KINNAURI MORPHOSYNTAX

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Abstract

Kinnauri is grouped in the West-Himalayaish languages of the Tibeto-Burman language family (Shafer 1955). It shows most of the properties associated with verb final languages. Kinnauri is a highly under described language with little work available on its syntax (Negi 2012). This chapter will provide a sketch of morphology and syntax of the language.

Keywords: kinnauri, tibeto-burman, verb final, ergative, prefixing

1. Nominal System in Kinnauri

Nominal is defined as the class of words that morphologically groups nouns and adjectives by marking the syntactic head of noun phrases, pronouns and demonstratives. The cases have both grammatical and semantic roles; number is also marked on the nominal. In the following sections, discussed are verbal inflection, nominal inflection and number marking on nominal.

1.1 Case System

Case is a particle that marks the relationship of a noun phrase with the rest of the clause; noun to a verb at clause level and noun to adposition, or noun to another noun at phrase level. In Kinnauri, all nouns and pronouns are inflected for cases and number. Case suffix can appear with number suffixes. e.g. /chang/ (boy), /chang-a/ (boys), /chang-u/ (to/of boy); or the case suffix can appear apart, e.g. /changa-nu/ (for boys), /changu-dvakc/ (from boy), /changu-tais/ (for boy).

Kinnauri has eight case forms that inflect nominal by postpositions or suffixes. Kinnauri can be both accusative language and ergative language by way of case marking. Nominative case is used for subject of intransitive verb, direct object of transitive verb, pronominal subject of transitive verb or complement of the verb. It is left unmarked. The term genitive is used for possessive and non subject agent case. Use of genitive is very wide and it often overlaps with the function of other cases also. Accusative is used for direct object of transitive verb and indirect object of a ditransitive verb. Locative is inflected for inanimate objects. Referent and oblique are terms used for non subject marker. Table 1, gives an overview of postpositions in Kinnauri.

Category	Form	Function
nominative	ø	nominative
ergative	-s, -is	ergative
absolutive	ø	absolutive
accusative/ dative	-u,-nu,-pang	experiencer, recipient, participant
genitive	-u	benefactor
locative	-0	location of participant/ action
ablative	-c	source
instrumental	-s	agent instrument

Table 1. Semantic Roles of Postpositions in Kinnauri

Subject and direct object of a transitive verb share ergative- absolutive/ nominative type relationship. Subject of transitive verb, takes ergative case whereas direct object in both animate and inanimate takes nominative case. In ditransitive verbs with more than one object, subject takes ergative case, indirect object takes accusative/ dative case and the direct object takes a nominative case.

1.2 Case marking in Alignment Typology

In Kinnauri, the case marking is inflected by suffixes or postpositions for the case relations and the number. The case marking forms tell about the syntactic correlation among the core arguments in a sentence.

Nominative case is unmarked in Kinnauri Nominative plurals are marked by the suffix -a or -na which is added to the nominals, e.g. ki > ki-na, do > do-ga. The case is not overtly realized. It is also used as the direct object of the transitive verb. Here are some examples to exemplify it:

- gi dam mi tok
 I-nom good man be.1sg-pre 'I am a good man.'
- ka khau zac ton you-nom food eat.be.2sg.pre 'You eat food.'
- 3. ama changu kherang rano du Mother-nom child milk give be.3sg 'Mother is feeding milk to the child.'

Accusative case marks the direct as well as indirect object of transitive and a di transitive verb. The marker for accusative are -pang, -u and -nu. The distribution of these markers is as follows:

- /-pang; suffixed with vowel ending nominals and pronominal stems, except personal pronoun. eg. Ama pang 'to mother', nu-pang 'for him.'
- /-u/: affixed to consonant ending stems. e.g. kin-u 'to you', changu 'to child'
- /-nu/; affixed to 2P pronominal stems in singular and plural. e.g. kinu 'to you', mi-nu 'to people.'
- Ergative case markers are -s or -is, marking the subject of a transitive verb.
- /-is/ is affixed to the consonant ending stem of the subject. e.g. checas-is, 'by girl', chang-is 'by child.'
- /-s/ is added to vowel ending stem to singular and plurals. e.g. gi-s '(by) me', ki-s '(by) you,' sita-s 'by Sita,' kina:-s 'by you(pl).'

