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 $K'Ch\dot{o}$. Generally, the main clause comes at the end in chained clauses in $K'Ch\dot{o}$. 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. *Ui* noh vok htui-ci/khai ah kya(k)-ci.

 Dog ERG pig bite.I-NF/F COMP be.I-NF

 It was/is that the dog bit/will bite the pig.
 - b. *Ui noh vok a-htuih ah kya(k)-ci*.

 Dog ERG pig 3sg.sbj-bite.ii comp be.i-nf
 It was that the dog bit the pig.
- (83)a. Vok nami-yòi-ci/khai ah ka-hmat-ci.
 pig 2PL.SBJ-sell.I-NF/F COMP 1SG.SBJ-know.I-NF
 I know/knew that you sold/will sell the pig.
 - b. Vok nami-yòih ah ka-hmat-ci.
 pig 2PL.SBJ-sell.II COMP 1SG.SBJ-know.I-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. 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. *Vî* 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. *Vî cuh shìh ahng'shéi-ci rabbit DEM die.II PART pretend.I-NF The rabbit pretended (death or dying).
- (85)a. 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. Vì cuh nga shùi-ci ahng'shéi-ci rabbit DEM fish search.I-NF PART pretend.I-NF The rabbit pretended that it was catching fish.
 - c. ?Vì cuh nga-shui 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.

- (86)a. *Hteit-ci/khai* ah pyéin-ci. go.I-NF/F COMP say.I-NF She said that she went/will go.
 - b. A-hteih ah péin-ci.

 3SG.SBJ-go.II COMP say.I-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-htuih] kah bä-ci.

 Dog ERG pig 3sg.sbj-bite.II NEG be.good.I-NF

 That the dog bit the pig was unfortunate.
 - b. *[*Ui noh vok htui-ci/khai*] *kah bä-ci*.

 Dog erg pig bite.I-NF/F NEG be.good.I-NF

- (88)a. [Vok a-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 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 a-ih] ka-hngu(k)-ci.
 Om 3sg.sbj-sleep.II 1sg.sbj-see.I-NF
 I saw that Om slept.
 - b. *[Om 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 *vai* 'irrealis' as in (90a) below.

- (90)a. *Om 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 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 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 $K'Ch\grave{o}$ are fully subordinated to the main clause.

4.2 Stem choice in switch-reference clauses

In K'Chò, 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'Chò. There are also some other modified switch-reference conjunctions of the two ah-tah, ci-tah, chū-tah, and neh-tah 'after', neh-phih and hleih-phih 'even though'.

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

- (91)a. Ui-gui noh vok-goi na-goi-u neh got-goi-ci-gui.

 Dog-PL ERG pig-DL bark.I-DL-PL CONJ chase.I-DL-NF-PL

 The dogs barked at the two pigs and (they-dogs) chased them(2 pigs).
 - b. **Ui-gui noh vok-goi nák-goi-u neh got-goi-ci-gui*.

 Dog-PL ERG pig-DL bark.**II**-DL-PL CONJ chase.I-DL -NF--PL
- (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.
 - b. **Ui noh vok htuih hleih shì(k)-ci*.

 Dog erg pig bite.**II** CONJ die.I-NF

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).

Verbs in clauses marked by the switch-reference *neh* and *hleih* are non-finite (Bedell 2001). Tense and agreement marking on the verbs in this kind of clause, despite the choice of stem I form, are restricted.

- (93)a. **Ui* noh vok na(k)-ci neh got-ci.

 Dog ERG pig bark.1-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 htui-ci/khai hleih dóng-ci*.

 Dog ERG pig bark.I-NF/ CONJ run.I-NF

 The dog bit/will bite the pig and it(pig) ran.
- (94)a. *Ui* noh vok htui-vai neh got-ci.

 Dog ERG pig bark.I-IRRL CONJ chase.I-NF
 The dog chased the pig to bite it.
 - b. *Ui* noh vok htui-vai hleih dóng-ci.

 Dog ERG pig bark.I-IRRL CONJ run.I-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.

- (95)a. *Nami-ip-ci hleih ka-ning-hngu-gui-ci.
 2SBJ.PL-sleep.I-NF CONJ 1SG.SBJ-2OBJ-see.I-OBJ.PL-NF
 I saw that you were sleeping.
 - b. *Ip-u-ci hleih ka-ning-hngu-gui-ci*.
 sleep.I-PL-2SBJ CONJ 1SG.SBJ-2OBJ-see.I-OBJ.PL-NF
 You (plural) sleept 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 ' 2^{nd} 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 $K'Ch\dot{o}$, it is not always clear whether switch-reference morphemes are cocoordinating 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).

(96)a. 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 $K'Ch\grave{o}$ 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.

