-NF}} \]

(79)a  
\[ Tam \text{ noh buh } ëi-\text{ci}. \]
\[ \text{Tam ERG meal eat.}^{\text{I-NF}} \]
Tam ate meal.

b.  
\[ Tam \text{ noh a-pó buh } ëi-\text{tá-}ci. \]
\[ \text{Tam ERG 3SG.POSS-friend meal eat.}^{\text{II-APPL-NF}} \]
Tam ate the meal ahead of his friend.

c.  
\[ *Tam \text{ noh a-pó buh } ëi-\text{tá-}ci. \]
\[ \text{Tam ERG 3SG.POSS-friend meal eat.}^{\text{I-APPL-NF}} \]

In (78a), the base verb is an intransitive. The derived applicative verb with suffix \(-tá\) in (78b) adds an object argument. Similarly, the base verb in (79a) is montransitive. The derived verb with applicative suffix \(-tá\) in (79b) is a ditransitive. An applicative verb with the suffix \(-tá\) may not be derived from stem I of a verb as (78c) and (79c) show.
Applicative stem II

In *K’Chò*, stem II form of some verbs function as applicative verbs.

(80)a ˌYóng kyúḥ-ci.
Yong be. afraid.I-NF
Yong is scared.

b. ˌYóng noh kong kyúḥ-ci/khai.
Yong ERG tiger fear.II-NF/F
Yong feared/will fear tiger.

Yong ERG tiger fear.I-NF/F

(81)a ˌYóng noh pàpai ghot-ci.
Yong ERG flower throw.away.I-NF
Yong threw away the flower.

b. ˌYóng noh Om âm pàpai ghot-ci/khai.
Yong ERG Om DAT flower throw.II-NF/F
Yong threw/will throw the flower to Om.

c. *ˌYóng noh Om âm pàpai ghot-ci/khai.
Yong ERG Om DAT flower throw.I-NF/F

The verb in (80a) is an intransitive verb. Its stem II form is used as a transitive finite verb taking an object in (80b). Similarly, stem II form of transitive verb *ghot* ‘throw something way’ in (81a) is used as a finite transitive verb with direct and indirect object in (81b). The stem II verbs in (80b) and (81b) being finite verbs, they can be marked with tense/aspect *ci* ‘Non-Future’ and *khai* ‘Future’. The stem II finite verbs retain the basic meaning of their base verbs in (80a) and (81a).

As the stem II finite verbs add an object argument and indirect argument respectively, they are applicative verbs. Stem I form of a verb may not be used as an applicative verb as (80c) and (81c) show.28

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28 Henderson (1965:84ff) reports for *Tiddim* that stem II may be used in sentences in the sense of ‘doing something for someone’. (continued over)
In summary, deriving applicative verbs is a case of valence increasing by adding an object argument to the valence of the non-applicative base verb or raising a peripheral argument of a non-applicative verb to a core argument of a derived applicative verb. Addition of an object argument or raising of an argument from peripheral to core status correlates with the use of stem II. This is further evidence of correlation between non-subject arguments and stem II. Interaction of valence changes and stem alternation is summarized in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem I</th>
<th>Stem II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valence decrease</td>
<td>Valence increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-detransitivization</td>
<td>-causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Reflexive and reciprocal</td>
<td>-applicative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Interaction of verb stems and argument types in valence changes

(a) Henderson (1965:84)

Sa a go hi ‘He killed an animal. vs. Sa a ngawh hi. ‘He killed an animal for me.’

Kei a ding lup’ hi. ‘He prepared beer on my behalf.’ vs. Zu hong lup’ hi. ‘He prepared beer for me.’

It appears that stem II can be used as applicative verb in both Falam (Laizo) and Lai as well. (b) and (c) are Falam and Lai transitive sentences in which stem II form of the verb that ‘kill’ is used in the canonical sense. The verb has two arguments in both languages. The subject argument is marked with particle in in Falam and nih in Lai.

(b) Falam (Khar Thuan pc)

Bawithang in vok a-thah.
Bawithang ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-kill.II
Bawithang killed a/the pig.

(c) Lai (Khar Thuan pc)

Mangkio nih vok a-thah.
Mangkio ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-kill.II
Mangkio killed a/the pig.

In (d) and (e), the same verb takes three arguments in both languages. Another noticeable change is the agreement marking on the verb. In Falam, 3rd person subject agreement is dropped, but the verb agrees with the added object argument i ‘1SG.OBJ’. In Lai, the verb agrees with the added object argument in addition to the subject argument.

(d) Falam

Bawithang in keimah vok i-thah.
Bawithang ERG 1SG pig 1SG.OBJ-kill.II
Bawithang killed me a/the pig.

(e) Lai

Mangkio nih keimah vok a-ka-thah.
Mangkio ERG 1SG pig 3SG.SBJ-1SG.OBJ-kill.II
Mangkio killed me a/the pig.
3.4 Summary

In summary, we have examined the stem choice within a clause, with respect to nominalization, relative clauses, and valence changing. Regarding nominalization, the choice of verb stem depends on the type of nominalization. Nominalization of subject argument requires the use of stem I, while non-subject argument nominalization and action nominalization require stem II.

In relativization, the stem choice is determined by the argument being relativized. Subject relativization uses stem I, while non-subject relativization uses stem II.

Valence decreasing whether by deletion of object or by making the subject/s be Actor and Undergoer simultaneously requires stem I. Valency increase, either by demotion of S or A to a non-subject slot in causative derivations or addition of an object argument and promotion of an argument from peripheral to core argument status in derived applicative verbs, requires stem II.

The discussion in chapter 3 is summarised in Table 12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Stem I</th>
<th>Stem II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominalization (3.1)</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Non-subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relativization (3.2)</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Non-subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valency changing (3.3)</td>
<td>Valence decreasing</td>
<td>Valence increasing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Interaction between argument type and verb stem alternation

In the following chapter, we will examine stem choice constraints between clauses.
CHAPTER 4

INTER-CLAUSAL FACTORS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with stem choice constraints in clauses which occur with or within another clause in K’Chô. Generally, the main clause comes at the end in chained clauses in K’Chô. The clauses discussed in this chapter are non-final clauses. Complement clauses are discussed in 4.1 and switch-reference clauses in 4.2. Finally, adverbial clauses are discussed in 4.3.

4.1 Stem choice in complement clauses

In this thesis, two types of complement clauses are examined. They are complement clauses marked by subordinator /ah/ and complement clauses without subordinator.

4.1.1 ah-complement clauses

Complement clauses introduced by Complementiser ah will be called ah-complements.

(82)a. Uí noh vok htui-ci/khai ah kya(k)-ci.
Dog ERG pig bite.1-NF/F COMP be.1-NF
It was/is that the dog bit/will bite the pig.

b. Uí noh vok a-htuih ah kya(k)-ci.
Dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.1 COMP be.1-NF
It was that the dog bit the pig.

pig 2PL.SBJ-sell.1-NF/F COMP 1SG.SBJ-know.1-NF
I know/knew that you sold/will sell the pig.

b. Vok nami-yòi ah ka-hmat-ci.
pig 2PL.SBJ-sell.1 COMP 1SG.SBJ-know.1-NF
I know/knew that you sold/will sell the pig.
Verbs in verbal complement clauses introduced by the complementizer *ah* in (82a) and (83a) are stem I. Notice that they may also be marked with tense/aspect *ci* ‘Non-Future’ and *khai* ‘Future’ and the pronominal agreements. Therefore, the verbs in this type of subordinate clauses appear most independent and thus they are least subordinated to the main clause.

Stem II forms of the verb are also compatible in such clauses as in (82b) and (83b). The difference between the use of stem I and II depends more on pragmatic (see chapter 5) than linguistic (dependency) factors.

Furthermore, the complementizer *ah* may also take a nominalized noun phrase as (84) and (85).

(84)a. \(\text{Vì cuh a-k’shì ah ng’shéi-ci.}\)
    rabbit DEM 3SG-k-die.I PART pretend.I-NF
    The rabbit pretended to be a dead one.

b. \(\text{Vì cuh shì-ci ah ng’shéi-ci}\)
    rabbit DEM die.I-NF PART pretend.I-NF
    The rabbit pretended that it died (to be dead).

c. *\(\text{Vì cuh shih ah ng’shéi-ci}\)
    rabbit DEM die.II PART pretend.I-NF
    The rabbit pretended (death or dying).

(85)a. \(\text{Vì cuh nga-k’shùi ah ng’shéi-ci}\)
    rabbit DEM fish-k-search.I PART pretend.I-NF
    The rabbit pretended to be a fisherman.

b. \(\text{Vì cuh nga shùi-ci ah ng’shéi-ci}\)
    rabbit DEM fish search.I-NF PART pretend.I-NF
    The rabbit pretended that it was catching fish.

c. *\(\text{Vì cuh nga-shùi ah ng’shéi-ci}\)
    rabbit DEM fish-search.II PART pretend.I-NF
    The rabbit pretended fish-catching/fishing.

