

A Grammatical Manual for the Kinnauri Language (Pangi Dialect)*

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Summary

This study provides a brief description of the grammar of Kinnauri—a member of the West Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman languages.

Kinnauri is important in that it shares linguistic features with languages that do not historically belong to the same subgroups. NISHIDA Tatsuo referred to this type of language as a “link language” (繫聯言語).

Although Kinnauri has been considered as an important language, it has not been described comprehensively.

Sharma (1988) conducted a detailed study of Kinnauri grammar. Unfortunately, its analysis was not so satisfactory, particularly in terms of phonology and morphosyntax. Although we find several errors in his phonological interpretation, which leads to an incomplete morphological analysis, his adequate analysis of example sentences that follows makes up for those infelicities.

This study outlines the grammar of Kinnauri (Pangi dialect). The phonological system is introduced first, followed by a detailed explanation of morphological and syntactic features, particularly the morphological analysis of nouns and verbs. Finally, the structures of sentences are demonstrated.

Key words: Kinnauri, Pangi dialect, West-Himalayish, Tibet-Burman, descriptive grammar

キーワード：キナウル語，パンギ方言，西ヒマラヤ諸語，チベット・ビルマ語派，記述文法

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1. Introduction

Kinnauri is spoken in District Kinnaur of Himachal Pradesh, India, along with Manchad, Kanashi, and the Almora (or Kumaon) group, and belongs to the West Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family. It is one of the tribal languages of Himachal Pradesh, India. Kinnauri has also been called: Kanauri, Kanor, Koonawur, Kunawar, etc. Kinnauri speakers call themselves /kinōriŋ/.

District Kinnaur includes the Satluj River and its branches. Its administrative center is Recong Peo /piō/, which is situated some hundred meters above Satluj River. Although Recong Peo is away from the national highway (NH5), it is a terminal of interstate and local buses, and the biggest town in this area.¹

Kinnauri is distributed along the Satluj River and its branches, and can be divided into three major dialects—lower, central, and upper—along the Sutlej River. It does not seem to have a ‘standard dialect’, but the dialect (the central dialect) spoken around Recong Peo is relatively well-understood anywhere in Kinnaur because Recong Peo is the contemporary administrative center. Upper Kinnauri has many borrowed words from Tibetan.

Kinnauri has been considered as a pronominalized language (cf. Benedict 1972, Hale 1982, Nishi 1993). ‘Pronominalized’ means that a verb takes a marker indicating the per-

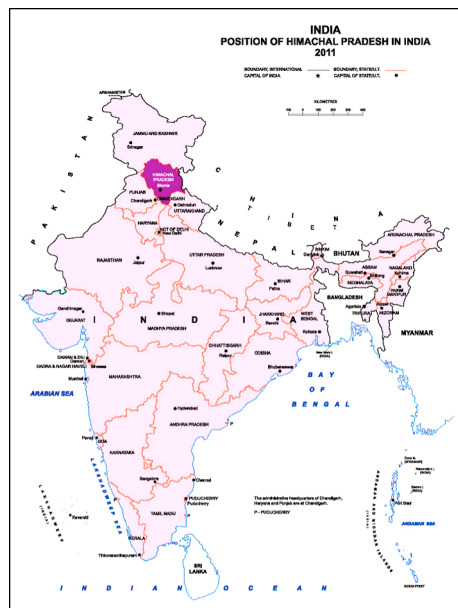


Figure 1 India



Figure 2 Himachar Pradesh and District Kinnaur

¹The maps are from <https://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/maps/atlas/02part1.pdf>, accessed on Nov. 14, 2020.

son of a subject and/or an object. In this point, pronominalization is the same as a person marking on a verb.

Although Benedict (1972: 5) insists on Tibeto-Kanauri, Kinnauri has some words very similar to Tibeto-Burman languages in Assam, as Konow (1905: 119) points out. Some correspondent words between Kinnauri and certain Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India may indicate that there exists a relationship between them. Thurgood (2003) suggests that the West Himalayish languages belong to the Rung branch. This suggests that Kinnauri came from the east, along the Himalayan range.

It is obvious that Kinnauri is related to the West Himalayish languages based on the similarities of their vocabularies, whereas the history of Kinnauri is ambiguous because Kinnauri and other West Himalayish languages have no script.

Some papers on Kinnauri were written at the beginning of this century, such as Bailey (1909), Konow (1905), and so on, and in the 1980s, Sharma's book (Sharma 1988), which includes many mistakes,² was published in India. A good summary for those papers and the book is Nishi (1993), and the phonemic system is shown in Ju ed. (1996: 154–157), where the phonemic system is summarized briefly compared with the complex system in Bailey (1909).

Saxena's dissertation (Saxena 1992) treats the verbal inflection in Tibeto-Kinnauri. Saxena (1992) depends on Sharma for the phonological description. The author of this paper does not follow Saxena's system; the dialect of her main consultant seems to be different from the dialect which this author has researched.

Many villages are isolated, situated some hundred meters above the Satluj River. The population of District Kinnaur is 84,121,³ but this figure includes the speakers of other languages. The table of 'C-16 Population By Mother Tongue',⁴ indicates that the number of mother tongue speakers of Kinnauri in Kinnaur is 60,605. The difference between the population of Kinnaur and the speakers of Kinnauri includes mainly the Hindi speakers. A small number of speakers are also found in neighboring districts such as Kullu and Shimla, and all over India.⁵

This paper aims to provide a brief description of the grammar of Kinnauri. Kinnauri is a language belonging to the West Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Although Kinnauri has been considered as an important language, it is not well known

²Data from some dialects of Kinnauri are included (Sharma 1988: vi–vii), and the differences between these dialects have not been clarified.

³According to the census of 2011, Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India. <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/240-kinnaur.html>, accessed on Nov. 14, 2020.

⁴<https://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/C-16/DDW-C16-STMT-MDDS-0200.XLSX>, accessed on Nov. 14, 2020.

⁵According to the table of <https://censusindia.gov.in/2011Census/Language-2011/Part-B.pdf> (accessed on Nov. 14, 2020), the total number of Kinnauri speakers in India is 83,561, and Eberhard, Simons and Fenning eds. (2020: 133) says that this is the number of L1 speakers of Kinnauri and that there are 15,000 L2 speakers.

and has not been described comprehensively. This study outlines the grammar of Kinnauri (Pangi dialect). First, the phonological system is introduced. Second, morphological and syntactic features, especially the morphological analysis of nouns and verbs, are explained in detail. Finally, the structures of sentences are described.

2. Phonology

2.1 Consonants

Kinnauri has the following consonants.

/p, p^h, b, t, t^h, d, ɬ, ɬ^h, ɖ, ɖ^h, ɟ, ɟ^h, ʃ, k, k^h, g; m, n, ñ, ñ^h; ts, ts^h, dz; s, š, h; r, l; w, y/

p	t	ɬ	ɟ	k
p ^h	t ^h	ɬ ^h	ɟ ^h	k ^h
b	d	ɖ	ʃ	g
	ts			
	ts ^h			
	z			
m	n	ñ	ñ ^h	
	s	š		h
	r, l			
w		y		

2.2 Vowels

The vowels are contrastive in length.

- Kinnauri has six oral vowels: each of them has a short and long form.

/a, i, u, e, o, ɨ; ā, ī, ū, ē, ō, ȳ/

	front	middle	back
high	i	ɨ	u
middle	e		o
low		a	

- Three nasal vowels are used.

kōyā ‘dove’ (cf. *koyañ* ‘a kind of a fly’)
 pāē ‘two days after tomorrow’
 ȳ ‘yes’

Pronunciation of the vowels tend to be long at the end of a word, where, therefore, the length of a vowel is not clear phonologically.

2.3 Tones

Kinnauri has some pitches or stresses, but as can be seen below, there are only a few words that have pitch contrasts (tones are not accurate):

<i>tūm-</i> [Ṽ] ‘squeeze’	vs.	[ṽ] ‘swell’
<i>rañ</i> [Ṽ] ‘horse’	vs.	[ṽ] ‘hill area’
<i>šaṇ</i> [Ṽ] ‘small stone’	vs.	[ṽ] ‘throat’
<i>mē</i> [˩] ‘fire’	vs.	[ṽ] ‘yesterday’
<i>zañim</i> [ṽ] ‘show’	vs.	[ṽ] ‘sink’

The next sentences have the same verb *hači-* with a suffix, although the suffix differs in tone.

In (1a), [haṽtʃo:ṽ] is not grammatical because it shows future. In (1b), [ha+tʃo:˩] is not grammatically correct because it indicates present.

- (1) a. *ju čʰaṇ tēg* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hač.ō} \\ \text{become.PR} \end{array} \right.$ [ha+tʃo:˩]/*[haṽtʃo:ṽ]
 this child big
 ‘This child is getting bigger.’
- b. *ju čʰaṇ hedmyā tēg hač.ō* [haṽtʃo:ṽ]/*[ha+tʃo:˩]
 this child next_year big become.FUT
 ‘This child will be bigger next year.’

These examples show that Kinnauri has tone contrast in some cases.

Kinnauri words are pronounced with a conventional pitch pattern. As for tones, more research is necessary.

2.4 Sounds Relating to Borrowed Words

Kinnauri borrows many words from other languages, especially from Hindi. Some of these words have sounds that are not native to Kinnauri.

For example, *ṛ* in *gāṛī* ‘car’ from Hindi, and *æ* in *bænk* ‘bank’ from English.

2.5 Some Morpho-phonological Rules

Some of Kinnauri morpho-phonological rules are demonstrated briefly:

1. Fricatives and affricates followed by the gerund suffix *-ts*, object marker *-č* and the middle voice suffix *-š* are assimilated with these suffixes.

(a) *-s+ts* → *-tts*

(b) *-č+ts* → *-tts*

- (c) $-š+ts \rightarrow -tts$
 (d) $-s+č \rightarrow -čč$
 (e) $-s+š \rightarrow -šš$
2. $S \rightarrow S_1S_2$ (When reduplicated, the preceding syllable of the reduplicated syllables, S_1 , is weakened.)
3. $V[-high]+u$ (genitive) $\rightarrow V[-high]+o$
4. $V \rightarrow [+long] / _ \#$

The linking verb *-i* is inserted between the final consonant of a stem and the beginning consonant of a suffix or between the suffixes. Further, another factor relating to a syllable should be considered.

2.6 Syllable structures

The syllable structures of Kinnauri can be summarized as follows:

V	:	<i>ū</i>	‘flower’
VC	:	<i>em</i>	‘delicious’
VCC	:	<i>ušk</i>	‘old’
CV	:	<i>pī</i>	‘four’
CVC	:	<i>bod</i>	‘skin’
CVCC	:	<i>surk</i>	‘sour’
CCV	:	<i>spū</i>	‘hair (body)’
CCVC	:	<i>skar</i>	‘star’
CCCVC	:	<i>strapšim</i>	‘to climb’

3. Nouns

3.1 Simple Nouns

Nouns in Kinnauri are both monosyllabic and polysyllabic.

- (2) *bal* ‘head’ *hoñ* ‘worm, insect’
 krā ‘hair’ *gud* ‘arm’
 kanan ‘ear’ *tunan* ‘lip’
 ḍeyan ‘body’ *bōnin* ‘window’

There is no honorific form for nouns.

Many nouns are borrowed from Hindi, English and some other languages.

3.2 Plural

A plural form is formed with the suffixes *-ā* and *-gā*. *-ā* is used for a noun that ends in a consonant, and *-gā* is used for a noun that ends in a vowel.

