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A descriptive study of Kinnauri (Pangi dialect): a preliminary report*

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to introduce a phonological analysis and some morphosyntactic phenomena of the Pangi dialect of Kinnauri.

1.1. Kinnauri

The Kinnauri language is spoken in District Kinnaur of Himachal Pradesh, India, and belongs to the Tibeto-Kanauri branch of the Sino-Tibetan family, according to Benedict (1972: 5-6). Kinnauri has been called by other names, for example, Kanauri, Kanor, Koonawur, and Kunawar, but will be referred to as Kinnauri here.

The speakers call themselves [kuno:riŋ] and the Kinnauri language [kuno:riŋskad].

Himachal Pradesh is situated in the northwestern part of India, and District Kinnaur is the eastern part of Himachal Pradesh on the border with China.

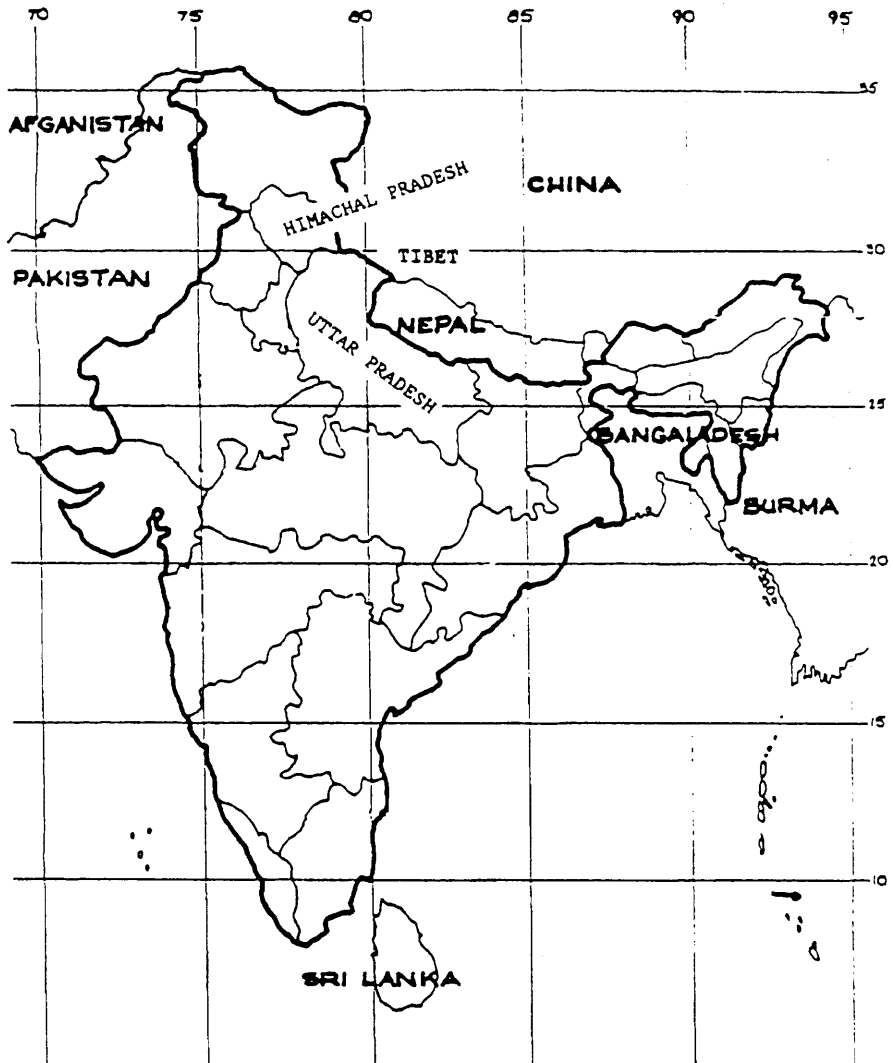
District Kinnaur includes the Satluj River and its branches. Its administrative center is Recong Peo [pio:], which is situated some hundred meters above Satluj River. Recong Peo is away from the road called the national highway, but is a terminal of interstate and local buses, and the biggest town in this area.

