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On a Middle Voice Suffix in Kinnauri (Pangi dialect)

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This paper aims to describe the middle voice suffix in Kinnauri. In Kinnauri, the verbal suffix *-ši* expresses reflexivity, reciprocity, intransitivization and collectivity. These senses are included in the category of the middle voice. This suffix is also used in relativized verbs in cases where the head noun is plural or functions as other than subject in the relative clause.

Key words: Tibeto-Burman, Western Himalayish, Kinnauri, middle voice, relative clause

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1. Introduction: causative–intransitive alternatives

The purpose of this paper is to describe the usage of the middle voice suffix in Kinnauri (Pangi dialect).

Generally speaking, there are not many Tibeto-Burman (henceforth TB) languages which have phenomena concerning so-called ‘voice’. In fact, many TB languages have causative–intransitive alternatives, which include a morphological process in which the number of verb arguments is changed. This morphological process generally seems not to be treated in the area of voice, but is considered to be related to voice. The causative–intransitive alternation,

however, is not productive in every Tibeto-Burman language. As for Kinnauri, there is a view according to which Kinnauri has few alternatives any longer. Actually, both the initial consonant alternation pattern and the causative prefix *s-*, which changes an intransitive into a transitive, are unproductive in Kinnauri.

Although the Tibeto-Burman languages are generally said to be morphologically poor, TB languages in the Himalayan region have complex verb morphology. Some of the TB languages are reported to have middle voice and/or applicative voice. Regarding the middle voice in TB, see for example LaPolla (2000a, 2000b, 2005). Regarding the applicative voice, Peterson (2007) makes a general study. Peterson (2007) discusses in detail the applicative suffixes of Hakha Lai, a TB language.

1.1. Causative–intransitive in Kinnauri

First, let us check the causative–intransitive alternation pattern in Kinnauri before we consider the middle voice suffix in Kinnauri.

Some of the Tibeto-Burman languages have morphological–semantic alternatives between transitive and intransitive verbs: we will call this phenomenon causative–intransitive alternation. In Written Tibetan, for example, the prefix *s-* is attached to an intransitive verb, and results in a causative verb. Kinnauri also has this type of alternation.

Since this alternation of Kinnauri verbs has not been introduced very much in the literature, some of the pairs are given in the following list (1).¹⁾

(1)	causative	intransitive	meaning of Vt
a.	<i>spyañ-</i> <i>stuñ-</i> <i>skwad-</i>	<i>byañ-</i> <i>tuñ-</i> <i>k^hwači-</i>	‘terrify’ ‘make s.b. drink’ ²⁾ ‘boil’
b.	<i>p^har-</i> <i>p^hrus-</i> <i>ʈ^hor-</i> <i>k^hel-</i>	<i>bar-</i> <i>brus-</i> <i>ɖor-</i> <i>gel-</i>	‘tear’ ‘break (wall, house)’ ‘untie, unlace’ ‘break, split, cleave’
c.	<i>paš-</i> <i>par-</i> <i>prā-</i> <i>tus-</i> <i>twañ-</i> <i>tser-</i>	<i>baš-</i> <i>bar-</i> <i>brā-</i> <i>dus-</i> <i>dwañ-</i> <i>zer-</i>	‘crush’ ‘set on fire’ ‘spread’ (intr.: ‘flow over’) ‘make warm’ ‘open’ ‘tear’
c’.	<i>ʈig-</i> <i>ʈag-</i>	<i>rīg-</i> <i>rag-</i>	‘break’ ‘make wet’
d.	<i>pog-</i> <i>ʈ^his-</i> <i>guryā-</i>	<i>pogši-</i> <i>ʈ^hisši-</i> <i>guryāši-</i>	‘burn’ (intr.: ‘get burnt’) ‘hurt’ ‘close’

	<i>šuryā-</i>	<i>šuryāši-</i>	‘turn’
	<i>sū-</i>	<i>sūši-</i>	‘wash’ (intr.: ‘wash oneself’)
	<i>hud-</i>	<i>huši-</i>	‘teach’ (intr.: ‘study, read’)
e.	<i>tub-</i>	<i>tubči-</i>	‘stick’
	<i>leg-</i>	<i>legči-</i>	‘burn’

(1)a shows that the causative verb is formed by adding the causative prefix *s-* to the intransitive verb. There are not many examples of this formation. Note that some *s*-causatives have no intransitive alternatives without *s-*, and that some pairs have different stem initials. (1)b indicates alternation between a voiceless aspirated in causative and a voiced initial in intransitive. (1)c shows alternation between a voiceless unaspirated and a voiced initial. The alternation patterns in Kinnauri seem to be taken over from the TB stock, but none of the alternation patterns seem to be very productive in the Kinnauri verb morphology, although the productivity of this morphology needs more research.

