5 Non-finite verbs

5.1. Preview

Non-finite verbs occur in multi-verb constructions. Such constructions can be found in both simple and complex sentences. Simple sentences consist of a single clause and it can contain only a finite verb inflected for the categories of tense, person and number, or for some other grammatical categories associated with the verb. A simple sentence with a finite verb, and one containing a non-finite verb with a finite element are (1) and (2) from modern Assamese.

(1) teū hat kʰaлеж.
    teū hat kʰa-ле
he.HON.DST rice eat-PST-3
'He ate rice.'

(2) teū hat kʰai asc.
    teū hat kʰa-i asc-e
he.HON.DST rice eat-NF be-3
'He is eating.'

Non-finite verbs are generally not marked for tense, agreement or any other grammatical categories associated with finite verbs. However, they are marked with special inflections (a set of suffixes) that are labelled as non-finite markers as -‘NF’ in (2). This chapter is primarily devoted to the discussion of such suffixes and how they are used in MKR.

However, some languages allow simple sentences with no finite verb or with no verb at all. This is illustrated by (3), a copular sentence from modern Assamese again.

(3) teū ezon hikʰok.
    teū e-zon hikʰok
he.HON.DST one-CLF teacher
'He is a teacher.'
(3) does not contain any verb at all. But if the same sentence is used in the past or in the future then the copula must be present as (4-5) illustrate.

(4)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{teō} & \quad \text{ezon} & \text{hik}^{h} \text{ok} & \text{asil.} \\
\text{he.HON.DST} & \quad \text{one-CLF} & \text{teacher} & \text{be-PST}
\end{align*}
\]

'He was a teacher.'

(5)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{teō} & \quad \text{ezon} & \text{hik}^{h} \text{ok} & \text{hobo.} \\
\text{he.HON.DST} & \quad \text{one-CLF} & \text{teacher} & \text{be-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

'He will be a teacher.'

From (2), it can be seen that the non-finite verb that occurs in a simple clause is followed by a finite element which is known as the auxiliary. In this kind of clauses, the auxiliary verb occurs as a finite element and is able to take all the related grammatical categories associated with the verb as tense, aspect, person etc. On the other hand, the main verbs such as \( k^{h} \) 'eat' occur as a non-finite element containing various non-finite suffixes such as -i 'NF'.

The main verb + auxiliary sequence that occurs in a simple clause carries an aspectual connotation as to whether the situation described by the verb is completed or is ongoing (cf. §4.3.3). (6) and (7) from modern Assamese and MKR respectively, illustrate.

(6)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rame} & \quad \text{sit}^{h} \text{i} & \text{lik}^{h} \text{i} & \text{ase.} \\
\text{Ram-ERG} & \quad \text{letter} & \text{write-NF} & \text{be-3}
\end{align*}
\]

'Ram is writing a letter.'

(7)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sinhāsane} & \quad \text{basiyā} & \text{āchanta} & \text{daśaratha.} \\
\text{throne-LOC} & \quad \text{sit-NF} & \text{be-3} & \text{Dasarath}
\end{align*}
\]

'Dasarath is sitting on the throne.'

(Ay, Ch. 2, V. 5)
In both (6) and (7), the main verb + auxiliary sequences likhi ase ‘is writing’ and basiyā ñchant ‘is sitting’ carry the aspectual connotation of progression.

Apart from aspectual connotation, the main verb + auxiliary sequences express such concepts as permission, necessity or ability, as illustrated in (8) (cf. §4.4.2).

\[ (8) \quad \text{trailokya grāsīte pūre ghora niśācara.} \]

\[ \text{trailokya grās-ite pūr-e ghora niśācara} \]

‘The frightful night-walker can devour the three worlds.’

(Lañ, Ch. 21, V. 4)

In (8), the main verb + auxiliary sequence grāsīte pūre ‘can devour’ expresses the concept of ability.

In complex sentences, on the other hand, two or more clauses combine together. Sometimes all the combined clauses of complex sentences appear to have an independent status. In other situations, they contain only one independent clause and one or more dependent clauses. In the latter kind of sentence, the grammatical status of dependent clauses is always determined by the superordinate clause, while in the former kind, two (or more) sentences occur as daughters and co-heads of a higher sentence. Each of the daughter clauses has the internal structure of an independent sentence and neither is embedded in the other. This kind of sentence, however, will not be considered in the present discussion of non-finite verbs.

The primary concern of this chapter is to identify the non-finite constructions of Mādhav Kandali’s Rāmâyana and to give a synchronic description of the functions of these constructions. Accordingly, the next section (§5.2) presents a general discussion of multi-verb constructions relevant for non-finite constructions in MKR. The later sections deal with specific aspects of the non-finite construction of MKR dealing, in particular, with their occurrence (§5.3) and their distribution and function (§5.4).

5.2. Multi-verb constructions across languages

The two following sections look at multi-verb construction found generally across languages (§5.2.1) and more specifically in the context of MKR (§5.2.2). The present discussion draws on the model of Blake (1994) and Payne (1997).
5.2.1. The multi-verb construction

As observed earlier, non-finite verbs are found in multi-verb constructions. Such constructions can occur in the six following constructions found across languages (Payne 1997: 306).

a) Serial verb construction
b) Complement clause
c) Adverbial clause
d) Clause chains
e) Relative clause, and
f) Coordination

The distribution of these six constructions has been described by Payne (1997: 307) as shown in Figure 5.1.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single clause</th>
<th>Complement clause</th>
<th>Clause chain</th>
<th>Coordination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High degree of</td>
<td>Serial verb</td>
<td>Adverbial clause</td>
<td>Relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grammatical integration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

**Figure 5.1 Functional line for the six construction types**

This functional line presents two extremes on both sides: the leftmost extreme exhibits a high degree of grammatical integration, while the rightmost extreme exhibits no integration. Any language of the world may have any number of these six constructions types which fall somewhere in between these two extremes. As the line shows, the construction that exhibits the highest degree of grammatical integration is realised as a single clause. Serial verb constructions, as shown in Figure 5.1 are almost at one extreme on the left and are thus considered more or less as a single clause. Coordination, on the other hand, exhibits hardly any integration and is therefore realized as two distinct clauses.

Two other important aspects relevant to the study of non-finite verbs will be briefly mentioned here. These concern deverbal adjectival suffixes and nominalizers. Some languages are found to have these two kinds of markers which may be homophonous to some non-finite markers in those languages. The suffix -a of modern Assamese can be taken as an example. This suffix occurs in three ways: as a non-finite suffix, as a
deverbal adjectival suffix, and as a nominalizer. The distinguishing features of the
deverbal adjectival suffix -a that serve to keep it apart from the homophonous non-
finite marker in modern Assamese has already been discussed in Chowdhary (2008: 
232) and hence will not be repeated here. However, a brief discussion of the process of
nominalization is offered below to show its relevance to the non-finite construction.

The nominalized structure is not a subordinate clause but the functional equivalent
of a subordinate clause. The process of nominalization has the effect of reducing the
grammatical integrity between the subordinate clause and the superordinate clause. The
nominalization may be partial or complete. Where it is complete, the result is a noun
phrase and it functions as a core argument of the verb in a single clause. There is a
correlation between form and function involved in the process of nominalization. Blake
states this form-function correlation using the functional scale given below.

Form: finite> non-finite> partial nominalization> full nominalization
Function: outer adjunct> inner adjunct> complement> core function
(Blake 1994: 111)

According to him, when the biclausal structure of any matrix-subordinate sequence
containing two finite elements occurs in the extreme left of this functional scale, then
the function of subordinate clause is as an outer adjunct of the matrix verb. On the other
hand, when a biclausal structure moves towards the full nominalization process, then it
reaches the extreme right of the functional scale and functions as core arguments of a
single clause.

From the above sequence, it is clear that only the non-finite and the partial
nominalization stages on the functional scale are relevant to the present discussion of
the non-finite construction.

