Non-Finite Forms of Kinnauri Verbs:
Participle, Gerund, and Remote Past

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1 Introduction

Kinnauri verbs occur sentence-finally in either finite or non-finite forms. Finite verbs have a tense suffix and a subject person suffix, while non-finite verbs have neither. Though Takahashi (2008) and Takahashi (2012b) describe the finite forms of verbs, and Takahashi (2020) describes the stems and infinitives, the author has not yet fully described participles, gerunds, and remote past among the non-finite verb forms. This paper aims to describe the participles, gerunds and remote past of non-finite forms of Kinnauri verbs.

The structure of non-finite verb forms in Kinnauri is essentially as follows:[1]

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

The verb stem has to take at least one suffix. In (1), INF indicates the location where the infinitive suffix occurs. If a verb stem without any suffixes occurs in a sentence, it is construed as an impolite imperative.

This paper describes participles[3] in section 2. Section 3 is dedicated to gerunds. And last, in section 4, we observe the suffix of the remote past.[4]

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

(2)

infinitive	simple	*-m*	irrealis（未然）
	extended	*-mū, -mā, -mig*	
participle	imperfect	*-ō*	realis（已然）
	perfect	reduplication, *-s*[5]	
gerund		*-ts, -d*	
remote past		*-šid*	

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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, COP = copular verb, DAT = dative, EIS = extended infinitive suffix, EMPH = emphatic, FUT = future, GEN = genitive, GRD = gerund, HON = honorific, IMPF = imperfect, INCL = inclusive, INF = infinitive, INS = instrumental, LOC = locative, MDL = middle voice, NEG = negative, NOM = nominative, O = object, PF = perfect, PL = plural, PLN = place name, PR = present, PRN = pronoun, PSN = personal name, PT = past, QM = question marker, RPT = remote past, S = subject, SG = singular, TNS = tense marker

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

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

3   Although the author used the term "stative form" before, this term does not seem to be appropriate, because these forms do not always express stative. Therefore, in this paper, we refer to the "*o*-stative" as an imperfect participle, a duplicated form as a perfect participle, and the "*ts*-stative" as a gerund.

4   Takahashi (2012b) does not show that tense markers *-šē* and *-šid* indicate past tense, because the relation between these forms and the suffix of the middle voice was not clear at that time. However, *-šē* is a past-tense form for inclusive first person, shown in Takahashi (1999) and Takahashi (2001). Takahashi (2012b) does not explain this form, and the author must acknowledge that the analysis of this form is incomplete. Though *-šid* is similar to the middle voice suffix, it is not a finite verb form, because it does not accompany a subject person marker. See section 4.

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

Both simple infinitives and extended infinitives express an imperfect/irrealis meaning: that is, the action/state expressed by the verb has not begun.[6] Participles, gerunds, and remote past stand in sentence-final position, and have a perfect/realis meaning.

2   Participles

Participles are formed by taking a suffix or by reduplication of a verb stem. Both an imperfect participle and a perfect participle mean that the action or the state (or the change of state) expressed by a verb has started; and while an imperfect participle expresses that the action is going on, a perfect participle indicates that it has already finished.

2.1   Imperfect Participle

An imperfect participle takes the suffix -ō on a verb stem.[7] The stem vowel of the vowel-stem verb is shortened, with -ō attached to it. This participle expresses the imperfect continuity of the action or state expressed by the verb.

(3) a. vowel stem: *zā-* 'eat' → *zaō*

  b. consonant stem: *tuṅ-* 'drink' → *tuṅō*

  c. D-stem: *bid-* 'come' → *bidō*

  d. (pseudo-)middle stem[8]: *toṅši-* 'fight each other' → *toṅšō*

 The next example expresses that the second person is in the process of climbing up.

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6 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. See Takahashi (2020), in detail.

7 As for the stem form, see Takahashi (2020).

8 A (pseudo-)middle stem behaves like a consonant stem with no vowel on the verb ending. This means that a (pseudo-)middle stem should be considered much more.

(4) *kinā*   *bōṭʰaṅ.ō*   *wāl*   **strapš.ō**
    2PRN:PL   tree.LOC   very   climb_up.IMPF

    'You are climbing up the tree so well.'

Next, *byaṅō duē* in the next example expresses that the subject felt afraid continuously.