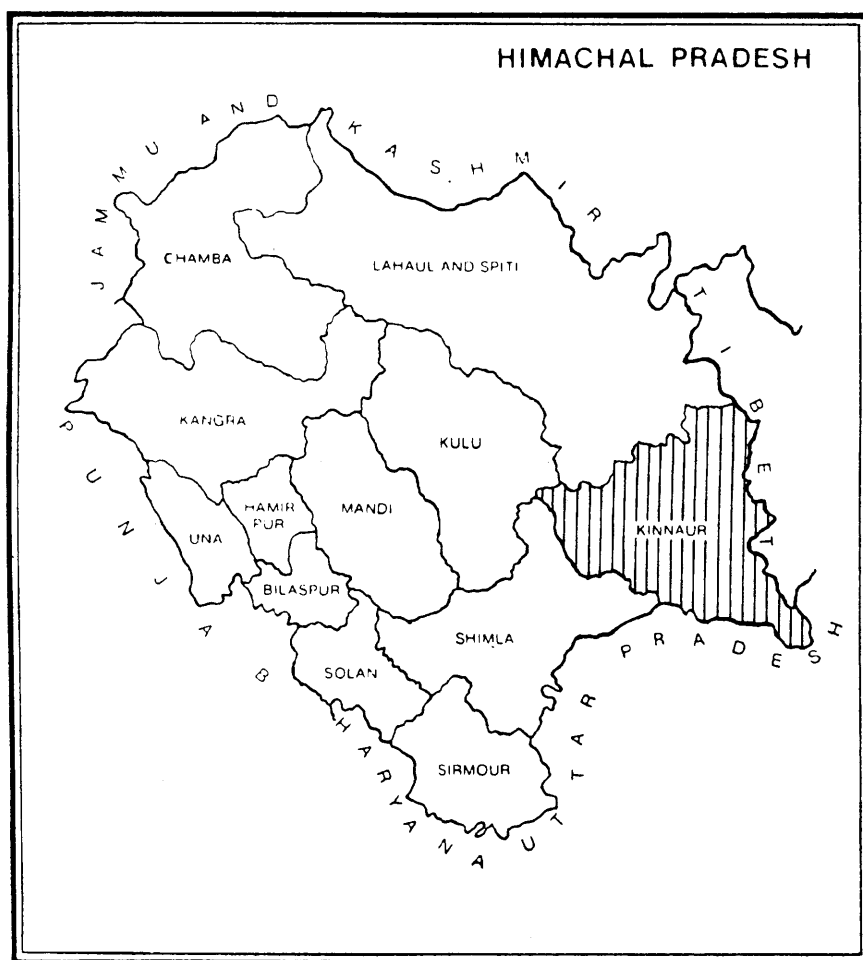
Kinnauri is distributed along the Satluj River and its branches, and can be divided into two parts, Upper Kinnauri and Lower Kinnauri. They do not seem to have a 'standard dialect' nowadays, but the dialect around Recong Peo is relatively understood anywhere in Kinnaur because Recong Peo is the contemporary administrative center. A survey concerning this is much needed. The Chitkul dialect, however, seems to be very different from other dialects.

Kinnauri is considered as a pronominalized language (cf. Benedict 1972, Hale 1982, Nishi 1993). We will see this point in section 3.2.1.

Also, as Konow (1905: 119) points out, Kinnauri has some words very similar to Tibeto-Burman languages in Assam. Kinnauri's position should be discussed within its context in the Tibeto-Burman languages.

Some papers on Kinnauri were written at the beginning of this century, Bailey (1909), Konow (1905), and so on, and in the 1980's Sharma's book (1988) was published in India. A good summary for those papers and the book is Nishi (1993), and the phonemic system is shown in Ju (1996), where the phonemic system is





Map of Himachal Pradesh showing Kinnaur district.

summarised compactly, compared with the complex system in Bailey (1909) and the mistakes found in Sharma (1988).¹⁾

The latest paper is Anju Saxena's dissertation (1992), which treats the verbal inflection in Tibeto-Kinnauri. We will see the verb inflection in the later part of this paper. Saxena (1992) depends on Sharma for the phonological description. Her analysis is different from this present paper. I do not follow Saxena's (1992) system, but the dialect of her main consultant is different from the dialect this author has researched.

Many villages are situated some hundred meters above the Satluj River. The population of District Kinnaur is 59,154 (a census of 1981. See Chib 1984: 56), but this figure includes the speakers of other languages, so the number of speakers of Kinnauri is less than this. (cf. Nishi 1993)

1.2. Pangi

Pangi, pronounced as [page:], is at about ten km away from Recong Peo. Residents can go to Recong Peo by bus (three per day) and by sharing a taxi.

My consultant is a man from Pangi, who was born in December, 1968. He lived in Kalpa some years during his childhood and worked in Delhi in his twenties, but nowadays he lives in Pangi. His father is from Pangi, and his mother from Kalpa, which is at about ten km away from Pangi.

Preceding studies seem to have collected mainly the materials of Sangla dialect in the Baspa Valley, but they do not note the place of their research. Their data are different from those of the present paper, however. I too have collected some words from Sangla and Chitkul in the Baspa Valley, but do not further mention those data here.²⁾

In the present paper, we will see as much of a phonological system and morphosyntactic phenomena as the author can show from his research. Therefore, this description is not exhaustive.

2. Phonological Analysis

2.1. Consonants

We begin with the phonological analysis of the Kinnauri consonants.

2.1.1. Plosives

There are four series of plosives, each of which has three types of sounds: voiceless non-aspirate, voiceless aspirate, and voiced. Voiceless aspirate plosives do not occur at the word-final position, the others can occur at all positions.