(1)d and (1)e are different in pattern from (1)a through (1)c. (1)d gives examples of attachment of the suffix *-ši* to a (transitive) verb, and (1)e attachment of the suffix *-či* to a (transitive) verb. The verbs of (1)d and (1)e have different formation types from those of (1)a, (1)b and (1)c.

The following examples (2) through (4) are for (1)a through (1)c patterns:

- (2) a. *šakpō.s* *biziī* ***spyug.ā***
 brother-in-law.INS light put_out.PT
 ‘Shakpo switched off the light.’
- b. *biziī* ***byug.ā***
 light go_out.PT
 ‘The light has gone.’
- (3) a. *hinā.s* *bar.ū* ***k^hel.a.š***
 PSN.INS branch.DAT split(vt.).PT.3S:HON
 ‘Heena split the branch.’
- b. *pom.īs* *bar* ***gel.ā***
 snow.INS branch split(vi.).PT
 ‘A branch was split by snow.’
- (4) a. *šālū.s* *kā* ***pašpaš*** *dū*
 PSN.INS walnut break:RDPL COP
 ‘Shalu broke a walnut.’
- b. *ju* *kā* ***bašbaš*** *dū*
 this walnut break:RDPL COP
 ‘This walnut broke itself.’

It is very interesting to consider these types of causative–intransitive alternations from various points-of-view, but in this paper let us concentrate on the suffix *-šī*, shown in (1)d. This suffix is used for the middle voice and in a relativized verb.

2. Usage of *-šī* as the middle voice suffix

The suffix *-šī*³⁾ basically expresses a middle situation including reflexivity, reciprocity, and so on. As seen in the list (1)d above, this suffix can change a transitive verb into an intransitive verb, which means that the suffix changes the transitivity of a verb.

Bailey (1915: 58) refers to this suffix as a passive and mentions that it also can express reciprocity. What Bailey writes about the suffix is not enough for understanding its function, though we can understand that the suffix relates to the reflexive and reciprocal situations.

Sharma (1988: 149–50) also introduces this suffix in a section on ‘Passive Sub-system’. The dialect of Sharma’s consultant seems to be different from the Pangi dialect, which is the dialect of the author’s consultant, because it has a passive construction,⁴⁾ unlike the Pangi dialect. It is, however, important that Sharma (1988: 150) points out that this suffix also functions as a reflexive/reciprocal marker. There is also an example in Sharma (1988: 150) which indicates plurality, though he does not mention it.

Kemmer (1993) classifies the situations expressed by the middle formation into some meaning patterns. Here, however, the meanings expressed by the Kinnauri suffix will be classified roughly as reflexive, reciprocal, intransitivization, and collective.

2.1. Reflexive

The examples of *-šī* in this section show a reflexive meaning.

In (5)a, the subject of the verb washes not his own body but that of his son. The verb of (5)a does not have the suffix *-šī*, and this sentence means that the action by the subject is directed to a person other than the subject. In (5)b, however, the agent washes his own body. The suffix *-šī* indicates that the action will be done toward the first person subject himself.

- (5) a. *gī aṅ č^haṅ.ū deyarō sū.ts*
 I my son.DAT everyday wash.GT
 ‘I wash my son everyday.’
- b. *gī kim.ū bāraṅ sū.š.o.k*
 I house.GEN outside wash.MDL.FUT.1S
 ‘I will bathe (myself) outside the house.’

Kinnauri has three verbs with the meaning of ‘wash’: *sū-* in (5) above, *jīšī-* in (6)a and *čī-* in (6)b below. *jīšī-* in (6)a expresses ‘to wash one’s own hands’. This verb means that the agent washes his own hands, and so always has the reflexive suffix *-šī*. In contrast with this, the verb *čī-* in (6)b expresses washing anything but the body and one’s own hands.⁵⁾

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- (6) a. *gí ań gud.ā ĵiš.o.k*
 I my hand.PL wash_one's_hand.FUT.1S
 'I will wash my hands.'
- b. *gí ań č^hań.ū gud.ā čī.to.k*
 I my child.GEN hand.PL wash.FUT.1S
 'I will wash my son's hands.'

