| トピック | 非動詞的形のキナウリ語: 虫干と不完全動詞 |
| 作家 | 谷口義政 |
| 引用 | 第51回中華語学研究会 第51回中華語学研究会 (2018) |
| タイプ | 学術論文 |
| リンク | http://hdl.handle.net/2433/235310 |

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Non-finite forms of Kinnauri verbs: stems and infinitives

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1 Introduction

Kinnauri verbs occur in a sentence in either finite or non-finite forms. Finite verbs have a tense suffix and a subject person suffix, but Non-finite verbs have neither. While Takahashi (2008) and Takahasi (2012) describe the finite forms of verbs, this paper aims to describe the stems and infinitives of non-finite forms of Kinnauri verbs.

The structure of non-finite verb forms is essentially as follows:1

1This research was supported by JSPS KAKENHI (Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research); Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (#12610556, 2000–2003, ‘Descriptive and morpho-syntactic studies of Kinnauri’; #16520250, 2004–2007, ‘Descriptive and morpho-syntactic studies of Kinnauri by field work’), Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (S) (#16102001, 2004–2008, ‘Linguistic Substratum in Tibet’, PI: Yasuhiko Nagano, Prof. of NME), Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) (#21320085, 2009–2010, ‘Typological Studies on South Asian Languages—Rethinking on South Asian Linguistic Area’, PI: Toshiki Osada, Professor of RIHN), Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) #17K02735-0004, 2017–19, ‘Field research on Kinnauri: Collection of sentences in conversation and analysis of verb forms’, funding from Aichi Prefectural University, and other sources. The author has surveyed Kinnauri once or twice every year since 1997. I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Ravinder Singh Negi, who willingly answers my questions, and his family, who always receives me warmly.

1The abbreviations in this paper are as follows: 1 = 1st person, 1-2 = 1st and/or 2nd person, 2 = 2nd person, 3 = 3rd person, ABL = ablative, ATTR = attributive, COND = conditional, COP = copular verb, DAT = dative, EIS = extended infinitive suffix, EMPH = emphatic, FUT = future, GEN = genitive, GINF = g-infinitive, GRD = gerund, HON = honorific, IMPF = imperfect, INF = infinitive, INS = instrumental, LOC = locative, LV = linking vowel, MDL = middle voice, NEG = negative, NOM = nominative, O = object, PF = perfect, PL = plural, PLN = place name, PRN = pronoun, PSN = personal name, PT = past, QM = question marker, S = subject, SG = singular, TNS = tense marker
In this paper, we will describe the stem and infinitives of verbs. We will first discuss verb stems in section 2, while section 3 will concern the infinitives of verbs.

The affixes of non-finite verbs in Kinnauri are outlined in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Extended</th>
<th>Irrealis (未然)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>-ô</td>
<td>Realis (已然)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reduplication, -s³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ts, -d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Past</td>
<td></td>
<td>-śid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both simple infinitives and extended infinitives express an imperfect/irrealis meaning: that is, the action/state expressed by the verb has not begun. A simple infinitive is used with the following finite verb. Some of the extended infinitives are used as nominalized verbs, and others constitute adverbial clauses.

Particiles, gerunds, and the historical past indicate the perfect/realis: that is, the action/state expressed by the verb has begun, whether or not it has finished, and can be used at the end of a sentence. We do not treat these three forms in this paper.

2 Verb stems

Kinnauri verb stems are classified into four types:

1. Vowel stem
2. Consonant stem
3. D-stem

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2 Takahasi (2012) shows the finite form of a verb as follows:

\[(\neg) V_{stem} (.O).INF(.EIS(.QM))\]^2

3 The suffix -s is suffixed to a (pseudo-)middle stem of a verb, which is not reduplicated.

4 The author has referred to the extended infinitive here as the derived infinitive in previous work. As this former term does not seem appropriate, the author uses the term 'extended infinitive' in this paper.
4. (pseudo-)middle stem

The verb stem of Kinnauri itself does not occur in sentences. If a stem-like form occurs in a sentence, it conveys an impolite imperative to a junior or a person of a lesser rank; a stem-like form is not a stem form but an imperative form.