(5) *karmā* *kuy.u* *diṅ.č*   **byaṅ.ō**   *du.ē*
    PSN   dog.GEN place.ABL be_afraid.IMPF COP.PT

    'Karma was afraid of a dog.'

If the verb is in a past form, such as *byaṅā* (in which case *duē* is not necessary), it expresses temporal fear in the past.

The next sentence is an example in which an imperfect participle has a negative prefix and stands at the end of the sentence, that is, a participle form completes a sentence.

(6) *ki.s*   *mē*   *kʰaū*   **ma.za.ō**
    2PRN.INS yesterday food   NEG.eat.IMPF

    'You were not eating food yesterday.'

In Kinnauri, people may make phatic utterances to each other like the following:

(7) *ham*   **bi.ō**
    where   go.IMPF

    'Where are you going?'

This sentence is just a greeting rather than asking the actual place someone is going.

In the next sentence, the imperfect participle occurs with the negative participle and is followed by a copula.

(8) *mē   rabindar.is   anū   konyas.ū   **ma.laṅ.ō***
    yesterday PSN.INS   own   friend.DAT NEG.wait.IMPF

    du.e.š
    COP.PT.3S:HON

    'Ravinder was not waiting for his friend yesterday.'

In (8), the copula bears the suffix expressing the past tense, and expresses that the behavior has been placed in the past (though the behavior "waiting" expressed by the verb was not actually performed, that is, in fact Ravinder did not wait).

The following sentence, too, shows that the negative particle is attached to a participle. Even if a copula follows a participle of a main verb, the copula does not take the negative participle.

(9) *gɨ   hunā   sukul.ō   **ma.bi.ō**   (du.k)*
    1PRN:SG   now   school.LOC   NEG.go.IMPF   (COP.1s)

    'I am not going to school now.'

From these examples above, we understand that imperfect participles have a progressive meaning and that the negative participle is attached to the main verb, but not to a copula following the verb.[9]

In the next sentence, however, *toṅšō* expresses an uncertain future.

(10) *dogō   nasom   **toṅ.š.ō***
     3PRN:PL   tomorrow   hit.MDL.IMPF

     'They will fight tomorrow.'

Though this verb form seems to bear the imperfect suffix, in fact, this *-ō* should be considered to be an allomorph of the tense suffix *-tō*, which occurs as *-ō* after the middle suffix *-š*.

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9   As for the position of the negative particle, see Takahashi (2013).

2.2　Perfect participle

Perfect participles are formed through reduplication of a verb stem or by attaching the suffix -*s* to a verb stem. One syllable in the stem is repeated in cases of reduplication.

Kinnauri verbs have basically one or two syllables; verbs with three syllables are very few.[10] To make a perfect participle a one-syllable verb stem becomes a two-syllable stem, and a two-syllable verb stem becomes a three-syllable stem with the second syllable reduplicated. In either case, the former of the two syllables formed through reduplication becomes weakened.

We can schematize this as follows: "S" means "syllable", and the underlined part shows a weakened syllable:

(11) a.　one-syllable word: $S_1 \rightarrow \underline{S_1} \, S_1$

b.　two-syllable word: $S_1 \, S_2 \rightarrow S_1 \, \underline{S_2} \, S_2$

(Pseudo-)middle stems do not take reduplication, but take the suffix -*s* instead; that is, the process of reduplication and this suffix are in complementary distribution morphologically.

(12) a.　*zā*- 'eat' → *zāzā*

b.　*bid*- 'come' → *bibī*

　　　-*d* at the end of a D-stem is lost, and the vowel of the second syllable is lengthened.

c.　*twad*- 'take out' → *twatwā*

　　　As in *bid*-, -*d* at the end of the verb stem is lost; *twatwā* is pronounced as *totwā* with the vowel of the first syllable weakened.

d.　*zuryā*- 'make' → *zuryaryā*

　　　This is a verb with two syllables, and becomes three syllables by reduplication. The second syllable of the reduplicated form is

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10　For example, *bišāryad*- 'wonder,' *zɨlzɨlyad*- 'shine'.

weakened, and the verb is pronounced as *zuriryā*.

e. *boši-* 'forget' → *bošis*

This is an example of a pseudo-middle stem.[11] The stem of a (pseudo-) middle is not reduplicated, but assumes the suffix *-s*.