čī- can take the suffix *-ší*. *čīší-* means a reciprocal or spontaneous event in the author's data. We will see an example in (22) in section 2.3..

(7) shows that the subject of the verb sees herself in the mirror, and (8) indicates that the first person subject hit himself.

- (7) *ts^hetsas.is sisō k^hyā.š.ō du.ē*
 lady.INS mirror look.MDL.STT COP.PT
 'The lady looked at herself in the mirror.'
- (8) *gí/*gí.s gí.ī t^his.š.e.k*
 I/L.INS I.EMPH hit.MDL.PT.1S
 'I hit myself.'

In (8), unlike other examples, the subject of the verb is not allowed to be in the instrumental case.⁶⁾ If there is a reflexive pronoun in the sentence, the ergative subject may not be necessary. More research is needed on the relationship between ergativity and reflexive constructions.

The suffix is not used in (9), though the meaning of the sentence is reflexive.

- (9) *rinkū.s an.ū saetā an.ī lan.ā*
 PSN.INS self.DAT help self.EMPH do.PT
 'Rinku helped himself.'

If the verb *lanā* is changed into *lanšē*, the sentence does not express reflexive but reciprocal. See (13)a in the next section. The author does not have any idea about why the suffix is not used in this case. The meaning of the verb may not allow the verb to take the middle marker as a reflexive.

2.2. Reciprocal

In this section, we have examples of the reciprocal usage of the suffix *-ší*. The verb with the suffix *-ší* can express action performed toward each other among multiple actors. For example, (10) indicates that the action of 'hitting' was carried out by 'you and Ravinder' to each other. The sentence, therefore, means that the two persons fought each other.

- (10) a. *ki mē rabindar rań ton.š.e.ń*
 you yesterday PSN with hit.MDL.PT.2S:HON
 'You fought with Ravinder yesterday.'

- b. *kin rañ rabindar mē toñ.š.ē*
 your⁷⁾ and PSN yesterday hit.MDL.PT
 ‘You and Ravinder fought yesterday.’

In Kinnauri, as (10) indicates, the verb can take the middle suffix for the reciprocal meaning whether the subject is singular or plural, that is, if the action designated by the verb is carried out mutually, then the verb takes the suffix. Note that the verb of (10)a assumes the person suffix *-ñ*, which indicates that the subject is the second person, and in contrast, the verb in (10)b does not take any person suffix. If the subject was second person plural in this sentence (10)b, then the verb form should be *toñšēč*. Therefore, this verb is inflected based on the third person subject.⁸⁾

The following examples express the action of exchange, which is naturally reciprocal.

- (11) a. *zimidār.īs nā nukur.e.nū bant^hā sae lañ.ā*
 landlord.INS five servant.PL.GEN in.return.for ten cow.PL
skwal.š.ē
 change.MDL.PT
 ‘The landlord bartered five servants for ten cows.’
- b. *gī.s nāmañ skwal.a.k*
 I.INS name change.PT.1S
 ‘I changed the name.’

(11)b does not express the exchange, but changing, so the verb does not take the middle suffix.

The verb in (12) is *č^hukšek* meaning ‘I met with someone.’ This verb expresses a naturally reciprocal event, and the form without the suffix, such as *č^hug-*,⁹⁾ is not used.

- (12) *gī añ konyas rañ šemlē č^hukš.e.k*
 I my friend with PLN meet.PT.1SG
 ‘I met my friend in Shimla.’

(13)a has a reciprocal meaning, so the two girls, Heena and Shalu, did mutual help for each other. In (13)b, the verb without *-ši* expresses that the action was carried out for persons other than the subject.

- (13) a. *hinā rañ šālū an.niš.ū komō saetā lan.š.ē/*lan.ā*
 PSN and PSN self.two.GEN among help do.MDL.PT/do.PT
 ‘Heena and Shalu helped each other.’
- b. *hinā rañ šālū.s saetā lan.ā*
 PSN and PSN.INS help do.PT
 ‘Heena and Shalu helped (somebody else).’

The verb *kag-* ‘divide, distribute’ is interesting. The next sentences show the usage of *kag-*.

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- (14) a. *gĩ.s kinū rotē kag.č.e.k*
 I.INS you:DAT chapati distribute.1-2O.PT.1S
 ‘I divided chapati to you all.’
- b. *gĩ.s dogonū rotē kag.a.k*
 I.INS them:DAT chapati distribute.PT.1S
 ‘I divided chapati to them.’