Table 2 shows suffixes in Accusative and Ergative case system found in Kinnauri.

	Masc.Sg	Dual	Masc.Pl
Nom	-	-gi	-a/ -e/ -ga
Erg	-s/ -is	-nis-is	- S
Acc	-u/-nu/-pang	-nisu-u	nu

Table 2. Kinnauri Case Markers

Kinnauri show accusative forms with intransitive sentences and ergative in transitive sentences in their alignment of the arguments (Negi 2019). Kinnauri like most verb final languages is an ergative language, shows ergative only in the perfective aspect type verbal constructions. The ergative feature is marked overtly with /-s/ or /-is/.

1.3 Nouns

In Kinnauri, two noun classes are found which are animate and inanimate. Animate are human and non humans. Animate Nouns- these can be inflected for all numbers and cases. Inanimate Nouns- these are not inflected with suffixes for number cases.

1.3.1 Noun Stems

Kinnauri noun stems can be monosyllabic or a complex stem formed of root + suffix. These stems are found in Kinnauri from a mix of languages:

a) Monosyllabic: /id/ 'one', /ki/ 'you', /mi/ 'men', /su/ 'deity', /thu/ 'why', /rid/ 'rope', /kvi/ 'dog', /piu/ 'mouse', /le/ 'tongue', /lo/ 'age', /rim/ 'land', /ral/ 'rice'.

Noun stems are formed by inflecting suffixes to them for number and case. The suffixes /-s/ for animate and /-ang/, /-ing/ are suffixed to for noun stems:

- -s: /lamas/'long', /kolas/'soft, /baklas/'thick' /piaras/'priest', /ngaris/'in anger.'
- -ng /dakhang/ 'grapes', /monang/ 'memory', /pitang/ 'door', /kanang/ 'ear'
- -ing: /rating/ 'night', /mating/ 'mud', /koting/ 'basket.'

b) Derived stems: it is formed by adding suffix to noun or adjective stems-/gatoc/ 'younger', /kimoc/ 'from home', /rimoc/ 'from field', /daocu/ 'of sister', /bic/ 'go', /fiy/, 'take', /zac/ 'eat', /pac/ 'grandson', /manec/ 'don't know.'

1.4 Pronominal System

In Kinnauri, pronouns replace nouns and are inflected for number and case. It can function as the subject or the object of the verb. These pronouns can take number in kinnarui but do not mark gender. Kinnauri has five classes of pronouns- personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite and reflexive. Only the 'personal pronouns' relevant to the paper is discussed here.

1.4.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns show distinction to refer to an entity that is either, visible to the speaker and the hearer, or is not visible to either of the participants. First person pronouns stem is /-gi/ for direct or ergative case or /-nisi/. It has stem /-ang/ for all other cases. It has stem /-kashang/ for inclusive dual/ plural and /-nishi/ for dual/ plural exclusive form numbers.¹¹⁰ Second person pronouns have stems for honorific and non honorific forms which are -ka, -ki in singular and /-kanish/, /kinish/ in dual and /kanega/, /kina/ in plural. Second and third person pronouns maintain their stems in all number and cases while first person pronouns doesn't. Examples of pronominal stem are as follows-

- 4. gi/niga/kashanga/ seo jao duk/duc¹¹ i/we-excl/ we-incl/ apple eat.prog be
 I/ We am/are eating apple
- 5. angu/ niganu kamang lannu to
 I-gen-1p-sg/we work do. be.nonpst
 I /We- dual/We have to do work.

Personal pronouns are marked for case, number and person, and not for gender. In case inflections, personal pronoun share characteristic of animate noun and demonstrative pronouns follow inanimate nouns. Table 3, show paradigm of personal pronoun in Kinnauri in different case forms:

¹⁰ Inclusive is including the person being addressed and exclusive for the person being addressed is absent in the action of the act of speech or activity.

¹¹ duk' be verb attests for 1P singular, 'duc' be verb attests for 1P dual and plural inclusive or exclusive and non honorific or honorific. There is no change in the 'be' verb form.