- (97)a. *Ui* noh vok hngu <u>neh-phih</u> 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 <u>neh-phih</u> kah-na(k)-ci*.

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

 Dog ERG pig see.**II** CONJ-also NEG-bark.at.I –NF
- (98)a. Vok cuh ui noh na <u>hleih-phih</u> 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 <u>hleih-phih</u> kah-dóng -ci. pig dem dog erg bark.at.I-nf conj-also neg-run.I-nf
 - c. *Vok cuh ui noh nák <u>hleih-phih</u> kah-dóng-ci.
 pig DEM dog ERG bark.at.II CONJ-also NEG-run.I-NF
- (99)a. *Ui* cuh vok htui <u>neh-tah</u> 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 <u>neh-tah</u> dóng-ci.

 Dog DEM pig bite.I-NF CONJ-ASP run.I-NF
 - c. **Ui cuh vok htuih <u>neh-tah</u> dóng-ci*.

 Dog DEM pig bite.II CONJ-ASP run.I-NF

- (100)a. Vok cuh ui noh htui <u>chü-tah</u> dóng-ci.
 Pig DEM dog ERG bite.I CONJ-ASP run.I-NF
 The dog having bitten the pig, it (pig) ran away.
 - b. *Vok cuh ui noh htui-ci chü-tah dóng-ci.
 Pig DEM dog ERG bite.I-NF CONJ-ASP run.I-NF
 - c. *Vok cuh ui noh htuih <u>chü-tah</u> dóng-ci. Pig dem dog erg 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 $K'Ch\grave{o}$, 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 $K'Ch\grave{o}$ 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.

a. Ringo oh kitte tabe-ta.
apple obj cut eat-past! cut the apple and ate it.

b. *Ringo oh kit-ta 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-htuih 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 htui-ci/khai ung
 Dog ERG pig bite.I-NF/F PART
- c. Ui noh vok a-htuih-vai ung Dog erg pig 3sg.sbj-bite.II-irrl part

In (101a), the clause marked by the subordinator ung^{30} 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'Chò, ung also is a postposition occurring after an NP to form temporal and locative adverbial clauses.

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

⁽²⁾ a hngügon ung
3sg.poss neck part
In/around her/his neck,

⁽³⁾ khòhngüp ät ung
Day one PART
One day,

- (102)a. *Ui* noh vok a-htuih-yah ung
 Dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.II-ASP PART
 While the dog bit the pig,
 - b. *Ui* noh vok kah-a-htuih-pha ung
 Dog ERG pig NEG-3SG.SBJ-bite.II-ASP PART
 Before the dog bit the pig,
 - c. Ui noh vok a-htuih-yop ung
 Dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.II-ASP PART
 When the dog had bitten/finished biting the pig,
 - d. *Ui noh vok a-htuih-pyi ung*Dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.II-ASP PART
 Had the dog already bitten the pig,
 - e. *Ui* noh vok a-htuih-kon ung
 Dog ERG pig 3SG.SBJ-bite.II-ASP PART
 After the dog had bitten the pig,

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. *Kah-ei-pha* **ah** hteit-ci.

 NEG-eat.II-ASP PART go.I-NF

 He went before he had eaten.
 - b. **Kah-èi-pha* **ah** hteit-ci.

 NEG-eat.I-ASP PART go.I-NF

Prototypically, ah is a postposition which normally heads nouns to form postpositional phrases as in the following sentences.

a. Om Mindàt ah hteit-ci.
Om Mindat PART go.I-NF
Om went to Mindat.

b. Mín cuh kong ah ng'ploh-ci.
cat DEM tiger PART change.into.I-NF
The cat turned into a tiger.

- (104)a.*A-bii-hlu* ah ng'äi-ci 3SG.SBJ-do.II-ASP PART sing.I-NF I sang while(as) he worked.
 - b. *A-bi-hlu ah ng'äi-ci 3SG.SBJ-do.I-ASP PART sing.I-NF
- (105)a. *Na-hteih-kon* ah panshì 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 panshì 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* 'simultaneitive' *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 $K'Ch\grave{o}$, 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-ci³²
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.II-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^{33} is used in K'Chò as in (109).

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

Meal 3SG.SBJ-eat.II-ASP-IRRL PART sleep.I-NF
As soon as he had eaten meal, he slept.

b. *Buh èi-zop-cilkhai am ip-ci.
Meal eat.I-ASP-NF/F PART sleep.I-NF

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).

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^{34} as in (110).

(110)a. Buh a-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-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.

In $K'Ch\hat{o}$, 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.I -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.i -ne 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.

· water	Stem I	Stem II
Complement clause	With subordinator <i>ah</i>	No subordinator
Clause linking	Switch-reference	Adverbial clauses

Table 13: Verb stem choice in subordinate clauses

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