The verb *ran-* is reduplicated in the next example. This verb is a consonant stem (the infinitive form is *ranim*) but not a D-stem.

(13) *hinā   bārī   zōr.is   krab.ō   du.ē,   tʰūlonnā   amā.s*
PSN   very   strength.INS   cry.IMPF   COP.PT   because   mother

*do.piṅ   galyā   **ranran***
she.DAT   anger   give(3O):PF

'Heena was crying loudly because the mother scolded her.'

Because *toṅ-* is a verb with a consonant stem, the stem is reduplicated, the same as *ran-*. The next example has a copula following the perfect participle.

(14) *kišaṅā.s   **toṅtoṅ**   to.ke.šē*
1PRN:PL:INCL.INS   hit:PF   COP.PT.INCL

'We (incl.) had hit.'

zā- in the next example is a vowel-stem verb, and *sad-* 'kill' is a D-stem verb, where the vowel of the first syllable of the perfect participle is short.

(15) a. *šālū   kʰaū   **zāzā**   dū/ma.dū*
PSN   food   eat:PF   COP/NEG.COP

'Shalu has eaten the food (and there is no food).'

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11 A verb stem which ends in *-š* is not always a (pseudo-)middle stem. For example, the perfect participle of the verb *paš-* 'break' is *pašpaš*. To make difference between the (pseudo-)middle stem and the consonant stem with *-š*, the end of a (pseudo-)middle is not written just as *-š*, but as *-ši*. Cf. Takahashi (2012a).

b. ***sasā***   *dū/ma.dū*
   kill:PF   COP/NEG.COP

   '(He) has killed (him/them) (and nobody is alive here).'

(15) shows examples of *dū* with the negative: (15a) indicates that there is no food after eating, and (15b) means that the person who was killed does not exist anymore. Note that the action or change of state expressed by the verb is not negated, though the examples have the negative marker.

In the next example, a pseudo-middle verb takes the suffix of the perfect participle. The (pseudo-)middle stem is not reduplicated and takes the suffix -*s*.

(16) *gɨ*   *nū*   *nāmaṅ nē.ts,*   *hunā* ***boši.s***   *to.k*
   1PRN:NOM:SG 3PRN:GEN:SG name   know.GRD now forget.PF COP.1s

   'I knew his name, but forgot it.'

The following sentence shows that the verb which takes a first/second-person object suffix behaves as a pseudo-middle stem and takes the suffix -*s*.

(17) *do.s*   ***toṅ.či.s***   *aṅū*   *krab.im* *šed.č.ē*
   that.INS hit.1-2O.PF 1PRN:DAT cry.INF   send.1-2O.PT

   'He hit me and made me cry.'

The perfect participle shows the completion of an action or change of the state; therefore, the single use of the perfect participle at the end of a sentence means an event in the past.

However, this form also expresses completion in the future, as follows:

(18) *gɨ*   *diṅ* *pɨ.staṅ.ō*   *šoṅ*   *šālū* *nasom*   *seō*
   1PRN:NOM:SG there arrive.till.LOC around PSN tomorrow apple

   zāzā   *nī.tō*
   eat:PF   exist.FUT

'Before I reach there, Shalu will have eaten the apples. (So, I cannot eat the apples.)'

In this sentence, *nītō* shows that the action expressed by the verb will be completed sometime in the future.

The next sentence means that the speaker's father has been dead for three years, and does not exist now.

(19) *aṅ*   *boā* *šum* *bošaṅ* *omī* *šīšī* *mae.ts*
1PRN:SG:GEN father three year before die:PF COP:NEG.GRD

'My father died three years ago.'

(20) *hinā.s* *piū.ga.nū* *sad.ā,* *piū.gā* *ma.šīšī* *du.ē*
PSN.INS mouse.PL.DAT kill.PT mouse.PL NEG.die:PF COP.PT

'Heena tried to kill some mice, but the mice didn't die.'

From the examples above, we understand that perfect participles mean that the action or the state expressed by a verb has already finished. That is, the action or the state is realis.