In (84a) and (85a) the complements marked by the complementizer *ah* are nominalized phrases (see section 3.1.1). If the complement is a clause, the verb in the complement clause is stem I as shown in (84b) and (85b). Some verb types may not take verbal nominalization as complement as shown in (84c) and (85c).
In complement clauses introduced by the subordinator *ah*, those with stem I and those with stem II also show other important semantic contrasts.

    go.1-NF/F COMP say.1-NF
She said that she went/will go.

b. *A-htheih ah péin-ci.*
    3SG.SBJ-go.11 COMP say.1-NF
She said that he went (or He said that she went).

The verb in the subordinate clause is stem I in (86a), but, stem II is used in (86b). The difference between (86a) and (86b) is that the subject argument of the main verb and that of the verb in the subordinate clause are co-referential in (86a), but co-referentiality is not obligatory, as in (86b).

We have seen that both stem I and stem II can occur in complement clauses marked by the complementizer *ah* based on the pragmatic environment. This fact indicates that such complement clauses are independent in terms of their verbal morphology.

Now, we will consider stem choice in complement clauses without a complementizer.

4.1.2 Stem choice in complement clauses without subordinator

Complements clauses functioning either as subject or object of a main verb lack a subordinator.

(87)a. *[Ui noh vok a-htheih] kah bä-ci.*
    Dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.11 NEG be.good.1-NF
That the dog bit the pig was unfortunate.

b. *([Ui noh vok htui-ci/khai] kah bä-ci).*
    Dog ERG pig bite.1-NF/F NEG be.good.1-NF
(88)a. [Vok a-\textit{ng'pyaan}] noh ka m’lung na-hngu(k)-ci.
    pig 3SG.SBJ-squeak.II ERG 1SG.POSS heart 1SG.OBJ-see.I-NF
That the pig squeaked angered me.
b. *[Vok \textit{ng'pyààng}-ci/khai] noh ka m’lung na-hngu(k)-ci.
    pig squeak.I-NF/F ERG 1SG.POSS heart 1SG.OBJ-see.I-NF

(89)a. [Om \textit{a-ih}] ka-hngu(k)-ci.
    Om 3SG.SBJ-sleep.II 1SG.SBJ-see.I-NF
I saw that Om slept.
b. *[Om \textit{ip-ci/khai}] ka-hngu-ci.
    Om sleep.I-NF/F 1SG.SBJ-see.I-NF

In (87a)-(89a), the clauses in square brackets are subject argument of intransitive verb, subject argument, and object argument of transitive verbs respectively. The verbs in the complement clauses are stem II. Stem I with tense marking may not be used in such argument complement clauses as (87b)-(89b) show. Future time in reference to the main verb may be marked with \textit{vai} ‘irrealis’ as in (90a) below.

(90)a. Om \textit{a-ih-vai} ka-hmat-ci.
    Om 3SG.SBJ-sleep.II-IRRL 1SG.SBJ-know.I-NF
I know/knew that Om will/would sleep.
b. Om \textit{ah ih-vai} ka-hmat-ci.
    Om GEN sleep.II-IRRL 1SG.SBJ-know.I-NF
I know/knew Om’s would-be sleep.
c. *[Om \textit{ip-khai} ka-hmat-ci.
    Om sleep.I-F 1SG.SBJ-know.I-NF
I knew that Om slept/would sleep.

In the above examples, verbs in the argument complement clauses may not occur in stem I form. Tense also may not be marked on them. Therefore, argument complement clauses in \textit{K’Chò} are fully subordinated to the main clause.
4.2 Stem choice in switch-reference clauses

In K’Chô, clauses can be chained by the switch-reference markers neh & hleih. The former subordinator signals that the subject arguments of the two linked clauses are co-referential. The latter indicates that the subject arguments of the two linked clauses are not co-referential. See Bedell (2001) for comprehensive treatment of switch-reference clauses in K’Chô. There are also some other modified switch-reference conjunctions of the two ah-tah, ci-tah, chü-tah, and neh-tah ‘after’, neh-phih and hleih-phih ‘even though’.

(91a) and (92a) illustrate clauses conjoined by neh and hleih.

The dogs barked at the two pigs and (they-dogs) chased them(2 pigs).

(92)a. *Ui noh vok htui hleih shì(k)-ci.
Dog ERG pig bite.I CONJ die.I-NF
The dog bit the pig and it (the pig) died.

Verbs in clauses marked by subordinator neh and hleih, the verb may occur only in stem I form as in (91a) and (92a). Stem II is not acceptable as in (91b) and (92b).

(93)a. *Ui noh vok na(k)-ci neh got-ci.
Dog ERG pig bark.I-NF CONJ chase.I-NF
The dog barked at the pigs and it(dog) chased it(pig).

b. *Ui noh vok htui-khai neh got-ci.
Dog ERG pig bark.I-NF CONJ chase.I-NF
The dog chased the pig to bite it.
c. *Ui noh vok htuic/khai hleih dòng-ci.
   Dog ERG pig bark.1-NF/ CONJ run.1-NF
   The dog bit/will bite the pig and it(pig) ran.

(94)a. Ui noh vok htuivai neh got-ci.
   Dog ERG pig bark.1-IRRL CONJ chase.1-NF
   The dog chased the pig to bite it.

b. Ui noh vok htuivai hleih dòng-ci.
   Dog ERG pig bark.1-IRRL CONJ run.1-NF
   The dog would bite the pig and it(pig) ran
   The pig ran as the dog would bite it.

First, the stem I verb in the switch-reference clauses may not be marked with ci ‘No-Future’ or khai ‘Future’ as in (93). ‘Future’ with reference to the time of the main verb is expressed by vai ‘Irrealis’ as in (94).

Secondly, verbal indexation of subject argument in the switch-reference clauses is different from the way it is marked on the finite verb of the main clause.

   2SBJ.PL-sleep.1-NF CONJ 1SG.SBJ-2OBJ-see.I-OBJ.PL-NF
   I saw that you were sleeping.

   sleep.1-PL-2SBJ CONJ 1SG.SBJ-2OBJ-see.I-OBJ.PL-NF
   You (plural) slept and I saw you (plural) or I saw you (plural) sleeping.

In a switch-reference subordinate clause, the verbal indexation may not occur before the verb as shown in (95a). Compare with the verb in the main clause in the same sentence. It must, however, follow the verb as in (95b). Furthermore, the post-verbal indexation particles u ‘plural’ and ci ‘2nd person’ in (95b) are different from the corresponding particles nami ‘2PL’, which is normally marked on a finite verb. Besides, their syntactic order is ‘number+person’ unlike the ‘person+number’ order for the finite verb indexation. Here, we should take note that the morpheme ci in (95b) is not the temporal ci ‘Non-Future’.

In K’Chò, it is not always clear whether switch-reference morphemes are co-coordinating conjunctions or subordinating conjunctions. The clause marked with
switch-references *neh* and *hleih* may be interpreted as a subordinate clause as shown in (94). They can also be simply co-coordinated clauses as shown in (96).

(96a. Yong hlum hlu hleih Pai tui la(k)-ci.
Yong mortar pound.**I** **CONJ** Pai water take.**I-NF**
Yong pounded (rice) at the mortar and Pai fetched water.

Therefore *K’Chò* switch-reference markers seem to be either coordinating or subordinating conjunctions.

Clauses linked by other types of switch-reference conjunctions are given below. But we will not discuss about them here at length. Refer to Bedell (2001) for more detailed discussion on this phenomenon.

(97a. *Ui* noh vok **hngu** *neh-phih** kah-na(k)-ci.
Dog **ERG** pig see.**I** CONJ-also NEG-bark.at.**I-NF**
Even though the dog saw the pig, it (dog) did not bark at it.

b. *Ui* noh vok **hngu-ci** *neh-phih** kah-na(k)-ci.
Dog **ERG** pig see.**I-NF** CONJ-also NEG-bark.at.**I-NF**

c. *Ui* noh vok **hnguh** *neh-phih** kah-na(k)-ci.
Dog **ERG** pig see.**II** CONJ-also NEG-bark.at.**I-NF**

(98a. Vok cuh *ui* noh **na** *hleih-phih** kah-dóng-ci.
pig **DEM** dog ERG bark.at.**I** CONJ-also NEG-run.**I-NF**
Even though the dog barked at the pig, it(pig) did not run.

b. *Vok cuh *ui* noh **na(k)-ci** *hleih-phih** kah-dóng-ci.
pig **DEM** dog ERG bark.at.**I-NF** CONJ-also NEG-run.**I-NF**

c. *Vok cuh *ui* noh **nák** *hleih-phih** kah-dóng-ci.
pig **DEM** dog ERG bark.at.**II** CONJ-also NEG-run.**I-NF**

(99a. *Ui* cuh vok **htui** *neh-tah** dóng-ci.
Dog **DEM** pig bite.**I** CONJ-ASP run.**I-NF**
The dog, having bitten the pig, ran away.

b. *Ui* cuh vok **htui-ci** *neh-tah** dóng-ci.
Dog **DEM** pig bite.**I-NF** CONJ-ASP run.**I-NF**

c. *Ui* cuh vok **htuih** *neh-tah** dóng-ci.
Dog **DEM** pig bite.**II** CONJ-ASP run.**I-NF**
All the above subordinate clauses with various switch-reference conjunctions, unanimously select stem I form (97a)-(100a). The stem I in the clauses may not be marked for tense as (97b)-(100b) show. Stem II may not be used either as shown in (97c)-(100c).