Finally, it may be noted that languages use different formal conventions to mark
non-finite forms. Some languages use a set of non-finite particles to carry the
information of non-finite as the to infinitive in English. However, other languages, such
as Assamese, express the relation with a special set of inflections.

From the above discussion, it can be seen that non-finite constructions occur in both
simple and complex sentences. In simple sentences, they occur in the sequence of main
verbs and auxiliary verbs. The auxiliary verbs can be either modal auxiliaries or
aspectual auxiliaries. In complex sentences, the non-finite verbs optionally occur in
embedded complement clauses, in embedded adverbial clauses and in clause chaining constructions. Sometimes, however, they occur as an adjectival modifier of the nominal elements of a matrix clause. Though nominalization is a process related to the subordination, the nominalizing suffixes cannot be considered as non-finite markers. With the process of nominalization, the grammatical integration between the subordinate and matrix clause is increased and the status of subordinate clause shifts towards the core functions of the matrix verb.

After this general discussion of multi-verb constructions found in languages of the world, the next section takes a more specific look at the multi-verb construction in the context of MKR.

5.2.2. Multi-verb constructions in MKR

Among the six types of multi-verb construction mentioned in §5.2.1, the coordination construction contains two or more verb roots that are independent in grammatical status. Hence, the discussion of coordination is not relevant for the discussion of non-finite constructions in MKR. On the other hand, the multi-verb sequence occurring in the other five constructions contains either two finite verbs or the sequence of one finite verb preceding or following one or more non-finite verbs. Therefore, such sequences are relevant to the present study.

In this regard, the status of the serial verb construction as one of the multi-verb construction types in Assamese is not fully established yet. Although scholars like Post (2004) have discussed some of its aspects, it will require further study on whether the non-finite and finite sequences of Assamese discussed in that study can be considered as verb serialisations or simply as a main verb containing non-finite markers and an auxiliary sequence. However, it is commonly known that one major diachronic source for auxiliary verbs is serial verbs (Payne 1997: 10). The matter of verb serialisation in MKR will not be discussed any further since it is beyond the scope of the present study. Rather, as stated earlier, the study of the function of non-finite markers found in this text is the primary concern of the following sections. Accordingly, the occurrence of non-finite markers and their function in Mādhav Kandali’s Rāmāyaṇa in the light of the general discussion provided above will be examined. §5.3 will discuss the non-finite markers and their occurrence. The functions of these markers will be surveyed in §5.4.
5.3. Non-finite markers and their occurrence in MKR

The non-finite verbs in MKR are marked with a special set of inflectional suffixes. Thirteen suffixes mark non-finite forms. These are: -ante, -âyô, -i, -îbâka, -îyâ, -îte, -îbe, -îta, -îbeka, -île, -îlante, -îbāra, and -îse. Some of these suffixes have homophonous dimorphemic forms, such as (i)l-ante 'PST-3', (i)l-e 'PST-3', (i)b-e 'FUT-3' etc.. As discussed in the previous chapter, These latter forms are different from their homophonous counterparts on various formal grounds.

Apart from the simple clause mentioned in §5.1, the non-finite form occurs in complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses. The next two sections (§5.3.1 & §5.3.2) will deal with these clauses by first giving a general background of these clauses and then examining them in the specific context of MKR.

5.3.1. Occurrence in complement clauses and adverbial clauses

Complement clauses containing non-finite forms function as core arguments of the matrix verb. The presence of these clauses is required by the sub-categorisation of the verb in the superordinate clause. On the other hand, adverbial clauses function as adverbials and serve to modify a verb phrase or a whole clause. An adverbial clause is not subcategorized by the verb, but is added to the sentence to provide various kinds of information. It carries the same kinds of information expressed by adverbs, e.g. time, place, manner, purpose, reason, condition etc. Examples (9) and (10) illustrate complement and adverbial clauses containing a non-finite element.

(9) It isn’t so easy to do linguistics. (Taken from Payne 1997: 315)

(10) He ran to get help. (Taken from Payne ibid.: 317)

In (9), the non-finite complement clause to do linguistics functions as a subject complement. However, in (10), the non-finite clause to get help functions as an adverbial of purpose, since it cannot occur as a logical argument of the main verb ran, which is intransitive. As a non-finite clause, it provides additional information.

Adverbial clauses can function as arguments and adjuncts. But the nature of this kind of arguments is different from the nature of terms. Adverbial clauses functioning
as arguments are known as oblique arguments\(^1\) (§7.1). The difference between oblique arguments and adjuncts is illustrated by the following examples from modern Assamese.

(11) *rame  
\[ \text{ram-e} \]  
\[ \text{hal pa-i} \]  
Ram-ERG  
\[ \text{love-3} \]

'Ram loves.'

(12) *ram  
\[ \text{go-l} \]  
Ram  
\[ \text{go-PST} \]

'Ram went.'

In both (11) and (12), a post-V element is required for complementation as shown in (13-14).

(13) rame  
\[ \text{taik} \]  
\[ \text{hal pa-i} \]  
Ram-ERG  
\[ \text{she.DST-DAT love-3} \]

'Ram loves her.'

(14) ram  
\[ \text{gorolo} \]  
\[ \text{gol} \]  
Ram  
\[ \text{house-DIRT go-PST} \]

'Ram went home.'

In (13), \textit{taik} functions as an object. However, in (14), \textit{gorolo} functions as an oblique argument.

The difference between an adjunct and an oblique argument is illustrated by (15).

\(^1\) The expressions \textit{terms} and \textit{arguments} have been adopted from Kroeger (2005: 57). A \textit{term} indicates direct arguments of verbs, i.e., subjects and objects. \textit{Oblique arguments} are opposed to terms or direct arguments in the sense that the grammatical relationship between a verb and this type of arguments is less close and less significant than the relationship between the verb and its subject or two objects, but closer and more significant than the relationship between the verb and its adjuncts. Other linguists like Quirk et al (1985: 505) have used the term \textit{obligatory predication adjunct} instead of oblique argument, to refer to the arguments as illustrated in (14). In the present study, the terms oblique argument and adjunct have been used to refer to the degree closeness of an adverbial element to the verb.
In (15), *kali* and *goroloi*, both function as adverbials in a broader sense, i.e., as an adverbial of time and as an adverbial of place, respectively. However, their function within the clause is not similar. In (15), the adverbial *kali* functions as an adjunct while the adverbial *goroloi* functions as an oblique argument. The intransitive verb *gol* obligatorily requires an adverbial of place as its complement, but not an adverbial of time.

Out of these complement and adverbial clauses, the non-finite forms in MKR are mostly found in adverbial clauses where they function as an adjunct of the matrix clause, as (16) illustrates.

In this example, the non-finite clause containing the -ante ending, *āmi nathākante* functions as an adjunct of the matrix verb *karilanta*.

Sometimes, adjuncts refer to some prior situation that has already taken place. Thus, (17) contains non-finite clauses (with the non-finite marker -/ in *kari* and *eri*) that refer to prior events occurring in a sequence.
5.3.2. Occurrence in relative clauses

In addition to complement clauses and adverbial clauses, non-finite forms occur in such syntactic constructions that are regarded typologically as non-finite relative clauses, as (18) from modern Assamese illustrates.

(18) rame dija kitapkhon moi porhilu
Ram-ERG give-NF book-CLF I read-PST-1

‘I read the book given by Ram.’

A construction such as *rame di-ja kitapkhon* ‘the book given by Ram’ in (18) can be analysed in terms of two views that are considered below.

(1) In traditional English grammar, this type of construction is not regarded as a relative clause since the term *clause* is restricted to a construction containing a finite verb, not one containing a non-finite verb as in (18). From this point of view, the construction containing the non-finite element in (18) is not a clause, and hence, not a relative clause. Rather, the sentence given above is preferred to analyse as a single clause than two clauses. According to this analysis, (18) is a single clause of which *rame dija kitapkhon* is a noun phrase functioning as the object of the verb *porhilu*. The construction *rame dija* functions as an adjectival modifier of the noun *kitapkhon* within the noun phrase.