In (14)a, the verb takes the suffix *-čĩ* for the second person dative object and no object marker for the third person as in (14)b. These examples do not mean that the speaker takes a share for himself.

With this verb, *-šĩ* cannot be used in the following sentence:

- (15) *gĩ.s anū.li kag.a.k/*kag.š.e.k*
 I.INS me:DAT.too divide.PT.1S/divide.MDL.PT.1S
 ‘I divided for myself.’

Although the speaker takes a share, this sentence does not express the reflexive meaning because the verb does not take *-šĩ*.¹⁰⁾

-šĩ, however, co-occurs with a comitative noun.

- (16) *gĩ.s dogō rañ rotē kagšek*
 I.INS they COM chapati divide.MDL.PT.1S
 ‘I divided chapati with them.’

In (16), unlike (14), the speaker not only divides shares to ‘them’, but also takes a share for himself.

In the case of the verb *kag-*, the middle suffix shows that the speaker is included in those who take a share, and demotes a dative noun to comitative.¹¹⁾

2.3. Intransitivization

We have some examples of intransitivization with the suffix *-šĩ* in this section.

The verb with the suffix *-šĩ* in (17)a can be said to show the attribution of the ‘pen,’ that is, the property of ‘this pen’ is to be easy to use for everyone. In contrast to (17)a, (17)b without the suffix *-šĩ* shows the fact that the first-person singular subject just uses ‘this pen’ everyday.

- (17) a. *ju pen čē.šĩ.d*¹²⁾
 this pen write.MDL.GT
 ‘This pen writes well.’
- b. *deyarō gĩ.s ju pen.is čē.ts*
 everyday I.INS this pen.INS write.GT
 ‘I write with this pen everyday.’

- c. **gī.s/*aṅū ju pen čē.ši.d*
 I.INS/me this pen write.MDL.GT

An ergative or dative subject cannot be allowed, that is, the agent cannot be explicitly stated. Thus, (17)c is ungrammatical.

(18) has also the verb *čē-* ‘write’ with the middle marker. In this case, the verb has a passive-like¹³⁾ meaning, and expresses the state of pieces of paper with something written on each.

- (18) *ju tsoī kagli.gā čē.ši.s dū*
 this all paper.PL write.MDL.RDPL COP
 ‘All these papers have been written on.’

(19)a is not allowed to have an agentive, that is, an ergative subject (*laṅ.is*). In contrast, (19)b has an ergative subject, meaning that (19)b has the transitive construction as a syntactic form. (19)a, however, is an intransitive construction.

- (19) a. *gī diṅ pid.eraṅ (*laṅ.is) rats tā.ši.s du.ē*
 I there arrive.CONJ cow.INS calf bear.MDL.RDPL COP.PT
 ‘When I reached there, a calf had been born.’
- b. *gī diṅ pid.eraṅ laṅ.is rats tā.tā du.ē*
 I there arrive.CONJ cow.INS calf bear:RDPL COP.PT
 ‘When I reached there, a cow had born a calf.’

(20) shows that the verb with *-ši* expresses spontaneous events, such as events without any intention of an agent or without any agent at all. (20)a is a transitive sentence with an agentive subject and a direct object in dative. In (20)b, an implied agentive subject seems to have been omitted, and the sentence has a passive-like meaning, so it is a transitive sentence the same as (20)a. (20)c is not a transitive sentence, and cannot have a direct object (in dative), but has an absolutive subject.

- (20) a. *ādarš.is šālū.pīṅ/*šālū runiṅ.is t^hiṣt^his*
 PSN.INS PSN.DAT/PSN:ABS stone.INS hit:RDPL
 ‘Adarsh hit Shalu with a stone.’
- b. *šālū.pīṅ/*šālū runiṅ.is t^hiṣt^his*
 PSN.DAT/PSN:ABS stone.INS hit:RDPL
 ‘Shalu was hit with a stone.’
- c. *šālū/*šālū.pīṅ runiṅ.is t^hiṣ.ši.s*
 PSN:ABS/PSN.DAT stone.INS hit.MDL.RDPL
 ‘Shalu was hit by a stone.’

(21)a is also a transitive sentence without a specified subject, with a passive translation. (21)b, however, cannot have an agentive subject and a direct object in dative, but has an absolutive subject; that is, this is an intransitive sentence.

- (21) a. *nu č^hañ.ū/*č^hañ deyarō toñ.ts*
 that child.DAT/child:ABS everyday hit.GT
 ‘That child is hit everyday.’
- b. *nu č^hañ/*č^hañ.ū deyarō toñ.š*ī*.d*
 that child:ABS/child.DAT everyday hit.MDL.GT
 ‘That child is hit everyday./That child fights everyday.’