1. /p/ vs. /pʰ/ vs. /b/

- /p/: piŋ 'cheek', piʃtiŋ 'the back', peʃaŋ 'belly'
 mikspu: 'eyebrow', sapas 'snake'
 kapkap 'wound'
- /pʰ/: pʰja: 'forehead', pʰad 'sack, bag'
 kapʰra: 'cloth, fabric', to:pʰa: 'present'
 (none at the final position)
- /b/: bal 'head', bod 'skin'
 ɖobriŋ 'hole', ʈʰaba: 'livers'
 keb 'needle', ʈʰab 'liver'

2. /t/ vs. /tʰ/ vs. /d/

- /t/: tunəŋ 'lip', te:laŋ 'oil'
 ʃʰetkaŋ 'chin', dusti: 'sweat'
 tsʰat (~ tsʰatk) 'bright'
- /tʰ/: tʰukaŋ 'spit', tʰid 'what'
 minʰaŋ 'roof', patʰraŋ 'leaf'
 (none at the final position)
- /d/: dumaŋ 'smoke', de:ja:r 'day'
 adaŋla:i 'afternoon', somordaŋ 'river'
 gud 'arm', rid 'thread'

3. /ʈ/ vs. /ʈʰ/ vs. /ɖ/

- /ʈ/: ʈug 'six', ʈal (~ʈalk) 'hard', ʈod 'ill'
 piʃtiŋ 'the back', peʃaŋ 'belly'
 li:ʈ 'egg', kʰo:ʈ 'spoon'
- /ʈʰ/: ʈʰab 'liver', ʈʰormu: 'to release', ʈʰol 'rock'
 ʃoʈʰo: 'pole', bo:ʈʰaŋ 'tree'
 (none at the final position)
- /ɖ/: ɖejaŋ 'body', ɖig 'basin'
 soldas 'straight', bulɖja:mu: 'to roast'
 (none at the final position)³⁾

4. /k/ vs. /kʰ/ vs. /g/

- /k/: kra: 'hair', kanaŋ 'ear'
 stakuts 'nose', ʃʰetkaŋ 'chin'
 ʈalk 'hard', bok 'hot'
- /kʰ/: kʰakaŋ 'mouth', kʰau: 'food'
 pakʰaŋ 'wing', ɖekʰras 'male'
 (none at the final position)
- /g/: gasa: 'clothes', gar 'tooth'
 ʃgum 'bow', kagli: 'paper'
 mig 'eye', ʃpuwɔŋ 'flea'

2.1.2. Nasals

Kinnauri has four nasal consonants: /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /ŋ/, but no retroflexed nasal, which can occur between vowels as an allophone of /n/. All nasals can occur at initial, medial and final.

- /m/: mig ‘eye’, me: ‘yesterday; fire’
 jumaraŋ ‘buttock’, dumaŋ ‘smoke’
 kim ‘house’, pom ‘snow’
- /n/: nunu: ‘breast’, no:mu: ‘to rub’
 tunaŋ ‘lip’, ganam ‘smell’
 la:n ‘wind’, kʰon ‘plate’
- /ɲ/: ɲu:k ‘new’, ɲuglaŋ ‘low’
 aɲa:raŋ ‘dark’, dʒatoɲa ‘will you eat?’
 keɲ ‘Please give’, dʒa:ɲ ‘Please eat.’
- /ŋ/: ɲa: ‘five’, ɲar ‘angry’
 a:raŋa: ‘guts’, maŋla:raŋ ‘Tuesday’, boŋa: ‘dust’
 ʃaŋ ‘throat’, raŋ ‘horse; mountain’, na:maŋ ‘name’, haraŋ ‘bone’

2.1.3. Affricates

There are two types of affricates in Kinnauri.

1. /t͡ʃ/ vs. /t͡ʃʰ/ vs. /t͡ʃʷ/

- /t͡ʃ/: t͡ʃin ‘nail’, t͡ʃime: ‘daughter’
 haɪt͡ʃmu: ‘to become’
 bi:t͡ʃ ‘Go! (imperative)’, haɪt͡ʃ ‘from where’
- /t͡ʃʰ/: t͡ʃʰetkaŋ ‘chin’, t͡ʃʰaŋ ‘child’
 (none at the medial position)⁴⁾
 (none at the final position)
- /t͡ʃʷ/: t͡ʃʷi:laŋ ‘root’, t͡ʃʷamaŋ ‘taste’,
 ʃoɪt͡ʃʷu: ‘fog’, maɪt͡ʃʷaŋ ‘between’
 (none at the final position)⁵⁾

/t͡ʃ/ may occur at the medial position, though no example in my data.

2. /ts/ vs. /tsʰ/ vs. /d͡ʒ/

- /ts/: tsam ‘wool’, tsoi: ‘all’
 putsuniŋ ‘tail’, tsʰetsas ‘female’
 kruts ‘elbow’, kaks ‘neck’
- /tsʰ/: tsʰa: ‘salt’, tsʰos ‘fat, grease’
 bortsʰo: ‘spear’ (, mutsʰo: ‘moustache’)
 (none at the final position)
- /d͡ʒ/: d͡ʒiwa: ‘heart’, d͡ʒaŋ ‘gold’

nidza ‘twenty’
(none at the final position)⁶⁾

2.1.4. Fricatives

Kinnauri has three fricatives. Each of the fricatives is phonologically considered to have no voiced correspondent.

Fricatives can occur at any position, except /h/. /h/ may occur at the medial position, but no example except [ti:hoŋ] ‘seashell’, though this word was made by the informant.