2.1 Vowel stems

The stem of a verb ending in a vowel is called a vowel stem.

(3) ĉê- ‘write’
ĉêr- ‘wash’

Vowel stems take suffixes directly at the end of the stem. Thus, ‘I will write’ is ĉêtok, where the suffix -to indicates future and -k indicates the first person singular subject.

ĉîk ‘(I) washed’ takes only the first person suffix. Although the past tense suffix does not occur, the verb expresses the past tense.

Although the next two verbs have vowel endings, they take a different form than the stem forms before certain suffixes.

(4) bî- ‘go’: bitok ‘I will go.’

kê- ‘give (to SAP)’: kerak ‘I gave (you).’

Note that bitok has the same suffixes as ĉêtok above, although the stem vowel is short in bitok as opposed to the stem form bî.

In the case of kerak, the suffix -a means past and -k indicates the first person singular subject as above, although the verb stem is kê- rather than ker-. Similarly, ‘(I) will give (you)’ is ketok, but not *kêtok.

The stem of the verb ‘go’ is bî- rather than bî- and the stem of the verb ‘give’ is kê- rather than ke- or ker- because their infinitives are bûm and kêm, respectively.

2.2 Consonant stems and D-stem

Consonant stem verbs have a consonant ending, among which a verb stem that ends in -d is called a D-stem. D-stem verbs are conjugated differently than verb stems ending in consonants other than -d.

The next verbs have a consonant at the end of their stems. The consonant-stem verbs take suffixes without any change of stem.
\(\text{5) } t^\text{h}is\)- ‘hit’
\(\text{rig}-\) ‘get broken’

\(t^\text{h}isak ‘(I) hit’\) has the past tense suffix -a and the first person subject suffix -k, and the form of the stem is not changed, while \(\text{rigtō ‘(It) will get broken’}\) has the future tense suffix -tō after the consonant ending of the verb.

Some examples of D-stem verbs are the following:

\(\text{6) twad- ‘take out’}
\(\text{bīd ‘come (to SAL)’}\)

The -d of a D-stem verb is lost in the future tense, as in \(\text{twätōk ‘(I) will take out’}\) rather than *\(\text{twadtōk}\), and the past tense form \(\text{twadak ‘(I) took out’}\) can become \(\text{twāk}\); the -d and the past tense suffix -a are lost and the stem vowel a is lengthened.

### 2.3 (Pseudo-)middle stem

The stem with a middle voice suffix -ši or -či is called a middle (voice) stem. Verbs that have -ši or -či, but for which the form without -ši or -či is not related to the original verb, or does not exist, are called pseudo-middle stems. Moreover, verbs with the object suffix -či inflect in the same way as the middle stem; therefore, we consider this stem to be a pseudo-middle stem.\(^5\) In this paper, we refer to the middle voice stem and the pseudo-middle stem as the (pseudo-)middle stem.

\(\text{7) middle voice stems:}
\(\text{sogši- ‘ride on’}
\(\text{sūši- ‘wash oneself’}
\(\text{tubči- ‘be stuck’}

\(\text{8) pseudo-middle stems:}\(^6\)
\(\text{č\text{h}ukši- ‘meet’}
\(\text{yōči- ‘fly’}

\(^5\)The object person suffix and one of the middle voice suffixes have a same form. This point is to be considered in the future.

\(^6\)The verb stems č\text{h}uk- or č\text{h}ug- and yō- do not exist.
(Pseudo-)middle stems take the past tense suffix -a in the form -e, as in boṣek ‘(I) forgot’, and take the future tense suffix -to in the form -o, as in boṣok ‘(I) will forget.’

Verb stems cannot occur by themselves, but they can take a variety of suffixes, as stated above.

3 Infinitive

Kinnauri infinitives are classified into two groups: simple infinitives and extended infinitives. A simple infinitive is formed from a verb stem and the infinitive suffix -m, while an extended infinitive is formed from a simple infinitive and an extension suffix.

Although Sharma (1988: 126, 164–65) considers -mig/-mu to be an infinitive suffix or a suffix of a verbal noun, -mig and -mu can be analyzed further, as will be shown in this section. That is, as section 3.2 shows, -g and -ū are affixed as independent suffixes to a simple infinitive.