(22) indicates the state of the clothes as a result of the action of washing, therefore the clothes are in the condition of being very clean.

- (22) *añ gasā ēsā č*ī*.š.ē*
 my clothes well wash.MDL.PT
 ‘My clothes are washed well.’

The following sentences have verbs with the same form as the middle marker, though the verb forms without the suffix have not been attested. (23) expresses a spontaneous event that the yawning is not volitional behavior. (24) means an intransitive action.

- (23) *kot^hā kāniñ.m.ig.seyā nī.m.ā tsoī hāškamš*ī*.d*
 story bore.INF.OBLG.ATTR exist.INF.COND all yawn.GT
 ‘If the topic is boring, everybody yawns.’
- (24) *g*ī* đokañ.ís t^hwā strapš.e.k*
 I mountain.INS upward climb.PT.1S
 ‘I climbed up the mountain.’

2.4. Plurality: collectivity

The suffix *-š*ī** can express the plurality of an intransitive subject. In (25)a, either verb form, with the suffix or without the suffix, can be used. In (25)b, however, the verb cannot be used with the suffix. This means that the suffix is related to the plurality of the subject in (25)a.

- (25) a. *niñā krab.a.č/krab.š.e.č*
 we cry.PT.1-2S/cry.MDL.PT.1-2S
 ‘We cried.’
- b. *g*ī* krab.a.k/*krab.š.e.k*
 I cry.PT.1S/cry.MDL.PT.1S
 ‘I cried.’

(26) shows that the verb form *yabšid* takes a plural subject. If the verb does not have the suffix *-š*ī**, the subject should be singular, as in (26)b.

- (26) a. *pyā.ts.ā/*pyā.ts* *deyarō* *lagyad.ō.li* *yab.šī.d*
 bird.DIMN.PL/bird.DIMN everyday rain.LOC.even fly.MDL.GT
 ‘The birds always fly even in the rain.’
- b. *pyā.ts* *deyarō* *lagyad.ō.li* *yab.či.d/*yab.šī.d*
 bird.DIMN everyday rain.LOC.even fly.CI.GT/fly.MDL.GT
 ‘The bird flies always even in the rain.’

In (27), it is some persons who are laughing, and the verb has *-ši*.

- (27) *añ dek^hras rañ dō konyā k^husīs wa.š.udū*
 my husband with his friends cheerfully laugh.MDL.PR
 ‘My husband and his friends are laughing cheerfully.’

In (28), the verb *rīg.šī.s* indicates that there are many tables which are broken.

- (28) *mēz.ā rīg.šī.s* *dū*
 table.PL be_break.MDL.RDPL COP
 ‘Many tables are broken.’

If the subject is singular in this sentence, the meaning is ‘Many parts of a table are broken.’

In (29)a, both of the verb forms *byañts* and *byañšid* have same meaning; that is, ‘generally speaking, many people are afraid of death.’ This meaning of ‘generality’ is expressed by the suffix *-ts* in the former form, *byañts*, and the suffix *-d* in the latter form, *byañšid*.¹⁴⁾ Then, why does the latter verb form have *-ši*? The subject in (29)a is plural, but it is singular in (29)b. We can see the suffix *-ši* must express plurality.¹⁵⁾

- (29) a. *bārī mī.gā šī.to.k byañ.ts/byañ.šī.d*
 many person.PL die.FUT.1S be_afraid.GT/be_afraid.MDL.GT
 ‘Many people are afraid of death.’
- b. *do mī šī.to.k byañ.ts/*byañ.šī.d*
 that person die.FUT.1S be_afraid.GT/be_afraid.MDL.GT
 ‘That man is afraid of death.’

The following examples also indicate that *-ši* is not related to singularity:

- (30) a. *lagyad.ō.li pyā.ts yab.ō/*yab.š.ō*
 rain.LOC.even bird.DIMN fly.STT/fly.MDL.STT
 ‘The bird is flying even in the rain.’
- b. *id mī ča.udū/*ča.š.udū*
 one person dance.PR/dance.MDL.PR
 ‘One man is dancing.’

In (30)a, the singular subject takes the verb *yabō*, which does not have the suffix *-ši*. (30)b shows that the singular subject is not allowed for the verb: *čāšudū*.

The following sentences also indicate that the suffix *-ši* shows collectivity.