/ʃ/: ʃaŋ ‘throat’, ʃʉŋ ‘chest’
piʃʈiŋ ‘the back’, piʃʈaŋ ‘knee’
niʃ ‘two’, ɟʌtoʃ ‘(He) will eat (it)’

/s/: sapas ‘snake’, sto: ‘face’
dusti: ‘sweat’, golsaŋ ‘moon’, gasa: ‘clothes’
su:ras ‘pig’, kʰas ‘sheep (fem)’, hale:s ‘how’

/h/: haraŋ ‘bone’, had ‘who’
(none at the medial position)
(none at the final position)

2.1.5 Liquids

Kinnauri has two types of liquids: /r/ and /l/. They occur at any position.

/r/: ral ‘rice’, rid ‘thread’
kri: ‘filth’, kru:ts ‘elbow’, dusraŋ ‘hole (for a chimney)’
gar ‘tooth’, bar ‘branch’

/l/: le: ‘tongue’, laŋ ‘cow’
ti:ralmets ‘rainbow’, adaŋla:i ‘afternoon’
pul ‘feather’, jel ‘medicine’, khul ‘fur’

2.1.6. Semivowels

Semivowels are /w/ and /y/. They occur at initial and medial positions, but not final.

/w/: wa: ‘nest’, wark ‘distant’
tiwa:raŋ ‘festival’, kʰwa: ‘pond’
(none at the final position)

/y/: june: ‘sun’, jumaraŋ ‘buttock’
ɟejaŋ ‘body’, phja: ‘forehead’
(none at the final position)

2.1.7. Complementary distributions or free variations

We have some phones which are pronounced as free variations or in complementary distribution.

1. [dʒ] vs. [ʒ] are free variants, so they are one phoneme /ʒ/.
2. [dʒ] vs. [z] are free variants, so they are one phoneme /dʒ/.⁷⁾
3. [ʃ] vs. [ʂ] are in complementary distribution.
[ʂ] occurs before the back vowels, and [ʃ] elsewhere.
e.g. [ʃ] ʃa: 'meat', ʃiŋ 'fire wood'
[ʂ] ʂu: 'a god', ʂum 'three', maʂʃas 'smooth'
4. [ŋ] vs. [ɲ] are in complementary distribution.
[ɲ] occurs between vowels, and [ŋ] at any other position.
e.g. [ŋ] no:mu: 'to rub', niɖza: 'twenty'
[ɲ] gaɲam 'smell', go:ɲiŋ 'stem'
5. Voicedness at final

In Kinnauri, voiced sounds can occur at the word-final position. We can see some examples above (section 2.1.1).

Here we have minimal pairs for voiced and voiceless finals:

rag	'stone' ⁸⁾	vs.	rak	'wine or liquor'
pi:g	'yellow'	vs.	pi:k	'I locked'

(a) Nouns ending in a voiced or voiceless consonant (with plural forms, which show morphophonemic change):

singular		plural
mig	'eye'	miga:
ʃʈug	'chest'	ʃʈuga:
gud	'arm'	guda:
ʈod	'disease'	ʈoda:
rid	'thread'	rida:
keb	'needle'	keba:
li:ʈ	'egg'	li:ʈa:
kʲho:ʈ	'spoon'	kʲho:ʈe:
pats	'small sack'	patsa:

(b) Others ending in a voiceless consonant:

tsʰetsas	'woman'
tsa:t	'camp'
bitok	'I will go'

(c) Adjectives ending in a voiceless consonant:

raŋk	*raŋg	'high'
ʈalk	*ʈalg	'hard'
ʈi:k	*ʈi:g	'sweet'
bok	*bog	'hot'
tsʰat	*tsʰad	'bright'

However, sometimes voiced and voiceless consonants can alternate: $t^ho:k \sim t^ho:g$ ‘white’, $ra:k \sim ra:g$ ‘blue, green’. And there is an example with voiced final: $*te:k$ vs. $te:g$ ‘big’.⁹⁾

2.1.8. A Consonant System

The following consonant system in Kinnauri is based on the above observations.

1. Initials:

/p/	/t/	/č/	/tʰ/	/k/
/pʰ/	/tʰ/	/čʰ/	/tʰʰ/	/kʰ/
/b/	/d/	/j/	/ḍ/	/g/
/m/	/n/	/ñ/		/ŋ/
	/ts/			
	/tsʰ/			
	/dʒ/			
	/ʃ/			
	/s/			/h/
	/r/			
	/l/			
	/w/		/y/	

2. Finals :

/p/	/t/	/č/	/tʰ/	/k/
/b/	/d/	(/j/)	(/ḍ/)	/g/
/m/	/n/	/ñ/	/ŋ/	
	/ts/			
	(/dʒ/)			
	/ʃ/			
	/s/			
	/r/			
	/l/			

2.1.9. Consonant Clusters

Kinnauri has many kinds of consonant clusters at the initial and final positions. Here are some examples:

1. initial

kr-	:	kra:	‘hair’, kru:ts	‘elbow’, kri:	‘filth’
pr-	:	prats	‘finger’		
sk-	:	skar	‘star’, skad	‘language, sound’	
sp-	:	spu:	‘hair (body)’, spa:ts	‘grandchild’	

st-	:	stakuts	‘nose’, sto:	‘face’, stag	‘pus’, stif	‘seven’
sg-	:	sgui:	‘nine’	(sg- and zg- can not be distinguished.)		
ʃg-	:	ʃgum	‘bow’			
ʃp-	:	ʃpuw	‘flea’			
str-	:	strapʃimu:	‘to climb’			

