Chapter - 6

Non-Finite Verb
6.0 Chapter Overview

This chapter of the thesis deals with the morphology of non-finite verb forms. The description of the finite verb morphology is already discussed in previous chapter under the title “grammatical categories of verb”.

6.1 Introduction

Generally there are two verb forms available in languages i.e. a finite verb and a non-finite verb. Finite forms are those verb forms which maintain their primary verbal characteristics when used in a sentence whereas non-finite verb forms are those verbs forms which loose or decrease some of their primary verbal characteristics when used in the new role. Look at the following English examples:

(6/1)  a. He eats an apple.
       b. Eating apple is good for health.

In these two examples we may see two verb forms of English verb ‘to eat’. These are eats and eating. In first sentence eats is an example of finite verb form, it expresses PNG (3SG.MAS), tense (PRS), voice (active), mood (indicative) and aspect (non-perfect non-continuous i.e. HAB) whereas eating in second sentence is an example of non-finite verb forms. It is non-finite because unlike eats it is not functioning as the main verb of the clause and also not marked for person, number and gender.

Similarly in Bajjika too we have a finite and non-finite distinction in verb forms. Look at the following two sets of examples in Bajjika:

(6/2)  a. $u\cdot \phi m k\text{-}\text{e}\text{-}l\text{e}$
       3SG-NOM mango eat-PST.3SG
       ‘He/She ate mango.’

       b. $h n\cdot \phi m k\text{-}\text{e}\text{-}l\text{e}$
       3SG.HN-NOM mango eat-PST.3SG.HN
       ‘He/She (HHN) ate mango.’
c.  h m-∅   m   kʰɑeb
   1SG-NOM   mango   eat-FUT.1SG
   ‘I will eat mango.’

In these examples the verb forms such as k el k, k el n and k eb are examples of finite verb forms because these verb forms are occurring in a clause which may be labelled as ‘main clause’ and manifest tense, aspect, mood and also phi (PNG) features. In (6/2-a & b), the verb forms are in past tense, while in (6/2-c), it is in future tense. They also show agreement with the subject of the predicates.

Now look at the following sentences:

(6/3) a.  m    kʰɑit   laik   ke   bol-
       mango   eat-IPFV.PTCP   boy   GEN   call-IMP
       ‘Call that mango eating guy.’

b.  u    kʰəndi    n   or- t
    3SG   eat-INF   NEG   leave-FUT-3SG
    ‘He will not leave eating.’

c.  h m    m    kʰɑit   r h- b
    1SG-NOM   mango   eat-IPFV.PTCP   remain-FUT.1SG
    ‘I would be eating mango.’

In these sentences (6/3-a, b & c), the verb form k ɑt and k n i unlike the above examples do not exhibit tense and also do not exhibit agreement. These verbs forms are termed as non-finite verb forms. Although, in these examples we can only identify two types of non-finite verb forms, these are-- (i) imperfective participle and (ii) infinitive. In above two sentences k ɑt in sentence (6/3-a & c) is an example of

1 Non-finite verbs do not show agreement with either subject or object. They do not change their form even when the person, number and gender of the subject changes or even when the tense of the clause change.
imperfective participle where as k n i in (6/3-b) is an example of infinitive. But the range of non-finite verb form is not limited to these two types only. Beside these there are other non-finite verb forms too such as conjunctive participle, perfective participle and oblique form of these non-finite verb forms.

In this study we have tried to follow the above notion of finite and non-finite verb distinction while presenting the morphology of non-finite verb in Bajjika. However it may be clarified that Bajjika non-finite verbs do express gender and number sometimes though not person.

6.2 Non-Finite Verb in Bajjika

In literature the general notion of non-finite verb forms differs from scholar to scholar and from language to language. This notional difference is basically due to the difference of empirical evidence obtained from different languages. For instance Turlova & Pavlova's (2012) analysis of verbals in which Turlova & Pavlova's (2012) point outs verbals as those verb forms which do not express person, number or mood. However, several Indian languages such as Hindi-Urdu and others provide evidence where gender and number are marked in non-finite forms.