- (31) a. *zigits č^hañ.ā gušryā.š.ō yun.ō dū*
 small child.PL crawl.MDL.STT walk.STT COP
 ‘Little babies are crawling.’
- b. *zigits č^hañ p^hor.u den gušryad.ā*
 small child floor.GEN top crawl.PT
 ‘The baby crept on the floor.’

As seen in the previous section, *-ši* is used for intransitivization, that is, *-ši* is attached to a transitive. Note, however, that *-ši* is attached to the intransitive verbs of the examples in this section, and that *-ši* in this section expresses the plurality of the intransitive subject, but not the transitive subject or object.

As Kemmer (1993) points out, middle voice can express collectivity, that is, it shows that the plural things, people, animals and so on, do something in a group. (25) through (31) are related to plurality. As stated above, Sharma (1988) also gives an example in which this suffix expresses plurality.

2.5. Summary

Lyons (1968: 373) characterizes middle voice as indicating that “the ‘action’ or ‘state’ affects the subject of the verb or his interests”. Kemmer (1992: 151) gives two semantic properties which characterize middle markers:

1. the Initiator and Endpoint participant are the same entity
2. the two participants are two aspects of a single entity that are conceptually less distinguished from one another than in the case of the reflex.

The first property is shared by both middle and reflexive situation types; the second is the property by which they are contrasted. The suffix for middle voice in Kinnauri has the same type of meaning as Kemmer (1992) points out.

3. *-ši* in relative clauses

The suffix *-ši* is used in relative clauses.¹⁶⁾ Strictly speaking, we cannot yet say that this *-ši* in a relative clause is the same suffix as the middle suffix.¹⁷⁾ The form of the suffix, however, is same as the middle voice suffix, and as we see in this section, the usage in a relative suffix clause shares features with the middle voice usage.

In (32), the verb *bī-* ‘go’ is relativized with the suffix *-tseyā* (translated as ATTR here).¹⁸⁾ In this sentence, *č^hañ* is the subject of the relativized verb, and *-ši* is not used.

- (32) *mē piō ma.bīt.tseyā¹⁹⁾ č^hañ nasom sañglā bi.tō*
 yesterday PLN NEG.go.ATTR child tomorrow PLN go.FUT
 ‘The boy who did not go to Peo yesterday will go to Sangla tomorrow.’

In (33)a, the head noun *č^hañ* is the subject of the relativized verb, as in (32), and *makrab-tseyā*, which does not include *-šī* in it, is grammatical. In (33)b, however, *makrabšittseyā* is grammatical.

- (33) a. *hunak.stañ ma.krab.tseyā/*ma.krab.šit.tseyā č^hañ hunā krab.udū*
 now.till NEG.cry.ATTR/NEG.cry.MDL.ATTR boy now cry.PR
 ‘The boy who didn’t cry till now is crying now.’
- b. *hunak.stañ ma.krab.šit.tseyā č^hañ.ā hunā krab.udū*
 now.till NEG.cry.MDL.ATTR boy.PL now cry.PR
 ‘The boys who didn’t cry till now are crying now.’

As seen from (33)b, when the head noun is the subject of the relativized verb, it should be plural. Actually, both *krabšittseyā* and *krabtseyā* can modify a plural noun. The description that the head noun is plural, therefore, is restricted to the negative form of *krab-* ‘cry’. Other verbs such as *zā-* ‘eat’, however, modify a plural noun in the form of *zāšittseyā*: e.g. *k^haū zāšittseyā mīgā/*mī* ‘the people who ate the food.’ It is not clear that this difference occurs between, for example, *krab-* ‘cry’ and *zā-* ‘eat’, though it may be related to transitivity.

In the following examples, (34)a shows that the verb does not take *-šī* when the head noun is the subject of a relativized verb. As seen in (34)b and (34)c, when the head noun is the object of a relativized verb, the verb has to assume the suffix *-šī*.

- (34) a. *añ kim.ō añū k^haū zuryāt.tseyā boesā to.ts²⁰⁾*
 my house.LOC me food make.ATTR sister-in-law exist.GT
 ‘In my house is a sister-in-law who makes me food.’
- b. *boesā.s zuryā.šit.tseyā/*zuryāt.tseyā*
 sister-in-law.INS make.MDL.ATTR/make.ATTR
rotē em dū
 bread-cake delicious COP
 ‘A bread-cake which the sister-in-law makes is delicious.’
- c. *gī.s gaṭōdā boesā.s zuryā.šit.tseyā/*zuryāt.tseyā*
 I.INS some sister-in-law.INS make.MDL.ATTR/make.ATTR
rotē/rote.gā zā.k
 bread-cake/bread-cake.PL eat.1S
 ‘I ate some bread-cakes which the sister-in-law made.’