From the above examples, we can conclude that the switch-reference clauses represent intermediate degree of subordination or dependency compared with the independent verbal complement clauses in 4.1.1 and dependent argument complement clauses in 4.1.2.29

4.3 Stem choice in adverbial clauses

In K’Chò, numerous types of adverbial clause uniformly select stem II. These adverbial clauses are marked by various subordinators: ung ‘temporal and/or conditional’, other temporal subordinators: am, lah, (kon, vai)+ah, ah ‘manner’. Adverbial clauses in K’Chò are dependent clauses and that dependency is seen in the reduced tense marking and verb indexing.

---

29 In Japanese clause combination, the verb in the first clause may not be marked for tense.

apple OBJ cut eat-PAST
I cut the apple and ate it.

b. *Ringo oh kita tabe-ta.
apple OBJ cut-PAST eat-PAST
I cut the apple and ate it.
4.3.1 Adverbial clause marked with subordinator ung

The word ung is a subordinator connecting an adverbial clause to the main clause as in (101a).

(101)a. Ui noh vok a-htuiah ung ka-that-khai.
   Dog  ERG  pig  3SG.SBJ-bite.II  PART  1SG.SBJ-beat-F
   When/if the dog bites the pig, I will beat it(the dog).

b. *Ui noh vok htuic-khai ung
   Dog  ERG  pig  bite.1-NF/F  PART

c. Ui noh vok a-htuiah-vai ung
   Dog  ERG  pig  3SG.SBJ-bite.II-IRRL  PART

In (101a), the clause marked by the subordinator ung functions as a temporal (or conditional) adverbial clause. In such an adverbial clause, the verb is in the stem II form. Stem I with or without tense/aspect ci ‘Non-future’ and khai ‘Future’ are not allowed as in (101b). The future time corresponding to the tense of the verb of the main clause can be expressed by irrealis vai as in (101c). Additionally, 3rd person subject, which is not allowed on finite stem I, must be co-indexed with the stem II as shown in (101a&c).

In adverbial clauses marked by subordinator ung, the stem II verb may be marked for various aspects as in (102).

30 In K’Chô, ung also is a postposition occurring after an NP to form temporal and locative adverbial clauses.

(1) khūi ung lut-ci.
   Hole  PART  enter.1-NF
   It entered into a/the hole/(It went into the hole).

(2) a hngūgon ung
   3SG.POSS neck  PART
   In/around her/his neck,

(3) khoànggūp ät ung
   Day  one  PART
   One day,
The aspectual markers in the above adverbial clauses are *yah* ‘progressive’, *pha* ‘yet’, *yop* ‘completive’, *pyi* ‘perfective, and *kòn* ‘after’.

### 4.3.2 Adverbial clauses marked with subordinator *ah*

Some subordinate clauses headed by *ah*\(^{31}\) function as temporal adverbial clauses.

\[(103)a.\textit{Kah-\textit{ei} - \textit{pha} ah hteit-ci.} \]
\[
\text{NEG-eat.\textit{II}-ASP PART go.\textit{I}-NF} \\
\text{He went before he had eaten.}
\]

\[b. \textit{*Kah-\textit{èi} - \textit{pha} ah hteit-ci.} \]
\[
\text{NEG-eat.\textit{I}-ASP PART go.\textit{I}-NF}
\]

\(^{31}\) Prototypically, *ah* is a postposition which normally heads nouns to form postpositional phrases as in the following sentences.

\[a. \textit{Om Mindàt ah hteit-ci.} \]
\[
\text{Om Mindat PART go.\textit{I}-NF} \\
\text{Om went to Mindat.}
\]

\[b. \textit{Min cuh kong ah ng’ploh-ci.} \]
\[
\text{cat DEM tiger PART change.into.\textit{I}-NF} \\
\text{The cat turned into a tiger.}
\]
(104)a. $A$-bii-hlu  ah  ng’aî=ci  
3SG.SBJ-do.II-ASP  PART  sing.I-NF
I sang while (as) he worked.

b. *$A$-bi-hlu  ah  ng’aî=ci  
3SG.SBJ-do.I-ASP  PART  sing.I-NF

(105)a. Na-hteih-kon  ah  panshi  èi-ci  
2SG.SBJ-go.II-ASP  PART  banana  eat.I-NF
He ate the banana after you had left.

b. *Na-hteit-kon  ah  panshi  èi-ci  
2SG.SBJ-go.I-ASP  PART  banana  eat.I-NF

In the adverbial clauses with subordinator $ah$, the verb is stem II as shown in (103a)-(105a). Stem I forms do not occur in these clauses as (103b)-(105b) show. They can be marked with aspect $pha$ ‘yet’, $hlu$ ‘simultaneous’ $kon$ ‘sequential’ as in (103a)-(105a).

Some adverbial clauses marked by the subordinator $ah$ convey manner or purpose of the action described by the verb in the main clauses as in (106a) and (107a).

(106)a. loo  bii  ah  ng’hloh-ci.  
field  work.II  PART  to-be.employed.I-NF
He works in the field/(He is employed in field).

b. *loo  bi(k)-ci  ah  ng’hloh-ci.  
field  work.I-NF  PART  to-be.employed.I-NF

(107)a. Bung  ah  shing  shui  ah  hteit-ci.  
forest to wood  search.II  PART  go.I-NF
S/he went firewood-searching to the forest.

b. *Bung  ah  shing  shùi  ah  hteit-ci.  
forest to wood  search.I  PART  go.I-NF

In (106a), the clause headed by $ah$ is adverbial clause of manner. It shows how the person was employed. In (107a), the subordinate clause indicates the purpose of the person’s going into the forest. In these adverbial clauses of manner and purpose, the verbs are stem II. Stem I does not occur in such clauses as in (106b), (107b).
In K’Chò, adverbial clauses denoting the result of the action conveyed by the main verb are also headed by the subordinator *ah*.

(108)a. **Palap-khai ah leh-ci**

Be.flat.I-F PART stomp.I-NF

He/it stomped in order to flatten it and it became flat.

b. **A-palap-vai ah leh-ci.**

3SG.SBJ-be.flat.I-IRRL PART stomp.I-NF

He stomped to flatten it (but it’s unknow if it became flat).

In (108a), the verb *palap* ‘be-flat’ is finite stem I as it is marked for tense with *khai* ‘Future’. In (108b), it is stem II form as it is marked with *vai* ‘irrealis’ rather than *khai* ‘Future’ and also with 3rd person subject indexation. The difference between (108a) and (108b) is evidentiality. In (108a), the entity being stomped as a result became flat, but it is unknown whether it became flat as the result of stomping in (108b).

### 4.3.3 Adverbial subordinator *am*

The adverbial subordinator *am* is used in K’Chò as in (109).

(109)a. **Buh a-ei-zop-vai am ip-ci.**

Meal 3SG.SBJ-eat.I-ASP-IRRL PART sleep.I-NF

As soon as he had eaten meal, he slept.


Meal eat.I-ASP-NF/F PART sleep.I-NF

---

32 The verb *palab* ‘be flat’ marked with *ah* is a nominalized stem I with its syntactic subject *a* ‘he/she/it’ (see 3.1.1.1).

a. **Leh-palap-ci.**

Stomp.I-be.flat.I-NF

He stomped on it flat.

b. **A-palap ah leh-ci.**

3SG-flat.I PART stomp.I-NF

He/it stomped it flat (he/it stomped it into a flat one).

33 In K’Chò, the particle *am* is normally used to marked the dative case as below.

Tam *noh* Yóng *am* pàpai pe -ci.

Tam ERG Yong DAT flower give.I -NF

Tam gave flowers to Yong.
In the adverbial clause followed by the subordinator *am*, the verb is in stem II, which may be marked with aspect as in (109a). Stem I may not be used as shown in (109b).

### 4.3.4 Subordinator lah

Some adverbial clauses are introduced by subordinator *lah* as in (110).

(110)a. *Buh a-\(\text{ei}\) lah hteit-ci.*

Meal 3SG.SBJ-eat.II PART go.I-NF

He went as soon as he had eaten the meal.

b. *Buh èi-ci lah hteit-ci.*

Meal eat.INF PART go.I-NF

He went as soon as he had eaten the meal.

In the adverbial clauses followed by the subordinator *lah*, the verb is stem II as in (110a). Stem I may not be used in the adverbial subordinate clauses as in (110b).

In the adverbial clauses with subordinator *lah*, the stem II verb may be marked for aspect as in (111).

(111) *Buh a-\(\text{ei}\)-yop-vai lah hteit-ci.*

Meal 3SG.SBJ-eat.II-ASP-ASP PART go.I-NF

He went as soon as he had finished eating the meal.

---

34 In *K’Cho*, the word *lah* normally is a co-ordinating conjunction which conjoins two nouns or nominal clauses as shown below.

a. *Tam lah Yong ng’lah -ci -goi.*

Tam and Yong play.1 -NF -DL

Tam and Yong played.

b. *A- pyéin lah a- bii kah- ng’gui -ci.*

3SG.SBJ say.II and 3SG.SBJ work.II NEG- go.together.1 -NF

What he said and what he did do not go together.
4.4 Summary

We have examined verb stem choice in the first clauses of conjoined clauses. We can divide the dependent clauses into two types: relative clauses and other subordinate clauses.