2. final

-tk	:	tsʰatk	‘bright; light (n)’
-kts	:	kakts	‘neck’
-ks	:	nepiks	‘after some time’
-ŋts	:	nanʃts	‘small bowl’
-ŋk	:	raŋk	‘high’
-ŋs	:	q̥ʷu	‘this way, here’
-mʃ	:	hamʃ	‘from where’
-ms	:	oms	‘front’, jums ‘back’
-rk	:	surk	‘sour, salty’, wark ‘far’
-lk	:	ʈalk	‘hard’ (~ ʈal)
-sk	:	rask	‘sharp’, lisk ‘cold’ (~ lis)
-ʃk	:	uʃk	‘old’

Other consonant clusters may be found after the amount of data increases.

Consonant clusters in Kinnauri seem to be inclined: the consultant presented examples with consonant clusters, but in conversation, the people do not pronounce them as clusters but as a single consonant in many cases.

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Minimal Pairs

A list of minimal and near-minimal pairs:

nanʃts	‘bronze cup’	vs.	nuŋʃs	‘that way’
ʃaŋ	‘throat’	vs.	ʃiŋ	‘firewood’
laʃa:	‘dumb (male)’	vs.	laʃe:	‘dumb (female)’
tsam	‘wool’	vs.	tsummu:	‘seize’
rak	‘liquor’	vs.	rok	‘black’
bid	‘shoulder’	vs.	bod	‘skin’
rid	‘thread’	vs.	rud	‘horn’
ʃil	‘evening tea’	vs.	ʃel	‘medicine’
lis ~ lisk	‘cold’	vs.	leʃ	‘penis’
pitaŋ	‘door’	vs.	peʃaŋ	‘belly’
ʃiŋ	‘firewood’	vs.	ʃuŋmu:	‘to live’
piŋ	‘cheek’	vs.	puŋ	‘(case marker)’
spu:	‘small hair’	vs.	pi:	‘four’
tuŋmu:	‘to drink’	vs.	tuŋʃimu:	‘to fight’

tur̥mu:	'to drink'	vs.	temmu:	'to tread'
tupmu:	'to breathe in'	vs.	ʈob	'suit'
em	'delicious'	vs.	om	'road'
dok	'after'	vs.	duŋ	'(case marker)'
bod	'skin'	vs.	binnu:	'to come'

Based on the list of minimal pairs, we have six short vowels in Kinnauri: /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /ɨ/.

2.2.2 Complementary distribution

[i] and [u] are in complementary distribution: [u] occurs before or after the velar consonant, and [i] at any other environment.

/i/ : [i] vs. [u]

1. pi: 'four'
2. binnu: 'to come'
3. ʃur̥mu: 'to live'
4. puŋ '(case marker)'
5. duŋ '(case marker)'

2.2.3. Long vowels

There are some (near-)minimal pairs on long vowels.

rak	'liquor'	vs.	ra:k	'green, blue'
teraŋ	'when'	vs.	te:laŋ	'oil'
tsumim-	'seize'	vs.	tsu:m-	'cough'
bofaŋ	'age, year'	vs.	bo:thaŋ	'tree'
ʃi:m-	'poke'	vs.	ʃu:m-	'swell'

Based on this list, we assume six long vowels in Kinnauri: /ā/, /ī/, /ū/, /ē/, /ō/, /ī/.

In Kinnauri, vowels are usually lengthened at the word final position.

(m) ka: no:	(f) ka: ne:	'blind'
kui:	(pl) kue:	'dog'
dumma:	(pl) dummaga:	'pole, bar, stick; stick'
nunu:	(pl) nunu:tsa:	'breast'

However, all of those long vowels do not seem to be phonologically long. In some words they are always long, but in others are short if they take a suffix.

gu:	gu:s	I-by
ki:	kis	you-by
ni:ja:	ni:ja:s	we-by
mi:	mi:s	man-by

In terms of this phenomenon, we should consider that there are words with a long final vowel and those with a short final vowel.

2.2.4. A Vowel System

We can make up the following vowel system in Kinnauri based on the above observations.

1. short vowels:	i	i	u
	e		o
		a	
2. long vowels:	ī	ī	ū
	ē		ō
		ā	

2.2.5. Nasal vowels

There are some nasal vowels in Kinnauri. Because of the shortage of examples, we can only show some.

kōjā	‘dove’ vs. kojaŋ ‘a kind of a fly’
pāē	‘two days after tomorrow’
ū	‘yes’

2.2.6. Diphthongs or Vowel series

Here are some examples of diphthongs or vowel series.

ai	:	aid	‘other’
au	:	k ^h au:	‘food’
ae	:	maets	‘there is not’
ao	:	daots	‘sister’
iu	:	tiu	‘of water’
io	:	pio:	‘Recong Peo (place name)’
ua	:	jua:	‘below’
ui	:	kui:	‘dog’
ue	:	kue:	‘dogs’
eo	:	seo:	‘apple’
oa	:	boa:	‘father’
oi	:	tsoi	‘all’
oe	:	goene:	‘wife’

We cannot decide whether these vowels belong to one syllable, which would mean a diphthong or to two syllables, showing a vowel series. We do not have triphthongs.