3 Gerunds

Compare to participles, though it is difficult for the present to indicate what gerunds exactly mean, they express that the action or the state expressed by a verb has already begun. At this point, we can say gerunds have the same characteristics as participles, that is, both gerunds and participles express perfect/realis, and can occur with any copulas.[12]

Gerunds consist of a verb stem and a suffix *-ts*. The exact meaning of this form is not clear, but it is similar to that of a general tense: expressing everyday events

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12 Takahashi (2013) shows that participles and gerunds cooccur with the copula in Kinnauri but are not included in the same syntactic unit. Cf. Takahashi (2013)

and actions performed customarily.[13] A general state like "know" is expressed with this suffix.

The form of the suffix takes *-d* when the suffix is attached to the (pseudo-) middle stem.

(21) a. *zā-* 'eat' → *zāts*

b. *toṅ-* 'hit' → *toṅts*

c. *bɨd-* 'come' → *bɨdts*

The suffix of the gerund *-ts* does not change when attached to a D-stem verb. The pronunciation of *bɨdts* will be [bɨtts], but the stop can be short like [bɨts].

d. *tōši-* 'live' → *tōšid*

The (pseudo-)middle stem takes the suffix *-d* instead of *-ts*.

The next examples show the daily custom of Shalu (22a) and Ravinder (22b).

(22) a. *šālū   deyarō   seō   **zā̇.ts**   (dū)*
   PSN   everyday   apple   eat.GRD   COP

   'Shalu eats an apple everyday.'

b. *rabindar.is   pyā   **sad.ts**   (dū)*
   PSN.INS   bird   kill.GRD   COP

   'Ravinder kills a bird (everyday/sometimes).'

The following sentences are negatives of the above examples.

(23) a. *šālū   deyarō   seō   **ma.zā̇.ts**   (dū)*
   PSN   everyday   apple   NEG.eat.GRD   COP

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13 The author called this form a "general tense" or "neutral tense" previously, but now thinks it is not appropriate. Because we can see that this suffix functions as a nominalizer, we call this suffix a gerund for the time being. The consultant sometimes judges that this suffix shows the past. In fact, this suffix does not always express the past tense, as seen, from other examples. This suggests that this suffix expresses a realis action.

'Shalu does not eat an apple everyday.'

b. *rabindar.is   pyā   **ma.sad.ts**   (dū)*
PSN.INS   bird   NEG.kill.GRD   COP

'Ravinder does not kill a bird (everyday/sometimes).'

The copula does not necessarily follow the verbs, and the negative marker is attached to a verb.

The next example expresses a universal or daily event.

(24) *yunē   deyarō   zɨrkō   pašō.č   **zɨr.ts**/*zɨr.udū,   retkō*
sun   everyday   east   side.ABL   rise_up.GRD/rise_up.PR   west

*pašō.č   **red.ts**/*red.tū*
side.ABL   go_down.GRD/go_down.PR

'The sun goes up in the east, and goes down in the west everyday.'

In the above sentence, the present form (a verb stem with *-udu*) which expresses an action in progress or a change of state, is not used.

In the following sentence, the gerund indicates the past.

(25) *diṅ/hidiṅ   garaṅ.u   den   tsʰam   **tod.ts**/du.ē*
there   river.GEN   above   bridge   exist.GRD/COP.PT

'There was a bridge over the river.'

Though the meaning of the gerund is not clear, it expresses daily customs or universal events, as we can see from the above sentences. This means that the gerund expresses a realis event even if the event is not performed at the time of the utterance of the sentence.

4   Remote past

The suffix *-šid* introduced in this section expresses the past, especially the remote past or historical past. Regular past tense suffixes can also express the remote past

or historical past, but *-šid* is apparently used for a past which is not related to the present.[14]

(26) *ramēš.is*   *bārī*   *bošaṅ*   *omī*   *sabindar.ū*   **sa.šid**/*sad.ā*
　　 PSN.INS   many   year   before   PSN.DAT   kill.RPT/kill.PT

　　 'Ramesh killed Savinder many years ago.'

Actually, *-šid* can cooccur with an adverb expressing the recent past. The next example shows that *-šid* can express the recent past but does not occur with adverbs indicating the future tense.