Table 3. Paradigm of Personal Pronouns in in Kinnauri

	Nom	Erg		Gen	Acc/ Dat
		excl.	incl.	excl.	incl.
Sg 1	gi	nishi	kashanga	niga	kashanga
2	ka/ ki (hon)	nishi	kashanga	niganu	kashanganu
3	do/dogo(hon)	-	kanish	-	kanega
Dual	nishi	-	kinish	-	kina
1					
2	kinish	dogsung	-	dogo	
3	dogonish	zunish	-	zugo	-
Pl 1	do		-	nug	-
2	dogo			_	
3	doga				

1.5 Number and Gender Marking

In kinauri number is marked for mainly singular, dual (pronominal stems only) or plural forms. Singular is left unmarked; plural is marked by affixing markers to the stem. Marker for duality or plurality can be quantifiers (e.g. chai), numerals or numeral particle. The markers are -a, -go, -ga, -na etc. Duality is shown by prefixing the term for the duality i.e. 'nish.' Sometimes, plurality also is not overtly marked if it is evident from the context. Some examples of suffix plurality in Kinnauri are: /om-a/ 'paths', /mi-ga/ 'men', /do-ga/ 'they', /nish mi/ 'two people', /nuga/ 'they', /ki-na/ you (pl), /chai mi/ 'all men', /muluk mi/ 'lot of men'.

Table 4 Pronominal plurality chart

Case	Sg.	Dual	PI
Nom	-	-gasun/ -nish	-a/ -e/ -ga/ ge
Erg	-s/is	-nishi	-s
Acc	-u/ -nu/ pang	-nishu	nu
Ins	-as	-	-nu
Abl	-kc/ -c/ -dvakc		-kc/-c
Gen	-o/ -u/ -n		-nu
Loc	-0		-no
Voc	-е		-e

1.5.1 Gender

Kinnauri does not have a grammatical gender marker. For distinguishing the two gender, it is divided into two classes- animate and inanimate. Animate further has human and non humans class. Animate can be distinguished by either using distinctive terms for the gender or by using affixes to the substantive forms:

Masculine: /mi/ 'man', /changa/ 'child', /bova/ 'father', /tete/ 'old man.'

Feminine: /ches/'woman', /ama/'mother'

Non-human animate can be represented by prefixing /skyo/ male and /mangt/ female:

/skyo rang/ 'horse', /mangt rang 'mare', /skyo kvi/ 'dog', mangt kvi/ 'bitch.'

In case of human animate, following prefixes are used; /dekras/ 'boy' and /shuti/ 'girl' before the substantive (Sharma 1988).

2. Verb System in Kinnauri

Verb in Kinnauri involves a verb stem, tense marker and a subject agreement marker (Saxena 1995). Verb specifies the following characteristics- occurs as a syntactic head of a predicate; receive tense and aspect markers and subject agreement suffixes. Verb root are formed by dropping infinitive or verbal noun marker, e.g. bimig-bi (go), khiamig-khia (see), ranmig-ran (give), thurishmu-thurish (encircle), kulmig-kul (beat), zamig-za (eat).

They can be a monosyllabic or polysyllabic (Sharma 1988). There are two classes of verbstransitive and intransitive. Intransitive verbs have one argument, while the transitive verbs have more than one argument.

2.1 Transitive/intransitive verbs

Transitive verbs are verbs with two or more arguments. Transitive can be identified as overt subject marked with an ergative case and overt objects marked depending on the grammatical role of the object. In some cases though there is no overt case marking on subject or the object. The examples of transitive verb stems are:

/khia:/ 'See', /lan/ 'Do', /thas/ 'Hear', /ran/ 'Give', /ci/ 'Wash', /tig/, 'Break', /pon/ 'Sew', /kul/ 'Beat', /tung/ 'Drink', /dab/ 'Pull', /pai/ 'Cook', /tuin/ 'Lift.'