2.3 Syllable structure

The syllable structure of Kinnauri can be tentatively summarized from the above observations.

V	:	u:	‘flower’
VC	:	em	‘delicious’
VCC	:	uʃk	‘old’
CV	:	pi:	‘four’
CVC	:	bod	‘skin’
CVCC	:	surk	‘sour’
CCV	:	spu:	‘hair (body)’
CCVC	:	skar	‘star’
CCCVC	:	strapʃimu:	‘to climb’

As pointed out above, some consonants of clusters are being lost.

2.4 Suprasegmentals

Kinnauri has some pitches or stresses, but there are only a few words which have pitch contrasts, as following (tones are not accurate):

[u:m- [51]	‘squeeze’	vs.	[11]	‘swell’
raŋ [53]	‘horse’	vs.	[12]	‘hill area’
ʃaŋ [54]	‘small stone’	vs.	[12]	‘throat’

Suprasegmentals are to be further observed.

3. Morphosyntactic Analysis

3.1. Verb Inflection

The verb inflection of the Pangi dialect of Kinnauri is summarized as follows:

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

In singular, all three persons are differentiated. In the plural form, the first person and the second person are same and different from the third person, and the inclusive form of the first person has the different form. The third person has no difference between singular and plural, but between honorific and ordinary. Dual and plural are differentiated in pronoun, but have no distinction in verb inflection.

Saxena (1997: 77) says second person dual and plural also have a *-n* ending for non-honorific. My consultant also has this ending.

3.1.1 Paradigms of some verbs

We have four examples here, one of which is an intransitive verb *bīmū* ‘to go’, and the others are transitive verbs: *ḏāmū* ‘to eat’ and *sannū* ‘to kill’. The subject person marker in a transitive verb is not different from an intransitive. Although Kinnauri is said to be a pronominalized language, the form apparently related to the pronoun is only the ending of first singular. Historical analysis is a future problem.

(1) *bīmū* ‘to go’: intransitive verb

	1	2	3
		hon. non-hon.	hon. ordinary
Fut			
sg.	bitok	bitoñ biton	bitos bitō
du. pl.	bitoč bitē/ bīšo	bitoč bitoč	bitos bitō
Pr.			
sg.	biuduk	biudun biudun	biudus biudū
du. pl.	biuduč bio	biuduč biuduč	biuduš biudū
Pt. ¹⁰⁾			
sg.	beok	beon beon	beos beo
du. pl.	beoč bīšē	beoč beoč	beoš beo

(2) *ḏāmū* ‘to eat (it)’

This verb usually takes a inanimate third person object.

	1	2	3
		hon. non-hon.	hon. ordinary
Fut.			
sg.	ḏatok	ḏatoñ ḏatoñ	ḏatos ḏatō
du. pl.	ḏatoč ḏatē/ ḏāšō	ḏatoc ḏatoč	ḏatos ḏatō
Pr.			
sg.	ḏauduk	ḏauduñ ḏauduñ	ḏauduš ḏaudū
du. pl.	ḏauduč ḏaō	ḏauduč ḏauduč	ḏauduš ḏaudū
Pt.			
sg.	ḏāk	ḏān ḏān	ḏās ḏād
du. pl.	ḏāč ḏāšē	ḏač ḏač	ḏās ḏād

(3) sannū ‘to kill (him, her or it)’

There are transitive verbs that can take an animate object, which can be a first or second person object, or a third person object.

In the case of a third person object, the object is not expressed in the verb inflection. cf. section 3.2.4

	1	2 hon.	non-hon.	3 hon.	ordinary
Fut.					
sg.	sātok	sātoñ	sāton	sātoš	sāto
du. pl.	sātoč sātē/ sašō	sātoč	sātoč	sātos	sātō
Pr.					
sg.	sattuk	sattuñ	sattun	sattuš	sattū
du. pl.	sattuč sadō	sattuč	sattuč	sattuš	sattū
Pt.					
sg.	sāk	sāñ	sān	sāš	
du. pl.	sāč sašē	sāč	sāč	sāš	
Pt.2					
sg.	sadak	sadañ	sadan	sadaš	sadā
du. pl.	sadač ---	sadač	sadač	sadaš	sadā

The verb *sannū* has two types of past tense forms. However, the difference between them is not yet clear.

(4) sannū ‘to kill (me or you)’

In the case that the object is in first or second person, the suffix -č- will appear between the verb stem and the subject marker (maybe including tense-aspect marker). We will see this point later.

	1	2 hon.	non-hon.	3 hon.	ordinary
Fut.					
sg.	sačok	sačoñ	sačon	sačoš	sačō
du. pl.	sačoč sašē	sačoč	sačoč	sačoš	sačō
Pr.					
sg.	sačduk	sačduñ	sačdun	sačduš	sačdū
du. pl.	sačduč sašē	sačduč	sačduč	sačduč	sačdū

Pt.					
sg.	saček	sačeñ	sačen	sačeš	sačē
du. pl.	sačeč	sačeč	sačeč	sačeš	sačē
	sačē				

sačē means to kill each other.

