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'Chò*. In sentence focus, the whole sentence is asserted as new information.

(112a) is an unmarked intransitive declarative sentence in *K'Chò*.

(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'Chò* as shown in (113).

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

b. *Ui   noh   vok   **a-htuih**.*
Dog   ERG   pig   3SG.SBJ-bite.**II**
A/the dog bit a/the pig.

c. *Ui   (cuh)   vok   **htui-ci**.*
Dog   TOP   pig   bite.I-NF
The dog bit a/the pig.

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.I-NF   Q
What happened?

b. *Ui   noh   vok   **htui-ci**.*
dog   ERG   pig   bite.I-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   **htui-ci**.*
dog   TOP   pig   bite.I-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. *Ui   mä.*
     dog   Q
     What about the dog?

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

   b. **Ui   (cuh)   a-ih.*
     dog   TOP   3SG.SBJ-sleep.II

(117)a. *Ui   (cuh)   vok   **htui-ci.***
      Dog   TOP   pig   bite.I-NF
      The dog bit the pig.

  b. ?*Ui   (cuh)   vok   **a-htuih.***
       Dog   TOP   pig   3SG.SBJ-bite.II
       The dog **bit** the pig.

  c. ?*Ui   **noh**   vok   *htui-ci.*
       Dog   ERG   pig   bite.I-NF

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'Chò* 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'Chò* 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'Chò* sentence (117a) in the analogous analysis will produce (118a).

(118)a. *Ui   (cuh)   vok-**htui**-ci.*
      Dog   DEM   pig-bite.I-NF
      The dog is/was pig-biting.

  b. *Ui   (cuh)   vok-**le-thum**-htui-ci.*
       Dog   DEM   pig-black-three-bite.I-NF
       The dog is/was three-black-pig-biting.

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'Chò,* 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'Chò* 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.

(119) a. *U   ip-ci   ang.*
     who   sleep.I-NF   Q
     Who slept?

    b. *Pá   ip-ci.*
      father   sleep.I-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.I-NF   Q
      What did the dog do to the pig?

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

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

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

  b. ***Ui   noh*** [*vok*] ***htui-ci.***
     dog   ERG   pig   bite.I-NF
     A/the **dog** bit a/the pig.

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

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

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

  c. ?[*Ui   noh*] *vok   a-***htuih.***
     dog   ERG   pig   3SG.SBJ-bite.**II**
     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   **ang** a-ih.*
     who   Q   3SG.SBJ-leep.II
     Who was it that slept?

  b. ***Pá***   *nei*   *a-**ih**.*
     father   EMP   3SG.SBJ-sleep.II
     Father slept.

  c. **Pá*   *[ip-ci].*
     father   sleep.I

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

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

  c. *?[Ui   noh   vok]   **htui**-ci.*
     dog   ERG   pig   bite.I-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]   **htui-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   **htui-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'Chò,* 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*   **htui**-*ci.*
     Dog   ERG   EMP   pig   bite.I-NF
     The **dog** bit the pig.

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

(130)a. *Ui*   *noh*   *vok*   **nei**   **htui**-*ci.*
     Dog   ERG   pig   EMP   bite.I-NF
     The dog bit **the pig**.

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

(127a)-(128a) represent unmarked intransitive and transitive declarative sentences in *K'Chò*. 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.

5.1.5.1 Stem choice in Yes/No questions

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?

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[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   NEG-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   NEG-2SG.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* *gör-dü-mü?*
   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 gör-dü?*
   Ali-Q   lion-ACC see-PAST
   'Did ALI see a lion?

c. Object Focus
   Ali *arslan-**mi** gör-dü?*
   Ali   lion-Q   see-PAST
   'Did Ali see a LION?

(132)a. *Ui   noh   vok   **htui-ci/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   vok   **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   **htui-ci.***
　　　 Dog   PART   Q   pig   bite.I-NF
　　　 The **dog** (or what) bit the pig. (Something, maybe a dog, bit the pig).

　 f. *Ui   noh   vok   **ang**   htui-ci.*
　　　 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'Chò*. 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.

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[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)

Dare ga kimasi-ta ka.
who SBJ come-PAST Q
Who came?

b. (Kroeger 2004:151)

Dareka ga kimasi-ta.
someone SBJ 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.I-NF   Q
        What happened?

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

   c. *I   ah   ang   kya(k)-ci.*
       what   PART Q   happen.I-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.

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[38] Hagstrom (2001) reports a similar phenomenon for *Shinhala*: movement of question particles for various focus effect correlates with the morphological modification the verb.

(134)a. *U*   *ip-ci/khai*   **ang.**
     who   sleep.I-NF/F   Q
     Who slept/will sleep?

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

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

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

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

   c. *Pa*   *i*   **ang** *bi(k)-ci.*
     who   what Q   do.I-NF
     Father is/was doing/did something?

(136)a. *Ui*   *noh*   *vok*   *a-i*   *ah*   *ci-ci*   **ang**
     Dog   ERG   pig   what   PART   do.I-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.II
     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.I-NF
     The dog did something to the pig.

(137)a. *A-i*   *nɔh*   *vok*   *htui-ci*   **ang**.
     What   ERG   pig   bite.I- NF   Q
     What bit the pig?

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

   c. *A-i*   *nɔh*   **ang** *vok*   *htui-ci.*
     What   ERG   Q   pig   bite.I-NF
     Something bit the pig.

(138)a. *Ui   noh a-i **htui-ci ang***
       Dog   ERG what bite.I-NF Q
       What did the dog bite?

b. *Ui   noh a-i **ang** a-**htuih**.*
      Dog   ERG what Q   3SG.SBJ-bite.II
      What did the dog bite?

c. *Ui   noh a-i **ang** **htui-ci**.*
      Dog   ERG what Q   bite.I-NF
      The dog bit something.

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'Chò*, 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'Chò* 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'Chò* as shown in (139) and (140).

(139) a. *Hteit*   *ä.*
       go.I   IMP
       Go! (or you may go.)

    b. *Hteit*   *nä (ni + ä).*
       go.I   DL-IMP
       (you-dual) go! (or you may go.)

    c. *Hteit*   *vä (u + ä).*
       go.I   PL-IMP
       (You-plural) go! (or you may go.)

(140) a. *Na-**hteih**-vai.*
    2SG.SBJ-go.II-IRRL
    You(singular) shall/must go.

b. *Nani-**hteih**-vai.*
    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.