(2) On the other hand, linguists like Comrie (1981: 135-137) and Payne (1997: 327) would consider an example like (18) as the combination of a main clause and a subordinate clause. According to this point of view, a phrase like *rame dija kitapkhon* would be regarded as a relative clause, typologically known as a non-finite relative clause. Three arguments support this claim: Firstly, the construction in (18) fulfils the same function as an English relative clause. Secondly, the relative clause, considered in the sense of a restrictive relative clause, invariably consists of a head and a restricting clause. The potential range of referents of the head is restricted by the restricting clause in terms of a proposition that is valid for the actual referents of the over-all construction. The third argument is based on the first two. If these two arguments are taken
to characterize the prototypical relative clause, then they help to explain and compare relative clauses across languages, if the language specific syntactic differences as found in English are ignored. The first two arguments are purely functional, while the third is typological. If (18) is examined in terms of these two properties, then it can be seen that according to the first argument, in its restrictive interpretation, the relative clause restricts the potential reference of the head noun *kitapkhon* by telling us which particular book (i.e., the one that Ram gave me) is being referred to. The second interpretation establishes (18) as a relative clause since it has a head with a range of potential referents with the actual reference being limited to one of them (in this case, to one book) of which the proposition 'Ram gave me the book' is true. Moreover, the non-finite construction like *rame dija kitapkhon* has a straightforward paraphrase as a relative clause in the traditional sense as 'the book that was given by Ram'.

This type of construction is found not only in modern Assamese, but also in the Turkish language. The examples are from Comrie (ibid.: 135) and Payne (ibid.: 327).

(19)  
[Hasan-un Sinan-a ver-dig-i patate-i yedim.  
Hasan-of Sinan-to give -his potato-ACC I-ate  
'I ate the potato that Hasan gave to Sinan.'

(20)  
Eser [uyuy-na] kadın-i tanyor  
Eser sleep-PART woman-ACC knows  
'Eser knows the woman who is sleeping.'

The head of the relative clause in (19) is *patate* and *kadın* in (20). These two nouns are preceded by the relative clauses in brackets. In both sentences, the relative clauses function as adjectival modifiers of the head nouns. However, the non-finite markers occurring in both clauses are labelled differently. Comrie uses the term *nominalizing suffix* to refer to this type of non-finite markers whereas Payne uses the terms *participial*. In the present context, the term non-finite (NF) is used to refer to such markers based on their over all distribution at the clause level.

It should be noted that though English has a typical process of relative clause formation, the type of examples found in Turkish are also available in English, as in (21) (cited from Payne (ibid.: 327).
Eser knows the [sleep-ing] woman.

The -ing marker of this example is a marker of adjective derived from verb. Though traditional English grammar would not consider the non-finite verb forms exemplified above in modern Assamese (18), Turkish (19-20), and English (21) as clauses, they seem to fulfil the three criteria relevant for identifying relative clauses cross-linguistically. The difference is only that subordination is carried out primarily by means of finite clauses in languages like English and Assamese. But subordination in Turkish and other languages where the typical strategies of relative clause formation found in English, Assamese or other languages (i.e., adding a relativizer), are not available, is carried out by means of non-finite constructions exemplified above.

From the two views presented above, it appears that neither explanation can be ignored while analysing a sentence like (18), even though both views differ considerably in their approach to syntactic structure. From the surface structure of sentence like (18) demands the analysis of rame dija kitapkhon as a core argument (object) of the verbal element and rame dija as a modifier of the object. The external relation of this whole construction to the verb makes the matrix sentence a single clause. The verb of this matrix sentence is not concerned with the internal structure of the noun phrase rame dija kitapkhon. The internal relation of this phrase does not affect how the syntactic relation between the verb and its core arguments is expressed.

On the other hand, from a typological point of view, there is formal ground to reanalyse rame dija kitapkhon as a non-finite relative clause. First, it fits the definition of a relative clause. Secondly, it cannot be assumed that all languages of the world would have the same strategy of relativization. There are some languages which do not have the corresponding relativization strategy found in English or Assamese. Such languages encode the information carried by the relative clause in English or Assamese through using some other strategy. Language-specific strategies of relative clause construction as in English and Assamese prevent us from making a generalization where the range of cross-linguistic variation in relative clause formation found cross-linguistically can be accommodated.
The kind of non-finite relative clause described above is also occurs in MKR, as illustrated in (22).

(22) agasti dibāra dhanu tulīyā lailanta.
    agasti di-bāra dhanu tul-i-yā la-il-anta
Agasti give-NF bow pick up-NF take-PST-3

'(He) picked up the bow given by Agasti.'
(Ar, Ch. 8, V. 164)

In (22), agasti dibāra dhanu is a non-finite relative clause, functioning as the object of the verbal group tulīyā lailanta. The non-finite marker -ibre functions as an adjectivalizer. The clause agasti dibāra is a modifier of the head noun dhanu.

In addition to the functions in non-finite clauses discussed above, the non-finite verbal forms convey some inherent temporal/aspectual connotations through their occurrence in the superordinate clauses. Such aspectual connotations refer to simultaneity, duration, progression etc. For instance, in example (16), the non-finite form expresses the aspectual connotation of duration in colligation with the verb of the matrix clause.

This section presented a general discussion on the use of non-finite forms in cross-linguistic terms, followed by a look at non-finite markers in complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses in MKR. The next section surveys the functions of the various non-finite markers in MKR along with their places of occurrence. This section will also look at the functions of the non-finite clauses where these non-finite markers occur.

5.4. Distribution and Function of non-finite markers

It was stated above that non-finite markers occur in both simple and complex clauses. In the simple clause, they occur in a verbal group, while in the complex clause, they occur in complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses.

The distribution and function of non-finite markers in verbal group can be identified from their co-occurrence with different aspectual auxiliaries (grammatical and lexical) and modal auxiliaries.
In addition, the non-finite markers of MKR are also used to describe sequential events. Moreover, such markers also occur in PP constructions where they function as complements of the head of PP.

The present section has thirteen sub-sections, each dealing with the various non-finite markers as follows, -ante ending non-finite forms (§5.4.1), -iyã ending non-finite forms (§5.4.2), -i ending non-finite forms (§5.4.3) -ibäka ending non-finite forms (5.4.4), -iyã ending non-finite forms (5.4.5), -ite ending non-finite forms (§5.4.6), -ibe ending non-finite forms (§5.4.7), -ita ending non-finite forms (§5.4.8), -ibeka ending non-finite forms (§5.4.9), -ile ending non-finite forms (§5.4.10), -ilante ending non-finite forms (§5.4.11), -ibärä ending non-finite forms (§5.4.12) and -ise ending forms (§5.4.13).

5.4.1. -ante ending forms

This suffix occurs in adverbial clauses and in verbal groups consisting of non-finite aspectual auxiliary sequences of various kinds – adverbial clauses (§5.4.1.1), prior event marking (§5.4.1.2) and verbal groups (§5.4.1.3)

5.4.1.1. -ante ending adverbial clauses

The -ante ending forms mostly occur in embedded adverbial clauses where they function as adjuncts of different kinds, exemplified in (23)-(27). Such adjuncts have some inherent aspectual connotations when they co-occur with verbal forms of the main clause. The adverbial clauses can occur with or without a subject and an object.

(a) Adjunct of time

(23) āmi nathākante māwa karilanta doṣa.
āmi na-thāk-ante māwa kar-il-anta doṣa
we NEG-stay-NF mother do-PST-3.HON mistake

'The mother made the mistake in our absence.'