- (3) *bal* *balā* ‘heads’
 mī *mīgā* ‘people’
 kaglī *kagligā* ‘papers’

Some nouns take the suffix *-ē* for plural.

- (4) *kitāb* *kitābē* ‘books’
 glās *glāsē* ‘glasses, cups’
 sunduk *sundukē* ‘boxes’

Nouns ending with *-as* drop *-s* and the final vowel *-a* is lengthened:

- (5) *sapas* *sapā* ‘snakes’
 damas *damā* ‘bulls’

A plural suffix is not necessary to express plurality. For instance, if the noun is accompanied by plural words, such as *bodī* ‘many,’ then a plural suffix will be unnecessary.

4. Numerals

The Kinnauri numeral system is a vigesimal system, which is based on the decimal system. Numerals upper the hundreds digit are counted decimally.

0	zīro or šunnya				
1	id	21	nizao id	41	niš nizao id
2	niš	22	nizao niš	50	niš nizao sae
3	šum	23	nizao šum	51	niš nizao sihid
4	pī	24	nizao pī	60	šum niza
5	nā	25	nizao nā	61	šum nizao id
6	ṭug	26	nizao ṭug	70	šum nizao sae
7	stiš	27	nizao stiš	71	šum nizao sihid
8	rae	28	nizao rae	80	pī niza
9	sguī	29	nizao sgui	81	pī nizao id
10	sae	30	nizao sae	90	pī nizao sae
11	sihid	31	nizao sihid	91	pī nizao sihid
12	soniš	32	nizao soniš	100	nā niza = (id) rā
13	sōrum	33	nizao sōrum	101	rao/*rās id
14	sapī	34	nizao sapī	110	rao sae
15	sōnā	35	nizao sōnā	321	šum rao/rās nizao id
16	sōrug	36	nizao sōrug	1,000	hanzār
17	sastiš	37	nizao sastiš	1,001	id hanzārīs id
18	sarae	38	nizao sarae	10,000	sae hanzār
19	sosgui	39	nizao sasgui	100,000	id lāk
20	niza	40	niš niza	10,000,000	id krōḍ

(6) *id mī* ‘one man’, *niš bōḥan* ‘two trees’, *sae bošan* ‘ten years’

It is not necessary to mark nouns with a plural marker if accompanied with numerals.

(7) a. *soniš krōḍ šum lāk niš niza.o nā hanzār.is ṭug*
 twelve ten_million three ten_thousand forty.GEN five thousand.INS six

ra.o šum niza.o sarae
 hundred.GEN sixty.GEN eighteen
 ‘120,345,678’

b. *id hanzār.u pī*
 one thousand.GEN four
 ‘four banknotes of one thousand rupies’

c. *ju kitāb niš hanzār.u (dū)*
 this book two thousand.GEN COP
 ‘This book costs two thousand rupies.’

- No ordinal number. No counter.

- times: *id pol^hañ* ‘one time’
- Kinnauri numerals are replaced by Hindi numerals. Many of the younger generations do not know the original Kinnauri numerals.

5. Pronouns

Kinnauri pronouns:

- have dual forms in all persons,
- have honorific forms in second and third persons,
(For the third person, honorific forms are same as plural forms. Plural forms refer to non-honorific plural and honorific singular and plural.)
- are different between distant and proximal in the third person,
ju ‘this’ vs. *nu* ‘that’, *do* ‘that’
- and, are different between visible and invisible in the third person.
nu ‘that (visible)’ vs. *do* ‘that (invisible)’

	nominative	instrumental	dative	genitive	comitative	ablative
1sg.	<i>gɪ</i>	<i>gɪs</i>	<i>añũ</i>	<i>añ</i>	<i>añ rañ</i>	<i>añ dɪñč</i>
2sg.(nh)	<i>ka</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>kanũ</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan rañ</i>	<i>kan dɪñč</i>
2sg.(h)	<i>ki</i>	<i>kis</i>	<i>kinũ</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>kin rañ</i>	<i>kin dɪñč</i>
3sg.(prx)	<i>ju</i>	<i>jus</i>	<i>ɟupɪñ</i>	<i>ɟũ</i>	<i>ɟũ rañ</i>	<i>ɟũ dɪñč</i>
3sg.(h)	<i>jugõ</i>	<i>jugõs</i>	<i>jugonũ</i>	<i>jugonũ</i>	<i>jugõ rañ</i>	<i>jugon dɪñč</i>
(dst)	<i>nu</i>	<i>nus</i>	<i>nupɪñ</i>	<i>nũ</i>	<i>nũ rañ</i>	<i>nũ dɪñč</i>
(h)	<i>nugõ</i>	<i>nugõs</i>	<i>nugonũ</i>	<i>nugonũ</i>	<i>nugõ rañ</i>	<i>nugon dɪñč</i>
	<i>do</i>	<i>dos</i>	<i>dopɪñ</i>	<i>dõ</i>	<i>dõ rañ</i>	<i>dõ dɪñč</i>
(h)	<i>dogõ</i>	<i>dogõs</i>	<i>dogonũ</i>	<i>dogonũ</i>	<i>dogõ rañ</i>	<i>dogon dɪñč</i>
1du.(ex.)	<i>nišɪ</i>	<i>nišɪs</i>	<i>nišũ</i>	<i>nišũ</i>	<i>nišɪ rañ</i>	<i>nišũ dɪñč</i>
1du.(in.)	<i>kišaɳ</i>	<i>kišaɳɪs</i>	<i>kišaɳũ</i>	<i>kišaɳũ</i>	<i>kišaɳ rañ</i>	<i>kišaɳ dɪñč, kišaɳu dɪñč</i>
2du.(nh)	<i>kaniš</i>	<i>kanišɪs</i>	<i>kanišũ</i>	<i>kanišũ</i>	<i>kaniš rañ</i>	<i>kaniš dɪñč</i>
2du.(h)	<i>kišɪ</i>	<i>kišɪs</i>	<i>kišũ</i>	<i>kišũ</i>	<i>kišɪ rañ</i>	<i>kišũ dɪñč</i>
3du.(prx)	<i>juniš</i>	<i>junišɪs</i>	<i>junišũ</i>	<i>junišũ</i>	<i>juniš rañ</i>	<i>juniš dɪñč, junišu dɪñč</i>
3du.(h)	<i>jugsuɳ</i>	<i>jugsuɳɪs</i>	<i>jugsuɳũ</i>	<i>jugsuɳũ</i>	<i>jugsuɳ rañ</i>	<i>jugsuɳu dɪñč</i>
(dst)	<i>nuniš</i>	<i>nunišɪs</i>	<i>nunišũ</i>	<i>nunišũ</i>	<i>nuniš rañ</i>	<i>nuniš dɪñč, nunišu dɪñč</i>
(h)	<i>nugsuɳ</i>	<i>nugsuɳɪs</i>	<i>nugsuɳũ</i>	<i>nugsuɳũ</i>	<i>nugsuɳ rañ</i>	<i>nugsuɳu dɪñč</i>
	<i>doniš</i>	<i>donišɪs</i>	<i>donišũ</i>	<i>donišũ</i>	<i>doniš rañ</i>	<i>doniš dɪñč, donišu dɪñč</i>
(h)	<i>dogsuɳ</i>	<i>dogsuɳɪs</i>	<i>dogsuɳũ</i>	<i>dogsuɳũ</i>	<i>dogsuɳ rañ</i>	<i>dogsuɳu dɪñč</i>
1pl.(ex.)	<i>niñã</i>	<i>niñãs</i>	<i>niñanũ</i>	<i>niñanũ</i>	<i>niñã rañ</i>	<i>niñan dɪñč</i>
1pl.(in.)	<i>kišaɳã</i>	<i>kišaɳãs</i>	<i>kišaɳanũ</i>	<i>kišaɳanũ</i>	<i>kišaɳã rañ</i>	<i>kišaɳan dɪñč</i>
2pl.(nh)	<i>kanegã</i>	<i>kanegãs</i>	<i>kaneganũ</i>	<i>kaneganũ</i>	<i>kanegã rañ</i>	<i>kanegan dɪñč</i>
2pl.(h)	<i>kinã</i>	<i>kinãs</i>	<i>kinanũ</i>	<i>kinanũ</i>	<i>kinã rañ</i>	<i>kinan dɪñč</i>
3pl.(prx)	<i>jugõ</i>	<i>jugõs</i>	<i>jugonũ</i>	<i>jugonũ</i>	<i>jugõ rañ</i>	<i>jugon dɪñč</i>
(dst)	<i>nugõ</i>	<i>nugõs</i>	<i>nugonũ</i>	<i>nugonũ</i>	<i>nugõ rañ</i>	<i>nugon dɪñč</i>
	<i>dogõ</i>	<i>dogõs</i>	<i>dogonũ</i>	<i>dogonũ</i>	<i>dogõ rañ</i>	<i>dogon dɪñč</i>
who.sg.	<i>had</i>	<i>haes</i>	<i>hatũ</i>	<i>hatu</i>	<i>hat rañ</i>	<i>hat dɪñč</i>
who.pl.	<i>hatẽ</i>	<i>hatẽs</i>	<i>hatenũ</i>	<i>hatenu</i>	<i>hatẽ rañ</i>	<i>haten dɪñč</i>
what	<i>tʰid</i>					

6. Question Words

Kinnauri question words: *had* ‘who’, *tʰid* ‘which’, *hadʹseyã* ‘which’, *ham* ‘where’, *teraɳ* ‘when’, *hala* ‘how’ (adverb), *hales* ‘how’ (adjective), *tetã*, *tetagu*, and *tetrã*⁶ ‘how many/much.’

In terms of the inflections of *had* ‘who’, see the Table in section 5.

- (8) *komra.o komõ (nu) mĩ had dũ*
 room.GEN inside that person who COP

‘Who is the person inside the room?’

- (9) *ju pitaɳ.õ tʰid tubtub dũ*
 this door.LOC what stick:PF COP

⁶The difference between these three words are not clear.

‘What stuck here on the door?’

- (10) *had'seyā kitāb zog.i.m gyā.to.ñ*
 which book buy.LV.INF want.FUT.2SG:S:PR

‘Which book do you need to buy?’

- (11) *orč^hē k^hiśūrīn ham dū*
 please toilet where COP

‘Excuse me, but where is a toilet?’

- (12) *ki jīn terān bī.ñ*
 2SG:NOM here when come.2SG:S

‘When did you come here?’

- (13) a. *tetā mī.gā bīd.ā*
 how_many person.PL come.PT

‘How many people came?’

- b. *ju lī.a tetā rupyā.ō*
 this egg.PL how_much rupy.GEN

‘How much are these eggs?’

7. Adjectives

Kinnauri has more than twenty adjectives.

Adjectives do not have any agreement with nouns.

Adjectives can be inflected on plurality but need not inflect in agreement with the plurality of nouns.

Adjectives do not inflect in the comparative and superlative constructions.

7.1 Usage of Adjectives

Adjectives are placed in front of a noun when it modifies the noun.

- (14) a. *lamas bergā* ‘long stick’
 long stick

- b. *tēg kim* ‘big house’
 big house

- c. *zīgits čimē* ‘small girl’
 small girl

The adjective can take a plural marker if the noun which it modifies is plural.

- (15) a. *ṭalk.ē rote.gā zā.m.ū bārī mīškol dū*
 hard.PL chapati.PL eat.INF.EIS very_much difficult COP

‘It is very difficult to eat hard chapatis.’

- b. *ju kaglig.ā rok.ē dū*
 this paper.PL black.PL COP

‘These papers are black.’