For complement clauses, if the complementizer is *ah*, either verb stem may occur. If no complementizer is used, verb stem II must be used.

In switch-reference clauses, the verb must be stem I.

Adverbial clauses, no matter what the subordinator is, require the verb in the adverbial clause to be stem II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Stem I</th>
<th>Stem II</th>
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<td>With subordinator <em>ah</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause linking</td>
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Table 13: Verb stem choice in subordinate clauses

In the next chapter, we will examine the stem choice in independent clauses.
CHAPTER 5

PRAGMATIC FACTORS

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter pragmatic factors determining the stem choice in K’Chò are discussed. The main pragmatic factors are information structure and deontic modality.

5.1 The interaction of information structure and stem choice

Generally, sentence focus, and predicate focus, and unmarked narrow focus use stem I. Marked narrow focus and contrastive focus are associated with the use of stem II.

5.1.1 Information structure

Before going into the analysis, the general notion of focus will be discussed.

Comrie (1981) defines focus as ‘the essential piece of new information carried by a sentence’. Van Valin (2005) defines focus as ‘the part that is asserted in a declarative utterance or questioned in an interrogative utterance’. Following these definitions, focus will be defined as new or asserted information carried in a declarative sentence or what is being questioned in interrogatives.

Van Valin (2005) states that there are two main types of focus in languages; namely Broad Focus and Narrow Focus. Broad Focus is further divided into Sentence Focus and Predicate Focus.

In sentence focus constructions, the focus domain extends over the entire sentence, which means the whole sentence is being asserted. Further, this type of sentence has no topic. Predicate Focus constructions are universally the unmarked focus type, and equate to the traditional topic-comment distinction. Thus,
predicate focus sentences are sentence in which the subject is the topic of the sentence and the predicate contains new information.

The third type of focus construction is narrow focus, in which the focus domain is a single constituent- it may be any argument or adjunct or the verb complex. Narrow focus further subsumes unmarked narrow focus and marked narrow focus. Emphasis on the narrow focus will be marked narrow focus. And another type of marked narrow focus is contrastive focus.

5.1.2 Broad focus and stem choice

It has been mentioned that sentence focus and predicate focus are the two broad focus types. Interaction of verb stems with each type of broad focus is discussed in the following sections.

5.1.2.1 Sentence Focus and stem choice

Sentence focus is equivalent to unmarked declarative sentences of both intransitive and transitive in K’Chô. In sentence focus, the whole sentence is asserted as new information.

(112a) is an unmarked intransitive declarative sentence in K’Chô.

(112)a. Vok shì(k)-ci.  
    pig die.I-NF  
    The pig died.  

b. *Vok shih/a-shih.  
    pig die.II /3SG.SBJ-die.II  

(112a) is simply asserted without any particular part being necessarily presupposed. Therefore, the focus domain is the entire sentence. In such sentential focus, the verb is stem I, which may be followed by tense/aspect ci ‘Non-Future’. Stem II may not be used as (112b) shows.

There can be three different types of transitive declarative sentence in K’Chô as shown in (113).
The three transitive sentences are different from one another in two respects. First, the subject argument is marked with the particle noh in (113a & b). In (113c), the subject argument is not marked with ergative case noh, but may optionally be marked with the topic marker cuh. Secondly, stem I form followed by tense/aspect marker ci ‘Non-Future’ is used in (113a) and (113c), while in (113b) the verb is stem II, which is marked with preverbal 3rd person subject indexation, but not marked with the tense/aspect ci ‘Non-Future’ or khai ‘Future’.

First, we will single out the unmarked sentence for K’Chò from the three transitive sentences. We will use question (114a) for determining the K’Chò unmarked declarative sentence.

(114)a. I ah kya(k)-ci ang. what PART happen.1-NF Q
What happened?

b. Ui noh vok htuì-ci.
dog ERG pig bite.1-NF
A/the dog bit a/the pig.

c. ?Ui noh vok a-htuih.
dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.II
A/the dog bit a/the pig.

d. ?Ui (cuh) vok htuì-ci.
dog TOP pig bite.1-NF
The dog bit a/the pig.
Of the three possible transitive declarative sentences, (114b), repeated from (113a), is the most natural answer to question in (114a). Therefore, (114b) is unmarked transitive declarative sentence, or sentence focus, in K’Chò.

Stem I is used for sentence focus in K’Chò as shown in (114b). The use of stem II in the context of question (114a) is unacceptable as (114c) shows.

Secondly, lack of ergative marker noh on the subject in a sentence-focus declarative sentence is unacceptable as shown (114d). Lack of ergative marker noh on the subject of a transitive sentence indicates that the subject is marked as topic, rendering it into a different type of focus, which will be discussed in 5.1.2.2.

In summary, stem I form of a verb is used for sentence focus for both intransitive and transitive sentences in K’Chò.

5.1.2.2 Predicate focus and stem choice

It has been discussed in 5.1.1 that predicate focus generally involves a topic subject and comment. Topic in this thesis refers to discourse topic. The topic of a sentence is known information, while the comment contains new information. In this sense, a topic sentence is a predicate focus sentence.

In (115), the question establishes the subject as a discourse topic for a comment. The answer to question (115) can be an intransitive sentence as in (116a) or a transitive sentence as in (117a).

(115)a. $U_i mä$.
   dog Q
   What about the dog?

(116)a. $Ui (cuh) ip-ci$.
   dog TOP sleep.1-NF
   The dog is/ was sleeping/ slept.

   b. $^*Ui (cuh) a-ih$.
   dog TOP 3SG.SBJ-sleep.II
The subject is the topic in both intransitive sentence (116a) and transitive sentence (117a). Therefore, the predicate is the new information or it is in focus.

In such predicate focus K’Chô sentences, the verb is stem I, which may be marked with tense/aspect ci ‘Non-Future’ as shown in (116a) and (117a). Stem II is unacceptable in the predicate focus sentence as (116b) and (117b) show.

Secondly, the topic subject may not be marked with ergative noh as shown in (117c). But, it may optionally be marked with deictic cuh (glossed as TOP) as shown in (116a) and (117a). It is common for deictic words to be grammaticalised into topic markers. Bedell and Mang (2001) also posit that a K’Chô sentence like (117a) is a sentence in which the subject is topicalized.

Lehman (1999) analyses a sentence like (117a) in Lai, a northern Chin language, as the case of object-incorporation, in effect creating an intransitive verb. In other words, (117a) is an intransitive sentence. Considering K’Chô sentence (117a) in the analogous analysis will produce (118a).

In the case of object incorporation, the incorporated object normally may not be counted or modified. When the subject is not marked with ergative noh, the object
argument can still be modified and counted as in (118b). Therefore, by definition, (118a) is not a case of object incorporation.

Another explanation offered by Kathol and VanBik (2001) for the same language (Lai) is that a sentence like (117a), which they call non-ergative construction, is an antipassive sentence. Therefore, in effect (117a) is intransitive. Antipassive analysis of (117a) also has some constructional inadequacies. In (117a), the subject may not be marked with ergative marker noh, but the object still gets absolutive marking instead of oblique, which is expected in the prototypical antipassive construction.

5.1.3 Narrow focus and stem choice

There are two types of narrow focus; namely unmarked narrow focus and marked narrow focus. Unmarked narrow focus is focus on one constituent, while marked narrow focus is narrow focus with emphasis or contrastive feature. In K’Chô, stem I and stem II are used for unmarked narrow focus and marked narrow focus respectively.

5.1.3.1 Unmarked narrow focus and stem choice

In unmarked narrow focus sentences, stem I is used. Content questions (119a)-(122a) set up narrow focus in K’Chô as the focus of interrogation is on one constituent. Notice that the question particle ang occurs at the end of the sentence in unmarked narrow focus questions.

    who  sleep.1-NF  Q
    Who slept?

b. Pá  ip-ci.
    father  sleep.1-NF
    Father slept.

c. *Pá  a-ih.
    father  3SG.SBJ-sleep.II
(120)a. *Ui noh vok a-i ah ci-ci ang*  
  dog PART pig what PART do.1-NF Q  
  What did the dog do to the pig?

b. *[Ui noh vok] htuï-ci.*  
  dog ERG pig bite.1-NF  
  The dog **bit** the pig.

c. ?*[Ui noh vok] a-htuih.*  
  dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.11  
  The dog **bit** the pig.

(121)a. *A-i noh vok htuï-ci ang.*  
  what ERG pig bite.1-NF Q  
  What bit the pig?

  dog ERG pig bite.1-NF  
  A/the dog **bit** a/the pig.

c. ?*Ui noh [vok] a-htuih.*  
  dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.11  
  The dog **bit** the pig.

(122)a. *Ui noh a-i htuï-ci ang*  
  dog ERG what bite.1-NF Q  
  What did the dog bite?

b. *[Ui noh] vok htuï-ci.*  
  dog ERG pig bite.1-NF  
  The dog **bit** the pig.

c. ?*[Ui noh] vok a-htuih.*  
  dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.11  
  The dog **bit** the pig.