(Ay, Ch. 39, V. 24)
In (23), the non-finite marker -ante occurs in the embedded adverbial clause āmi nathākante. āmi functions as the subject of the non-finite verb nathākante and the embedded clause functions as an adjunct of time.

(b) Adjunct of result

(24) sitāka khojante rāma sugriwaka pāilā.
       sitā-ka khoj-ante rāma sugriw-aka pā-ilā
Sita-DAT search-NF Rama Sugriw-DAT get-PST-3
‘While looking for Sita, Ram met Sugriwa.’

(Kis, Ch. 23, V. 28)

In (24), the non-finite marker -ante occurs in the embedded adverbial clause sitāka khojante. sitāka functions as the object of the non-finite verb khojante and the embedded adverbial clause functions as an adjunct of result.

(c) Adjunct of circumstance

(25) hāsante khelante, nācante gāwante, rajanīgoṭa pohāila.
       hās-ante khel-ante nāc-ante gā-wante rajani-goṭa pohā-il-a
laugh-NF play-NF dance-NF sing-NF night-CLF become-PST-3
‘While laughing, playing, dancing, singing, it became morning.’

(Laṅ, Ch. 8, V. 10)

The adverbial clause in (25) containing the -ante ending non-finite verb functions as a circumstantial adjunct.

In all the three examples above, the non-finite forms have an aspectual connotation of duration. This aspectual meaning is not expressed by the non-finite verbs alone but in colligation with the verbal forms of matrix clause. In addition, to the meaning of durational aspect, the non-finite forms with -ante ending also refer to situations that are simultaneous to the situations denoted by the matrix verbs, as in (26). This embedded adverbial functions as an adjunct of manner.
(d) **Adjunct of manner**

(26) *mukha suṅgi cāhante madyara pāila ghrāṇa.*

mouth sniff-NF see-NF wine-GEN get-PST-3 smell

'He got the smell of wine while sniffing the mouth.'

(Su, Ch. 14, V. 11)

A further function of the adverbial clause containing an -ante ending non-finite form is that of an adjunct of condition, as (27) illustrates.

(e) **Adjunct of condition**

(27) *śunante maṅgala mile gucaya āpada.*

listen-NF well-being get-3 remove-NF danger

'As a result of listening, well-being is received, and danger is removed.'

(Kis, Ch. 16, V. 100)

5.4.1.2. **As a prior situation marker**

In addition to the various adjunct functions discussed in the previous section, -ante ending forms also serves to mark a prior action in sequential events, as in (28).

(28) *rājāyo āhante mota puchilanta kāja.*

king-EMPH come-NF I-LOC ask-PST-3 work

'The king came and asked me about the work.'

(Ay, Ch. 23, V. 24)

The event described by the non-finite form āhante in (28) happened before the event denoted by the main verb puchilanta.

5.4.1.3. **In verbal groups**

The -ante suffix is added to a non-finite verb occurring in any verbal group consisting of a non-finite verb followed by an auxiliary. The non-finite and auxiliary sequence compositionally signals different aspectual connotations. Linguists use the term
aspectual auxiliary to refer to such auxiliaries. It was mentioned in the last chapter that auxiliary verbs may be either grammatical or lexical (cf. §4.3.3). The -ante ending forms occur with both grammatical and lexical aspectual auxiliaries in a verb-auxiliary sequence. The next two sections (5.4.1.3.1-2) discuss the functions expressed by -ante ending non-finite verbs in colligation with different aspectual auxiliaries.

5.4.1.3.1. -ante ending form with grammatical aspectual auxiliary

The -ante ending non-finite form occurs with the grammatical aspectual auxiliary ṅ̆ch (cf. §4.3.3). It expresses the aspectual meaning of progression and always occurs with a preceding non-finite element. The -ante ending forms occurring with ṅ̆ch carry different kinds of progressive meanings depending on the inherent properties of the co-occurring lexical verbs (cf. §4.3.3). (29-30) illustrate.

(29) bhūmi  pāwe  cali  ṅ̆chāyā  kāndante
     bhūmi  pāw-e  cal-i  ṅ̆ch-āyā  kānd-ante
     land  foot-AVZR  go-NF  be-3  cry-NF

     ṅ̆patika  bhēṭa  pāiḷā
     ṅ̆pati-ka  bhēṭa  pā-il-ā
     king-DAT  see  get-PST-3

     (He/she) saw the king while (he) was crying lying on the floor.'
     (Kis, Ch. 15, V. 4)

(30) sahasreka  maḥādai  krandaṇa  karante  ṅ̆che
     sahasreka  maḥādai  krandaṇa  kar-anūtē  ṅ̆che-e
     many  queen  cry  do-NF  be-3

     bhūmita  pariṝā  gāṟāgarī
     bhūmi-ta  pariṝā  gāṟāgarī
     floor-LOC  fall-NF  rolling

     ‘Many queens are rolling about on the floor and crying.’
     (Kis, Ch. 15, V. 4)

In (29) and (30), the non-finite and auxiliary sequences ṅ̆chāyā kāndante and karante ṅ̆che convey the meaning of dynamic progression.
5.4.1.3.2. *-ante ending form with lexical aspectual auxiliary*

The *-ante* ending non-finite form occurs with the lexical aspectual auxiliary *thāk* ‘stay’ and expresses the aspectual meaning of progression, as in (31).

(31)  
\[ \text{kāndante thākilā keho dharaṇīta luṭī.} \]  
\[ \text{kānd-ante thāk-il-ā keho dharaṇi-ta luṭī-i} \]  

‘Somebody is lying on the earth crying.’

(Ay, Ch. 9, V. 7)

The verbal sequence *kāndante thākilā* in (31) conveys the aspectual meaning of duration.

5.4.2. *-āyā ending forms*

The *-āyā* ending non-finite forms occur in adverbial clauses (§5.4.2.1) and in verbal sequences of non-finites and aspectual auxiliaries (§5.4.2.2).

5.4.2.1. *-āyā ending adverbial clauses*

Like *-ante* ending forms, the *-āyā* ending forms in embedded adverbial clauses function as adjuncts express different aspectual connotations in co-occurrence with the verb forms of superordinate clauses.

(i) Adjunct of manner

(32)  
\[ \text{dāṅgara dīghala, sāla taru laiyā,} \]  
\[ \text{dāṅgara dīghala sāla taru la-iyā} \]  
big long Sala stick take-NF

\[ \text{bhaṅgāila senā kobāyā,} \]  
\[ \text{bhaṅg-ā-il-ā senā kobā-ṭā} \]  
chase-CAUS-PST-3 soldier beat-NF

‘Taking the big long stick of Sala tree, (he) chased the soldier by beating’

(Lañ, Ch. 50, V. 16)
In (32) the non-finite adverbial clause *sena kobāyā* functions as an adjunct of manner.

(33) *bhūmi cāyā kāndanta aṅgada bibhiṣāṇa.*
    *bhūmi cā-yā kānd-anta aṅgada bibhiṣāṇa*
land  look-NF  cry-3.HON  Angada  Bibhisan

‘Angad and Bibhisan are crying looking at the floor.’

(Lau, Ch. 50, V. 16)

In the second example, the non-finite form *cāyā* expresses a simultaneous activity happening together with the situation described by the matrix verb *kāndanta*.

(ii) Adjunct of time

The -āyā ending non-finite clauses also indicate a prior event that has already been completed before the event referred to in the matrix verb, as in (34).

(34) *sokaka tambāyā pāce bākya bulilanta.*
    *sok-aka tamb-āyā pāce bākya bul-il-anta*
grief-DAT  stop-NF  after  sentence  tell-PST-3

‘(S/he) started to talk after controlling the grief.’

(Ay, Ch. 26, V. 25)

In (34), from the use of the clausal linker *pāce*, it is clear that the sentence contains two sequential events happening one after another. In (35-37) also the non-finite marker -āyā similarly serves to mark prior actions, where the adverbial clauses containing this form function as adjuncts of time.