- (16) *kinā lisk.e.nō t^ha.bī.č*
 2PRN:PL:NOM cold.PL.LOC PROH.go.2S

‘Don’t go to the cold places.’

Kinnauri adjectives are not of a verb type; therefore, an adjective should co-occur with a copula in a predicative construction.⁷

- (17) a. *darma.o kanañ.ā bārī tēg/tēg.ē dū, wanšū kanañ.ā zigits/zigits.ā*
 PSN.GEN ear.PL very big/big.PL COP PSN.GEN ear.PL small/small.PL
dū
 COP

‘Darma’s ears are very big, and Wanshu’s ears are small.’

- (18) *gī lamas (to.k)*
 1PRN:NOM tall COP.1S:SG

‘I am tall.’

In the case where a subject is first person inclusive, however, a copula cannot occur unless the tense is past.

- (19) *kišaṇ č^hañ.ā (*to.č/*dū.č)*
 1:PRN:INCL:DU child.PL COP.1PL:S/COP.1PL:S

‘We (incl.) are boys.’

- (20) a. *kišaṇ dam to.ke.šē/*to.ke.č*
 1:PRN:INCL:DU good COP.PT.INCL/COP.PT.1PL:S

‘We (incl.) were well.’

- b. *kišaṇ lamas/lamā ma.e.ke.šē*
 1:PRN:INCL:DU long/long:PL NEG.COP.PT.INCL

‘We (incl.) were not tall.’

⁷A copula does not occur in some cases. Even if a copula does not occur, the adjective does not inflect according to person and number of the subject, and tense.

If the sentence that includes the first person inclusive subject is negated, the verb *nīm* is used instead of a copula.

- (20) *kišaṇ sukul.ō hu.ši.d.tseyā č^haṇ.ā ma.nī*
 1:PRN:INCL:DU school.LOC teach.MDL.LC.ATTR child.PL NEG.exist
 ‘We (incl.) aren’t students.’

7.2 Comparative

The standard of the comparative is expressed by a postposition *kā*. The noun in front of this postposition is in nominative, but the pronoun is in genitive. The adjective is not inflected.

The next sentence shows a comparative sentence. The adjective in (21) is not an inflected form.

- (21) a. *nu kēmīrā aṇ kēmīrā kā dē tēg dū*
 that camera 1SG:GEN camera than PTCL big COP
 ‘That camera is much bigger than my camera.’
 b. *ki aṇ kā zwān to.ñ*
 2PRN:SG:NOM 1SG:GEN than young COP.2S
 ‘You are younger than I.’

- (22) *aid.ē dori.ga.nu kā ju tug.seyā šarē dū*
 other.PL carpet.PL.GEN than this six.ATTR beautiful COP
 ‘Those six carpets are better than others.’

7.3 Superlative

Kinnauri has no special superlative form of an adjective. The superlative meaning is expressed by adding *zainū* ‘most’.

- (23) *nu.s nu zaṇ.a.nu komō.č zainū tēg zaṇ t^hōd*
 that.INS that gold.PL.GEN inside.ABL most big gold take:3S
 ‘He took the biggest amongst the gold.’

- (24) a. *kīnōriṇ kinnā kēlāš zainū tēg ḍokaṇ dū*
 PLN <mountain’s_name> most big mountain COP
 ‘Kinner Kailash is the highest mountain in Kinnaur.’

- b. *gī duñya.u den zainū hasal tsalyad.tseyā gāḍī tsalyā.m*
 1PRN:SG:NOM world.GEN on most fast drive.ATTR car drive.INF
 gyā.to.k
 want.FUT.1S
 ‘I want to drive the fastest car in the world.’

8. Adverbs

Kinnauri has some adverbs.

- (25) a. *torō gi bārī hasal yanč.e.k*
 today 1PRN:SG:NOM very_much early wake_up.PT.1SG:S

‘I woke very early in the morning.’

- b. *mēsañ tōšī.r.i.ñ*
 slowly stay.REQ.LV.2SG:S

‘Please stay slowly’ (→ ‘good-bye’ to a person staying.)

Some adverbs are consisted by attaching the suffixes *-s* or *-is* to a word, such as *mēsañs*, *tetañis*.

9. Verbs

The Kinnauri verb inflection is very complex.

First, we divide the verb forms into two groups.

- finite forms: with a tense marker and a subject marker
- nonfinite forms: infinitive, perfect, imperfect, gerund, remote past

(26) verb phrase structure

NEG	V _{stem}	MDL PSN _o	INF	COND OBLG NMLZ	QM
			PF IMPF GRD RPT		
			TNS UNC CNTF	PSN _s	
			REQ		
PROH					

(27)		affirmative	negative
finite	declarative	V.TNS.PSN	ma.V(TNS).PSN
	imperative	V(.2S)	t ^h a.V(.2S)
	request	V.r.i.2S	t ^h a.V.r.i.2S
	recommendation	V.1S.QM	t ^h a.V.1S.QM
	permit	V.r.i.1S.QM	t ^h a.V.r.i.1S.QM
	encouragement	V.tē	ma.V.tē
non-finite	perfect participle	V:RDP (COP)	ma.V:RDP (COP)
	imperfect participle	V.ō (COP)	ma.V.ō (COP)
	gerund	V.ts (COP)	ma.V.ts (COP)
	infinitive	V.m	ma.V.m

(V means Vstem on this table.)

9.1 Verb Stem

The stem of a verb is not used by itself; it is necessary for it to take a certain suffix. The stem form can be used as an impolite imperative form, but this should be considered as a stem with an imperative suffix (no marker in this case).

Kinnauri verb stems are classified into four types:

1. vowel stem

A stem ending in a vowel:

- (28) a. čē- ‘write’
b. čī- ‘wash’

A vowel stem sometimes ends in *-d* when it does not take tense and/or person suffixes. However, the function of this ending *-d* is not clear.

2. consonant stem

A stem ending in a consonant except *-d*:

- (29) a. t^his- ‘hit’
b. rig- ‘get broken’

3. D-stem

A stem ending in *-d*:

- (30) a. twad- ‘take out’
b. bid- ‘come (to SAL)’

4. (pseudo-)middle stem

A stem with a middle voice suffix:

(31) middle voice stems:⁸

- a. *šogši-* ‘ride on’
- b. *sūši-* ‘wash oneself’
- c. *tubči-* ‘be stuck’

(32) pseudo-middle stems:

- a. *č^hukši-* ‘meet’⁹
- b. *yōči-* ‘play’

9.2 Person Suffixes

9.2.1 Subject and Object Person Suffixes

The verb inflection of person and number in the Pangli dialect of Kinnauri is summarized as follows:

	1	2		3	
sg.	(-k)	hon. (-ñ)	non-hon. (-n)	hon. (-š)	ordinary (-∅)
du. pl.	excl. (-č)	(–č)			
	incl.				

In the singular form, all three persons are differentiated. In the plural form, the first person and the second person are the same and different from the third person. The inclusive form of the first person has a different form too. There is no difference between the third person singular and plural, but there is a difference between the third person honorific and ordinary. Dual and plural are differentiated in a pronoun but have no distinction in verb inflection. The second person dual-plural form -č can be used for a non-honorific subject, in which case, the degree of deference is a little higher than in the case of using -n.

9.2.2 Object Suffixes

There are two kinds of suffixes that are inserted in the object slot, namely the object person suffix and the middle voice suffix.

There is only -či for the object person suffix. In the case of the double object construction, this marker indicates the dative noun. There is no suffix for a third person object.

The middle voice suffixes are -ši and -či. One of the middle voice suffixes is the same form as the object suffix.

⁸For the middle voice suffixes see sections 9.2.2, 12.3.

⁹The verb stems *č^huk-* or *č^hug-* and *yō-* do not exist.

- (33) *riṅkū.s rī kišaṅ.ū toṅ.č.ē*
 PSN.INS yesterday 1PRN:PL:INCL.DAT hit.1-2O.PT

‘Rinku hit us (incl.) twice the day before yesterday.’

In regards to the middle voice, see section 12.3.

9.3 Copula/Existential

Kinnauri has two copulas: *dū-*, *tō-*.

The meaning of each copula is identification and existence.

Basically, *dū-* is used for the second or third persons, and *tō-* is used for events relating to the first person.

	past	present	past	present	future
1sg			<i>tokek</i>	<i>tok</i>	<i>nītok</i>
1plExcl			<i>tokeč</i>	<i>toč</i>	<i>nītoč</i>
1plIncl			<i>tokešē</i>		<i>nītē/nīšō</i>
2sgHon	<i>dueñ</i>	<i>dūñ</i>	<i>tokeñ</i>	<i>toñ</i>	<i>nītoñ</i>
2sgNHon	<i>duen</i>	<i>dūn</i>	<i>token</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>nīton</i>
2plHon	<i>dueč</i>	<i>dūč</i>	<i>tokeč</i>	<i>toč</i>	<i>nītoč</i>
2plNHon	<i>duen</i>	<i>dūn</i>	<i>token</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>nīton</i>
3Hon	<i>dueš</i>	<i>dūš</i>	<i>tokeš</i>	<i>toš</i>	<i>nītoš</i>
3NHon	<i>duē</i>	<i>dū</i>	<i>tokē</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>nītō</i>

Copulas have no future tense forms, but the verb *nīm* is used as a future of copulas. The verb *nīm* is a general verb in that it has the infinitive form, while the copulas are different from a general verb because they do not have infinitive forms.

There is no present tense form for inclusive subjects.

The following example demonstrates identification.

- (34) a. *ki sae bošaṅ omī lamas to.ke.ñ.a*
 2SG:PRN:NOM ten year before long COP.PT.2SG:S.QM

‘Were you tall ten years ago?’

Possession is expressed by the copulas, and the possessor is in a genitive case with *dīñ*.

- (35) a. *añ dīñ lañ tō/*dū*
 1SG:GEN place cow COP/COP

‘I have a cow.’

- b. *konyas.u dīñ lañ dū*
 friend.GEN place cow COP

‘The friend has a cow.’

In case of inalienable possession, the possessor is in a genitive case without *din*.

- (36) a. *añ* (id) *šakpō* *tō*
 1SG:GEN one brother-in-law COP
 ‘I have a brother-in-law.’
- b. *riñkū* *id* *čimē* *tod.ts*
 PSN:GEN one daughter exist.GRD
 ‘Rinku has a daughter.’

9.4 Tense Slot

Finite forms consists of a verb stem, with a tense slot suffix and a subject person suffix. A tense-slot suffix includes tense markers, the uncertainty marker, the counterfactual marker, and the imperative markers.

9.4.1 Tense

Kinnauri has three tenses: future, present and past. The suffix pertaining to each of them is shown in the following list:

- (37) Future: -to-, -o-
 Present: -udu-
 Past: -a-, -e-

The future tense suffixes are *-to* and *-o*. *-to* is used when an object marker is not used, and *-o* is used when an object marker is used. As for the object markers, see section 9.2.2.

The stem vowel of a D-stem verb is long to compensate for the loss of the stem-final consonant *-d* when the D-stem verb takes a future tense suffix.

- (38) a. *bīd-* ‘come’ → *bītō* ‘He will come.’
 b. *šed-* ‘send’ → *šētō* ‘He will send.’

The present suffix is *-udu*, which may be separated as *-u* and *-du*. This analysis has no evidence, therefore we take the form *-udu* as the present tense suffix. In the case of a D-stem verb, the first vowel *-u* of the suffix is lost, and the alveolar stops become voiceless, pronounced [-ttu-].

