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]

[1]The 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

(1) (NEG.)V$_{stem}$ (.O).INF(.EIS(.QM))[2]

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.

(2)

infinitive	simple	*-m*	irrealis
	extended	*-mū, -mā, -mig*	
participle	imperfect	*-ō*	realis
	perfect	reduplication, *-s*[3]	
gerund		*-ts, -d*	
historical past		*-šid*	

Both simple infinitives and extended infinitives[4] 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.

Participles, 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:

(n1) (NEG.)V$_{stem}$ (.O).TNS.S(.QM)

[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) *čē-* 'write'

   čī- 'wash'

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

čīk '(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) *bī-* 'go': *bitok* 'I will go.'

   kē- 'give (to SAP)': *kerak* 'I gave (you).'

Note that *bitok* has the same suffixes as *čētok* above, although the stem vowel is short in *bitok* as opposed to the stem form *bī-*.

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 *kē-* rather than *ker-*. Similarly, '(I) will give (you)' is ketok, but not **kētok*.

The stem of the verb 'go' is *bī-* rather than *bi-* and the stem of the verb 'give' is *kē-* rather than *ke-* or *ker-* because their infinitives are *bīm* and *kēm*, 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.

(5) $t^h\!is$- 'hit'

　　$r\dot{i}g$- 'get broken'

$t^h\!isak$ '(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 $r\dot{i}gt\bar{o}$ '(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:

(6) *twad*- 'take out'

　　$b\dot{i}d$ 'come (to SAL)'

The -*d* of a D-stem verb is lost in the future tense, as in *twātok* '(I) will take out' rather than **twadtok*, and the past tense form *twadak* '(I) took out' can become *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.

(7) middle voice stems:

　　šogši- 'ride on'

　　sūši- 'wash oneself'

　　tubči- 'be stuck'

(8) pseudo-middle stems:[6]

　　$\check{c}^h\!ukši$- 'meet'

　　yōči- 'fly'

(Pseudo-)middle stems take the past tense suffix *-a* in the form *-e*, as in *bošek* '(I) forgot', and take the future tense suffix *-to* in the form *-o*, as in *bošok* '(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/-mū* to be an infinitive suffix or a suffix of a verbal noun, *-mig* and *-mū* 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*,[7] which is affixed directly to a vowel stem as in (9a) or a (pseudo-)middle stem as in (9d).[8] 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]

 (9) a. Vowel stems: *zā-* 'eat' → *zām*

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[7]*-m* will have the linking vowel *-i*, which is inserted between a verb stem and the infinitive suffix *-m* when the stem ends in a consonant. In Kinnauri, when a suffix consisting of only a consonant is attached to a consonant verb stem, this linking vowel *-i* occurs. cf. footnotes 13, 14, 17

[8]The author writes that the suffixes of a (pseudo-)middle stem are *-ši* and *-či*. (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. *-š^y* may be used to differentiate morphologically from the consonant stems ending with *-š*.

[9]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: *bɨd-* 'come' → (*bɨd-m* →) *bɨn*

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)   *gɨ.s*   *nu.pɨṅ*   *mē*   *piō*   **bī.m**[11]   *šē.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)   *nugonū*   *nu*   *sapas.ū*   **san**   *še.ň*
       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)   *gɨ*   *pūē*   *kamaṅ*   **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).

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[10]Finite forms and non-finite forms, except inifinitives, can occur sentence-finally in Kinnauri.

[11]The stem form of the verb *bī-* should be given greater consideration. As Takahashi (2008) points out, *bī-* 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 *bī-* as its stem form, which takes the infinitive form *bīm* with the infinitive suffix *-m*.

[12]cf. fn. 9

(13) a. *ki*   *ǰu*   *paṅṭ.ū*   **_šuryā.m_**/**šuryā.m.ū* *han.ts*
2PRN:NOM:SG this spindle.DAT spin.INF/spin.INF.EIS can.GRD

'You can spin the spindle.'

b. *ki*   *ǰu*   *paṅṭ.ū*   **_šuryā.m_**/*_šuryā.m.ū_* *han.ts.a*
2PRN:NOM:SG this spindle.DAT spin.INF/spin.INF.EIS can.GRD.QM

'Can you spin this spindle?'

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 *-ū* (*u*-infinitive) can be used.[13]

(14) *mē*   *hinā.pɨṅ* *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

bɨzār.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*   *tsisaṅ* **_yun_** *gōtʰaṅ* *bībī*
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 *bɨd-* 'come'; the sentence has the future tense. The infinitive suffix is attached to the verb with the middle voice suffix.

(16) *tēlaṅ* *leg.či.m.ā*   *kinū*   **_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.'

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[13]The 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. -$\bar{u}$: to make a kind of a nominal clause, meaning 'to want to do'. We call this the *u*-infinitive.

b. -$\bar{a}$: 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*   *kɨtāb*   **zog.m.ū**   *dū.ň*
     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.

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[14]This suffix usually takes a linking vowel -*i* after the infinitive suffix -*m*. Cf. fn. 17

(19) *gɨ*   *sae*   *bazē.č*   **_huši.m.ū_**/*huši.m*   *dūš.o.k*
     1PRN:SG   ten   o'clock.ABL   study.INF.EIS/study.INF   start.FUT.1S

     'I will start studying at ten.'

The next sentence has *taṅes* 'for' with the *u*-infinitive of a D-stem verb preceding it.

(20) a. *ramēš.ɨs*   **_ren.n.ū_**   *taṅes*   *id*   *deyar.ō*   *id*   *zed*   *šub.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_**   *taṅes*   *dō*
        grandfather.INS   his_own   grandson.DAT   let_sleep.INF.EIS   for   that

        pɨšṭiṅ.ū   *tuptupya.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 *taṅes* follows a noun in the genitive.[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) *gɨ*   *ju*   *dukʰan.ō.č*   *bodī*   *banyā*   **_zog.m.ā_**   *aṅ*
     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.'

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[15]For example,

(n1) *jɨṅ*   *kin*   *taṅes*   *gaṭōda*   *rupyā*   *tō*
     here   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 *bɨd-* 'come' takes the infinitive suffix -*m* and the conditional suffix -*ā* to yield *bɨnnā*.

(22) *bizɨlī* **ma.bɨn.n.ā** *aṅū* *muškol* *hač.ō*
  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) *niṅā* *nasom* *piō* **bī.m.i.g** *kā* *oms* *tsoik.ī* *laṅ.šid.tseyā*
  1PRN:PL tomorrow PLN go.INF.LV.GINF than before all.EMPH 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) *aṅ* *šel* **zā.m.i.g** *tō*
  1PRN:SG:GEN medicine eat.INF.LV.GINF COP

  'I need to take the medicine.'

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[16]As 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*.

[17]In 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 *-mig* 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) *aṅ*   ***bī.m.i.g.seyā***   *tō*
     1PRN:SG:GEN   go.INF.LV.GINF.ATTR   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 *bīmig* in example (25) is in the genitve.

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

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[18]If 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.

[19]As 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.

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