3.1 Form and usage of simple infinitives

A simple infinitive consists of a verb stem, and the suffix -m, which is affixed directly to a vowel stem as in (9a) or a (pseudo-)middle stem as in (9d). When the suffix -m is attached to a consonant stem, -i is inserted between the verb stem and the infinitive suffix, as in (9b). The suffix -m is attached to D-stem with the linking vowel -i omitted, and the consonant -d of the verb stem and the infinitive suffix -m are mutually assimilated to -n, as in (9c).

(9) a. Vowel stems: zā̄- ‘eat’ → zā̄m

Footnotes:
1. The suffixes of a (pseudo-)middle stem are -si and -ci. (cf. the discussion of Takahashi (2008: 51ff.) for a detail.) However, it is not clear whether these endings of the (pseudo-)middle stem are the appropriate results of analysis. Although because of these forms of suffixes with -i (pseudo-)middle stems appear to belong to vowel stems, (pseudo-)middle stems inflect morphologically in the same way as consonant stems. -s may be used to differentiate morphologically from the consonant stems ending with -s.
2. Stems ending with -n are consonant stems. For example, the infinitive form of lan- ‘do’ is lanim.
b. Consonant stems: zog- ‘buy’ → zogim

c. D-stems: bid- ‘come’ → (bid-m →) bin

d. (Pseudo-)middle stems: boši- ‘forget’ → bošim

Infinitives do not occur sentence-finally in Kinnauri,¹⁰ and are instead usually used with other verbs. The next example shows that an infinitive form expresses the causative with the verb šed- ‘send’.

(10) gi. s nu. più mè piô bi. m¹¹ šê. k
   1PRN:SG.INS that.DAT yesterday PLN go.INF send.1S
   ‘I let him go to Peo yesterday.’

The next sentence is causative, like that above. The verb sad- ‘kill’ is D-stem, and the last consonant of the stem sad- assimilates to the infinitive suffix -m as -n.

(11) nugonù nu sapas. u san še. u
   3PRN:DAT:PL that snake.DAT kill:INF send.2S
   ‘Let them kill the snake.’

The following example expresses desire, in which the verb following the infinitive names the action expressed by the infinitive. A verb stem ending in -n is a consonant stem; therefore, -m as a suffix is attached to the stem with a linking vowel -i inserted, unlike a D-stem verb.¹²

(12) gi püeh kamaù lan. i. m gyā. to. k
   1PRN:SG PLN work do.LV.INF want.FUT.1S
   ‘I want to work in Puh.’

In a sentence that expresses ability, a simple infinitive occurs as in (13a), while in a question the u-infinitive can be used as in the next example (13b).

¹⁰Finite forms and non-finite forms, except infinitives, can occur sentence-finally in Kinnauri.
¹¹The stem form of the verb bi- should be given greater consideration. As Takahashi (2008) points out, bi- has irregular past forms, and we can expect it to have a stem form like biy-. However, because we do not have evidence for this expectation, we take the form bi- as its stem form, which takes the infinitive form bim with the infinitive suffix -m.
¹²cf. fn. 9
In the next sentence (14), both a simple infinitive and a u-infinitive can occur in the same environment, but the difference in their meanings is not clear.

This example shows the purposive meaning ‘in order to do’. In this case, the simple infinitive zogim with -u (u-infinitive) can be used.

(14) mē hîna.piṈ, anu ama.Ō, banṭhā skan zog.i.m/zog.m.ū yesterday psn.dat own mother.gen instead vegetable buy.lv.inf/buy.inf.eis
bîzar.ō bī.m.i.g.seyā du.ē bazaar.loc go.inf.lv.ginf.attr cop.pt

‘Heena had to go to bazaar instead of her mother yesterday to buy vegetables.’

The next sentence includes the simple infinitive of the verb yud- ‘grind’, and gives the purposive ‘in order to do’ with the simple infinitive. yud- is a D-stem verb in which the infinitive suffix -m assimilates the stem ending -d to yield yun.