- (39) a. *bīd-* ‘come’ → *bīdtū* ‘He coming.’
 b. *šed-* ‘send’ → *šedtū* ‘He is sending.’

The past tense suffix *-e* is used with a (pseudo-)middle stem verb, and *-a* with a consonant stem verb. After a vowel stem verb, no suffix is used, and a subject person suffix is attached directly to the verb stem.

As for a D-stem verb, (i) the suffix *-a* is attached to the stem, the same as a consonant stem verb, or (ii) the final consonant *-d* of a stem is lost, and the stem vowel is lengthened to compensate.

(40) a. *bid-* ‘come’ → (i) *bidak* or (ii) *bīk* ‘I came.’

b. *šed-* ‘send’ → (i) *šedañ* or (ii) *šēñ* ‘You sent.’

Pattern (ii) does not occur in case of third person ordinary subject, that is, no person marking on a verb.

9.4.2 Uncertainty

The suffixes, *-tso* and *-gyo*, express uncertainty.

(41) a. *gī.s* *tsal.ō* *ki* *tetañs* *piō*
1PRN:SG:INS think.IMPF 2PRN:SG:S:HON when PLN

be.o.ñ/bī.gyo.ñ
go.PT.2SG:S/go.UNC.2SG:S:HON

‘I wonder when you went to Peo.’

b. *añ* *bak^hor.ē* *rañ.ō* *šō* *bībī* *ma.e.ts.*
1PRN:SG:GEN goat.PL mountain.LOC lost go:PF NEG.COP.GRD

gī *do.gō* *ham* *bī.gyō* *ma.nē.k*
1PRN:SG:NOM that.PL where go.UNC NEG.know.1SG:S

‘My goats were lost in the mountain. I do not know where they are.’

c. *riñkū/riñkū.s* *mē* *had* *mī* *rañ* *č^hukšī.gyō.yī* *añū*
PSN/PSN:INS yesterday who person with meet.UNC.UNF 1PRN:SG:DAT

dō *nāmañ* *ma.rīñ*
that:GEN name NEG.tell:1-2O

‘Rinku does not tell me the name of the person whom he met yesterday.’

(42) a. *gī.s* *rabindar.ū* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} t^h is.tso.k.a \\ \text{hit.UNC.1:SG:S:QM} \\ t^h is.ts \\ \text{hit.GRD} \end{array} \right.$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} nī.to.k.a \\ \text{exist.FUT.1SG:S:QM} \end{array} \right.$
1PRN:SG:INS PSN:DAT

‘I wonder if I would hit Ravinder.’

b. *nū* *dīñ* *rupyā* *nī.d.tsō*
that:GEN place money exist.LC.UNC

‘He may have money.’

9.4.3 Counterfactual

In Kinnauri, the counterfactual meaning is expressed by the suffix *-tsa*, which is put in the tense slot.

As for the usage of this suffix, see section 13.3.2.

9.4.4 Imperative

The imperative form consists of a verb infinitive and the second person subject suffix. Without the second person subject suffixes, that is, a verb stem, it means an impolite imperative.

The verb with the suffix *-r* and the second person subject suffixes implies a polite request.

- (43) a. *tī ēsā k^hwači.m še.ñ*
 water well be_boiled.INF send.2SG:S

‘Boil the water well.’

- b. *tī skwa.ñ/skwad*
 water boil.2SG:S/boil

‘Boil the water!’

9.5 Non-finite Forms

Non-finite verbs in Kinnauri can be outlined as in the following table:

infinitive	simple	<i>-m</i>	irrealis
	extended	<i>-mū, -mā, -mig</i>	
participle	imperfect	<i>-ō</i>	realis
	perfect	reduplication, <i>-s</i>	
gerund		<i>-ts, -d</i>	
remote past		<i>-šid</i>	

9.5.1 Infinitive: Simple and Extended

A simple infinitive form of a verb consists of a verb stem and the suffix *-m*; the infinitive suffix is attached directly to a verb stem if the stem ends in a vowel or attached with *-i* inserted if the stem ends in a consonant.

- (44) a. Vowel stems: *zā*- ‘eat’ → *zām*
 b. Consonant stems: *zog*- ‘buy’ → *zogim*
 c. D-stems: *bid*- ‘come’ → (*bid-m* →) *bīn*
 d. (Pseudo-)middle stems: *boši*- ‘forget’ → *bošim*

The simple infinitive form is used in a causative construction.

- (45) a. *mē* *gī.s* *nu.pīñ* *piō* *bī.m* *šē.k*
 yesterday 1PRN:SG.INS that.DAT PLN go.INF send.1SG:S
 ‘I let him go to Peo yesterday.’
- b. *kin* *dek^hras.ū* *ju* *sunduk* *tsukyā.m/*tsukyā.m.ū*
 2PRN:SG:GEN husband.DAT this box move.INF/move.INF.EIS
t^ha.šē.r.i.ñ
 PROH.send.REQ.LV.2SG:S
 ‘Don’t let your husband move this box.’

The simple infinitive form expresses purposive:

- (46) a. *do.gō* *šīñ.i.m* *deyarō* *kamañ* *lan.udū*
 that.PL finish.LV.INF everyday job do.PR
 ‘They are working to survive.’
- b. *ju* *bō^hañ* *č^hul.i.m* *ma.škod.ō,* *nu* *bō^hañ* *č^hul.i.m*
 this tree cut.LV.INF NEG.be_difficult.IMPF that tree cut.LV.INF
škod.ō
 be_easy.IMPF
 ‘This tree is difficult to cut; that tree is easy to cut.’

Extended infinitives consist of a simple infinitive and an extension suffix. Kinnauri has three extension suffixes: *-ū*, *-g*, and *-ā*.

- (47) a. *-ū*: to create a type of a nominal clause, meaning ‘to want to do’ and so forth. We call this the *u*-infinitive.
- b. *-ā*: to create a conditional clause. We refer to it as the *a*-infinitive here.
- c. *-g*: to create a sort of a nominal clause, meaning ‘ought to do’. Here it is referred to as a *g*-infinitive.¹⁰

-ū expresses a purposive meaning:

- (48) a. *do* *mač^has* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} tsum.i.m \\ \text{catch.LV.INF} \\ tsum.m.ū \\ \text{catch.INF.EIS} \end{array} \right.$ $\left. \begin{array}{l} (tañes) \\ \text{for} \end{array} \right\}$ *garañ.ō* *be.ō*
 that:NOM fish river.LOC go.PT
 ‘He went to catch a fish in the river.’

¹⁰This suffix usually takes a linking vowel *-i* after the infinitive suffix *-m*.

- b. *boā.s aṇū id kītāb rabindar.ū ran.n.ū/*ran.i.m*
 father.INS 1PRN:SG:DAT one book PSN.DAT give:3O.INF.EIS/give:3O.LV.INF
ker.a.š
 give:1-2O.PT.3S:HON

‘Father gave me a book to give it to Ravinder.’

-ū also indicates desiderative.

- (49) a. *gī kā paš.m.ū to.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM walnut break.INF.EIS COP.1SG:S

‘I want to break a walnut.’

- b. *nu pyā.ts yab.m.ū¹¹ dū*
 that bird.DIM fly.INF.EIS COP

‘That bird wants to fly.’

-ā is used for conditional scenarios. Cf. section 13.3.

- (50) a. *ki aṇ kim.ō bīn.n.ā gī dam tsal.to.k*
 2PRN:SG:NOM 1PRN:SG:GEN house.LOC come:INF.EIS 1PRN:SG:NOM good think.FUT.1SG:S

‘I will be happy if you come to my home.’

- b. *ki.s aṇū toṇ.čī.m.ā gī bō.to.k*
 2PRN:SG:INS 1PRN:SG:DAT hit.1-2O.INF.EIS 1PRN:SG:NOM go.FUT.1SG:S

‘If you hit me, I will go away.’

-g shows an obligatory sense.

- (51) a. *ībrañ.šoṇ kin č^had kamañ.ō ma.bīn.n.ā do.pīñ*
 if 2PRN:SG:GEN son-in-law work NEG.come.INF.EIS that.DAT

rupyā { *ma.ran.n.i.g*
 money { NEG.give:3O.LV.EIS
 ma.ran.n.i.g.seyā
 NEG.give:3O.LV.EIS.ATTR

‘If your son-in-law does not come to work, we will not pay him.’

- b. *hina.ō nasom piō bī.m.i.g.seyā (dū)*
 PSN.DAT tomorrow PLN go.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR COP

‘Heena has to go to Peo tomorrow.’

- c. *aṇ šel zā.m.i.g tō/*0*
 1PRN:SG:GEN medicine eat.INF.LV.EIS COP

‘I need to take the medicine.’

¹¹ -b is assimilated to the infinitive suffix, and *yabmū* is pronounced [jammu:].

9.5.2 Participles: Imperfect and Perfect

Imperfect participles are formed with a verb stem plus the suffix *-ō*, and mean continuous action or state, or

- (52) a. *ham bi.ō*
 where go:PF
 ‘Where are you going?’

Perfect participles are formed by the reduplication or being suffixed by *-s*. The suffix *-s* is attached to a (pseudo-)middle stem, and the other stems are reduplicated.

- (53) a. *ham bībī*
 where go:PF
 ‘Where did you go?’

There are a few three-syllable verbs. In the case of three-syllable verbs, the last syllable is reduplicated.

- (54) *gi pitañ toktokyakyā bi.to.k*
 IPRN:SG.NOM door knock:PF go.FUT.1SG:S
 ‘I knock on the door and go into the room.’

9.5.3 Gerund

Gerunds consist of a verb stem with a suffix *-ts* or a (pseudo-)middle stem with the suffix *-d*.

- (55) a. *mēz.u den bārī banyā tod.ts, t^hidnat^hid šō bī.ts*
 table.GEN above many thing exist.GRD anything lost go.GRD

‘There are many things on the desk, anything will be lost.’

- b. *ramēš.is deyarō kā pašpaš zā.ts*
 PSN.INS everyday walnut break:PF eat.GRD

‘Ramesh breaks and eats some walnuts everyday.’

- (56) a. *gi jāpān.ō tōšī.d*
 IPRN:SG:NOM PLN.LOC live.GRD

‘I live in Japan.’

- b. *ādarš rañ binōd an niš.ū komō tsit^hi.gā šed.ts/še.ši.d*
 PSN COM PSN self two.GEN inside letter.PL send.GRD/send.MDL.GRD

‘Adarsh and Vinod are sending letters to each other.’

9.5.4 Remote Past

-*šid* expresses a remote past.

- (57) *añ omī piō bī.šid tō*
 1SG:GEN before PLN go.RPT COP:3S

‘I went to Peo before.’

- (58) *gi.s añ zwani.ō ju tēg rim.ō kamañ lan.šid*
 1PRN:SG.INS 1PRN:GEN young.LOC this big field.LOC job do.RPT

‘I worked on this big field in my younger days.’

- (59) *añ amā.s omī bārī č^hañ.ā tā.šid*
 1PRN:SG:GEN mother.INS before many child.PL bear.RPT

‘My mother bore many children many years ago.’

In the next example, -*šid* is attached to a pseudo-middle stem.

- (60) *añ zwani.ō wāl strapši.šid tō*
 1PRN:GEN youth.LOC very_much climb.RPT COP

‘When I was young, I climbed up (a tree) very well.’

- (61) *do.gō toñ.š.ō toñ.š.ō an.ega.ī sa.ši.šid*
 that.PL hit.MDL.IMPF hit.MDL.IMPF self.PL.EMPH kill.MDL.RPT

‘They fought and killed each other.’

-*šid* also shows experience. Note that the semantic subject of the sentence is in genitive.