Intransitive verbs include verbs with a single argument that function as the grammatical subject. Subject need not be overtly marked in intransitives. The examples of intransitive verb stems are: /bao/ 'Flow', /bi/ 'Go', /bin/ 'Come', /gor/ 'Fall', /rig 'Break', /sarsh/ 'Wake up', /shi/ 'Die', /tosh/ 'Sit', /van/ 'Laugh' /yag/ 'Sleep' /yun/ 'Walk', /zangc/ 'Show.'

2.2 Tense and Aspect

In spoken languages, at the least three basic tense are found; past, present and future. Past refers to the events of the past at the time of speaking. Future refers to the events that are yet to take place i.e. the future events. Present refers to the events in present time. Tense is marked as inflections on the verb forms or by auxiliary. Tense and aspect also occur together in languages, marking for tense, aspect, person, number and agreement.

2.2.1 Tense in Kinnauri

Kinnauri has all basic tense categories i.e. present, past and future occurring overtly marked on the verb stem, followed by the agreement markers. The pattern for tense inflection in Kinnauri thus is Verb-Tense-Agreement.

Present tense/ aspect: Simple verbs or sentences in present tense do not have overt marking. The components of simple verbs or sentence in present tense are a main verb and an auxiliary or 'be' verb. The main verb appears as a bare root, and infects for aspect while the auxiliary inflects for tense and agreement features i.e. person and number. We will notice that tense and aspect are expressed together in Kinnauri. Suffix for present simple tense are /-c/ and /-d/. /-d/ is suffixed to verb roots ending with /-c/ or /-si/. /-c/ is suffixed to all verb roots that endings except for above, e.g. gi loc /I say/, ki yagc /You sleep/, ki ronchid/ You listen/, do khiac /He sees/.

Following examples illustrations present simple tense with transitive verb in Kinnauri-

- 6. gi khau jac tok i-1p food eat pre 'I eat food.'
- 7. do kamang lanc du
 he-2p work do pre
 'he does the work.'
- 8. ki/ka kitab hushid toi/ton You-2p (hon/nonhon) book read Be-pre 'You read book.'

In ex. (6-8), verb phrase has a main verb and an auxiliary. The main verb 'ja,' 'lan,' and hush,' bears bound morpheme '-c' and '-id.' The former marks for aspect and the later marks for tense and person, number agreement. The following figure gives agreement suffixes in present tense:

1p		2p		3p	
sg	du/ pl (exc/ incl)	Sg (hon/ nonhon)	du/pl (ord/hon)	Sg	du/ pl (ord/ hon)
-k	-c,-e/ic	n/in	-ø,-ø/	t, d/is	-ø, is/

Table 5. Agreement suffixes in present tense

The verb root is unmarked for the simple present tense in Kinnauri transitive constructions. Suffix denotes person and number agreement. By now we know Kinnauri has no grammatical gender. The use of auxiliary in present tense is optional:

9. a). gi khau jac 'I eat food'b). do kamang lanc 'He does work'c). k
 ki kitaab hushed 'You read book'

Tense in such cases are clear from the discourse context. Examples in different tenses in Kinnauri are:

a) Present Continuous:

Present continuous tense stands for progressive aspects with an auxiliary. The suffix for progressive is '-o,' which is suffixed to the main verb. Person and number agreement markers are infected to auxiliary.

- 10. gi khau zao toki-1p-nom food eat-prog be-pre-1p'I am eating food.'
- 11. kashanga/niga khau zao Toc we-1p-pl-(incl/excl)-nom Food eat-prog be-pre-1p 'we are eating food.' (incl.)
- 12. ki/ka khau zao toc/ton
 you-2p (hon/nonhon)-nom Food eat-prog be-pre-1p(hon/nonhon)
 'you are eating food.'
- 13. do/doga khau za:a du-ø
 he-3p (sg/pl)-nom Food eat-prog be-pre-(hon/nonhon)
 'he/they are eating food.'

Progressive marker 'o' is inflected to the main verbs, and the 'be' verb takes care of the person marking '-k' for first person singular (10), '-c' for first person plural (11), '-n' for second person non-honorific (12) and '-in' for second person honorific (12). The 'be' verb in third person is unmarked and the person, number is indicated by the subject (13).

b) Past tense:

Past tense in Kinnauri can have two categories; observed or simple past and reported or distant past. Tense markers for past is '-a:' and it has allomorphs '-e,' '-da,' '-ya.' Suffix for distant past is '-gyo.' '-e' is used when the verb ends with '-c' or '-sh. '-a' is used elsewhere.