Besides these inflection patterns, Kinnauri has imperative forms and other types of verb endings, although we will not show them here because the systematic analysis has not yet been finished.

3.2 Related Phenomena

There are some interesting phenomena in the author's data, which should continue to be researched.

3.2.1 Object Affix in Verb Inflection

The transitive verb assumes the affix *-č-* in the case of first or second object (cf. section 3.1).¹¹⁾

In (5a), the object is third person, so the verb *sāk* has no marker for the object. In (5b), *saček* has the object affix *-č-* because of the second person object.

- (5) a. gis nu mī piñ sāk
 I-by that man to kill.Pt.1S
 'I killed that man.'
- b. gis kinū saček
 I-by you-to kill.Pt.1-2O.1S
 'I killed you.'

This affix is productive. The transitive verb which usually does not take second person object can assume *-č-* if it takes second person object. In the following example, the verb *dzāmū* 'eat' usually does not take second person object.

- (6) gi kinū dzāčok
 I you-to eat.1-2O.1S
 'I will eat you.'

Someone might say such a sentence when trying to scare a child.

3.2.2 Morphosemantic correspondence between intransitive and transitive verb

Nishi (1993) says that Kinnauri does not have many examples of this type of correspondence. In the author's data, too, there are only a few verbs showing the correspondence.

transitive	intransitive	meaning of Vt
spyugmū	byugmū	put out (the fire)
parmū	barmū	put on (the fire)
pašmū	bašmū	crush

- (7) a. rīnkūs mē spyuktoš
PN-by fire extinguish. Fut. 3sg.
'Ringku will extinguish the fire.'
- b. mē byuktō
fire extinguish. Fut. 3sg.
'The fire will go out.'

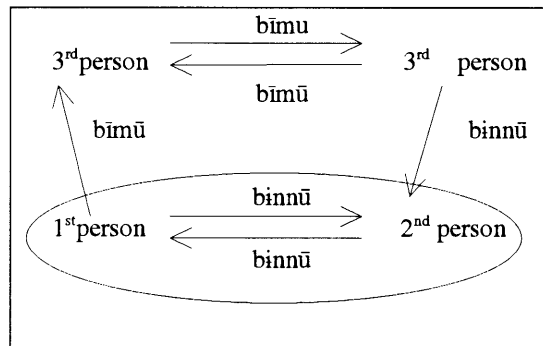
3.2.3 Deixis

Verbs of movement, 'to go' and 'to come' in Kinnauri are similar to those in English.

(8) verbs of movement

- a. *bīmū* 'to go' expresses the movement out of the deictic center.
b. *binnū* 'to come' expresses the movement into the deictic center.

The next figure shows the relationship between the deictic center and the verbs.



(9a) shows the first person subject moves out of the deictic center to the third person, and in (9b), the third person subject is moving outside of the deictic center.

- (9) a. gi nu kimō **bitok**
I his house-to go. Fut. 1S
'I will go to his house.'
- b. nugō piō **bitoš**
they Recong Peo go. Fut. 3S
'They will go to Recong Peo (from Pangi).'

In (10a), the first person subject moves to the house of the second person within the deictic center, and vice versa in (10b).

- (10) a. *gi kin kimō b̄itok*
 I your house-to come. Fut. 1S
 'I will come to your house.'
 b. *ki aň kimō b̄itoň*
 you my house-to come. Fut. 2S
 'You will come to my house.'
 c. *kišaň kin kimō b̄itē*
 we(incl.) your house-to go. 1S.incl.
 'We two (you and I) will go to your house.'

In (10c), *binnū* cannot be used, because *kišaň* is inclusive so that the 'you' in the sentence is also in the deictic center and 'your house' is out of the deictic center.

We can understand that there are some verbs which express the moving of things besides 'to go' and 'to come': for example, 'to give', 'to bring'.

We have two verbs meaning 'to give' and 'to bring' in Kinnauri, respectively, which are in parallel with the verbs of movement.

The verbs expressing 'to give' are *rannū* and *kēmū*, and the verbs expressing 'to bring' are *ph̄imū* and *kannū* in each group of the verbs. The former meaning is to bring something out of the deictic center and the latter to bring something into the deictic center. Therefore *rannū* expresses that the first or second person subject gives something to the third person, and *kēmū* expresses that the third person subject gives something to the first or second person, or that the first person subject gives something to the second person, and vice versa.

- (11) *rannū* vs. *kēmū* 'to give'
 a. *gi/gis ĵu k̄bau nu č̄baňū rantok*
 I/I-by this food that child give (3O). 1S
 'I will give this food to that child.'
 b. *gi/gis ĵu pen kinū ketok*
 I/I-by this pen you-to give (1-2O). 1S
 'I will give you this pen.'

It is difficult to use the verbs *ph̄imū* and *kannū* in an appropriate context, therefore making an example sentence is very complex.

- (12) *ph̄imū* vs. *kannū* 'to bring'
 a. *ph̄imū* seems to mean bringing something out of the deictic center, for example, to throw away.
 b. *kannū* seems to mean bringing something in(to) the deictic center.