- (62) *ki.n gasā čī.šid tō.a*
 2PRN:GEN clothes wash.RPT COP.QM

‘Have you washed clothes?’

- (63) *añ tuñ.šid tō*
 2PRN:GEN drink.RPT COP

‘I have drunk.’

9.6 Negative Particles

There are two negative particles in Kinnauri: *ma-* and *t^ha-*. These particles are attached to a verb as a prefix. *ma-* is used to construct a negative sentence, and *t^ha-* is used to express the prohibitive meaning with an imperative form of a verb.

9.6.1 Simple Negative

The finite verb which the negative particle *ma-* is attached to is neutralized in tense, that is, it takes the form like ‘*ma*-Vstem-subject person suffix’ without tense suffixes.

- (64) a. *mē id bos solok.ō.č gorgor, gaṭō.dā mī.gā šīšī*
 yesterday one bus road.LOC.ABL fall:PF a_few person.PL die:PF

(*ma.e.ts*), *añ konyas ma.šīd*
 NEG.COP.GRD 1PRN:S:GEN friend NEG.die

‘Yesterday, there was a bus accident, and some people died, but my friend was alive.’

- b. *gī.s bārī k^haū zā.k, doklī añ peṭañ*
 1PRN:SG.ERG very_much food eat.1SG:S but 1PRN:SG:GEN belly

ma.biñ.ā
 NEG.be_full.PT

‘I ate so much, but I am not full.’

The following examples are neutralized in tense:¹²

- (65) a. *gī nasom sukul.ō ma.bī.k/*ma.bi.to.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM tomorrow school.LOC NEG.go.1SG:S/NEG.go.FUT.1SG:S

‘I will not go to school tomorrow.’

- b. *gī.s mē tsal.a.k, ki torō piō ma.bī.ñ,*
 1PRN:INS yesterday think.PT.1SG:S 2PRN:NOM today PLN NEG.go.2SG:S
ki be.o.ñ
 2PRN:NOM go.PT.2SG:S

‘Yesterday, I thought that you would not go to Peo today, but you went.’

9.6.2 Prohibitive

The following sentences indicates prohibitive:

- (66) a. *lis.k.ō t^ha.yōči.č*
 be_cold.NMLZ.LOC PROH.play.2PL:S

‘Don’t play in the cold.’

- b. *kin dek^hras.ū ju sunduk tsukyā.m t^ha.šē.r.i.ñ*
 2PRN:SG:GEN hasband.DAT this box move.INF PROH.send.REQ.LV.2SG:S

‘Don’t let your husband move this box.’

9.7 Transitive-Intransitive Alternation

Kinnauri has a transitive-intransitive alternation, similar to other Tibeto-Burman languages.

¹²In the past and present tense, a verb can take the negative prefix. In addition, the future tense appears to now be allowed, in comparison to before.

transitive	intransitive	meaning of Vt
(1)		
<i>spyug-</i>	<i>byug-</i>	‘put out (the fire)’
<i>spyañ-</i>	<i>byañ-</i>	‘terrify’
<i>skwad-</i>	<i>k^hwači-</i>	‘boil’
<i>skrab-</i>	<i>krab-</i>	‘make sb cry’
<i>stuñ-</i>	<i>tuñ-</i>	‘let sb drink’ vs. ‘drink’
(2)		
<i>k^hel-</i>	<i>gel-</i>	‘break, split, cleave’
<i>k^hoñ-</i>	<i>goñ-</i>	‘bend’
<i>p^har-</i>	<i>bar-</i>	‘tear’
<i>p^hral-</i>	<i>bral-</i>	‘fell down’
<i>p^hī-</i>	<i>bī-</i>	‘bring st out of the d.c.’ ¹³
<i>p^hrus-</i>	<i>brus-</i>	‘break (wall, house)’
<i>p^hog-</i>	<i>bog-</i>	‘spill’
<i>ṭ^hor-</i>	<i>ḍor-</i>	‘untie, unlace’
(3)		
<i>čog-</i>	<i>ǰog-</i>	‘drop’ (both are vi)
<i>čod-</i>	<i>ǰod-</i>	‘light (up), switch on’
<i>tus-</i>	<i>dus-</i>	‘make warm’
<i>twañ-</i>	<i>dwañ-</i>	‘open’
<i>twad-</i>	<i>dwad-</i>	‘take out’
<i>par-</i>	<i>bar-</i>	‘set on fire’
<i>paš-</i>	<i>baš-</i>	‘crush’
<i>pad-</i>	<i>bad-</i>	‘cook, boil’
<i>pog-</i>	<i>bog-</i>	‘burn’
<i>prā-</i>	<i>brā-</i>	‘spread’ (intr.: ‘flow over’)
<i>ṭad-</i>	<i>ḍad-</i>	‘dismantle’
<i>tser-</i>	<i>zer-</i>	‘tear’
<i>pid-</i>	<i>bid-</i>	‘bring’ vs. ‘come’ ¹⁴
(3’)		
<i>ṭig-</i>	<i>rig-</i>	‘break’
<i>ṭag-</i>	<i>rag-</i>	‘make wet’
(4)		
<i>guryā-</i>	<i>guryāši-</i>	‘close’
<i>ṭ^his-</i>	<i>ṭ^hisši-</i>	‘hurt sb’
<i>pog-</i>	<i>pogši-</i>	‘burn’ (intr.: ‘get burnt’)
<i>šuryā-</i>	<i>šuryāši-</i>	‘turn’

<i>sūm-</i>	<i>sūšim-</i>	‘wash’ (intr.: ‘wash oneself’)
<i>hud-</i>	<i>huši-</i>	‘teach’ (intr.: ‘study’)
(5)		
<i>han-</i>	<i>hači-</i>	‘be possible’ vs. ‘become’
<i>lan-</i>	<i>lanči-</i>	‘do’ (intr.: ‘wear’)
<i>leg-</i>	<i>legči-</i>	‘burn st’
<i>tub-</i>	<i>tubči-</i>	‘stick’

10. Noun Suffixes

10.1 Case Markers

Kinnauri case markers:

1. Nominative: (no marker)
2. Instrumental: *-is*, *-s*
3. Dative: *-piñ*, *-ū*
4. Locative: *-ō*, *-ē*
5. Ablative: *-č*
6. Genitive: *-u*¹⁵

10.1.1 Nominative

Nominative is used as the subject of an intransitive sentence and the object of a transitive sentence.

- (67) a. subject of intransitive

zigits *č^hañ.ā* *gušryā.š.ō* *yun.ō* *dū*
 little child.PL crawl.MDL.IMPF walk.IMPF COP:3S

‘Little babies are crawling.’

rak *ǰog.udū.a* *k^hyā.ñ*
 liquor drop.PR:3S.QM look.2S

‘Please see whether liquor is dropping or not.’

¹³‘d. c.’ means ‘deictic center’, that is, the verb indicates the move of something out of the deictic center. The intransitive verb means ‘to go’.

¹⁴*pid-* has two meanings: ‘to bring’ and ‘to arrive’, and has no deictic interpretation.

¹⁵*-i* seems to occur as a genitive marker when accompanied by *din*, which expresses the possessor in the possessive construction. Cf. (35b).

b. object of transitive (secondary object)

añ *boā.s* *gōl.ō* *i.polṭañ* *an.e.nu* *krā* *tsog.ts*
 1:PRN:SG:GEN father.INS month.LOC one.time self.PL:GEN hair cut.GRD
 ‘My father has his hair cut every month.’

10.1.2 Instrumental

The instrumental case is used for an instrument and the subject of a transitive sentence; hence, Kinnauri has an ergative pattern.

(68) a. subject of transitive (ergative)

mē *nīñā.s* *do.piñ* *toñ.a.č*
 yesterday 1PRN:PL:EXCL.INS that.DAT hit.PT.1-2:PL:S
 ‘We hit him yesterday.’

b. instrument

gi.s *ju* *pen.is/*pen* *čē.to.k*
 1PRN:SG.INS this pen.INS/pen:NOM write.FUT.1SG:S
 ‘I will write with this pen.’

c. passage

añ *konyas* *ju* *solok.is* *bos.ō* *rāmpur* *be.o.š*
 1PRN:SG:GEN friend this road.INS bus.LOC PLN go.PT.3S:HON
 ‘My friend went to Rampur along this road by bus.’

10.1.3 Dative

A dative expresses the recipient of a ditransitive construction. In Kinnauri, the dative noun is used as a primary object.

(69) a. indirect object (primary object)

ādarš.is *hinā.piñ* *tsiṭ^hī* *šē.š*
 PSN.INS PSN.DAT letter:NOM 3S:HON
 ‘Adarsh sent a letter to Heena.’

b. direct object

gi.s *romī* *hinā.piñ* *ma.sa.k*
 1PRN:SG.INS the_day_after_tomorrow PSN.DAT NEG.kill.1S
 ‘I will not kill Heena the day after tomorrow.’

c. dative subject

añū ĵu ū ganam em b̥id.tū
 1PRN:SG:DAT this flower:NOM smell good come.PR:3S

‘This flower smells sweet to me.’

darma.ō tiskar de.udū
 PSN.DAT thirsty feel.PR:3S

‘Darma feels thirsty.’

10.1.4 Locative

The locative case defines the location of a space. The difference between -*ō* and -*ē* is not clear.¹⁶

(70) a. *ādarš m̥int^hañ.ē dēn (dū) b̥izār.ō k^hyā.udū*
 PSN roof.LOC standing COP bazaar.LOC look.PR:3S

‘Adarsh stands on the terraced roof and is looking down to the bazaar.’

b. *ki.n kim.ō mē šed.tseyā mī rampūr tsumtsum*
 2PRN:SG:GEN house.DAT yesterday send.ATTR person PLN catch:PF

‘The man who burned your house down was caught at Rampur.’

The locative case also indicates the direction of movement.

(71) a. *orč^hē añ banṭ^hā (ki) piō bi.ñ*
 please 1PRN:SG:GEN instead 2PRN:SG:NOM PLN go.2S:SG

‘Please go to Peo instead of me.’

The locative case expresses the location of time, as well.

(72) *hinā rañ gī yum.tseyā gōl.ō deyarō č^hukš.e.č*
 PSN COM 1PRN:SG:NOM preceding month.LOC everyday meet.PT.1-2S:PL

‘Heena and I met every day last month.’

The name of a place is not found in the locative case:

(73) a. *do.niš piō beō*
 that.two PLN gōPT

‘The two of them went to Peo.’

b. *paēč piō ma.bībī rampūr bi.tē*
 let’s_go PLN NEG.go:PF PLN go.HORT

‘Let’s go to Rampur, but not to Peo.’

¹⁶-*ē* seems to express some type of a spread of a surface.

The name of a place that is not well known in Kinnaur can take the locative marker:

- (74) a. *jāpān.ō bī.m.ū to.k*
 PLN.LOC go.INF.EIS COP.1SG:S
 ‘I want to go to Japan.’
- b. *gī jāpān.ō tōšī.d*
 1PRN:SG:NOM PLN.LOC live.GRD
 ‘I live in Japan.’

10.1.5 Ablative

The ablative case expresses the source of movement.

A starting point in regards to location:

- (75) a. *añ k^hakañ.ō.č lalt^hañ ma.nāšī.s dwad.ā*
 1PRN:SG:GEN mouth.LOC.ABL saliva NEG.stop.PF come_out.PT
 ‘The saliva came out of my mouth, and did not stop.’
- b. *gī bārat.ō.č/*bārat.č bī.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM PLN.LOC.ABL/PLN.ABL come.1SG:S
 ‘I came from India.’