The answers in the (b) examples also are narrow focus sentences as they contain one constituent as new information. In (119b) and (121b), the subject is new information. In (120b), the action or verb is new information, and the object in (122b). They are typical or unmarked narrow focus sentences as a constituent is being simply questioned or asserted. Stem I is used for such unmarked narrow focus in *K’Chò*. The use of stem II is unacceptable as (119c)-(122c) show.
5.1.3.2 Marked narrow focus and stem choice

Marked narrow focus, on the contrary, uses stem II. Questions (123a)-(126a) below are marked narrow focus questions in K’Chò. Notice the internal position of the question particle ang, unlike in unmarked narrow focus questions, following the wh-question word. Bedell (2002) points out that K’Chò questions with ang at sentence-final position are neutral, while the internal position of ang places emphasis on the interrogative word (or phrase). Thus, answers in (b) examples corresponding to these marked narrow focus questions in (a) examples are also marked narrow focus sentences.

(123)a. 
   \[ U \text{ ang } a-ih. \]
   \[ \text{who Q 3SG.SBJ-leep.II} \]
   Who was it that slept?

b. 
   \[ Pá ne\text{i a-ih.} \]
   \[ \text{father EMP 3SG.SBJ-sleep.II} \]
   Father slept.

c. *\[ Pá [ip-c\text{i}]. \]
   \[ \text{father sleep.I} \]

(124)a. 
   \[ Ui \text{ noh vok a-i ah ang a-cii.} \]
   \[ \text{dog PART pig what PART Q 3SG.SBJ-do.II} \]
   What is it that the dog did to the pig?

b. \[ [Ui \text{ noh vok}] a-htuih. \]
   \[ \text{dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.II} \]
   The dog bit the pig.

c. ?\[ [Ui \text{ noh vok}] htui-c\text{i}. \]
   \[ \text{dog ERG pig bite.1-NF} \]
   The dog bit the pig.
(125)a. *A-i noh *ang* vok a-htuih.*  
what ERG Q pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.II  
What was it that bit the pig?  

b. *Ui noh [vok] a-htuih.*  
dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.II  
The dog bit the pig.  

c. *?[Ui noh [vok] htu-i-ci.*  
dog ERG pig bite.I-NF  
A/the dog bit a/the pig.  

(126)a. *Ui noh a-i *ang* a-htuih.*  
dog ERG what Q 3SG.SBJ-bite.II  
What was it that the dog bit?  

b. *[Ui noh] vok a-htuih.*  
dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.II  
The dog bit the pig.  

c. *?[Ui noh] vok htu-i-ci.*  
dog ERG pig bite.I-NF  
A/the dog bit a/the pig.  

In (123b) and (125b), the subject is new information, while the verb and the object are new information in (124b) and (126b). (123b)-(126b) are marked narrow focus sentences as one constituent is in focus in each sentence. Further, each sentence is marked narrow focus sentence since the focused constituent is also emphasized.  

In such marked narrow focus sentences, stem II is used. The use of stem I in answers to question (123a)-(126a) is unacceptable as (123c)-(126c) show. The sentence initial ? shows that the sentence is a pragmatically aberrant answer to the questions (123a)-(126a).  

Therefore, stem II is used for marked narrow focus in K’Chò.
5.1.4 Contrastive focus *nei*

In *K’Chô*, the particle *nei* ‘emphasis or contrastive’ is used to convey various pragmatic perspectives of a declarative sentence. In other words, it can mark various scopes of focus.

(127)a.  *Om  ip-ci.*
       *Om  sleep.I-NF*
       *Om slept.*

b.  *Om  ip-ci nei.*
    *Om  sleep.I-NF EMP*
    *Oh, Om slept.*

c.  *Om a-ih nei.*
    *Om 3SG.SBJ-sleep.II EMP*

d.  *Om nei ip-ci.*
    *Om EMP sleep.I-NF*
    *Oh, Om slept.*

e.  *Om nei a-ih.* (Contrastive F)
    *Om EMP 3SG.SBJ-sleep.II*
    *Om slept (not Mang).*

(128)a.  *Ui noh vok htui-ci.*
        *Dog ERG pig bite.I-NF*
        *A/the dog bit a/the pig.*

b.  *Ui noh vok htui-ci nei.*
    *Dog ERG pig bite.I-NF EMP*
    *A/the dog bit a/the pig!*

c.  *Ui noh vok a-htuih nei.*
    *Dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.II EMP*
    *The dog bit the pig. (didn’t chase)
(129)a. *Ui noh nei vok htuic.i.*  
Dog   ERG   EMP pig   bite.1-NF  
The dog bit the pig.  

b. *Ui noh nei vok a-htuih.*  
Dog   ERG   EMP pig   3SG.SBJ-bite.11  
The dog (not the wolf) bit the pig.  

(130)a. *Ui noh vok nei htuic.i.*  
Dog   ERG pig   EMP bite.1-NF  
The dog bit the pig.  

b. *Ui noh vok nei a-htuih.*  
Dog   ERG pig   EMP 3SG.SBJ-bite.11  
The dog bit the pig (not the goat).  

(127a)-(128a) represent unmarked intransitive and transitive declarative sentences in *K’Chô*. In other words, they are in sentence focus.

The sentences (127b) and (128b) are marked by *nei* ‘emphatic’ sentence-finally. The verbs are stem I and they are marked with tense/aspect *ci* ‘Non-Future’. When a declarative sentence with stem I is marked with the particle *nei* as such, the entire sentences is emphasized, conveying the meaning that ‘something has happened’. This is equivalent to sentential focus which requires stem I.

In (128c) the particle *nei* occurs after the stem II transitive verb. In this sentence, the verb or action is in contrastive focus, meaning that ‘The dog bit the pig, not chased it’. This contrastive focus on the verb is coded by the particle *nei* and the use of stem II in a transitive sentence. On the contrary, intransitive stem II may not be marked with *nei* for the same effect as shown in (127c). This consistently follows the fact that intransitive stem II cannot be used for narrow focus.

In (127d), (129a), and (130a), the particle *nei* immediately follows the subject arguments and the object argument respectively. The verbs in the sentences are stem I. In (127e), (129b), and (130b), the particle *nei* immediately follows the object arguments, but the verb is stem II.
The difference between (127d, 129a, 130a) and (127e, 129b, 130b) is that the former sentences are in unmarked narrow focus, while the latter sentences are in contrastive focus. In (127d), (129a), and (130a), each constituent being followed by the particle nei is emphasized, which means that the sentences are in unmarked narrow focus. Therefore, stem I is used. On the contrary, the constituents being followed by the particle nei in (127e), (129b), 130b) are in contrastive focus. These types of sentences are used in correcting or arguing against someone’s statement or perception. This contrastive focus is coded by the use of stem II.

In summary, we have seen that marked narrow focus and contrastive focus are associated with the use of stem II.

5.1.5 Interaction of focus and stem choice in questions

Correlation between stem choice and focus types in K’Chò is also manifested in questions. K’Chò questions are generally formulated with the question particle ang or ma, which normally come at the end of the sentence. Internal position of the question particle indicates emphasis on the element being interrogated.
Further, in K’Chò, contrastive focus correlates with the use of stem II in yes/no questions. In K’Chò, question particle *ang* or *ma* is used in yes/no questions as shown in (131) and (132).

(131)a. Pa ip-ci/neh\(^35\) *ang/ma.*  
   father sleep.I-NF/F/CONJ Q  
   Did/does father sleep?  

b. *Pa ih *ang/ma.  
   father sleep.II Q  

c. Pa *ang/ma\(^36\) a-ih.  
   father Q 3SG.SBJ-sleep.II  
   Did/does father sleep?  

d. Pa *ang/ma ip-ci.  
   father Q sleep.I-NF  
   Is it Father who is/was sleeping?  

\(^35\) The *neh* here may be a switch-reference marker as discussed in 4.2.2. If it is a switch-reference, it entails an understood/unexpressed clause as in (a). Different subject *hleih* can also be used as in (b).

a. Pa ip *neh ang/ma kah-a-loo.*  
   father sleep.I CONJ Q 3SG.SBJ-come.II  
   Did father sleep and didn’t come? (Father didn’t come because he was sleeping?)  

b. Pa ip *hleih ang/ma kah-na-loo.*  
   father sleep.I CONJ Q 3SG.SBJ-come.II  
   Did father sleep and you didn’t come? (You didn’t come because father was sleeping?)  

\(^36\) Van Valin (2004) gives a similar set of Turkish examples in which movement of the question particle conveys focus on the verb and the arguments in Yes/No questions.

a. Verb Focus (Givón 2001:249)  
   *Ali arslan-i gür-dü-mu?*  
   *Ali lion-ACC see-PAST-Q*  
   ‘Did Ali see a lion? (without verb stress)’  
   ‘Did Ali SEE a lion? (with verb stress).’  

b. Subject Focus  
   *Ali-mi arslan-i gür-dü?*  
   *Ali-Q lion-ACC see-PAST*  
   ‘Did ALLI see a lion?’  

c. Object Focus  
   *Ali arslan-mi gür-dü?*  
   *Ali lion-Q see-PAST*  
   ‘Did Ali see a LION?’
(132a) *Ui noh vok htuici/neh ang/ma.*  
Dog PART pig bite.I-NF/CONJ Q  
Did the dog bite the pig?

b. *Ui noh vok a-htuih ang/ma.*  
Dog PART pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.II Q  
Did the dog bite the pig?

c. *Ui noh ang/ma vok a-htuih.*  
Dog PART Q pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.II  
Was it the dog that bit the pig?

d. *Ui noh ang/ma a-htuih.*  
Dog PART pig Q 3SG.SBJ-bite.II  
Was it the pig that the dog bit?

e. *Ui noh ang vok htuici.*  
Dog PART Q pig bite.I-NF  
The dog (or what) bit the pig. (Something, maybe a dog, bit the pig).

f. *Ui noh ang vok htuici.*  
Dog PART pig Q bite.I-NF  
The dog bit the pig (or what). (The dog bit some animal, maybe a pig).