3.2.4 Case Marking

Kinnauri does not have many kinds of case markers, for example: ergative-instrumental, dative, genitive, locative, ablative:

Ergative-instrumental: -is, -s

Dative: -piñ, -nu, -u

Genitive: -u

Direction: -o

Ablative: -č

And Kinnauri also has the absolutive case.

Dative marking for direct object

The next example (13) shows that *piñ* is used for the indirect object.

- (13) riñkūs nupiñ tsit̪h̪i šedā
 PN-by he-to letter send.Pt.3S
 'Rinku sent a letter to him.'

In Kinnauri, the direct object can be marked with the dative marker.

- (14) a. gis nu mī piñ sāk
 I-by that man to kill.Pt.1S
 'I killed that man.'
 b. gis kinū saček
 I-by you-to kill.Pt.1-2O.1S
 'I killed you.'
 (15) a. gi nu gasa nū čitok
 I that clothes to wash. Fut. 1S
 'I will wash those clothes.'
 b. gi ju bergā piñ tiktok
 I this stick to break. Fut. 1S
 'I will break this stick.'

In the above examples, when the direct object is definite, it can be marked with the dative marker. This is not always the case because the direct object may not have dative marker even though it has a demonstrative function as a definite article. However, that the first and second person pronouns have no absolutive forms, I think, means that it is true that this phenomenon is related to definiteness and specificity.

Split Ergative

Ergativity in Kinnauri is not an exact description, but it is at least ergative-like in that the form of the subject of transitive verb is different from that of the

subject of intransitive verb, and that the object of transitive verb can be expressed in absolutive which is the same form as that of the subject of intransitive verb.

This ergative marker does not occur under some conditions, that is, it is a split ergative.

The ergative marker can be used with the first person subject (16), but should be used with the third person subject (17).

- (16) gi/gis gasa čik
I/I-by clothes wash.Pt.1S
'I washed clothes.'
- (17) nus/*nu gasa čiš
he-by/he clothes wash.Pt.3S
'He washed clothes.'

(18) indicates the difference among the tense-aspect types of verb.

- (18) a. nu mīs rañū piniñ ranudu
that man-by horse-to hay give.Pr.3S
'That man is giving hay to a horse.'
- b. nu mī rañū dejarō piniñ rants
that man horse-to everyday hay give.Pr
'That man gives hay to a horse everyday.'
- c. nu mīs rañū mē piniñ ranuduē
that man-by horse-to yesterday hay give.Pt.3S
'That man gave hay to a horse yesterday.'

3.2.5 Inalienability

In the possession construction, Kinnauri shows inalienability. In the possession construction which expresses the possession of such things as body parts, the possessor should be expressed as genitive or genitive with *-diñ*, and in the possession construction which expresses the possession of alienable nouns, the possessor is always in genitive with *-diñ*. However, in the possession construction which expresses the possession of kinship, then, the possessor is always in the genitive case.¹²⁾

- (19) a. **kin/ kindiñ** gudā dūñ
your/your-place hands exist.2S
'You have hands.'
- b. ***kin/ kindiñ** tomakū dūñ
your/your-place tobacco exist.2S
'You have tobacco with.'
- c. **añ/ *aṇdiñ** eko i čhañ tō
my/my-place only one son exist.3S
'I have only one son.'

Further consideration is necessary to examine this phenomenon.

In conclusion, this paper has gone over various topics such as consonants and vowels of a phonemic system and some morpho-syntactic phenomena like verb morphology, object affix in verb inflection, deixis, case-marking and inalienability in Kinnauri.

This study is a preliminary report of Kinnauri, so the collection and analysis of more data is necessary to further our knowledge of this language.

Abbreviations

1S	1st person subject
1-2O	1st or 2nd person object
2S	2nd person subject
3O	3rd person object
3S	3rd person subject
du.	dual
Fut.	future
hon.	honorific
incl.	inclusive
pl.	plural
PN	personal name
Pr.	present
Pt.	past
sg.	singular

Notes

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- 1) Sharma's data seem to include data from some dialects of Kinnauri.
- 2) Cf. Takahashi (1999)
- 3) Except some borrowed words. eg. [grōnd] 'field'
- 4) Maybe an accidental gap.
- 5) Except some borrowed words. Eg. [ḍo:ḍ] 'boat' < Hindi.
- 6) Except some borrowed words. Eg. [me:ḍ] 'desk' < Hindi.

- 7) This is under consideration, because [z] appears at the word initial position.
- 8) *rag* may be considered as a dialectal form meaning 'stone.'
- 9) In Kinnauri, the consonant can be devoiced or voiced at the word final position. We have to continue to observe more data.
- 10) The transcription in this paradigm is under consideration. Saxena (1992) takes *byo-*.
- 11) Speaking parallelly, in the case of third person object, it takes zero suffix.
- 12) In the examples, the meaning of the suffix *-diñ* is provisional, but the next example seems to show its meaning more clearly:
 (n1) torō gi šum mīndiñ beok
 today I three person's place went.1S
 'I went to three persons today.'
 Its analysis should be done in the future.

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