Suffixes infected on the verbs also show agreement in Kinnauri. Subject agreement is common and object agreement is rare, which occur only in 1P and 2P pronominal objects. The marker for object agreement is '-c' which is infixed between the verb and the tense.

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 24:4 April 2024 Simple past: It denotes an event or action in past just prior to utterance.

14. gi-s khau zaak
i-erg food eat-pst-3s
'I ate food.'

15. dogo-s kamang lanash he-erg work do-pst-2s-hon

'He did the work.'

c) Future:

An action or event that takes place after the utterance. Markers for future tense are '-to' '-te' and '-o.' Future markers are inflected on the verb stem and is followed by a subject agreement markers. The suffix -to applies with first person singular (16), and third person non-honorfic; -te appear in other persons (17). -o appears after consonant -c(18). The following examples illustrates future markings.

16. gi rim-a-no rok-to-kI field-Pl-Loc graze-Fut1Sg'I will graze in the field.'

17. caiku tais piate
all-ACC for prayer-Fut
'(We) will pray for all.'

18. gi kanu tongcok
I 2sg-acc beat-2sg-fut-1sg
'I will beat you.'

2.2.2 Aspect

Kinnauri shows three aspect categories; Imperfective, Progressive and Perfective. Tense and aspect categories are formed by use of different tense and aspects markers. The markers express following features- the verb affix refers to aspect and the auxiliary refers to tense and subject agreement. In Kinnauri, auxiliary may be dropped in the sentences. Tense in such cases is determined by context of the discourse.

a) Imperfective Aspect

It uses suffixes -s and -it. -it follows the consonants -c and -sh. Such aspects are of two types: habitual and finite, expressing an event which is closely linked and simultaneous with some other event. Ex. 19-20, illustrates habitual aspect in imperfective form.

- 19. guddu kamang lan-nu valli koc name work do-inf very obey-imperf 'Guddu is very obedient at work.'
- 20. beshakang zai-nu rango fic april sheep-acc mountain-loc take-imperf 'In April sheep are taken to the mountain.'

b) Progressive aspect

The progressive suffix is -du, -yo or -o, following vowels except i, after vowel i, and consonants resp. The difference between progressive and imperfective in this participial function is that the progressive describes a distinct, yet simultaneous, event. Ex. 21, illustrate the progressive aspects.

21. golu githang ronco du
name song listen-prog Aux-pre
'Golu is listening to the song.'

The present progressive is formed by the verb root with progressive aspect inflection and the auxiliary in the present form (with zero marking). Present progressive describes an event in process at the time of speaking.

22. niNa rampur bi-mu t□is zor□o toket□1-pl- incl rampur go-inf purpose prepare-prof aux-pst-plWe both were preparing to go to Rampur.'

Past progressive consists of a verb stem with the progressive aspect marker and the auxiliary with the past tense marker -ke/-ge (22) and past auxiliary cannot be dropped. Past progressive denotes an event which was progressing in the past.

c) Perfective

Perfective aspect is by reduplication of the verb root. Verbs that end in -sh or -c take the allomorph -is instead of root reduplication. As with all aspect marked verbs, an auxiliary expressing tense and agreement is optional. Without an auxiliary, the neutral interpretation of perfective aspect is past time.

Present perfect is formed by a verb stem in perfect aspect followed by an optional auxiliary in the present tense (23). Present perfect denotes a currently relevant state resulting from an event in the recent past.

23. doga zing hushumu tais bu-bu they-3p-pl here study do-prog come-perf 'They have come here with the purpose to study.'

Past perfect is formed by the verb root plus perfective aspect and an auxiliary with the past tense marker -ke/-ge (ex. 24). Past perfect denotes a past state that results from an event that happened earlier in the past.

24. arun ang nang kaman-go toke name me with work-perf aux-pst-3p 'Arun was with me at work.'