(131a) and (132a) illustrate yes/no questions with unmarked focus in K’Chô. In such unmarked yes/no questions, the question particles occur sentence finally and the verb is stem I.

In (132b) the question particle occurs sentence finally, but the verb is stem II. In this sentence, the focus type is contrastive focus. But, stem II may not be used for focus on intransitive verb as shown in (132b).

The question particles in yes/no question can also occur sentence internally as shown in (131c) and (132c-d). In (131c) and (132c), the question particle comes after the subject; and it comes after the object in (132d). In these questions, the element immediately followed by the question particle is in contrastive focus. In such contrastive focus yes/no questions, stem II is used.

In (131d) and (132e), the question particle occurs right after the subject, but stem I is used. In (132f) also the question particle comes after the object, but the verb is
stem I. As the meaning suggests, these sentences are non-question interrogatives. They belong to what Wierzbicka (1980) calls ignoratives.37

Therefore, stem I is used for unmarked focus in yes/no questions in K’Chò. The use of stem II with the sentence-internal position of the question particles indicates marked focus.

5.1.5.2 Stem choice in content questions

Interaction of stem choice and focus types is also realized in content questions in K’Chò. Content questions are unmarked narrow focus sentences since only the element being interrogated is in focus. In unmarked wh- questions, the question particle occurs at the end of the sentence and stem I is used. Sentence internal position of the question particle, right after the question word, signals that the question is in marked narrow focus.

37 Wierzbicka (1980:313-316) mentions non-question interrogatives under the constructions called ignoratives. For example, ‘Who studies Aristotle any more!’, ‘Why paint your house purple?’ ‘Why don’t you cook some Nasi Goreng today?’, and etc. Like these English sentences, the K’Chò question in (135c) can be a statement rather than a question, meaning ‘Something happened.’ Thus, the movement of the question particle with stem I, rather than stem II, is explained by the fact that the sentence is a statement, but not a question. Movement of the question particle to sentence internal position and the use of stem I with declarative-meaning effect also occurs in all wh-questions.

Similar effect rendered by question particle movement is also found in Japanese. In a question, the question particle occurs sentence finally as in (a). But, movement of the particle to the internal position renders the question into a statement as in (b).

a. (Kroeger 2001:152)

\[
\text{Dare ga kimasi-ta ka.}
\]

who subj come-PAST q

Who came?

b. (Kroeger 2004:151)

\[
\text{Dareka ga kimasi-ta.}
\]

someone subj come-PAST

Someone came?

Dareka ‘someone’ is taken as a single pronoun in this example. It might have diachronically come from the question word dare ‘who’ and the question particle ka, which is the case in K’Chò. That Japanese and K’Chò both happen to produce the meaning ‘someone’ with a combination of the question word ‘who’ and the question particle is unlikely to be a coincidence.
(133)a. I ah kya(k)-ci ang.
what PART happen.1-NF Q
What happened?

b. I ah ang a-kyaa.
what PART Q 3SG.SBJ-happen.11
What was it that happened?

c. I ah ang kya(k)-ci.
what PART Q happen.1-NF
Something happened. (something happened, but I don’t know what).

In (133a), the question particle ang is at the end of the sentence. Sentence final position of the particle indicates that the question has unmarked narrow focus. In such unmarked narrow focus questions, stem I is used.

Sentence internal position of the question particle ang as in (133b), on the other hand, indicates that the question is in the marked narrow focus. Stem II is used in such marked narrow focus questions.38

In (133c), the question particle occurs sentence internally, but the verb is stem I. The illocutionary force of this sentence is declarative rather than interrogative. Therefore, (133c) is an ignorative sentence similar to (131d) and (132e&f) in 5.1.5.1.

The same correlation between stem choice and focus type is seen in the following wh-questions as well.

38 Hagstrom (2001) reports a similar phenomenon for Sinhala: movement of question particles for various focus effect correlates with the morphological modification the verb.
   who sleep.1-NF/F Q
   Who slept/will sleep?

b. U ang a-ih.
   who Q 3SG.SBJ-sleep.1
   Who was it that slept?

c. U ang ip-ci.
   who Q sleep.1-NF
   Someone is sleeping/slept.

(135)a. Pa i bi(k)-ci ang.
   who what do.1-NF Q
   What is/was father doing?

b. Pa i ang a-bii.
   who what Q 3SG.SBJ-do.1
   What is/was father doing?

c. Pa i angbi(k)-ci.
   who what Q do.1-NF
   Father is/was doing/did something?

(136)a. Ui noh vok a-i ah ci-ci ang
   Dog ERG pig what PART do.1-NF Q
   What did the dog do to the pig?

b. Ui noh vok a-i ah ang a-cii.
   Dog ERG pig what PART Q 3SG.SBJ-do.1
   What did the dog do to the pig.?

c. Ui noh vok a-i -ah ang ci-ci.
   Dog ERG pig what PART Q do.1-NF
   The dog did something to the pig.

   What ERG pig bite.1-NF Q
   What bit the pig?

b. A-i noh ang vok a-htuih.
   What ERG Q pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.1
   What bit the pig?

   What ERG Q pig bite.1-NF
   Something bit the pig.
In (134a)-(138a), the question particle ang occurs sentence finally, and the verb is stem I. These questions are in unmarked narrow focus questions.

In (134b)-(138b), the question particle occurs at a sentence internal position, next to the question words. The internal position of the particle ang indicates emphasis on the question word, meaning the question is in marked narrow focus. Stem II is used in such marked narrow focus wh-questions.

In (134c) and (138c), the question particle comes after the question words, but stem I is used. These types of wh-questions are declarative in nature in K’Chò similar to ignorative sentences.

Therefore, stem I is used in unmarked narrow focus, while stem II is used in marked narrow focus in wh-questions.
5.2 Deontic modality and stem choice

5.2.1 Introduction

This section examines the stem choice in deontic modality in imperative and jussive speech acts. In K’Cho, the stem choice interacts with the semantic difference of deontic modalities. Deontic possibility/permission uses stem I, while deontic obligation uses stem II.

5.2.2 Theoretical background

Linguists such as Palmer (1995) and Van de Auwera and Plungian (1998) divide modality into epistemic and deontic modality. Van der Auwera and Plungian posit that deontic modality is concerned with the degree of force exerted on the subject of the sentence to perform an action. It is further divided into deontic possibility (permission) and deontic necessity (obligation). Deontic possibility (permission, English may/can) is to do with enabling or permitting the participant. Deontic necessity (obligation, English must) is compelling or obliging the participant to engage in the state of affairs.

5.2.3 Imperative

Imperatives in K’Cho may be interpreted as deontic modality as it is concerned with commanding or permitting the addressee to perform an act.

There are two different forms of imperative in K’Cho as shown in (139) and (140).

(139)a. $\textbf{Hteit} \quad \ddot{a}$.  
    $\text{go.I} \quad \text{IMP}$
    Go! (or you may go.)

b. $\textbf{Hteit} \quad n\ddot{a} \ (ni + \ddot{a})$.  
    $\text{go.I} \quad \text{DL-IMP}$
    (you-dual) go! (or you may go.)

c. $\textbf{Hteit} \quad \ddot{v}\ddot{a} \ (u + \ddot{a})$.  
    $\text{go.I} \quad \text{PL-IMP}$
    (You-plural) go! (or you may go.)
(140) a. Na-hteih-vai.
   2SG.SBJ-go.II-IRRL
   You(singular) shall/must go.

   2DL-go.II-IRRL
   You (dual) shall/must go.

c. Nami-hteih-vai.
   2PL-go.II-IRRL
   You (plural) shall/must go.

The form in (139) uses stem I form, which is not marked for tense/aspect. The subject (addressee) is indexed on the verb with respect to number alone. The form in (140) uses stem II form, which is marked with irrealis marking and the subject indexation is expressed with respect to both person and number.

The imperative form in (139) denotes command or permission for the addressee to go. The form in (140), on the other hand, carries the necessity or obligation for the addressee to go. This meaning difference of deontic permission and deontic obligation is encoded with the verb stem in K’Chò. Therefore, stem I is used for deontic permission, while stem II is used for deontic necessity or obligation.

5.2.4 Jussive

The subject of a jussive sentence is not the addressee, but a third party. Jussive sentences code command or permission or a wish for the subject of the sentence.

There are two jussive forms in K’Chò as shown in (141) and (142).

(141) a Hteit hlä.
   go.I JUSS
   Let him go/may he go.

b. Hteit ni hlä.
   Go.I DL JUSS
   Let them(dual) go/may they (dual) go.

c. Hteit u hlä.
   go.I PL JUSS
   Let them (plural) go/may they go.