6.3 The Morphology of Non-Finite Verb in Bajjika

The morphology of various types of non-finite verb forms in Bajjika language is being described under following headings:

6.3.1 The Infinitives

The infinitive in Bajjika is formed by the suffixes, -nɑi & -e attached to the verb stems. It does not exhibit tense rather functions as English gerundives.

(6/4) a okr kʰe-l-nɑi d p s n r he
    3SG.ACC play-INF much like be.PST

‘He was fond of playing.’
CHAPTER 6: NON-FINITE VERBS

b helnci seh t ke lel ik r h t
  swimming health of for good be.FUT
  ‘Swimming will be good for health.’

The infinitive co-occurs with a finite verb in Bajjika and behaves like a nominal. It may function either as a subject or object. Look at the following examples:

(6/5) a okr kʰɛl-nɔi d p s n r h e [Object]
  3SG.ACC play-INF much like be.PST
  ‘He was fond of playing.’

b helnci seh t ke lel ik r h t [Subject]
  swimming health of for good be.FUT
  ‘Swimming will be good for health.’

On the basis of the two infinitive suffixes mentioned above we may have two types of infinitives in Bajjika. These are nɔi-infinitive and e-infinitive. The n- infinitives are generally unmarked whereas e-infinitives are marked. These are discussed below:

6.3.1.1 n i-infinitive

This is the form which has been taken as citation form throughout the present thesis, as it is the form in which the verb occurs in the dictionary or lexicon. Some of the examples and their illustration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitives</th>
<th>V. Stems</th>
<th>INF.SUF</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pin i</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>-n i</td>
<td>‘drinking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p n i</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>-n i</td>
<td>‘reading’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni orn i</td>
<td>ni or</td>
<td>-n i</td>
<td>‘squeezing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lik n i</td>
<td>lik</td>
<td>-n i</td>
<td>‘writing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic illustrations:
CHAPTER 6: NON-FINITE VERBS

(6/7) a. *pi-*nɑi or r

drink-INF leave and home go-IMP

‘Leave drinking and go home.’

drink-Inf leave and home go-IMP

b. *kəp*nɑi* b nd k r

cloth squeeze-INF stop do-IMP

‘Stop cloth squeezing.’

kəp*nɑi* b nd k r

cloth squeeze-INF stop do-IMP

c. *pəɽ-nɑi* *luk*-*nɑi* b nd k r

read-INF write-INF stop do-IMP

‘Stop the studying’

pəɽ-nɑi* *luk*-nɑi* b nd k r

read-INF write-INF stop do-IMP

It is interesting to note that -nɑi can occur with explicator compound verbs as well. Marking of -nɑi with compound verb stems shown in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>INF.SUF</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m r de</td>
<td>-n i</td>
<td>m r de- n i</td>
<td>‘killing/beating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bel de</td>
<td>-n i</td>
<td>bel de- n i</td>
<td>‘running away (someone)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>-n i</td>
<td>le- n i</td>
<td>‘picking’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can occur with conjunctive verb stems too:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>INF.SUF</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b ko w</td>
<td>n i</td>
<td>b ko w n i</td>
<td>‘getting bitted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nik o w</td>
<td>n i</td>
<td>nik o w n i</td>
<td>‘getting scratched’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni or w</td>
<td>n i</td>
<td>ni or w n i</td>
<td>‘getting squeezed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b rw</td>
<td>n i</td>
<td>b rw n i</td>
<td>‘getting burned’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can also occur with composite verb stems as shown in the following examples:
CHAPTER 6: NON-FINITE VERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>INF.SUF</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m r pɨʈ</td>
<td>n i</td>
<td>m r n i pɨʈ n i</td>
<td>‘beating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lik p</td>
<td>n i</td>
<td>lik -n i p -n i</td>
<td>‘studying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dek bu</td>
<td>n i</td>
<td>dek -n i bu -n i</td>
<td>‘looking’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.1.2 e-infinitive

This is the oblique infinitive form. It generally occurs before a post-position in a construction. Some of the examples and their syntactic illustration are given hereby:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>V. Stems</th>
<th>OBL.INF.SUF</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nik o e</td>
<td>nik o</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>‘scratching’ (OBL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni ore</td>
<td>ni or</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>‘squeezing’ (OBL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b re</td>
<td>b r</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>‘burning’ (OBL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic illustrations:

(6/8) a. **nikbɔ rè** me tɑm l e-l i
   scratch-OBL.INF LOC time attach go-PFV-AGR
   ‘It took time in scratching.’

   b. **u niʃfor-e** me l l h e
      3SG squeeze-OBL.INF LOC attach be.PRS
      ‘He/She is busy squeezing.’

   c. **dibry bɔ-e** me ketn m l to
      lamp lit-OBL.INF LOC how.much time attach
      ‘How much time it will take in lighting the lamp?’