(35) *rāmaka guchāyā bharataka dibo deśa.*
    *rām-aka guch-āyā bharat-aka dī-b-o deśa*
Ram-DAT  remove-NF  Bharat-DAT  give-FUT-1  country

‘Removing Bharat, I will give the kingdom to Ram.’

(Ay, Ch. 5, V. 2)
After feeding water, (s/he) gave grass to the horse.'

(Ay, Ch. 18, V. 21)

'Crossing the forest (s/he) reached the residence of Barun.

(Ar, Ch. 15, V. 126)

5.4.2.2. In verbal groups

In addition to occurring in adverbial clauses, the -āya ending non-finite forms occur in verbal groups after the grammatical aspectual auxiliary āch and the lexical aspectual auxiliary thāk as illustrated in (38) and (39). In (38), the whole non-finite plus auxiliary sequence exhibits the meaning of dynamic progression while in (39), the non-finite plus auxiliary sequence indicates the meaning of habitual action.

'I am kept awake by the grief of father and brother.'

(Ay, Ch. 33, V. 5)

'(You) must always keep removing the leftover from Sita's meal.'

(Ar, Ch. 6, V. 82)
5.4.3. -/ ending forms
The verbal forms containing this marker occur in adverbial clauses, and in the verbal sequence of non-finite + aspectual auxiliary. This marker is also occurs as a prior event marker. The following sections deal with the occurrence of -/ ending forms in the adverbial clause (§5.4.3.1), prior event marking (§5.4.3.2) and verbal groups (§5.4.3.3).

5.4.3.1. In adverbial clauses
The non-finite clause containing the -/ending suffix functions as an adjunct, as in (40).

(40) pranamilā tiniyo ṛṣika kari māna.
pranām-il-ā tīnī-yo ṛṣi-ka kar-i māna
bow-PST-3 three-EMPH sage-DAT do-NF respect

'All three of them bowed to the sage with respect.'

(Ar, Ch. 1, V. 32)

In this example, the non-finite adverbial clause kari māna functions as an adjunct of manner.

5.4.3.2. As a prior action marking
The -/suffix is also refers to some prior situations that have already been completed before the action or situation described by the verb of main clause as illustrated in (41) - (44).

(41) sīṣu māri pelāwyā sarayura jale.
sīṣu mār-i pelā-wyā sarayu-ra jal-e
child kill-NF throw-3 Saraju-GEN water-LOC

'Killing the child (s/he) throws into the water of Saraju river.'

(Ay, Ch. 14, V. 70)

(42) birādhaka māri pesō yamara nagari.
birādh-aka mār-i pes-ō yam-ara nagari
Biradh-DAT kill-NF enter-1 Yam-GEN city

'Killing Biradh, (I) enter into the city of Yam.'

(Ar, Ch. 2, V. 56)
(Ar, Ch. 3, V. 5)

(43) *sītā rakṣā kari, ito bana eri,*
    Sita rescue do-NF this-CLF forest leave-NF

   *cali yāō āna desā.*
   move-NF go-1 another country

‘Rescuing Sita, leaving this forest, I will go to another country.’

(44) *mānuṣi sitāka etikṣape mārī khāō.*
    man-FEM Sita-DAT this moment kill-NF eat-1

‘(I) will eat the human female Sita this moment by killing.’

(Ar, Ch. 6, V. 55)

(41), (42), and (44) contain two clauses each: one non-finite and the other finite. The situations described by the non-finite verb *mārī* in the three embedded non-finite clauses, *śīṣu mārī, birādhaka mārī*, and *mānuṣi sitāka mārī* occur before the situations described by the main verbs *pelawya* in (41), *peśō* in (42), and *khāō* in (44). The verbs of the matrix clauses in all these examples motivate the expression of the different senses of *mārī* in all the instances (41, 42, and 44). The co-occurring matrix verb *pelawya* in the present tense gives an interpretation of the habitual present to the non-finite marker -/i in (41). Similarly, the co-occurring matrix verbs *peśō* and *khāō* lend an immediate future sense to -/i in (42) and in (44). (43) contains three clauses: two non-finites and one finite. The verbs of these three clauses describe three situations, one occurring after another. The situations described by the verbs of the non-finite clauses *rakṣā kari* and *eri* happened before the situation described by the verb of the main clause *cali yāō*. 
5.4.3.3. *In verbal groups*

-\( \text{-i} \) ending non-finite forms occur in verbal groups consisting of the grammatical aspectual auxiliary \( \ddot{\text{a}}\text{ch} \) and the lexical aspectual auxiliary \( \text{thāk} \), as (45) and (46) illustrate.

(45) \[ \text{tāna samasara, puruṣeka taita, kāri} \]
\[ \text{he-HON equal man-one there do-NF} \]
\[ \text{āche hāta yora.} \]
\[ \text{āch-ē hāta yora} \]
\[ \text{be-3 hand together} \]

'\text{A man like him is folding his hands together}.'

(Ar, Ch. 3, V. 9)

(46) \[ \text{sabe kanya laiyā tote} \]
\[ \text{all-EMPH daughter take-NF you.INF-LOC} \]
\[ \text{thākō sewā kāri.} \]
\[ \text{thāk-ō sewā kar-i} \]
\[ \text{stay-1 worship do-NF} \]

'Taking all daughters (I) am staying worship you.'

(Ar, Ch. 13, V. 14)

In (45), the non-finite + aspectual auxiliary sequence \( kāri \ddot{\text{a}}\text{che} \) indicates stative progression. The second sequence in (46) \( \text{thākō sewā kāri} \) indicates habituality.

5.4.4. *-ibāka ending forms*

This form occurs in adverbial clauses (§5.4.4.1), complement clauses (§5.4.4.2), in verbal sequences of the non-finite + aspectual auxiliary and non-finite + modal auxiliary (§5.4.4.3), and in the complement position of a PP (§5.4.4.4).
5.4.4.1. In adverbial clauses

The -ibaka ending in embedded adverbial clauses functions as an adjunct of purpose only as exemplified in (47).

(47) sbāmīra bārttāka tora āila janaibaka.
husband-GEN information-DAT you-GEN come-PST-3 inform-NF

'(He) came to inform you about your husband.'
(Su, Ch. 16, V. 91)

Here, the non-finite adverbial clause sbāmīra bārttāka tora janaibāka ‘to inform about your husband’ functions as an adjunct of purpose.

In addition to the adjunct function, adverbial clauses containing this marker functions as an obligatory oblique argument, as in (48)-(50).

(48) rāmadūta huyā yāō sitā khujibāka.
Ram’s messenger become-NF go-1 Sita ask-NF

'As the messenger of Ram, (I/we) will go to ask for Sita.'
(Su, Ch. 30, V. 26)

(49) bālī badhibāka sīghre kariyō gamana.
Bali kill-NF quickly do-2FAM.IMP act of going

'Go quickly for killing Bali.'
(Kis, Ch. 7, V. 7)

(50) banaka yāibāka laksmaṇaka lage laila.
forest-DAT go-NF Laksmana-DAT with take-PST-3

'(He) took Laksmana with him for going to the forest.'
(Ay, Ch. 10, V. 89)

Each of the examples in (48-50) contains a verb of motion and necessarily requires an adverbial element to complete the sentence. All of them require a set of arguments
which are obligatory for those sentences. The non-finite and finite sequences compositionally signal a meaning of purposive aspect in all the above examples.

5.4.4.2. In complement clauses

The -ibäka ending non-finite form occurs in complement clauses functioning as an object and as a predicative subject complement, as in (51) and (52).

Object

(51) bulilohô rämaka yaibäka banamäja.
bul-il-o-hô râm-aka ya-ibäka banamäja
tell-PST-1 Ram-DAT go-NF middle of the forest
‘(I) told Ram to go to the forest.’