(142) a A-hteih-vai.
   3SG.SBJ-go.II-IRRL
   He shall/must go.

b. Ani-hteih-vai.
   3DL.SBJ-go.II-IRRL
   They (dual) shall/must go.

c. Ami-hteih-vai.
   3PL.SBJ-go.II-IRRL
   They (plural) shall/must go.
The form in (141) uses stem I, which is not marked with tense/aspect. The subject indexation with respect to number comes after the verb. The form in (142), on the other hand, uses stem II form, which is marked with irrealis *vai*. The subject indexation with respect to both person and number is expressed before the verb.

The jussive form in (141) is deontic possibility or permission as it signifies command or permission for the subject of the sentence to perform the act. The form in (142) is deontic necessity as it obligates the subject of the sentence to perform the act. This difference is captured by the use of the different verb stems. Stem I is used for deontic permission, while stem II is used for deontic obligation.
CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, discussions in the previous chapters are summed up, the stem choice determining factors are identified and an explanation is offered.

6.1 Summary of previous chapters

Verb stem choice discussions in the previous chapters 3, 4, and 5 are summarized in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Stem I</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relativization</td>
<td>Subject</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Predicate focus,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Unmarked narrow focus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deontic modality</td>
<td>Possibility</td>
<td>Necessity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Chart of stem choice motivating factors

6.2 Determining factors of stem choice

The chart shows that stem choice in *K’Chô* is conditioned by at least two principal factors; namely syntactic factors and pragmatic factors. Each factor will be discussed in 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 respectively.
6.2.1 Syntactic factors

Syntactic factors include grammatical relations and subordination.

6.2.1.1 Grammatical relation factor

In K’Chô, stem choice is sensitive to the distinction between the subject and other grammatical relations. In K’Chô, intransitive and transitive subjects require stem I, while the object and other grammatical relations require stem II. This is seen with nominalization (3.1) and relativization (3.2).

In nominalization, the verb stem choice is determined by the type of the argument that is being nominalized. ‘Subject’ nominalization (3.1.1) requires stem I, while non-subject nominalization (3.1.2 and 3.1.3) requires stem II.

The same is found for relativization. Stem I is used when the subject is relativized (3.3.1) and stem II is used when non-subject noun phrase is relativized (3.3.2).

Verb stem choice is influenced by the addition or deletion of a grammatical relation in valence changing. Valence decreasing (3.2.1) requires stem I, while valence increasing (3.2.2) requires stem II. Valence decreasing, whether by detransitivizing or deriving reflexive and reciprocal verbs, in effect is depriving the verb of one of its arguments, leaving only one core syntactic argument. Conversely, valence increasing, whether by causative or applicative derivation, normally consists of adding or increasing the number of argument/s to the valence of the base verb. In causative derivation, the subject of non-causative verb is demoted to non-subject status when the causer is introduced. In applicative derivation, an object is added to the non-applicative verb.

6.2.1.2 Subordination factor

Another syntactic factor triggering stem choice is subordination. In subordinate clauses, the stem choice is conditioned by the degree of dependency between the clauses. More independent subordinate clauses have stem I, while more dependent
subordinate clauses have stem II. Verbal complement clauses in 4.2.1.1, which are marked with subordinator *ah*, are more independent and they use stem I which may be marked with tense. Switch-reference clauses in 4.2.2 are intermediate in dependency to the main clause. They use stem I, but tense may not be marked and agreement may only be marked as a suffix. Argument complement clauses without subordinator as in 4.2.1.2 and adverbial clauses in 4.2.3 are the most dependent clauses. They allow only stem II, which may not be marked with tense.

### 6.2.2 Pragmatic factors

The various types of focus structures and the semantic difference of deontic modalities also influence the choice of verb stem in *K’Chò*.

Sentence, predicate, and unmarked narrow focus require stem I. Marked narrow focus and contrastive focus require stem II.

Deontic possibility or permission is associated with the use of stem I, while deontic necessity or obligation is associated with the use of stem II.

### 6.3 Conclusion

The above data show that stem determining factors cannot be attributed to a single parameter in *K’Chò*. Syntactic and pragmatic factors are the two main factors motivating the stem choice. These two principal parameters subsume several other grammatical and pragmatic domains governing the stem choice in *K’Chò*.

Stem I is the default form, while stem II is the marked form which is used in grammatically or pragmatically marked constructions in *K’Chò*.

Constructions involving the subject argument such as nominalization or relativization use the default form. The marked form is used in the same grammatical constructions associated with other non-subject arguments. The default form is used in valence decreasing, while the marked form of the verb is used in valence increasing.
Complement clauses marked by a subordinator *ah* uses the unmarked form, while complement clauses without a subordinator use the marked form. Switch-reference clauses also use the unmarked form. Adverbial clauses use the marked form.

The default form is used in sentence focus, predicate focus, and unmarked narrow focus, while the marked form is used for marked narrow focus and contrastive focus.

Finally, deontic possibility marking permission or command uses the unmarked form, and deontic necessity denoting obligation uses the marked form.

So, a grammatical theory that considers only morphological, phonological or syntactic aspects will find the explanation of the factors that determine verb stem choice in *K’Chò* difficult and unmotivated, and will have to resort to a list of syntactic environments. A grammatical theory that incorporates pragmatics provides a more holistic, motivated, and clear explanation of the factors that determine verb stem choice.

### 6.4 Further study

An analysis of verb stem choice from the perspective of several different grammatical theories would provide an excellent comparison of the strength of those models to handle novel features that have only received cursory analysis.

This study could be expanded to other Chin languages. First by describing the pattern of verb stem alternation from a syntactic perspective and then by comparing the patterns of verb stem choice across all the Chin languages.
APPENDIX: VERBS THAT EXHIBIT STEM ALTERNATION

This is a list of 1662 stem 1 and 176 stem 2 verbs. They were based from Marc Jordan’s dictionary (privately published) and checked phonologically, and supplemented for with the verb stem alternations. Approximately 75% of the dictionary has so far been checked so there is a scattered representation of forms from the last third of the dictionary. It is expected however that this list is a representative sample of verb stem alternation in *K’Chò*.

### 1.0 Verbs that modify vowel quality in stem II.

#### 1.1 Vowel lengthening

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bii</td>
<td>‘do, work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>‘say, do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>gee</td>
<td>‘learn the lesson (after trouble or suffering)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>htu</td>
<td>htuu</td>
<td>‘hit target or mark (shooting)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>m’cha</td>
<td>m’cha</td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>m’hlu</td>
<td>m’hluu</td>
<td>‘wash (clothes)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ng’cha</td>
<td>ng’cha</td>
<td>‘be separate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>pha</td>
<td>phaa</td>
<td>‘catch, arrest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>puu</td>
<td>‘borrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>yuu</td>
<td>‘be the right size or quantity to fit into’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 1.2 Tonal modification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(L)</th>
<th>(H)</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>boi</td>
<td>boi ‘mix with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>chaang</td>
<td>chaan ‘lift, raise up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>cuung</td>
<td>cuun ‘distribute drink, set trap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>dai=</td>
<td>dai= ‘shine (light), blaze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>do;</td>
<td>do ‘accept, receive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ei ‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>hlej</td>
<td>hlei ‘be long (hair, nail)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>hloop;</td>
<td>hlooo ‘drag, haul’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>hloom</td>
<td>‘wear a turban, wrap head with piece of cloth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>hlui</td>
<td>‘squeeze out liquid or juice, wear (clothes)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>hngi:n</td>
<td>hngi:n ‘be ripe (crop), be ready (food)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>htee;</td>
<td>‘leak, drip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>k’chu=</td>
<td>k’chu= ‘speak, filter with a sieve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>k’cu;</td>
<td>k’cu ‘spread out (grain when dried in the sun)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>k’pai</td>
<td>k’pai ‘to cut, mow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>k’phyui</td>
<td>k’phyui ‘make revolve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>k’ta;m</td>
<td>k’ta;m ‘chase away, drive out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>kai</td>
<td>kai ‘climb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>kyu=</td>
<td>kyu= ‘be expensive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>m’hleem</td>
<td>m’hleem ‘pick up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>m’hloj</td>
<td>m’hloh ‘siphon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>m’tui</td>
<td>m’tui ‘lay egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>ng’ai=</td>
<td>ng’ai= ‘sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>ng’bo;</td>
<td>ng’bo ‘split, divide (intr.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>ng’caj</td>
<td>ng’cai ‘erect (male), remain fixed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>ng’hloj</td>
<td>ng’hloh ‘flow out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>ng’laam</td>
<td>ng’laam ‘dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>ng’phyui</td>
<td>ng’phyui ‘revolve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>oi ‘put or wear around the neck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>pai</td>
<td>pai ‘blossom, bloom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>pho;</td>
<td>pho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>pyo;</td>
<td>pyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>shaang</td>
<td>shaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>sheen</td>
<td>sheen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>shop;</td>
<td>shoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>shui</td>
<td>shui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>tai</td>
<td>tai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>tei</td>
<td>tei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>thui=</td>
<td>thui=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>tui</td>
<td>tui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>vuu;</td>
<td>vuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>k’hmoij</td>
<td>k’hmoij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>k’peij</td>
<td>k’peij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>k’phyañ</td>
<td>k’phyañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>khang</td>
<td>khañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>lei</td>
<td>lei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>m’shum</td>
<td>m’shuñm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>m’tuñg</td>
<td>m’tuñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>ng’cum</td>
<td>ng’cuñm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>ng’tuñg</td>
<td>ng’tuñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>ngam</td>
<td>ngañm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>vëñ</td>
<td>vëñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>k’shom</td>
<td>k’shoñm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>shun</td>
<td>shuñ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.0 Verbs that modify the final consonant or tone plus coda in stem II.