(27) *mē/pʰanē/*nasom/*deyarō*   *gi.s*   *ǰu*
　　 yesterday/some_time_before/tomorrow/everyday   1PRN:SG.INS   this

　　 pen.is   **čē.šid**
　　 pen.INS   write.RPT

　　 'I wrote with this pen yesterday/sometime before.'

In the next sentence, the remote past cooccurs with a copula.

(28) a. *aṅ/*gɨ*   *ǰapan.ō*   **bī.šid**   *tod.ts*
　　　　 1PRN:GEN/1PRN:SG   PLN.LOC   go.RPT   COP.GRD

　　　　 'I have experience visiting Japan.'

　　 b. *do*   *kullū*   **ma.bī.šid**   *nī.to*
　　　　 that   PLN   NEG.go.RPT   COP.FUT

　　　　 'I wonder whether he has experience to visiting Kullu or not.'

The suffix *-šid* as written above can be analyzed in two ways. Attached to a verb in an attributive clause, the suffix can be interpreted as past but not as middle voice.[15]

14　The data are not enough to prove this interpretation. This suffix is referred as the "past passive suffix" in Sharma (1988: 139, 142).

15　Cf. Takahashi (2012a).

(29) *ju   aṅ   **čē.šid**/čē.šid.tseyā   kitāb   dū*
     this   my   write.RPT/write.RPT.ATTR   book   COP

     'This is a book which I wrote.'

Because in example (29), the subject of the verb *čē-* 'write' is not an absolutive but a genitive *aṅ* 'my', *-šid* indicates that the verb is nominalized. (28a) above shows the same marking.

The position where this suffix clearly occurs as a remote past marker is after the (pseudo-)middle stem; after the other stems, the suffix *-šid* is ambiguous in meaning because it has the same form as the middle suffix *-ši* with the gerund suffix *-d*: that is, it is ambiguous whether a given instance is (a) the remote past suffix *-šid* or (b) the middle voice suffix *-ši* and the gerund suffix *-d*.

We do not analyze the remote past marker *-šid* as the middle suffix *-ši* with the gerund suffix *-d*, because *-šid* is attached to a (pseudo-)middle stem, as will be seen in (30).[16]

In the next sentence, the remote past suffix *-šid* is attached to the middle voice suffix *-ši*.

(30) *dogō   toṅ.š.ō   toṅ.š.ō   an.ega.ī   **sa.ši.šid***
     3PRN:PL   hit.MDL.IMPF   hit.MDL.IMPF   self.PL.EMPH   kill.MDL.RPT

     'They fought and killed each other.'

As these preliminary findings show, *-šid* should be considered much more extensively.[17]

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16   Of course, this does not mean that this analysis was impossible historically. There are some reports about a suffix equivalent to *-ši* of Kinnauri in other West Himalayan languages, which expresses the meanings of middle voice and past. According to the footnote 15 in Willis (2007: 365), Darmya has the suffix *-hi ~ -xi*, which is similar to the middle voice suffix in Kinnauri in that it "appears to indicate that an event happened in the past ... ." LaPolla (1996) shows in detail that the Himalayan languages have similar middle voice suffixes.

17   Among the suffixes in Kinnauri, the functional load of *-ši* is very high. When the suffix goes into the slot of the object suffix, it works as the suffix of the middle voice. In this case,

5　Final comment

From the observations in this paper, we can organize non-finite verbs in Kinnauri as in Table (31):

(31) = (2)

infinitive	simple	*-m*	irrealis（未然）
	extended	*-mū, -mā, -mig*	
participle	imperfect	*-ō*	realis（已然）
	perfect	reduplication, *-s*	
gerund		*-ts, -d*	
remote past		*-šid*	

　　The present author has previously described person and tense suffixes in Takahashi (2008) and Takahashi (2012b), middle voice suffixes in Takahashi (2012a), and verb stems and infinitives in Takahashi (2020). In this paper, the author has described participles, gerunds, and remote past of a non-finite verb. These papers together make clear the verb morphology of Kinnauri.

　　Because this paper has treated only the verb morphology of Kinnauri, its findings are not sufficient to understand the structures of sentences where non-finite verbs occur. The author would like to prepare another paper on that topic.

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it conveys reflexive, reciprocal, and similar meanings. Cf. Takahashi (2012a). As *-šid* includes *-ši* in its form, the meaning can be ambiguous, as noted.

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