Similar to -nɔ, -e can occur with explicator compound verb stems as shown in the following examples:
CHAPTER 6: NON-FINITE VERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>OBL.INF.SUF</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m r de</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>m r de-ve</td>
<td>‘killing/beating’(OBL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bel de</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>bel de-ve</td>
<td>‘running away someone’(OBL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>le-ve</td>
<td>‘picking’(OBL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-e can also occur with conjunctive verb stems as shown in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>OBL.INF.SUF</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s p i k r</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>s p i k r-e</td>
<td>‘cleaning’(OBL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p sos k r</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>p sos k r-e</td>
<td>‘regretting’(OBL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>py r k r</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>py r k r-e</td>
<td>‘loving’(OBL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can occur with composite verb stems too:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>OBL.INF.SUF</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m r p t t- e</td>
<td>m r-e p t t-e</td>
<td>‘beating’(OBL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lik p</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>lik -e p - e</td>
<td>‘studying’(OBL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dek bu</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>dek -e bu - e</td>
<td>‘looking’(OBL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.1.3 Morphophonemics

In Bajjika -e has three allomorphs based on the verbal stems ending phonological characteristics. These are: -e, -ve and -ye. The form i.e. -ye and -ve are results of morphophonemic change in the form of y and v insertion.

1. \{-y\} comes after i-ending verbal stems such as si and pi:

   si- > si-ye    ‘stitching’(OBL)
   pi- > pi-y e    ‘drinking’(OBL)

2. \{-v-\} comes after verbal stems ending on a, e. However insertion of /v/ after -e ending verbal stems is optional. The verbal stem may be of primary or secondary nature i.e. simple verb stem or derived verb stems:
6.3.2 The Participial Forms

Participial forms of verb are also treated under non-finite verbs. The forms generally have adjectival and adverbial use in the language.

The participial forms of verb in Bajjika can be kept under three broader categories. These are (i) perfective participle; (ii) imperfective participle and (iii) conjunctive participle.

6.3.2.1 Perfective Participle

In the formation of perfective participle the perfective suffix -əl, -ɪl and -el is added to the verbal stem. The distribution of -əl, -ɪl and -el are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>PTCP.SUF</th>
<th>PFV.PTCP</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>- 1</td>
<td>s- 1</td>
<td>‘entered’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>- 1</td>
<td>k- 1</td>
<td>‘hanged’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s hry r</td>
<td>- 1</td>
<td>s hiy r- 1</td>
<td>‘arranged’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b l</td>
<td>- 1</td>
<td>b l- 1</td>
<td>‘boiled’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-il comes after those verb stems which ends on -e as in follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>PTCP.SUF</th>
<th>PFV.PTCP</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m r de</td>
<td>-il</td>
<td>m r d -il</td>
<td>‘killed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bel de</td>
<td>-il</td>
<td>bel d -il</td>
<td>‘ran away (someone)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>-il</td>
<td>l -il</td>
<td>‘picked’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elsewhere we have –el:
CHAPTER 6: NON-FINITE VERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>PTCP.SUF</th>
<th>PFV.PTCP</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s p i k r</td>
<td>-el</td>
<td>s p i k -el</td>
<td>‘cleaned’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p sos k r</td>
<td>-el</td>
<td>p sos k -el</td>
<td>‘regretted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>py r k r</td>
<td>-el</td>
<td>py r k -el</td>
<td>‘loved’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In case of conjunctive verb stem the perfective making suffix take place with second verb as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>PTCP.SUF</th>
<th>PFV.PTCP</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m r pɪʈ</td>
<td>- l</td>
<td>m r-əl pɪʈ - l</td>
<td>‘beaten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lɪk p</td>
<td>- l</td>
<td>lɪk - l p - l</td>
<td>‘well studied’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dek bu</td>
<td>- l</td>
<td>dek - l bu - l</td>
<td>‘looked’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While in the case of composite verb stems the perfective marking suffix –el comes with both the units of stems as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>PTCP.SUF</th>
<th>PFV.PTCP</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s l</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>s-l-</td>
<td>‘entered’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b -el</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>b -el-</td>
<td>‘someone ran away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni orw -el</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ni orw -el-</td>
<td>‘squeezed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k k -el</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k k -el-</td>
<td>‘knocked’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar to infinitive we also have oblique form of perfective participial in Bajjika. In order to obtain this form we usually add {-ə} after perfective forming suffix in Bajjika. Look at the following examples and their syntactic illustration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PFV.PTCP</th>
<th>OBL.SUF</th>
<th>OBL.PFV.PTCP</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s- l</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>s-l-</td>
<td>‘entered’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b -el</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>b -el-</td>
<td>‘someone ran away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni orw -el</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ni orw -el-</td>
<td>‘squeezed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k k -el</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k k -el-</td>
<td>‘knocked’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic illustration:
6.3.2.2 Imperfective Participle