(Ay, Ch. 10, V. 112)

In (51), the non-finite form occurs in the complement clause yaibäka banamäja which functions as the direct object of the verb bulilohô of the main clause.

As predicative subject complement

(52) dewaräja haibäka bāpāra äche mana.
dewaräja ha-ibäka bāp-ara äch-e mana
the king of deity become-NF father-GEN have-3 wish
‘The father wishes to be the king of deity.’

(Ay, Ch. 7, V. 14)

The non-finite clause dewaräja haibäka in (52) functions as a predicative subject complement.

5.4.4.3. In verbal groups

The -ibäka ending non-finite form occurs in verbal sequences with lexical aspectual auxiliaries and with modal auxiliaries. In the verbal sequence of (53), it conveys the aspectual meaning of continuation while in the sequence of (54), it expresses the modal meaning of ability.
On reaching the mountain of Risyamukha, and falling down, the hero, Sugriwa started to groan in pain.'

(Su, Ch. 25, V. 57)

'(I) can remove the attachment on my own strength.'

(Su, Ch. 25, V. 57)

In addition, the non-finite clauses containing the -ibaka ending also function as modifiers of the core arguments of matrix verbs. Two types of modifying functions are expressed by this type of clauses. One is as the modifier of the subject of the matrix verb, as in (55). The other function is as the modifier of the object of the matrix verb, as in (56-57).

**Modifier of the subject of the matrix verb**

(55) caudolara nimitte yāibaka nāhi patha.

boundary-GEN for go-NF NEG.exist way 'There is no way to go because of the boundary.'

(Ay, Ch. 25, V. 20)

The non-finite clause caudolara nimitte yāibaka patha in (55) occurs as the subject of the matrix verb nāhi and the clause caudolara nimitte yāibaka functions as the modifier of the head noun patha.
Modifier of the object of the matrix verb

(56) bara māgi ācha mota ghumaṭi yāibāka.
    bara māg-i āch-a mo-ta ghumaṭi yā-ibāka
    boon beg-NF be-2INF I-LOC sleep go-NF

'(You) are begging me for the boon to sleep.'

(Laṅ, Ch. 19, V. 13)

(57) baṅcibāka yogya thāna kaiyo bitopana.
    baṅc-ibāka yogya thāna ka-iyo bitopana
    stay-NF suitable place say-2FAM pleasant

'Tell me about a pleasant place to stay.'

(Ar, Ch. 5, V. 52)

In (56), the non-finite clause ghumaṭi yāibāka bara functions as the object of the main clause where ghumaṭi yāibāka functions as the modifier of the head noun bara within the non-finite clause. Likewise, in (57), the non-finite clause baṅcibāka yogya thāna functions as the object of the matrix verb kaiyo where the clause baṅcibāka yogya functions as a modifier of the head noun thāna within the non-finite clause.

5.4.4.4. In the complement position of PPs

The -ibāka ending non-finite forms function as complements of the head of PPs lägi and prati, as (58-59) illustrate.

(58) bhaika melāibāka lägi yurilā upāya.
    bhaī-ka melā-ibāka lägi yur-il-ā upāya
    brother-DAT meet-NF for devise-PST-3 strategy

'He devised a strategy for meeting his brother.'

(Laṅ, Ch. 28, V. 58)

(59) laṅkāra caubhiti, jaṇṭāibāka prati, rāghawe ajīā karila.
    laṅkā-ra caubhiti jaṇṭā-ibāka prati rāghaw-e ajīā kar-il-a
    Lanka-GEN boundary identify-NF for Raghaw-ERG order do-PST-3

'Raghaw ordered for identifying the boundary of Lanka.'

(Laṅ, Ch. 8, V. 59)
In (58), the non-finite clause *bhaika melēibaka lägi upāya* functions as the object of the matrix verb *yurila*. The clause *bhaika melēibaka lägi* functions as the modifier of the head noun *upāya* within the non-finite clause. Moreover, within the non-finite clause, the non-finite form *melēibaka* occurs in the complement position of the head of the PP construction *lägi*. Similarly, in (59), the non-finite clause *lankāra caubhiti jaṅṭāibaka prati* functions as the object of matrix conjunct verb *ājā fåra*. Within the non-finite clause, the non-finite form *jaṅṭāibaka* functions as a complement of the head of the PP *prati*.

5.4.5. *-īyā ending forms*

This marker is found in embedded adverbial clauses (§5.4.5.1), and in verbal groups of non-finite + auxiliary (§5.4.5.2).

5.4.5.1. *In adverbial clauses*

The non-finite clauses containing *-īyā ending form* occur as adjuncts of various kinds in MKR, such as adjuncts of time, manner etc. Examples (60-64) illustrate.

**Adjunct of time**

(60) jāgiyā dekhilā rāma dāśaratha sutā.
    jāg-īyā dekh-il-ā rāma dāśaratha sutā
    awake-NF see-PST-3 Ram Dasarath son

‘On awaking, (he) saw Ram, the son of Dasarath.’
(Ay, Ch. 35, V. 18)

**Adjunct of manner**

(61) thiwa baiyā asure dharilā cakrabāndha.
    thiwa ha-īyā asur-e dhar-il-ā cakrabāndha
    stand be-NF demon-ERG catch-PST-3 Cakrabandh

‘Standing up, the demon caught Cakrabandh.’
(Kis, Ch. 22, V. 9)
The various adjuncts in (60-64) carry different kinds of aspectual connotations as discussed below.

In example (60), the non-finite clause functions as an adjunct of time, expressing a meaning of simultaneous aspect in colligation with the matrix verb. In (61)-(64), the non-finite clauses function as adjuncts of manner. The non-finite verb in (61) refers to a prior event occurring in a sequence of events, while in (62) and (63), the non-finite clauses express the aspectual meaning of simultaneity in colligation with the verbs of matrix clause. The non-finite clause in (64) expresses the aspectual connotation of result.

In addition to these functions, the -iya ending non-finite form occurs in a complex construction and indicates just a prior event marking in sequential events, as in (65) - (67).

(65) pratihāre kailā gaiyā bṛttānta samasta.
Pratihar-ERG tell-PST-3 go-NF event all
'Pratihar went and told all events.'
(Ay, Ch. 2, V. 5)
Gathering all the ministers, started to tell about the stories of Purana.

(Laṅ, Ch. 18, V. 1)

Snatching the necklace from the neck, (s/he) gave it that moment.

(Ay, Ch. 4, V. 18)

Two clauses are found in (65) - (67): one is a main clause and the other is a subordinate clause. The -iya ending non-finite forms of the subordinate clauses in the examples describe situations that happened before the ones described by the main verbs of the superordinate clauses.

5.4.5.2. In verbal groups

The -iya ending forms in verbal sequences are followed by lexical aspectual auxiliaries and carry the aspectual meaning of completion. (68-70) illustrate.

(S/he) cut him up into pieces.

(Laṅ, Ch. 48, V. 96)

Kuber sent off eight crore women.

(Ay, Ch. 34, V. 23)
The non-finite forms *chediýä* in (68), *patlaïtyä* in (69), and *haiýä* in (70) occur with the vector verbs *pelaila*, *dila*, and *parilanta*. In terms of its distributional behaviour in the clauses, the non-finite marker occurs as an ante-aspectizer. The function of this type of markers is determined by the aspectual auxiliaries with whom they occur (in this regard, see §4.3.3. and §4.4.2).

5.4.6. *-ite ending forms*

-ite ending non-finite forms occur in adverbial clauses (§5.4.6.1), complement clauses (5.4.6.2), verbal sequences (5.4.6.3), and adjectival clauses (5.4.6.5).

5.4.6.1. In adverbial clauses

Adjunct of direction and purpose

The non-finite form containing -ite is semantically equivalent to the English to infinitive form. It occurs in embedded adverbial clauses which function as adjuncts of direction and purpose, as in (71) and (72). In both sentences, the adverbial clauses containing this non-finite marker signal a purposive aspectual meaning.