Future perfect is formed by the verb root in perfective and the auxilary ni- in the "future" tense form (ex. 25). This aspect expresses an event which the speaker believes would have already happened at some point in present, but he/she lacks direct evidence.

25. ate toro dilli bi-bi ni-tosh elder brother today delhi go-perf stay-fut-3hon 'Elder brother will/might have gone to Delhi today.'

2.3 Auxiliary '-to,' '-di,' 'ni'

In Kinnauri, -to, -du, and -ni function as auxiliary. -to and -du occur in non-future tenses. They are inflected for tense, aspect and mood in the language. Clauses involving auxiliary - to may have all three persons as their subjects, but -du may only take third person arguments as their subjects. The auxiliary -ni, occurs in all tenses (Saxena 1995).

In the future tense it can occur with all persons, where the tense and subject agreement markers are suffixed to the copula -ni but it can take only third person subjects in past and present tenses. No inflectional endings are affixed to -ni in non-future tenses, here discourse context specifies the tense of the clause. All three copulas can occur with third person subjects in the nonfuture. In such constructions their distribution is semantically conditioned.

The distribution of -to, -du and -ni with third person honorific and nonhonorific subjects is semantically conditioned. The semantic interpretations of -to and -ni with honorific subjects are different from their interpretations with nonhonorific subjects.

We will first consider the semantic interpretations associated with the copulas in clauses involving nonhonorific subjects.

-to in such constructions indicates that the subject is somehow related to the speaker. This may either be because they are members of the same family or because they are in physical proximity.

-du is used in contexts where the subject does not belong to the speaker and the speaker has no information or knowledge about the subject.

-ni is used in conversations where the hearer has some doubts either about the very existence of the subject, or in identifying the subject as either A or B, while the speaker definitely knows the answer (either because he himself saw it or because he has some way of knowing the truth).

Examples: to, du, ni- in present tense

26. kitaab dam to/du/ni book good be pres.3s/ be-pres.3s/ be.pres.3s 'This book is good.'

Example: ni- in future tense

27. gi shupa kimo nitok i evening home-loc fut-1sg 'I will be at home in evening.'

Example: ni- in past tense

28. doga ciraniga ni
they wood cutters non fut-3
They were wood cutters

In ex. (26), -to is used in above examples when the book belongs to the speaker or is in his possession while speaking; -du is used when the book neither belongs to the speaker nor is in his possession; -ni is used if the hearer has some doubts concerning the book being good, while the speaker is quite confident that the book is good. This distribution remains same for animate subjects, as in ex (29).

Example: Auxiliary in Animate Subjects

29. sonam dam to/du/ni
name good be-pres.3s/be-pres.3s/be-pre-3s
'Sonam is good.'

Summary of auxiliaries in Kinnauri is provided in table 12, as a auxiliary paradigm in the past, present and future.

Table 6. Copula Paradigm

Past tense

Person	Sg	Dual	Pl
1	to-ke-k	to-ke-c (excl)	to-ke-sh
2nonhon	to-ke-n	to-ke-n	to-ke-n
2hon	to-ke-in	to-ke-ch	to-ke-ch
3nonhon	to-ke/ ni/du-ge	to-ke/ ni/ du-ge	to-ke/ ni/du-ge
3hon	to-ke-c/du-ge-sh/ni	to-ke-c/ du-ge-c/ ni	to-ke-c/ du-ge-c/ ni

Present tense

Person	Sg	Dual	Pl
1	to-k	to-c (excl)	to-ø incl
2nonhon	to-n	to-n	to-n
2hon	to-in	to-c	to-c
3nonhon	du/ to/ni	du/ to/ni	du/ to/ni
3hon	du-c/ toc/ ni	du-c/ toc/ ni	du-c/ toc/ ni

Future Tense

Person	Sg	Dual	Pl
1	ni-ta-n	ni-ti-sh (excl)	ni-te (incl)
2nonhon	ni-ta-n	ni-ta-n	ni-ta-n
2hon	ni-ti-in	ni-ti-sh	ni-i-sh
3nonhon	ni-to		ni-to

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