The imperfective participle form is formed with suffix -\textit{ɪt}, -\textit{əɪt}, -\textit{vəɪt} and -\textit{yəɪt} are added to the verbal stem. These are the suffixes which functions as an imperfective participle marker in Bajjika. It can go with any types of verb as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>PTCP.SUF</th>
<th>IPFV.PTCP</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʤɑ</td>
<td>-ɪt</td>
<td>-ɪt</td>
<td>‘going’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>-yəɪt</td>
<td>si-yəɪt</td>
<td>‘stitching’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>-əɪt</td>
<td>s-əɪt</td>
<td>‘entering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d r</td>
<td>-vəɪt</td>
<td>d r -vəɪt</td>
<td>‘running’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k k</td>
<td>-vəɪt</td>
<td>k k -vəɪt</td>
<td>‘knocking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m r de</td>
<td>-əɪt</td>
<td>m r d -ɪt</td>
<td>‘killing/beating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s p i k r</td>
<td>-əɪt</td>
<td>s p i k r-əɪt</td>
<td>‘cleaning’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic illustration of above examples in Bajjika:

(6/10) a. ʤɑ-ɪt k ni
go-IPFV.PTCP time
‘At the time of going.’

b. si-yəɪt k ni
stitch-IPFV.PTCP time
‘At the time of stitching.’
c. \textit{gusəət} \textit{k ni}  
enter-IPFV.PTCP \quad \text{time} 
‘At the time of entering.’

d. \textit{dəəvəət} \textit{k ni}  
stitch-IPFV.PTCP \quad \text{time} 
‘At the time of running someone away.’

e. \textit{kəəkəət} \textit{k ni}  
knock-IPFV.PTCP \quad \text{time} 
‘At the time of knocking.’

f. \textit{mar  dəət} \textit{k ni}  
kill \quad \text{give-IPFV.PTCP} \quad \text{time} 
‘At the time of running killing.’

g. \textit{səəpəə} \textit{karəə} \textit{k ni}  
clean \quad \text{do-IPFV.PTCP} \quad \text{time} 
‘At the time of cleaning.’

In Bajjika the four forms of imperfective marker as discussed above is based on the verbal stems-ending phonological characteristics. The distribution we can see as follows:

1. \{-y\} comes after i-ending verbal stems such as /si/ and /pi/:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{si-} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{si-} \text{yəət} \quad \text{‘(in) stitching’} \\
\text{pi-} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{pi-} \text{yəət} \quad \text{‘(in) drinking’}
\end{align*}
\]

2. \{-v-\} comes after derive verbal stems ending on [ ] and simple verb stem - (n i) ‘to come’. However insertion of v after -ending verbal stems is optional. The verbal stem may be of primary or secondary nature i.e. simple verb stem or derived verb stems:
3. The central vowel [ə] of /-əɪt/ gets deleted in the context of simple verbal stems ending on vowel [ə].