(71) *nagara phuráite tānika nila hāte dhari.*

*nagara phur-á-ite tā-ì-ka ni-l-a hāt-e dhar-i*

city outing-CAUS-NF he-HON-DAT take-PST-3 hand-LOC catch-NF

'(S)he held him by hand and took him to see the city.'

(Su, Ch. 27, V. 26)

(72) *sarayuka āsilohō mergaka badhite.*

*sarayu-ka ās-il-ohō merga-ka badh-ìte*

Sarayu-DAT come-PST-1 deer-DAT kill-NF

'(I/we) came to Sarayu for killing the deer.'

(Ay, Ch. 21, V. 39)
5.4.6.2. In complement clauses

The -ite marker occurs in complement clauses functioning as a subject and object, as in (73) and (74-75), respectively.

(A) Subject

(73) bharatato haya sewa karite ucita.
    bharat-at-o haya sewa kar-ite ucita
Bharat-LOC-EMPH be worship do-NF should
'Bharata also should be worshipped.'
    (Ay, Ch. 32, V. 8)

(B) Object

(74) bulite Nathaila mora kaikeyi mawe
    bul-ite na-tha-il-a mo-ra kaikeyi mā-we
tell-NF NEG-keep-PST-3 I-GEN Kaikeyi mother-ERG
'My mother Kaikeyi left nothing to tell.'
    (Ay, Ch. 27, V. 45)

(75) rawana badhite dadā ājīā diyā moka.
    rawana badh-ite dadā ājīā di-ya m-ka
Rawan kill-NF brother order give-NF I-DAT
'Order me brother to kill Rawan.'
    (Lañ, Ch. 17, V. 36)

In (73), the non-finite clause sewa karite functions as the subject. In (74), the non-finite clause bulite functions as the object, while in (75), the non-finite clause rawana badhite is the direct object of the matrix conjunct verb ājīā diyā.

5.4.6.3. In verbal groups

Non-finite -ite occurs in verbal sequences before aspectual auxiliaries and modal auxiliaries as an ante-aspectizer and an ante-modal in (76) and (77).
Ante-aspectizer

(76) bāṛhite lāgilā hanumanta būrabara.
bāṛh-ite lāgil-ā hanumanta būrabara
grow-NF begin-PST-3 Hanumanta hero

‘Hero Hanumanta began to increase.’
(Su, Ch. 3, V. 18)

Ante-modal

(77) bhakata janaka bhāle rākhite lāgaya.
bhakata jan-aka bhāl-e rākh-ite lāg-a ya
devotee people-DAT well-AVZR keep-NF need-3.PR

‘It is necessary to keep the devotees well.’
(Lañ, Ch. 43, V. 61)

In (76), the verbal sequence bāṛhite lāgilā expresses the aspectual meaning of continuation. The verbal sequence rākhite lāgaya in (77) expresses the modal meaning of desirability.

5.4.6.4. In the complement position of PPs

(78) guhaka ānite prati dūtaka pathāila.

guh-aka ān-ite prati dūt-aka pathā-il-a
Guh-DAT bring-NF for messenger-DAT send-PST-3

‘The messenger was sent for bringing Guha.’
(Ay, Ch. 33, V. 6)

In (78), the non-finite form ānite functions as the complement of the head of PP prati.

5.4.6.5. In adjectival clauses

-ite ending forms occur in adjectival clauses where they function as a modifier of the object NP of the matrix verb as in (79).
(79) aura bara māgi, lailanta rājāta,
aura bara māg-i la-il-anta rājā-ta
and boon beg-NF take-PST-3HON king-LOC

bharataka dite rāja.
bharat-aka di-te rāja
Bharat-DAT give-NF kingdom

‘(She) begged another boon of giving the throne to Bharat from the king.’

(Ay, Ch. 11, V. 19)

In (79), the non-finite clause bharataka dite rāja functions as an adverbial clause of purpose, modifying the verb of the matrix clause bara māgi lailanta.

5.4.7. -ibe ending forms

These occur in adverbial clauses (§5.4.7.1), verbal sequences (§5.4.7.2), and in complement positions of PPs (§5.4.7.3).

5.4.7.1. In adverbial clauses

The use of non-finite clauses containing -ibe ending form is rare in MKR. Whenever it occurs as an adverbial, it expresses purpose, as illustrated in (80).

(80) tomāka jagāibe, āmāka pathāila.
tomā-ka jagā-ibe āmā-ka pathā-il-a
you-DAT awaken-NF we-DAT send-PST-3

‘We were sent for awakening you.’

(Laṅ, Ch. 18, V. 45)

In (80), the non-finite form carries a purposive aspectual meaning in colligation with the matrix verb pathāila.

5.4.7.2. In verbal groups

The suffix -ibe is attached to verb forms preceding a modal auxiliary and signals the modal meaning of desire like the following example.
Here, the verbal sequence *yujibe khoje* expresses the modal meaning of desire. The
-ibe ending form *yujibe* functions as a complement of *khoje* and expresses a sense of
purpose.

### 5.4.7.3. In the complement position of PPs

(82)  

\[
\text{jora dibe lagi kato cāpila sannita.} \\
\text{force give-NF for where-EMPH approach-PST-3 close}
\]

(He/she approached the bow to find out where the force needs to be given.)

(Ar, Ch. 1, V. 82)

In (82), the -ibe ending non-finite form occurs as the complement of the head of PP *lāgi*.

### 5.4.8. *-ita* ending forms

The suffix *-ita* is found in adverbial clauses and in verbal sequences only. In adverbial
clauses, the clauses containing this marker function as adjuncts of purpose and signal a
purposive aspectual meaning in combination with the matrix verb. In verbal sequences,
it is attached to forms preceding modal auxiliaries and expresses the meaning of
willingness. (83) and (84) respectively illustrate.

**Adjunct of purpose**

(83)  

\[
\text{uthiyoka dada, sītāka khujita pasīyō i-fo ban-ata.} \\
\text{get up-2FAM brother Sita-DAT search-NF reach-2FAM he-CLF forest-LOC}
\]

‘Get up brother, we will enter this forest to look for Sita.’

(Ar, Ch. 19, V. 10)
In verbal sequences

(84) samaste sambhṛta kichu nalāge khujita.
    samast-e sambhṛta kichu na-lāg-e khuj-ita
    all-EMPH available anything NEG-need-3 ask-NF
    ‘All things are available, no need to ask for anything.’
    (Laṅ, Ch. 48, V. 34)

An -īta ending non-finite form can also occur in non-finite relative clauses as a modifier of the head N which, in turn, functions as an object of the matrix predicate, as in (85).

(85) rāmara likhita bidhi bādhi bādhi bādhi kemane.
    rām-ara likh-īta bidhi bādhi bādhi bādhi kemane
    Ram-GEN write-NF fate obstrue-FUT-3 how
    ‘How can anybody obstruct what fate has already written for Rama?’
    (Ay, Ch. 5, V. 27)

In (85), the non-finite relative clause rāmara likhita bidhi functions as the object of matrix verb bādhi and the phrase rāmara likhita functions as a modifier of the head noun bidhi.

5.4.9. -ibeka ending forms

These can occur in adverbial clauses (§5.4.9.1) and in verbal groups (§5.4.9.2).

5.4.9.1. In adverbial clauses

The -ibeka ending non-finite form occurring in embedded adverbial clauses functions as an adjunct of place of superordinate clause as in (86) and signals a sense of purpose.

(86) sarpa gil-ibeka yena garu-eka yāya.
    sarpa gil-ibeka yena garu-e ka yā-ya
    snake swallow-NF like Garur-one go-3
    ‘Just as Garur, (it) goes to swallow the snake.’
    (Ar, Ch. 8, V. 129)
5.4.9.2. In verbal groups

The -ibeka suffix is attached to verbal forms preceding the modal auxiliary pāre and denotes the modal meaning of ability, as in (87).