A starting point in time:

- (76) a. *pradīp me.k.č ŋupī pī deyār omī rampūr be.ō*
 PSN yesterday.NMLZ.ABL after four day before PLN go.PT
 ‘Pradeep left for Rampur three days before yesterday.’
- b. *añ dīñ ju rēdiō bārī omi.k.č tō*
 1PRN:SG:GEN place this radio very_much before.NMLZ.ABL exist
 ‘I have this radio from many years ago.’

10.1.6 Genitive

The genitive case expresses possession (alienable or inalienable) and a genitive subject.

1. Possession

- (77) a. *nu č^hañ.a.nu pērañ.ā ham bībī*
 that child.PL.GEN parents.PL where gōPF
 ‘Where have the parents of those children gone?’
- b. *ju dēšañ.ō añ (id) ra.o niza.o stiš*
 this village.LOC 1PRN:SG:GEN one hundred.GEN twenty.GEN seven

pērañ.ā tō/nī.ts/tōšī.d
 relative.PL COP/exist.GRD/live.GRD
 ‘I have 127 relatives in this village.’

2. Alienability

(78) a. *añ č^hañ.ā tod.ts*
 1PRN:SG:GEN child.PL exist.GRD
 ‘I have children.’

cf. *šālū dīñ kītāb.ē dū.a*
 PSN place book.PL exist.QM
 ‘Does Shalu have books?’

3. Price

(79) *ju kitāb niš hanzār.u (dū)*
 this book two thousand.GEN COP
 ‘This book costs two thousand rupies.’

4. Genitive subject

A genitive noun can be a semantic subject, in which case the main verb appears to be nominalized.

(80a) indicates that the semantic subject of the verb *t^hasšid* should be in the genitive case.

(80) a. *añ/*añū/*gī t^has.šī.d tō*
 1PRN:S:GEN/1PRN:SG:DAT/1PRN:SG:NOM hear.MDL.GRD COP
tibet.ō id koṭ^hī me.ō legči.s
 PLN.LOC one temple fire.LOC catch_fire.PF
 ‘I heard that one of the temples was burned in a fire in Tibet.’
 cf. *gī t^has.a.k tibet.ō id koṭ^hī me.ō legči.s*
 1PRN:SG:NOM hear.PT.1SG:S PLN.LOC one temple fire.LOC catch_fire.PF
 ‘I heard that one of the temples was burned in a fire in Tibet.’

(81) a. *mē mīnt^hañ.ē.č pom peg.tseyā mī.ū añ*
 yesterday roof.LOC.ABL snow remove.ATTR person.DAT 1PRN:S:GEN
rupyā ran.n.i.g.seyā tō
 money give.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR COP
 ‘I need to pay some money to the man who removed the snow from the roof.’

- b. *kin pañē bī.šid dū.ñ.a*
 2PRN:SG:GEN PLN go.RPT COP.2SG:S.QM
 ‘Have you been to Pangì?’

10.2 Comitative

*rañ*¹⁷ expresses ‘and’ and ‘with’. The noun preceding *rañ* is in the nominative case, but the pronoun is in the genitive case.

The following sentence is an example for the meaning ‘and’:

- (82) a. *ṭašī.s aṇ rañ mayā.pīñ rām.ū ḵu rupyā raṇ.i.m*
 PSN.INS 1PRN:SG:GEN COM PSN.DAT PSN.DAT this money give:3O
še.č.e.š
 send.1-2O.PT.3S:HON
 ‘Tashi let Maya and me give Ram this money.’
- b. *ṭašī rañ rabindar zāga.u tañes dāš.ē*
 PSN COM PSN land.GEN for dispute.PT
 ‘Tashi and Ravinder disputed their rights to the land.’

rañ in the next sentences means ‘with’.

- (83) a. *kin rañ hu.š.ō hu.š.ō kāniñ.a.k*
 2PRN:SG:GEN with teach.MDL.IMPF teach.MDL.IMPF be_fed_up.PT.1SG:S
 ‘I got fed up with studying with you.’
- b. *hunā t^ha.bī.r.i.ñ, nipī kin boā rañ ekē*
 now PROH.go.REQ.LV.2SG:S later 2PRN:SG:GEN father com together
bī.r.i.ñ
 go.REQ.LV.2SG:S
 ‘Don’t go now, rather go with your father later.’

rañ can demonstrate an argument which plays a causee role. In the following sentence (84a), *aṇ* with *rañ* indicates the person who ‘brought a book to you’.

- (84) a. *ṭašī.s aṇ rañ kitāb kinū ker.a.š*
 PSN.INS 1PRN:SG:GEN COM book 2PRN:SG:DAT give:1-2O.PT.3S:HON
 ‘Tashi sent me to give you a book.’
- b. *ṭašī.s aṇū rabindar rañ aṇ kitāb šešē*
 PSN.INS 1PRN:SG:DAT PSN COM 1PRN:SG:GEN book send:PF

¹⁷ *rañ*, which actually is not a case marker in Kinnauri, is introduced here as a marker that is a constituent of a noun phrase.

du.e.š

COP.PT.3S:HON

‘Tashi sent me my book via Ravinder’

In (84b), Ravinder is the causal link. Tashi let Ravinder bring a book to me.

10.3 Benefactive

The benefactive case is expressed by the particle *tañes*. The noun and the pronoun preceding *tañes* are in the genitive case.

- (85) a. *gi* *k^haū* *tañes* *ǰyā.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM food:GEN for cry.1S

‘I cried for food.’

- b. *añ* *borē.s* *añ* *tañes* *piplī* *twatwā*
 1PRN:SG:GEN elder_sister_in_law 1PRN:SG:GEN for chili take_out:PF

ker.a.š

give.PT.3S:HON

‘The wife of my elder brother took chili out of (the pot) for me.’

tañes can be used with a verb in the infinitive form, with an extended infinitive marker *-ū*, meaning ‘for doing something’.

- (86) a. *šīñ.m.ū* *tañes* *košṭañ* *lan.n.i.g.seyā*
 be_alive.INF.EIS for difficulty do.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR

‘Work hard to stay alive.’

- b. *do* *mač^has* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} tsum.i.m \\ \text{catch.LV.INF} \\ tsum.m.ū \\ \text{catch.INF.EIS} \end{array} \right. (tañes) \left. \right\}$ *garañ.ō* *be.ō*
 that:NOM fish catch.INF.EIS for river.LOC go.PT

‘He went to catch a fish in the river.’

10.4 Emphatic

-tā expresses an emphatic meaning.

- (87) a. *hatū.ta* *komō* *bīn* *še.č*
 INTRR:DAT.EMPH inside come:INF send.1-2PL:S

‘Let someone come in.’

- b. *konyas.ū.tā* *kitāb* *atē.s* *ran.a.š,* *nu.pīñ.tā*
 friend.DAT.EMPH book elder_brother.INS give:3O:HON that.DAT.EMPH

gĩ.s *ran.a.k*
 1PRN:SG:INS give:3O.PT.1S

‘Brother gave a book to the friend, and I gave a book to him.’

-ī also expresses an emphatic meaning.

(88) a. *añ* *kaglī* *čē.m.i.g.seya.ī* *tō*
 1PRN:SG:GEN paper write.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR.EMPH COP

‘I must write a paper.’

b. *mešā* *k^hāū* *gĩ.s.ī* *zuryā.k*
 last_evening food 1PRN:SG:INS.EMPH prepare.1S

‘I made food by myself last night.’

10.5 Comparative

See section 7.2.

10.6 Nominalizer

The following suffixes seem to nominalize verbs, adjectives, or adverbs, but we cannot describe their usage in detail.

cf. genitive subject in section 10.1.6

- -tseyā nominalizes a verb. -seyā when attached to a noun, alters a noun’s meaning to ‘something relating to a thing expressed by the noun.’

(89) *kīn* *kīm* *tsalyā.d.tseyā* *had*
 2PRN:SG:GEN house manage.LC.NMLZ who

‘Who is the one managing your house.’

(90) *šāneṭañ.seyā* *tī*
 ice.ATTR water

‘water with ice’

(91) *rabindar* *nāmañ.seyā* *mī* *añ* *konyas* (*dū*)
 PSN name.ATTR person 1PRN:SG:GEN friend COP

‘The person named Ravinder is my friend.’

- -k is attached to adjectives and adverbs. An adjective or an adverb with -k can take a case marker.

(92) *gĩ* *lis.k.īs* *to.k*
 1PRN:SG cold.NMLZ.INS COP.1S:SG

‘It is cold to me.’

- *-ts* and *-d* are the gerund suffixes, and seem to be used as nominalizers, see example (80a), in which the semantic subject is in the genitive case.

10.7 Modal Marker

yɪ is used at the end of a sentence and expresses a nuance such as unconfident. The author has not found another modal marker, but that does not mean that Kinnauri has no other modal markers.

- (93) *rɪŋkū mē had mī raŋ ʧʰukši.gjō.yɪ aŋū dō nāmaŋ*
 PSN yesterday who person wiht meet.UNC.UNF 1PRN:SG:DAT that:GEN name
ma.rɪŋ
 NEG.say.1-2O

‘Rinku does not tell me the name of the person whom he met yesterday.’

11. Noun Phrase

A noun phrase is as follows:

- (94) Det + Num + Adj + Noun

In a Kinnauri noun phrase, a noun is put at the end of the phrase, and the modifying elements precede the noun.

The noun is inflected according to its role in a sentence, and other elements of the noun phrase are not declined, although an adjective can take a plural form if the noun modified by the adjective has a plural meaning. See section 7.

12. Simple Sentence

- (95) NP (+ NP) + Verb

A Kinnauri sentence consists of one or more than one NP and one verb. The verb occurs at the end of a sentence. Kinnauri sentences take an ergative pattern: the subject of an intransitive sentence and the object of a transitive sentence assume the nominative case, and the subject of a transitive sentence takes the instrumental case. Simultaneously, Kinnauri has a primary and secondary objects pattern: the primary object takes the nominative case, and the secondary object assumes the dative case.

12.1 Intransitive Sentence

The subject of an intransitive sentence is in the nominative case. Even if the subject is emphasized, the instrumental form is not used.

- (96) a. *gi/*gi.s* *sukul.ō* *be.o.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM/1PRN:SG.INS school.LOC go.PT.1S

‘I went to school.’

- b. *nu* *č^hañ* *dū/*tō*
 that boy COP

‘He is a boy.’

A copula is not always necessary.

- (97) *satlūj* *bārī* *lamas* *somordañ*
 PLN very long river

‘Sutlej is a very long river.’

12.2 Transitive Sentence

The subject of a transitive verb assumes an instrumental case, and the object nominative case, thus, a transitive sentence takes an ergative construction.

- (98) a. *riñkū.s/*riñkū* *mē* *č^hukši.d.tseyā* *mī* *pañē.č* *bībī*
 PSN.INS/PSN:NOM yesterday meet.LC.ATTR person PLN.ABL go:PF
ma.e.ts
 NEG.exist.GRD

‘The man who Rinku met yesterday already left Pangī.’

- b. *gi.s* *k^haū* *lanlan* *tā.to.k,* *ki* *zā.r.i.ñ*
 1PRN:SG.INS food.NOM do:PF put.FUT.1S 1PRN:SG:NOM eat.REQ.LV.2S

‘I will make food (for you), so eat it.’