- > -ɪt ‘(in) coming’

k iy - > k iy -(və)t ‘(in) feeding’
de- > d- it ‘(in) giving’

4. In some of the verbal stem ending on vowel [e], [e] gets deleted after suffixation of imperfective participle marker -əɪt.

de- > d-əɪt ‘(in) giving’

Similarly other non-finite verb imperfective participle too has the oblique form in Bajjika. In the formation of oblique imperfective participle the general imperfective forms gets suffixed by oblique -e as shown in the following examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPFV.PI TCP</th>
<th>OBL.SUF</th>
<th>OBL.IPFV.PI TCP</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-əɪt</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>s-əɪt-e</td>
<td>‘While entering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d r -vəɪt</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>d r -vəɪte</td>
<td>‘While running’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni orv -vəɪt</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>ni orv -vəɪte</td>
<td>‘to get squeezed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k k -(v )t</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>k k -(v )tɛ</td>
<td>‘to knock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s p i k r-əɪt</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>s p i k r-əɪt</td>
<td>‘to clean’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In most of the cases the imperfective participle declines for oblique imperfective forms in Bajjika except in the case of compound verb where it is not. See the following examples:
However in case of composite verb stems the marker of oblique can go with both the units of composite verb stems as shown here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPFV. PTCP</th>
<th>OBL.SUF</th>
<th>OBL.IPFV.PTCP</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m r-d-ətt</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bel d-ətt</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-ətt</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2.3 Conjunctive Participle

This is typical of Indian languages where a bound verbal form devoid of the phi (person/number and gender) features links the main clause and the subordinate clause (cf. Masica, 1976; in Subbarao & Arora 2009:3). Look at some of the examples from Urdu-Hindi:

(6/11) a vo kʰʊkər y  
3SG eat.CONJ come.PST  
‘He came after having eaten.’

b vo dekʰkər y  
3SG eat.CONJ come.PST  
‘He came after having seen.’

Similar to Urdu-Hindi and other Indian languages we may identify conjunctive participial verb form as one of the morphologically distinct verb forms in Bajjika too. With the addition of {-kə} or {-ke} suffix any verb stem in Bajjika may become the conjunctive participle of the respective verb:
**CHAPTER 6: NON-FINITE VERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>CONJ.SUF</th>
<th>CONJ.PTCP</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>s-k</td>
<td>‘having entered’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k-k</td>
<td>‘having hanged’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d r</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>d r -k</td>
<td>‘after having caused to run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>b -k</td>
<td>‘after having drove away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b ko w</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>b ko w -k</td>
<td>‘after getting drove away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nik o w</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>nik o w -k</td>
<td>‘after getting bitted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k k -k</td>
<td>‘after having knocked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r r</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>r r -k</td>
<td>‘after having murmured’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s p i k r ke</td>
<td></td>
<td>s p i k r-ke</td>
<td>‘after having cleaned’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p sos k r ke</td>
<td></td>
<td>p sos k r-ke</td>
<td>‘after having regretted’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In composite verb stems the marker of conjunctive participle takes place after the last unit of the stem as shown here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>CONJ.SUF</th>
<th>CONJ.PTCP</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m r pɨɾ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>m r pɨɾ-k</td>
<td>‘after having beaten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lik p</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>lik p -k</td>
<td>‘after having studied’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dek bu</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>dek bu -k</td>
<td>‘after having seen’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.3.3.4 Progressive Participle

Apart from simple imperfective and perfective non-finite forms of verb Bajjika have another aspect based non-finite forms of verb. We may define that aspect based form of verb as progressive non-finite verb forms. The verb form is different from other non-finite forms in such a way that it takes a progressive morpheme \( r h l \) to constitute the non-finite verb forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>PROG</th>
<th>PROG.PTCP</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>r h l</td>
<td>s r h l</td>
<td>‘someone entering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>r h l</td>
<td>k r h l</td>
<td>‘something getting hanged’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d r</td>
<td>r h l</td>
<td>d r r h l</td>
<td>‘Someone chasing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>r h l</td>
<td>b r h l</td>
<td>‘someone causing someone to run’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some syntactic illustration:

(6/12) a.  
gæ̝r  ghus  ræ̝hal  laik  
home  enter  PROG  boy  
‘House entering boy’

b.  
aqak  ræ̝hal  gen  
hang  PROG  ball  
‘Ball that getting hanged’

c.  
ʧə̝  tʃə̝  ræ̝hal  kem  r  
murmur  PROG  door  
‘Murmuring door’

d.  
gær  sɔ̝pʰ  kər  ræ̝hal  dmi  
house  clean  do  PROG  man  
‘The man who is cleaning the house’