(87) kon-e kah-ibeka pāre tāhāra mahata.
    who-ERG say-NF can-3 he-GEN greatness
    ‘Who can tell his greatness?’
    (Su, Ch. 14, V. 97)

In (87), the -ibeka ending non-finite form kahibeka forms a verbal group with the co-occurring modal auxiliary pāre and express the modal meaning of ability.

5.4.10. -ile ending forms

The -ile ending forms occur only in embedded adverbial clauses, functioning as future conditionals, as in (88) and (89). The occurrence of these forms with matrix verbs in the future tense helps to identify them as future conditionals.

(88) rājā bhaile kariba sainya-ka bahumāna.
    king be-NF do-FUT-3 soldier-DAT much respect
    ‘When he becomes a king, he will respect the soldiers very much.’
    (Ay, Ch. 3, V. 28)

(89) banabāse gaile bara nikāra pāiba.
    banishment-DIRT go-NF very suffering get-FUT-3
    ‘If you go on banishment, you will suffer very much.’
    (Ay, Ch. 10, V. 79)

In (88-89), the future reference of matrix verbs kariba and pāiba motivate the interpretation of -ile as a future conditional.
5.4.11. -<i>ilante</i> ending forms

The conditional use of -<i>ilante</i> ending non-finite clauses is another feature that available of MKR, as illustrated in (90).

(90)  
\begin{align*}
\text{he.HON} & \text{ keep-NF} & \text{ know-FUT-2FAM} & \text{ stone-LOC} \\
\text{tehe r kh-ilante, j nib} & \text{ sil-ta,} \\
\text{tehe r kh-ilante} & \text{ j n-ib-} & \text{ sil-ta} \\
\text{hanile nahi} & \text{ marapa.} \\
\text{han-il} & \text{ nahi} & \text{ marapa} \\
\text{hit-NF} & \text{ no} & \text{ death} \\
\end{align*}

‘If he (God) protects, be assured that there is no death even if you are speared by stone.’

(Kis, Ch. 19, V. 20)

5.4.12. -<i>ibara</i> ending forms

These forms are attached to adverbial clauses (§5.4.12.1) and non-finite relative clauses (§5.4.12.2). Their occurrence in non-finite relative clauses is more extensive.

5.4.12.1. In adverbial clauses

-<i>ibara</i> ending forms occur in embedded adverbial clauses and function as an adjunct of purpose as well as direction, as in (91)-(93).

(A) Adjunct of purpose

(91)  
\begin{align*}
\text{kusara ye kantaka dibara nahi thawa} \\
kus-ara ye kantaka di-bara nahi thawa \\
kusa-GEN that obstruction give-NF NEG.be place \\
\end{align*}

‘There is no place to give obstruction with kusa grass’

(Lah, Ch. 48, V. 202)

(92)  
\begin{align*}
\text{mai as-i bhaillo sita dekhibara betu.} \\
\text{mai as-i bha-il} & \text{ sita dekh-ibara betu} \\
\text{I come-NF} & \text{ be-PST-1 Sita see-NF for} \\
\end{align*}

‘I have come to see Sita.’

(Su, Ch. 21, V. 8)
In (91-92), नही ठावा and मई अशि भाइलो are main clauses, where कुश्रा ये कृष्टका दिखा and सिता देखिबाँ हेतु are non-finite clauses. These two non-finite clauses function as adjuncts of purpose.

(B) Adjunct of direction

(93) माठा तूलि काहिलांता पुरिबारा दिशा।
    माठा तुल-ि काह-ि-अंता पुर-ि-बारा दिशा
    head raise-NF look-PST-3HON burn-NF direction

  ‘Raising the head, looked in the direction of burning.’
  (Su, Ch. 29, V. 16)

On the other hand, (93), the non-finite clause पुरिबारा दिशा functions as the adjunct of direction.

5.4.12.2. In non-finite relative clauses

-िबारा ending non-finite forms occur as modifiers of head nouns which, in turn, function as subjects and objects of the matrix predicates, as (94) and (95) respectively, illustrate.

(A) Modifier of subject NP of matrix verb

(94) बापा पाठिीबारा दूते सिग्रे अनिलेका।
    बापा पाठिी-िबारा दूत-े सिग्रे अन-ि-ि-ले-का
    father send-NF messenger-ERG quickly bring-PST-3

  ‘The messenger sent by father brought (them) quickly.’
  (Ay, Ch. 26, V. 22)

(95) इन्द्राजिते मारिबारा सबे सेना जिला।
    इन्द्राजित-ि मार-ि-बारा सब-े सेना जि-ि-ला
    Indrajit-ERG kill-NF all-EMPH soldier alive-PST-3

  ‘All the soldiers killing by Indrajit were getting alive.’
  (Lah, Ch. 28, V. 2)

In (94), the non-finite relative clause बापा पाठिीबारा दूते is the subject of the matrix clause, and the clause containing the non-finite marker बापा पाठिीबारा functions as the modifier of the head noun दूते within the non-finite clause. In (95), the non-finite relative clause इन्द्राजिते मारिबारा सबे सेना functions as the subject of the main clause.
and the clause *indrajite maribara* is a modifier of the head noun *sena* within the non-finite clause. The head nouns *dute* and *sena* carry two different roles in these examples: first, they function as the subject of the main clause and second, they also function as the object of the modifying clause.

**(B) Modifier of object NP of matrix verb**

(96)  
*ausadha paibara katha kata karō suddhi.*  
medicine get-NF word where do-1 ask-NF  
‘Whom should I ask where the medicine is found?’  
(Lañ, Ch. 46, V. 47)  

(97)  
*yāhāra prasāde harāibara raja pailo.*  
s/he-GEN favour-LOC lose-NF throne get-PST-1  
‘Through whose favour, (I/we) found the lost king.’  
(Lañ, Ch. 9, V. 180)  

On the other hand, in (96) and (97), the non-finite relative clauses *ausadha paibara* *katha* and *harāibara raja* serve as objects of the main clause. The clauses containing the non-finite marker function as modifiers of the head nouns *katha* and *raja*. Here also, the head nouns carry two roles. In (96), the head noun functions as the object of the main clause on the one hand, and the predicative subject complement of the modifying clause on the other; Similarly, in (97), the head noun functions as the object of the main clause, but at the same time, it is interpreted as being the subject of the modifying clause.

### 5.4.13. *-ise ending forms*

The *-ise* marker is added to verb forms following the modal auxiliary *khojasa* and signals the meaning of intention, as in (98).
5.6. **Summary**

In this chapter, fourteen different non-finite endings forms found in MKR were surveyed. It was found that these forms occur in both simple and complex sentences. In simple sentences, these occur with a set of aspeсtual and modal auxiliaries. The combinations of these non-finite forms + aspectual auxiliaries and non-finite forms + modal auxiliaries serve to express different aspectual and modal meanings.

In complex sentences, the non-finite forms occur in three different constructions: adverbial clauses, complement clauses, and non-finite relative clauses. In their occurrence in embedded adverbial clauses, these forms function as adjuncts of different kinds, such as time, manner, purpose, condition etc. However, in complement clauses, they function as core arguments of the matrix predicates. In relative clause constructions, the clauses containing the non-finite elements function as modifiers of the head NP of the matrix predicates.

Apart from these functions, the non-finite elements of MKR can function as complements of PPs. These elements occur in adjectival clauses as well. All the non-finite forms found in MKR are summarized in Table 5.1

**Table 5.1. Form and function of non-finite verbs in MKR**

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<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
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<th>Function of the Markers</th>
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| Verbal groups     | Non-finite + aspectual auxiliary | Continuation (76) |
|                   | Non-finite + modal auxiliary | Desirability (77) |

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