(15) amā tsisaṁ yun gōṭhāṁ bibī mother wheat grind:inf mill go:pf

‘Mother went to the mill to grind wheat.’

In the following sentence, a simple infinitive is put in front of the verb bid- ‘come’; the sentence has the future tense. The infinitive suffix is attached to the verb with the middle voice suffix.

(16) telāṁ leg.či.m.ā kīnū leg.ši.m bī.tō oil catch_fire.mdl.inf.cond 2prn:dat catch_fire.mdl.inf come:fut

‘If the oil catches fire, you will be burnt.’

13The form of zogim with -ū will be zogmū. That is, -i in an infinitive does not occur in this form. This indicates that -i is a linking vowel but is not included in the infinitive suffix like -im.
As we have seen in this section, infinitives do not occur at the end of the sentence, but must be followed by another verb. In semantics, infinitives indicate that the action or change of state has not yet happened.

3.2 Suffixes attached to infinitives: Extended infinitive

As seen in the preceding section, simple infinitives can be used with another verb. However, they can also take another suffix. In this paper, we call these forms extended infinitives. Simple infinitives can take the following three suffixes.

(17) a. -u: to make a kind of a nominal clause, meaning 'to want to do'. We call this the u-infinitive.
   b. -ā: to make a conditional clause. We refer to it as the a-infinitive here.
   c. -g: to make a kind of a nominal clause, meaning 'ought to do'. Here it is referred as a g-infinitive.\(^{14}\)

An extended infinitive does not take the linking vowel -i between a consonant stem and the infinitive suffix -m; therefore, the infinitive suffix -m is attached directly to the stem of a verb (cf. fn. 13). As a result, a verb ending -n will have the form -nm-, in which -m assimilates to the ending of the verb -n in place of the articulation to -nn-. The extended infinitive of a consonant stem ending with -n takes the same form as a D-stem verb. Finally, in a consonant stem ending in -b, the -b is assimilated to the infinitive suffix -m as -m.

3.2.1 The u-infinitive

The u-infinitive basically expresses desire and necessity. It expresses the same meaning as the verb gyā- ‘want’ with a simple infinitive. See (12).

(18) had‘seyā kitāb zig.m.ū dū.ū
    which book buy-INF.EIS COP.2S

‘Which book do you need to buy?’

The next example shows that u-infinitives occur in the same environment as simple infinitives.

\(^{14}\)This suffix usually takes a linking vowel -i after the infinitive suffix -m. Cf. fn. 17
The next sentence has *tañes* ‘for’ with the *u*-infinitive of a D-stem verb preceding it.

(20) a. ramēš.is ren.n.ū tañes id deyar.ō id zed șub.ts 
    psn.ins sell.inf.eis for one day.loc one sheep/goat slaughter.grd
    ‘Ramesh kills a sheep/goat everyday to sell.’

b. tetē.s anenū spāts.ū skum.m.ū tañes dō 
   grandfather.ins his.own grandson.dat let_sleep.inf.eis for that
   pištiū.ū tuuptupa.ō du.e.š 
   back.dat pat.impf cop.pt.3s:hon
   ‘The grandfather helped his grandson sleep by patting his back.’

We point out that a *u*-infinitive may be related formally to the genitive because *tañes* follows a noun in the genitive.\(^\text{15}\)

As seen in section 3.1, a simple infinitive and a *u*-infinitive can be used in the same environment in many cases. Thus, the difference between them is not clear. Roughly speaking, however, *u*-infinitives can mean ‘want to do,’ while simple infinitives do not take such a meaning.

### 3.2.2 The *a*-infinitive

The *a*-infinitive is used to form a conditional clause that basically expresses the indicative conditional rather than the counterfactual.

(21) gi ju dukʰan.ō.č bodi banyā zog.m.ā aní 
    1prn:sg this shop.loc abl many thing buy.inf.cond 1prn:sg:gen
    rupyā byug.tō 
    money extinguish.fut
    ‘If I buy too many things in this shop, I shall have no money.’

\(^{15}\)For example,

(21) gi ju tañes gatōda rupyā tō 
    1prn:sg your for some money cop
    ‘Here is some money for you.’