6.4 Deverbal Nouns

Beside all above illustrated non-finite verb forms in which we can see having a defined pattern for non-finite formation there is another kind of nominal formation in Bajjika. This is the process in which a nominal is derived from the verbal bases using some derivational suffixes. In general linguistic terms the process itself is called the ‘deverbal nominalization’ and the product a ‘deverbal noun’. Thus for example
CHAPTER 6: NON-FINITE VERBS

‘cheater’ məti ‘counting’ and m rni ‘funeral’ in following sentences are examples of deverbal nouns in Bajjika.

(6/13) a ʈʰəɡ e-l-u cheat-NMLZ come go-PST.PFV-AGR
‘The cheater has come.’

b ʈʰəɡ ɪnəti sik l count-NMLZ learn take.IMP
‘Learn counting.’

c. m r-ni me h : me l-e cheat-NMLZ LOC come-PST.PFV-AGR be.PR
‘Have you come in funeral?’

Since deverbal nouns are derivative of verb it needs the verbal interpretation for its meaning. The sense of interpretation may be directly or indirectly related to verb.

6.4.1 Formation of Deverbal Nouns in Bajjika

In the formation of deverbal nouns in Bajjika a deverbal suffix is added to the verbal base as in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Stem</th>
<th>Suffixe</th>
<th>Deverbal Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘cheat’</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>‘cheater’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m ‘count’</td>
<td>- ti</td>
<td>inti</td>
<td>‘counting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m r ‘die’</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>m rni</td>
<td>‘funeral’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.2 Types of Deverbal Nouns in Bajjika

In Indian grammatical tradition, Bajjika deverbal nouns can be categorised into following groups based on the contextualised relationship between the verbs and its nominal derivatives.
CHAPTER 6: NON-FINITE VERBS

(i)  \( kəənəvəya \)

(6/14) e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
k & \quad + \quad i & > & \quad k\ ri \\
\text{cut} & \quad \text{VERB} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{cutter} & \quad \text{NOUN}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
k\ el & \quad + \quad i & > & \quad k\ el\ i
\end{align*}
\]

play \VERB\  \SUF\  player \NOUN

(ii)  \( kəən\ vətʃə \)

(6/15) e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
l i k & \quad + \quad t\ n & > & \quad l i k\ t\ n
\end{align*}
\]

write \VERB\  \SUF\  something written \NOUN

\[
\begin{align*}
b\ k & \quad + \quad t\ n & > & \quad b\ k t\ n
\end{align*}
\]

speak \VERB\  \SUF\  spoken \NOUN

\[
\begin{align*}
p u & \quad + \quad y & > & \quad p u\ y
\end{align*}
\]

worship \VERB\  \SUF\  whom worshiped \NOUN

(iii)  \( kəən\ vətʃə \)

(6/16) e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
bel & \quad + \quad n & > & \quad beln
\end{align*}
\]

roll \VERB\  \SUF\  roller \NOUN

\[
\begin{align*}
k\ el & \quad + \quad n & > & \quad k\ eln
\end{align*}
\]

play \VERB\  \SUF\  something through which played \NOUN

(iv)  \( səmə\ vətʃə \)

(6/17) e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
m & \quad + \quad t & > & \quad m\ ət
\end{align*}
\]

ask for \VERB\  \SUF\  beggar \NOUN
6.4.3 Lists of Deverbal Nominal Suffixes in Bajjika

There are several different kinds of deverbal nominal suffixes in Bajjika. These deverbal nominal suffixes behave differently in different situation in Bajjika. Some of the suffixes used in the deverbal noun formation in Bajjika and its different situation can be illustrated with example as follows:

6.4.3.1 Suffix -n

The suffixation of -nɑ in Bajjika implies formation of several deverbal nouns in Bajjika. The deverbal nouns derived using this suffix may have sense of k rt v y , k r m v y , k r n v y , p d n v y as follows:

(6/20) e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mut} & \quad + \quad n & \quad > \quad m \, n \\
\text{urinate} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{peeing} \quad \text{NOUN} \\
\text{b} \, \text{rn} & \quad + \quad n & \quad > \quad b \, \text{rn} \\
\text{fill} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{mortgage} \quad \text{NOUN} \\
\text{bel} & \quad + \quad n & \quad > \quad beln \\
\text{roll} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{roller} \quad \text{NOUN} \\
\text{r} & \quad + \quad n & \quad > \quad \text{rn} \\
\text{fall} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{fall} \quad \text{NOUN}
\end{align*}
\]

(6/18) e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{r} & \quad + \quad n & \quad > \quad \text{rn} \\
\text{fall} & \quad \text{VERB} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{fall} \quad \text{NOUN}
\end{align*}
\]

(6/19) e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bɪʧ} & \quad + \quad n & \quad > \quad bɪʧ \, n \\
\text{spread} & \quad \text{VERB} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{something on which slept} \quad \text{NOUN}
\end{align*}
\]
6.4.3.2 Suffix -ni

The suffix –ni can also be added to some of the verbal bases to formulate a deverbal nouns in k r n v y or d i k r n v y as in follows:

(6/21) e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
    k r & \quad + \quad ni & \quad > \quad k \ rni \\
    \text{do} \quad \text{VERB} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{an instrument NOUN} \\
    m r & \quad + \quad ni & \quad > \quad m \ rni \\
    \text{die} \quad \text{VERB} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{funeral NOUN}
\end{align*}
\]

6.4.3.3 Suffix -ti

The suffix -\textit{ti} is also one of the suffixes which participate in devrebal noun formation. The deverbal nouns derived with this suffix may have sense of k r n v y and b v v y as in follows:

(6/22) e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
    k n & \quad + \quad ti & \quad > \quad k \ n ti \\
    \text{dig} \quad \text{VERB} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{digger NOUN} \\
    m & \quad + \quad ti & \quad > \quad m \ ti \\
    \text{do} \quad \text{VERB} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{counting NOUN}
\end{align*}
\]

6.4.3.4 Suffix -nt ~ -nti

-\textit{nt} ~ -\textit{nti} are also the suffixes which cause verb to function as noun, see the examples below where -\textit{nt} indicates masculine and -\textit{nti} indicates feminine.

(6/23) e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
    l & \quad + \quad nt & \quad > \quad l \ nt \\
    \text{burn} \quad \text{VERB} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{jealous(M) NOUN} \\
    l & \quad + \quad nti & \quad > \quad l \ nti \\
    \text{burn} \quad \text{VERB} & \quad \text{SUF} & \quad \text{jealous(F) NOUN}
\end{align*}
\]
6.4.3.5 Suffix - ku

-ku suffix can be added in k rt v y sense to a verbal element to form a deverbal noun as follows:

(6/24) e.g.

\[ p r + ku \rightarrow p r ku \]
read VERB SUF reader NOUN

6.4.3.6 Suffix -

The suffix -a too is added in the b o v y sense as in follows while forming a deverbal noun.

(6/25) e.g.

\[ lk + a \rightarrow lek \]
write VERB SUF written NOUN

\[ ok + a \rightarrow ok \]
weight VERB SUF weighted NOUN

6.4.3.7 Suffix -ø

Sometimes a deverbal noun can be derived using null morpheme {ø} as in follows:

(6/26) e.g.

\[ or + \emptyset \rightarrow or \]
add VERB SUF addition NOUN

6.4.3.8 Suffix - o

-o can be added in b v v y sense to form a deverbal noun in Bajjika.
(6/27) e.g. 

\[ \text{decrease} \_\text{VERB} + \_\text{SUF} > \_\text{subtraction} \_\text{NOUN} \]

6.4.3.9 Suffix - \textit{kk} \_\textit{r}

-\textit{kk\textit{r}} is also one of the productive suffixed used as a nominalizer in Bajjika. The formation of deverbal nouns using this suffix has been shown in the following examples:

(6/28) e.g. 

\[ \text{drink} \_\text{VERB} + \_\text{SUF} > \_\text{drunker} \_\text{NOUN} \]

\[ \text{forget} \_\text{VERB} + \_\text{SUF} > \_\text{X who forgets} \_\text{NOUN} \]