In a ditransitive construction, Kinnauri has a primary–secondary contrast of objects.¹⁸

- (99) a. *añ* *č^hañ.is* *pādēšas.u* *kuy.ū* *k^haū* *ran.tseyā*
 1PRN:SG:GEN child.INS neighbor.GEN dog.DAT food:NOM give.ATTR

‘My son will give food to the neighbor’s dog.’

- b. *riñkū.s* *nu.piñ* *tsi^htī* *šed.ā*
 PSN.INS that.DAT letter.NOM send.PT

‘Rinku sent a letter to him.’

In Kinnauri, a nominative subject can occur with a transitive sentence, and thus, split the ergative construction. The first and third person subjects can be in the nominative case.

¹⁸Cf. section 10.1.3

- (100) *gi/*gi.s* *rañ.ū* *piniñ* *ran.udu.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM/1PRN:SG.INS horse.DAT hay give:3O.PR.1S
 ‘I am giving hay to a horse.’
- (101) *nu duk^handār/duk^handār.is* *sae bošaṅ omī t^hid lan.ō du.ē*
 that shopkeeper:NOM/shopkeeper.INS ten year before what do.IMPF COP.PT
 ‘What was that shopkeeper doing ten years ago?’

12.3 Middle Voice

Kinnauri has the middle voice suffixes: *-ši* and *-či*. Cf. section 9.2.2. In this section, we show the usage of the middle voice.

The middle voice markers indicate four types of meaning: reflexive, reciprocal, intransitivization, collective.

12.3.1 Reflexive

When the transitive verb takes a middle voice marker, it means that the action expressed by the verb is performed to the actor himself/herself.

- (102) a. *šālū.s* *an.u* *stō sū.š.ē*
 PSN.INS self.GEN face wash.MDL.PT
 ‘Shalu washed her own face.’
- b. *gi* *nasom* *hasal sar.š.o.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM tomorrow_morning early awaken.MDL.FUT.1S
 ‘I will wake up early in the tomorrow morning.’

12.3.2 Reciprocal

When the transitive verb takes a middle voice marker, it means that the action expressed by the verb is performed to each other.

- (103) a. *bārat pākistān rañ toñ.š.ō du.ē*
 India Pakistan with hit.MDL COP.PT:3S
 ‘India fought with Pakistan.’
- b. *do.gō an.niš.u komō tus.š.ō du.ē*
 that.PL self.two.GEN inside make_warm.MDL.IMPF COP.PT:3S
 ‘They warmed up each other.’
- (104) a. *kišaṅ teraṅ ma.batyā.ši.šē, ki wāl dam bataṅ.seyā*
 1PRN:DU:INCL anytime NEG.talk.MDL.PT 2PRN:NOM very good story.ATTR
mī to.ñ
 person COP.2S

‘We two (incl.) have never talked to each other, but your story is very interesting.’

- b. *kišī mē toñ.š.e.č*
 2PRN:DU:NOM yesterday hit.MDL.PT.1-2S:PL

‘You fought each other yesterday.’

12.3.3 Intransitivization

When the transitive verb takes a middle voice marker, it becomes an intransitive verb.

- (105) a. *mē añ gud leg.či.s tō*
 yesterday 1PRN:SG:GEN arm burn.MDL.PF COP

‘My hand got burnt yesterday.’

- b. *ju gasā bodī rok hači.s, dok (ju) ma.čī.š.udū*
 this clothes very_much dirty become.PF then this NEG.wash.MDL.PR:3S

‘These clothes have become so dirty, that it is hard to clean.’

- c. *ju pen marī dū, dok ju ma.čē.š.udū*
 this pen bad COP then this NEG.write.MDL.PR:3S

‘This pen is not good, (you) cannot write with this pen.’

12.3.4 Collective Plural

When an intransitive verb takes a middle voice suffix, it indicates the plurality of the subject.

- (106) a. *kišaň.a.nu č^haň.ā p^hor.u den gušryā.š.udū/*gušryad.tū*
 1PRN:INCL.PL.GEN child.PL floor.GEN on crawl.MDL.PR/crawl.PR

‘Our babies are crawling on the floor.’

- b. *kišaň.ā bārī wa.š.ē*
 1PRN:INCL.PL very_much laugh.MDL.PT

‘We (incl.) laughed so much.’

13. Complex Sentence

13.1 Time

The conjunction ‘when’ is expressed in two ways: *Vstem-ēraň*, *Vinf-ū bēraň*. The difference between the two expressions is not clear.¹⁹

¹⁹ *Vinf-ū bēraň* seems to be used in the case of some length of the behavior expressed by the verb, so the meaning may be near ‘while’.

- (107) a. *somī* *gi* *sar.š.erañ* *kim.ū* *bārañ* *añārañ*
 morning 1PRN:SG:NOM awaken.MDL.CONJ house.GEN outside dark
du.ē
 COP.PT:3S

‘When I awoke this morning, it was dark outside the house.’

- b. *ki* *jāpān.ō.č* *bīn.n.ū* *bērañ* *om.ō* *ki.s*
 2SG:PRN:NOM PLN.LOC.ABL come.INF.EIS time path.LOC 2SG:PRN.INS
t^hid tañ.a.ñ
 what see.PT.2SG:S

‘When you came from Japan, what did you see along the way?’

‘before’ and ‘after’

- (108) a. *niñā* *nasom* *piō* *bī.m.i.g* *kā* *oms* *tsoi.k.ī*
 1PRN:PL tomorrow_morning PLN go.INF.LV.EIS than before all.NMLZ.EMPH
lañ.ši.d.tseyā *to.č*
 wait.MDL.LC.ATTR COP.1-2S:PL

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

- b. *añ* *boā* *ma.dagči.m.ū* *nupī* *ju* *kim.ā* *rim.ā* *rañ*
 1PRN:SG:GEN father NEG.live.INF.EIS after this house.PL field.PL and
pērañ.ā *tsoī* *añ* *gud.ō* *bīd.ts*
 family.PL all 1PRN:SG:GEN hand.LOC come.GRD

‘After my father dies, I will take care of these houses, fields and families.’

- (109) *niñā* *nasom* *piō* *bī.m.i.g* *kā* *oms* *tsoi.k.ī*
 1PRN:PL:NOM tomorrow PLN go.INF.LV.EIS than before all.NMLZ.EMPH
lañ.ši.d.tseyā *to.č*
 wait.MDL.LC.ATTR COP.1PL:S

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

‘till, until’

- (110) a. *gi* *pī.stañ.ō* *šoñ* *č^hañ.ā.s* *k^haū* *zāzā* *šunšun*
 1PRN:SG:NOM arrive.till.LOC around child.PL.INS food eat:PF finish:PF
nī.tō
 exist.FUT

‘Before I reach there, the children will have finished eating their food.’

13.2 Reason

There is no subordinate conjunction for reason like ‘because’. Usually, two sentences are put adjacent to each other, and the relationship between them is supposed as reason.

If one wants to express a reason in Kinnauri, *ṭ^hūlonnā* is used at the beginning of the sentence. *ṭ^hūlonnā* means literally ‘if saying why’. This phrase is used as an answer to a question of reason.

- (111) *ū nalnāl dū, ṭ^hūlonnā aṇ bayā.s tī ma.šēšē.*
 flower wilt:PF COP because 1PRN:GEN younger_brother water NEG.send:PF
do.s ū nal.i.m šēšē
 that.INS flower wilt.LV.INF send:PF

‘Because my brother did not water it, the flower wilted. He wilted the flower.’

- (112) *aṇū ṭ^hi.tsī jamaṇ ma.bīd.tū, ṭ^hūlonnā gī*
 1PRN:SG:DAT anything taste NEG.come.FUT because 1PRN:SG:NOM
toṭō to.k
 be_sick.PF COP.1S

‘Because I am sick, everything tastes like nothing to me.’

13.3 Conditional

Kinnauri has two types of conditionals: simple and counterfactual. Simple conditionals are formed with a verb infinitive taking an extension suffix *-ā*, and counterfactual conditionals with a verb stem taking a suffix *-tsa* in the tense slot. Simple conditionals are tense free, whereas counterfactual conditionals have *-tsa* as a tense suffix, and assume a subject person suffix.

13.3.1 Simple

The simple conditional sentence means condition.

- (113) a. *ki hunā piō ma.bī.m.ā ki.n bant^hā*
 2PRN:SG:NOM now PLN NEG.go.INF.COND 2PRN:SG:GEN instead
aṇū bī.m.i.g hač.ō
 1PRN:SG:DAT go.INF.LV.EIS become.IMP

‘If you do not go to Peo now, I need to go for you.’

- b. *koštaṇ lan.n.ā tsoī mī šīṇ.ts*
 trouble do.INF.COND all person be_alive.GRD

‘If we work hard, we all will be alive.’

13.3.2 Counterfactual

As seen in section 9.4.3, the counterfactual suffix is put in the tense slot.

- (114) a. *gī č^haṇ nī.d.tsa.k.tā/nī.m.ā, gī*
 1PRN:SG:NOM child be.LC.CNTF.1S.COND/be.INF.COND 1PRN:SG:NOM

sukul.ō *bī.d.tsa.k/*bi.to.k*
 school.LOC go.LC.CNTF.1S

‘If I were a boy, I could go to school.’

b. *ki* *hunā piō* *ma.bī.d.tsa.ñ.tā* *ki.n* *banṭ^hā*
 2PRN:SG:NOM now PLN NEG.go.LC.CNTF.2S.COND 2PRN:SG:GEN instead

añū *bī.m.i.g* *hači.d.tsā*
 1PRN:SG:DAT go.INF.LV.EIS become.LC.CNTF

‘If you could not go to Peo now, I would have to go for you.’

(115) a. *ki.s* *añū* *mē* *bārī* *toñ.či.d.tsa.ñ.tā*
 2PRN:SG:INS 1PRN:SG:DAT yesterday much hit.1-2O.LC.CNTF.2S.COND

gī *hunā aspatal.ō* *nī.d.tsa.k*
 1PRN:SG:NOM now hospital.LOC be.LC.CNTF.1S

‘If you had hit me very hard yesterday, I would be in a hospital now.’

b. *gī.s* *añ* *zwani.ō* *bārī* *rupyā* *kīmyā.d.tsa.k.tā*
 1PRN:SG:INS 1PRN:SG:GEN youth.LOC much money earn.LC.CNTF.1S.COND

ki *hunā t^hi.d.lī* *zog.tsa.ñ*
 2PRN:SG:NOM now what.even buy.CNTF.2S

‘If I had earned money when I was young, you could buy anything now.’

In the next sentence, the conditional clause has the simple conditional, and the main clause has the counterfactual.

(116) a. *ībrañšoñ* *hunā* *boā* *kim.ō* *nī.m.ā* *añ* *rañ* *ñar*
 if now father house.LOC be.INF.COND 1PRN:SG:GEN with anger

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{tañ.to.š} \\ \text{see.FUT.3S:HON} \end{array} \right\}$
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{tañ.tsa.š} \\ \text{see.CNTF.3S:HON} \end{array} \right\}$

‘If Father were at home now, he would get angry with me.’

b. *ju* *añ* *nī.m.ā,* *gī.s* *ju.pīñ/ju* *hat.u.ī*
 this 1PRN:SG:GEN be.INF.COND 1PRN:SG:INS this.DAT/this:NOM who.DAT.EMPH

ma.ran.tsa.k
 NEG.give:3O.CNTF.1S

‘If this were mine, I would never give it to anyone.’

13.3.3 Concessive

A concessive clause is made with the particle *-lī*, whether simple or counterfactual.