Because a case marker is attached to a noun, a simple infinitive can be said to be like nominal if a *u*-infinitive has the genitive marker, but this is not clear. Here, we limit ourselves to pointing out only the formal similarity between the *u*-infinitive and the genitive marker.
In the next example, a D-stem verb bid- ‘come’ takes the infinitive suffix -m and the conditional suffix -a to yield binnā.

(22) bizi⁠̣ ma.bi.n.nā aĩũ muškol hač.õ
electricity NEG.come-INF.COND 1PRN:SG:DAT difficult become.FUT

‘I will be in trouble if the electric power supply does not resume.’

Both examples above show that the verb in a conditional clause has no tense and person suffixes; it only takes the infinitive and conditional suffixes.¹⁶

3.2.3 The g-infinitive

The g-infinitive forms a nominal clause meaning ‘ought to do’. When this suffix is attached to the infinitive of a consonant stem, the linking vowel -i is inserted between the infinitive and the suffix.¹⁷

As written above, a g-infinitive in the next sentence expresses ‘ought to do’.

(23) niũ₃ nasom piō bī.m.i.g kā oms tsoi.kī laũ.šid.tseyā
tomorrow PLN go.INF.INF.GINF than before all.EMP wait.MDL.ATTR
tod.č COP.1-2S

‘Before we go to Peo tomorrow, we will wait for each other.’

In the following example, the agent noun (first person singular) is in the genitive:

(24) aị̃ šel zā.m.i.g tō
1PRN:SG:GEN medicine eat.INF.INF.GINF COP

‘I need to take the medicine.’

¹⁶As shown in Takahasi (2012: 8), however, the counterfactual clause is expressed by a verb with the suffix -tsa as a tense suffix and the subject person suffix, and this finite verb takes a conditional suffix -tā.

¹⁷In this case, -i is inserted between the infinitive suffix -m and -g, but not between the verb stem and the infinitive suffix, or both, although it is not clear how this process is ruled phonologically. We should take account of the syllable structure, and the phonotactics of Kinnauri.
This seems to be because the main verb zā ‘eat’ in this sentence takes -mīg and is nominalized. Thus, the subject of this sentence is expressed as the possessor of the nominalized verb.18

When the suffix -seyā follows the g-infinitive and the sentence ends with a copula as in the next example, it means ‘have to do’. In this case too, the subject is in the genitive.

(25) aū
   1PRN:SG:GEN
   bi.m.i.g.seyā
   go.INF.IV.GINF.ATTR
   tō
   COP
   ‘I have to go.’

The g-infinitive seems to nominalize a verb, because

1. it is followed by the suffix -seyā,19

2. the semantic subject of bīmīg in example (25) is in the genitive.

3.3 Summary

As seen in section 3, simple and extended infinitives express an imperfective/irrealis action or state. The simple infinitive, for example, is used in a causative sentence, and even if the action of the causative is an event in the past (realis), the action performed by the causee is not realis, and similarly the action expressed by an extended infinitive is not performed in the past, even if the sentence with the extended infinitive takes the past tense. Thus, in any case, infinitives indicate that the action or state expressed by a verb has not started.

4 Final comments

We can see from the observations in this paper that infinitives in Kinnauri have a system, as summarized in (2).

Takahashi (2008) and Takahasi (2012) both examine the verb morphology of Kinnauri: the first analyzes the person and tense system of finite verbs, while the second discusses the middle voice. We examined the stems

18If the nominalized verb should not be considered a main verb of this sentence, the main verb of this sentence must be tō, but we do not go into the detail of the structure of this sentence.

19As for this point, the author showed that -tseyā is used with a verb and -seyā with a noun, both of which are suffixes for attribution, at seventeenth Himalayan Linguistic Symposium in Kobe (September, 2011).
and infinitives of non-finite verbs in this paper, but participles, gerunds, and the historical past of non-finite verbs remain to be studied.

This paper has not analyzed the structures of sentences with infinitives because its aim is to describe the verbal morphology of Kinnauri. The author hopes to discuss the syntax of such sentences in a future publication.

Reference