In (35) and (36), *-šī* indicates that the head nouns are the object of the relativized verb, as in (34)b and (34)c.

- (35) *añ goenē.s bīzar.ō.č zog.šit.tseyā/*zog.tseyā skan.ā wāl dam*
 my wife.INS bazaar.LOC.ABL buy.MDL.ATTR/buy.ATTR vegetable.PL very good
dū
 COP

‘The vegetables which my wife bought in the bazaar are very fresh.’

- (36) a. *ki.s nē.to.ñ.a mē gi.s jñ tā.šit.tseyā kitāb ham*
 you.INS know.FUT.2S.QM yesterday I.INS here place.MDL.ATTR book where
dū
 COP

‘Do you know where the book is which I put here yesterday?’

- b. *pradīp.is mēz.u den tā.šit.tseyā kitāb wāl dam dū*
 PSN.INS desk.GEN top place.MDL.ATTR book very good COP
 ‘The book Pradeep put on the desk is very interesting.’

The relativized verb in (37) is marked for its plural agents. In this example the suffix *-ši* expresses reflexivity.

- (37) *sū.šit.tseyā.gā hasal t^hittā lanči.č*
 wash.MDL.ATTR.PL soon something wear.2S:PL

‘Those who have washed themselves should wear something soon.’

There is more to be discovered about relative constructions in Kinnauri. What we can see in these examples, however, is that the suffix *-ši* can be considered as focussing on an argument other than the subject (except the plural subject) of a relativized verb. This can be a function of middle voice. If this is true, the suffix used in relativized verbs is related to the middle. Peterson (2007) points out that applicative markers are used in relative clauses. In the case of an applicative construction, the applicative marker focuses directly on oblique nouns other than subject or object. In contrast, we can consider that the middle voice marker first deletes the subject, and as a result, the object noun is focused on in a relative construction.

It appears that the suffix is related to the middle voice in that it marks a transitive object, as well as in that it indicates plurality of an intransitive subject.

4. Usage of *-či*

Kinnauri has a suffix *-či*²¹⁾ for a kind of intransitivization, as introduced in the list (1)e. Because the suffix is not used productively, its usage is not clear. We just give some of the examples of the suffix in this section.

(38)a indicates the action of sticking pictures on the speaker’s body, but (38)b shows the result of the action of sticking, that is, the action of sticking has been finished and the pictures are stuck on the wall.²²⁾ In fact, the important point of this example is that the agent is not expressed in the sentence as well as that the verb is expressing the result of the action.

- (38) a. *nu.s p^hōtū.gā aṅ deyaṅ.ō tub.ā*
 he.INS picture.PL my body.LOC stick.PT
 ‘He stuck pictures on my body.’
- b. *nu p^hōtū.gā bitin.ō tub.čī.s dū*
 that picture.PL wall.LOC stick.CI.RDPL COP
 ‘Those pictures are stuck on the wall.’

In the following example the head noun is the plural subject of the relativized verb, so the suffix *-ši* is attached to the relativized verb, and *-či* can be used instead of *-ši*.

- (39) *gī.s sorgaṅ.ō yab.šit.tseyā/yab.čit.tseyā/*yab.tseyā pyā.gan.ō.č id pyā*
 I.INS sky.LOC fly.MDL.ATTR/fly.CI.ATTR/fly.ATTR bird.PL.LOC.ABL one bird
sad.a.k
 kill.PT.1S
 ‘I shot one of the birds flying in the sky.’

(40) and (41) are intransitive verbs with *-či* included in a verb stem.

- (40) a. *kin č^haṅ aṅ čimē raṅ ekē yōč.ē*
 your son my daughter with together play.PT
 ‘Your son played with my daughter.’
- b. *orč^hē nu č^haṅ.ā raṅ yōčit.tseyā mī.ga.nū kukū ka.ñ*
 please that child.PL COM play.ATTR person.PL.DAT call:RDPL bring.2S:SG
 ‘Please call the people who are playing with children.’

- (41) *nu dulčit.tseyā mī had dū*
 that nap.ATTR person who is
 ‘Who is that napping person?’

If *-či* is omitted from the verbs, the verb stem *yō-* means ‘collect (vt.)’ but not ‘let play’, and *dul-* is not in the author’s data. Therefore, *-či* is a part of the verb stem in *yōči-* and *dulči-*.²³⁾

(42) and (43) express a middle situation and the suffix *-či* is used.