- (117) a. *kīnōriṇ hales dēšān.ō bī.m.ā.lī om.u den id*
 PLN how village.LOC go.INF.COND.even path.GEN on one
kaṅkīnī.ts tod.ts
 village_gate.DIM exist.GRD
 ‘Whichever village you go to in Kinnaur, there is a gate on the way into any of the villages.’
- b. *ṭaši.u duk^han.ō t^hid zog.m.ā.lī molaṇ tob nī.ts dū*
 PSN.GEN shop.LOC what buy.INF.COND.even price fit exist.GRD COP
 ‘Regardless of what you buy in Tashi’s shop, the cost is average (= not so expensive, not so cheap).’

- (118) *ki piō ma.bī.m.ā.lī ki.n gyā.m.i.g.seyā*
 2PRN:SG:NOM PLN NEG.go.INF.COND 2PRN:SG:GEN want.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR
banyā hiyīṇ poryad.ts
 thing:PL here obtain.GRD
 ‘Even if you do not go to Peo, your necessary things are available here.’

- (119) *gi dō.mya.k.šon huš.ō* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} nī.m.ā.lī \\ \text{exist.INF.COND.even} \\ nī.d.tsa.k.tā.lī \\ \text{exist.LC.CNTF.1SG:S.EMPH.even} \end{array} \right\}$
 1PRN:SG:NOM that.date.NMLZ.around study.IMPF
gi aṇ pēraṇ.a.n diṇ.č k^hortsā
 1PRN:SG:NOM 1PRN:SG:GEN family.PL.GEN place.ABL expenditure
ma.un.tsa.k
 NEG.take.CNTF.1SG:S
 ‘Even if I were a student at that time, I would not depend on my parents.’

- (120) *gi piō (*nasom)* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} bībī.lī, \\ \text{go:PF.even} \\ *bī.m.ā.lī, \\ \text{go.INF.COND.even} \end{array} \right\}$ *gi*
 1PRN:SG:NOM PLN tomorrow
skan ma.zog.i.k
 vegetable NEG.buy.LV.1SG:S
 ‘Even if I went to Peo, I did not buy vegetables.’

13.4 Purposive

The extended infinitive suffix *-ū* with *taṇes* can express the purposive situation:

- (121) *gi.s kītāb.ē ma.zer.m.ū taṇes gattā šešē tō*
 1PRN:SG:INS book.PL NEG.be_torn.INF.EIS for cardboard send:PF COP
 ‘I put carton paper on the books in order for them not to be torn.’

14. Modification

14.1 Adjective + Noun

As for a noun phrase with adjectives, see section 7.

14.2 Relative Construction

Kinnauri has three ways to modify a noun with a verb. First, a verb with a suffix, *-tseyā* or *-seyā*, is put before a noun.

In (122), the modifying verb takes an extended infinitive and the suffix *-seyā*.

- (122) a. *nē.m.i.g.seyā* *batañ*
 know.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR story
 ‘easy language to understand’
- b. *gi.s* *kin.ū* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} kē.m.i.g.seyā \\ \text{give:1-2O.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR} \\ *kē.m.i.g \\ \text{give:1-2O.INF.LV.EIS} \end{array} \right\}$ *tōp^hā*
 1PRN:SG.INS 2PRN:SG.DAT present
- jāpān.ō* *dakč.ē*
 PLN leave.PT
- ‘I left a present in Japan which I need to give you.’

In some cases, an infinitive verb with the suffix *-g* without *-seyā* can be used to modify a noun.

- (123) *ki.n* *konyas.is* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} pañ.m.i.g.seyā \\ \text{build.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR} \\ pañ.m.i.g \\ \text{build.INF.LV.EIS} \end{array} \right\}$ *kim* *ham* *dū*
 2PRN:SG.GEN friend.INS house where exist
- ‘Where is the house which your friend is building?’

-tseyā is attached directly to a verb or with *-d*²⁰ between a verb and *-tseyā*.

- (124) *mē* *piō* *ma.bī.d.tseyā* *č^hañ* *nasom* *sañglā* *bi.tō*
 yesterday PLN NEG.go.LC.ATTR boy next_morning PLN go.FUT
- ‘The boy who did not go to Peo yesterday will go to Sangla tomorrow.’

The modifying verb in the above sentence is prefixed by the negative particle.

The modifying verb can take a middle voice suffix. (125a) shows that the modified noun is an object noun in the embedded sentence. In (125b), the modifying verb is a pseudo-middle. (125c) has a noun in plural modified by a verb with a middle suffix, which can express a collective plural.

²⁰The function of this ending *-d* is not clear, although the vowel stem verb assumes *-d* and takes *-tseyā* after it.

- (125) a. *pradīp.īs mēz.u den tā.šid.tseyā/tā.m.i.g.seyā kitāb wāl*
 PSN.INS table.GEN above put.RPT.ATTR/put.INF.LV.EIS.ATTR book very
dam dū
 good COP
 ‘The book Pradeep put on the desk is very interesting.’
- b. *riṅkū.s mē č^hukšī.d.tseyā mi.u nāmaṅ aṅū ma.rīṅ*
 PSN.INS yesterday meet.LC.ATTR person.GEN name 1PRN:SG:DAT NEG.say
 ‘Rinku does not tell me the name of the person whom he met yesterday.’
- c. *gī.s sorgaṅ.ō yab.ši.d.tseyā pyā.ga.nō.č id pyā sad.a.k*
 1PRN:SG.INS river.LOC fly.MDL.LC.ATTR bird.PL.LOC.ABL one bird kill.PT.1SG:S
 ‘I shot one of the birds flying in the sky.’

A verb in perfect or gerund form (without *-tseyā*) can be used to modify a noun but not always.

- (126) *nu špon.u ma.ts^hu.ši.d/ma.ts^hu.ši.d.tseyā tasma.u den t^hamči.s,*
 that shoe.GEN NEG.tie.MDL.GRD/NEG.tie.MDL.GRD.ATTR lace.GEN on step_on
do gor.ā
 that fall_down.PT
 ‘He stepped on the untied shoelace and fell down.’

Modifying with a correlative clause. Kinnauri has two types of correlative clauses. The first one consists of a finite verb with a suffix *-a* in the modifying clause and a demonstrative referring to the noun of the modifying clause.

- (127) *ki yōč.udu.ṅ.a nu hat.u gindū dū*
 2PRN:SG:NOM play.PR.2SGS.QM that who.GEN ball COP
 ‘Whose is the ball which you are playing with?’

The precedent noun can remain in a relative clause, for example (128a).

- (128) a. *ki.s tsī^hī čē.ṅ.a do pen dam dū.a*
 2SG:PRN.INS letter write.2SG:S.QM that pen good COP.QM
 ‘Is the pen that you used to write a letter good?’
- b. *ki.s tsī^hī čē.ši.d.tseyā pen dam dū.a*
 2SG:PRN.INS letter write.MDL.LC.ATTR pen good COP.QM
 ‘Is the pen that you used to write a letter good?’
- (129) *ju gī.s čē.k.a do kitāb dū*
 this 1PRN:SG.INS write.1SG:S.QM that book COP
 ‘This is a book which I wrote.’

The second type of the correlative clause uses a concessive pronoun.

hatyañā in (130) is a concessive pronoun for a correlative clause.

- (130) a. *hatyañā zainū yums b̄t̄.tō hodō bos.ō b̄r.i.ñ*
 whichever best back come.FUT that bus.LOC go.REQ.LV.2SG:S

‘Get on the bus which comes last.’

- b. *ju yums hatyañā bos b̄t̄.tō hodō b̄r.i.ñ*
 this back whichever bus come.FUT there go.REQ.LV.2SG:S

‘Get on one of the buses which come later.’

(131) presents examples of a correlative clause, although such clauses are not a common style of attribution in Kinnauri.

- (131) a. *nu hodo.ī ts^hetsas dū, hatyañā.piñ gī bennañ lan.ts*
 that that.EMPH lady COP whoever.DAT 1PRN:SG:NOM love do.GRD

‘She is a lady who I love.’

- b. *niñā.s hamyañā garañ lañyā.č, hiđiñ.č niñā*
 1PRN:PL:INS wherever river cross.1-2PL:S there.ABL 1PRN:PL:NOM

dēšañ.ō.stañ yun.ō be.o.č
 village.LOC.till walk.IMPF go.PT.1-2SG:S

‘We walked from the place where we crossed the river.’

In (131a), *hatyañā* is used with a dative marker, and in (131b), *hamyañā* is an adverb.

The next examples in (132) and (133), respectively, are in relation to paraphrasing.

- (132) a. *gī.s tag piš.ši.d.tseyā/piš.ši.d rim.ā holdō.s*
 1SG:PRN:INS barley plant.MDL.LC.ATTR/plant.MDL.GRD field.PL flood.INS

p^hīp^hī ma.e.ts
 take_away:PF NEG.COP.GRD

‘The field where I planted barley was carried away by a flood.’

- b. *hamyañā gī.s tag piš.a.k, do rim.ā holdō.s*
 wherever 1SG:PRN:INS barley plant.PT.1S:SG that field.PL flood.INS

pegpeg ma.e.ts
 throw_away:PF NEG.COP.GRD

‘The field where I planted barley was carried away by a flood.’

- (133) a. *añ kim.u* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} nērañ.seyā \\ \text{neighbor.ATTR} \\ nērañ \\ \text{neighbor} \end{array} \right.$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} nī.d.tseyā \\ \text{exist.LC.ATTR} \end{array} \right.$ *rim.ō*
 1SG:PRN:GEN house.GEN neighbor exist.LC.ATTR field.LOC

bārī tēg runiñ dū
 very_much big rock COP

‘There is a big stone in the field which is near my house.’

- b. *añ kim.u nērañ dū.a/*dū, do rim.ō bārī*
 1SG:PRN:GEN house.GEN neighbor COP.QM/COP that field.LOC very_much

tēg runiñ dū
 big rock COP

‘There is a big stone in the field which is near my house.’

- c. **hamyañā añ kim.u nērañ dū/dū.a, do rim.ō*
 wherever 1SG:PRN:GEN house.GEN neighbor COP/COP.QM that field

bārī tēg runiñ dū
 very_much big rock COP

‘(There is a big stone in the field which is near my house.)’

- (134) *gi.s tag piš.a.k.a/*piš.a.k, do rim.ā holdō.s*
 1SG:PRN.INS barley plant.PT.1SG:S.QM/plant.PT.1SG:S that field.PL flood.INS

p^hīp^hī ma.e.ts
 take_away:PF NEG.COP.GRD

‘The field where I planted barley was carried away by a flood.’

Abbreviations

1	1st person	LC	linking consonant
1-2	1st and/or 2nd person	LOC	locative
2	2nd person	LV	linking vowel
3	3rd person	MDL	middle voice
ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
ATTR	attributive	NMLZ	nominalizer
CNTF	counterfactual	NOM	nominative
COM	Comitative	O	object
COND	conditional	OBLG	obligation
CONJ	conjunctive	PF	perfect
COP	copular verb	PL	plural
DAT	dative	PLN	place name
DIM	diminutive	PR	present
DST	distal pronoun	PRN	pronoun
DU	dual	PROH	prohibitive
EIS	extended infinitive suffix	PRX	proximal pronoun
EMPH	emphatic	PSN	personal name
EXCL	exclusive	PT	past
FUT	future	PTCL	particle
GEN	genitive	QM	question marker
GRD	gerund	RDP	reduplication
HON	honorific	REQ	request
HORT	hortative	RPT	remote past
IMPF	imperfect	S	subject
INCL	inclusive	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	TNS	tense marker
INS	instrumental	UNC	uncertainty
INTRR	interrogative	UNF	unconfident

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