2.1 Syllable closing

\[ (H) \]  \[ (H)-t \]

65. hla \quad hlat \quad ‘be far away, be long (journey)’

\[ (L) \]  \[ (H)-t \]

66. kà \quad kat \quad ‘be hard, tire some’
67. m’no; \quad m’not \quad ‘be turbid, make become turbid’
68. na; \quad nat \quad ‘be painful, ache, hurt’
69. ya= \quad ya= \quad ‘be near, close (distance)’

\[ (H) \]  \[ (H) -k \]

70. chu \quad chuk \quad ‘cut down, fell (tree)’
71. gu \quad guk \quad ‘write, set flower or other accessory in hair’
72. hla \quad hlak \quad ‘wear trousers or longyi, weave (of baskets)’
73. hlu \quad hluk \quad ‘hit or bang with horns (animals)’
74. hlu \quad hluk \quad ‘pound, ram’
75. kyu \quad kyuk \quad ‘fall down’
76. m’chu \quad m’chuk \quad ‘cause to fall down, give to (of meat)’
77. shu \quad shuk \quad ‘pound, hammer’
78. tu \quad tuk \quad ‘slash with knife, launch an attach’

\[ (H) \]  \[ (H) -h \]

79. cho \quad choh \quad ‘refuse or disagree with someone to go’
80. go \quad goh \quad ‘kill animal (feast), burn hair of killed animal’
81. hngu \quad hnguh \quad ‘see’
82. hti \quad htih \quad ‘bite’
83. (lou) \quad leh (loo) \quad ‘rise from reclining position, get up’
84. loo \quad loh \quad ‘devour, kill (predators of their prey)’
85. moi \quad moih \quad ‘uproot’
86. thai \quad thaih \quad ‘dawn, become daybreak’
87. tho \quad thoh \quad ‘wake up, new shoots come up (bamboo)’
2.2 Modification by tone change and syllable closing

(H)  (R)-k

88. e e̤k  ‘pass excrement’
89. k’cha k’cha̤k  ‘drop, report someone to authorities’
90. kya kya̤k  ‘fall, behave, to be’
91. la la̤k  ‘take’
92. lu lṳk  ‘have sex with (of man)’
93. m’gu m’gṳk  ‘steal’
94. na na̤k  ‘wear ring (finger, ear), bark at’
95. ta ta̤k  ‘own or possess, have sex with a woman’
96. vo vo̤k  ‘clear forest for new field, collapse upon (trap)’

(L)  (H)-h

97. kyu=: kyu=:  ‘be afraid’
98. ngo; ngoh  ‘sit, assign’
99. phui; phuih  ‘carry with strap from head’
100. shi: shih  ‘die’
101. voi voi̤h  ‘throw sth. at someone,’
102. yoi yoi̤h  ‘sell’

(R)  (H)-h

103. ng’du={i ng’du={ih  ‘stand’
104. ui̤ ui̤h  ‘burn (fire)’

2.3 Modification of coda

(H)-p  (H)-h

105. ip i̤h  ‘sleep’
106. k’cep k’ceh  ‘wedge between’
107. k’kot k’koh  ‘carry in hand or on shoulder’
108. kep keh  ‘hold something tightly to one’s chest’
109. kop koh  ‘adhere, stick to’
110. kyap kyah  ‘cry, weep’
111. m’cha $ m’chah ‘put into a container’
112. m’hlep m’hleh ‘harvest in great quantity’
113. ng’cep ng’ceh ‘be wedged in between’
114. ng’hlep ng’hleh ‘produce or yield great harvest (crops)’
115. shep sheh ‘make, forge’
116. thup thuh ‘hide something’

(H) - t (H) - h

117. bat bah ‘hang up’
118. gut guh ‘take by force’
119. htei t hteih (hteh) ‘go’
120. k’bot k’boh ‘pluck out (feathers), pick by pulling’
121. k’hlet k’hleh ‘remove’
122. m’hlat m’hlah ‘turn back (tran)’
123. ng’bat ng’bah ‘hang from’
124. ng’hlat ng’hlah ‘turn back or turn around (intr)’
125. that thah ‘beat, strike, whip’
126. vu=t vu =h ‘bore a hole’

(H) - k (H) - h

127. cik ci h ‘make fire, set fire to’
128. hlek hleh ‘pick, plug out’
129. k’dook k’doh ‘swallow’
130. khok khoh ‘peel, unbark, take off sth. sticking’

2.4 Modification of tone and coda

(R) - t (H) - h

131. cho$ choh ‘scratch’
132. hlu$ hluh ‘take off (clothes, rings, necklace etc.)’
133. khe$ t kheih ‘choke the neck and kill (chicken)’
134. ng’cho$ ng’choh ‘scratch oneself’
2.3 Modification of nasal finals

2.3.1 Nasal coda change

\[(H)-ng\]  \[(H)-n\]

140. pang       pan       ‘be deaf’

2.3.2 Tone and nasal coda change

\[(H)-ng\]  \[(R)-n\]

141. chang      chaŋ      ‘take something down from high’
142. k’pang     k’paŋ      ‘hold, grab’

\[(L)-ng\]  \[(H)-n\]

143. cuŋ̣      cuun      ‘set trap’
144. ghuŋ̣     ghuำ      ‘be alive’
145. guŋ̣      guำ      ‘wait for’
146. k’khoŋ̣   k’khoon   ‘shake off or beat up’
147. khoŋ̣     khoon      ‘crow (cock)’
148. loŋ̣      loon       ‘flow’
149. pyaŋ̣     pyaan      ‘make, repair’
150. shoŋ̣     shoon      ‘cook’
151. thọŋ̣    thoon      ‘buy a plot of land’
152. yọŋ̣     yoon       ‘fly’
### (L)-ng  (R)-n

153. chung  chu crossorigin ‘cut (bamboo plant or tree)’
154. k’hmong  k’hmo crossorigin ‘open (door, gate)’
155. long  lo size ‘be the right size to enter into’
156. mang  maface, turn towards’
157. ng’bung  ng’bu‘cap with, cover with’
158. ng’chung  ng’chu‘be separated, share with’
159. phyong  phyo‘escape from bondage or danger’

#### 3. Verbs that exhibit three different types of stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem I (H)-Short</th>
<th>Stem II (H)-long</th>
<th>Stem II Rising</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>160. thu</td>
<td>thu</td>
<td>k’thu’smell, rot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161. ni</td>
<td>nii</td>
<td>k’ni‘be good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162. she</td>
<td>she[t]</td>
<td>k’she[ ‘be bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163. kha</td>
<td>khaa</td>
<td>k’kha[ ‘be bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164. lo</td>
<td>loo</td>
<td>k’lo[‘come’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4. Collocated verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem I</th>
<th>Stem II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be hla</td>
<td>bést hlak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èi o</td>
<td>ei ók</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hlu dèng</td>
<td>hluk deen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hteit htoon</td>
<td>hteih htoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K’hlei h shu</td>
<td>k’hleih shuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khít khón</td>
<td>khih khón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lèi m bái</td>
<td>lei m bái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loi shōng</td>
<td>loi shoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lùùm pyààng</td>
<td>luum pyaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M’dèi màng</td>
<td>m’dei mán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng’tu ng’vo</td>
<td>ng’tuk-ng’vók</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe ta</td>
<td>péit ták</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phuí k’kot</td>
<td>phuí h’koh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shòong cih</td>
<td>shoon cih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuí lei</td>
<td>shuí lei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu m’bei</td>
<td>tu m’bei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu that</td>
<td>tuk thah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tùi hlim</td>
<td>tui hlim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vòi k’pet</td>
<td>voi h’k’peh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yöong ng’phái</td>
<td>yoon ng’phái</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Be hla: ‘tell, make’
- Èi o: ‘eat, drink’
- Hlu dèng: ‘pound, pound’
- Hteit htoon: ‘go, ?’
- K’hlei h shu: ‘buy, ?’
- Khít khón: ‘tie, tie’
- Lèi m bái: ‘be injured, ?’
- Loi shōng: ‘make beer, cook’
- Lùùm pyààng: ‘play, make’
- M’dèi màng: ‘open eyes, face’
- Ng’tu ng’vo: ‘physical, verbal fight’
- Pe ta: ‘give, have’
- Phuí k’kot: ‘head-carry, hand-carry’
- Shòong cih: ‘cook, make fire’
- Shuí lei: ‘search, ?’
- Tu m’bei: ‘give drink, give food’
- Tu that: ‘slash, beat’
- Tùi hlim: ‘sweet, delicious’
- Vòi k’pet: ‘throw at, splash’
- Yöong ng’phái: ‘fly, jump’
BIBLIOGRAPHY