- (42) a. *tašī.s gasā lanč.ē*
 PSN.INS clothes wear.PT
 ‘Tashi wore clothes.’
- b. *amā.s tašī.pīn gasā gačyā.š*
 mother.INS PSN.DAT clothes dress.3S:HON
 ‘Mom dressed Tashi.’

gačyā- is a causative verb meaning ‘dress (vt.)’. *lan-* means ‘do’ but not ‘dress (vt.)’, that is, the verb *lan-* is not a causative alternation for meaning ‘dress (vt.)’.

- (43) *ju dēšaṅ.ō bārī mul.u kagon lančit.tseyā ts^hetsā to.ts*
 this village.LOC many silver.GEN ring wear.ATTR lady:PL exist.GT
 ‘In this village are many ladies who have a silver ring.’

Though *-ši* and *-či* have a very similar function, *-či* seems to be related to intransitivization more than *-ši*, because it is natural that the function of *-ši* spreads from reflexive to intransitivization. More research on the suffix *-či* is necessary.

5. Final comment

As seen in the previous sections, the suffix *-ši* is considered as the middle voice marker in Kinnauri. In addition, this suffix is used in relative clauses, and accesses arguments such as object. This function of *-ši* can be said to be the same as that of middle voice.²⁴⁾

The suffix *-ši* used in a relativized verb is very complex because it is very similar to the suffix *-šid*, which expresses the past tense (cf. footnote 12). The relativized verb with *-ši*, therefore, is ambiguous. The author’s consultant always explains that *-ši* expresses past tense. However, not all of the sentences with *-ši* in a relativized verb which the author collected from him, express the past tense. Though we have observed in this paper that the suffix *-ši* in a relativized verb is related to the middle voice, further research is necessary on the relative clause system in Kinnauri.

We have some other unsolved problems about this suffix *-ši*. One of them is the interaction of the middle suffix with causative–intransitive alternation. When the causative verb takes the middle voice, it can be intransitivized: in this case, is the meaning of the intransitivized causative the same as that of the alternative intransitive verb?

Secondly, what is the relationship of this suffix with similar affixes in other Himalayan languages? LaPolla (2000a) shows that some Himalayan languages have similar affixes for the middle voice. Some of them are similar in both form and function, while others are similar only in function. If both form and function are similar among the languages, the affixes may have originated in older stages.

Lastly, we need to consider the effect from other languages or language groups such as Hindi. We can see the Himalayan region as a part of the India linguistic area, and Hindi also has a causative–intransitive alternation. This grammatical feature should, therefore, be investigated within the India linguistic area as well as within Tibeto-Burman.

Abbreviations

1	1st person	HON	honorific
1-2	1st and/or 2nd person	INF	infinitive
2	2nd person	INS	instrumental
3	3rd person	LOC	locative
ABL	Ablative	MDL	middle voice
ABS	Absolutive	NEG	negative
ATTR	attributive	O	object
CI	suffix <i>-či</i>	OBLG	obligation
COM	Comitative	PL	plural
COND	conditional	PLN	place name
CONJ	conjunctive	PR	present
COP	copular verb	PSN	personal name
DAT	Dative	PT	past
DIMN	diminutive	QM	question marker
DPT	distant past	RDPL	reduplication
EMPH	Emphatic	S	subject
FUT	future	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	STT	stative
GT	general tense		

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Notes

- 1) The verbs are given in a stem form. The verb stem form is not used independently in Kinnauri except in the case of an impolite imperative, but with suffixes or in reduplication.
- 2) *tuñ-* is a transitive verb, and as a result of attaching *s-*, *stuñ-* is a ditransitive verb. However, the meaning of this causative verb is restricted: an agent makes somebody who cannot drink by himself/herself, or animals drink something. For example, *stuñ-* is used when a mother makes her baby drink some milk.
- 3) As Takahashi (2008: 54) points out, the Kinnauri middle voice suffix is *-ši* or *-šy*. The author has no evidence on which to decide which form is appropriate.
- 4) This passive construction seems very artificial.
- 5) We also can observe one of the causative–intransitive alternative patterns in the initials (voiceless vs. voiced) between *čī-* and *jīši-*. Kinnauri, however, does not have a verb form like *jī-*.
- 6) Kinnauri has an ergative-like construction in a transitive sentence, but we use ‘instrumental’ for the case name.

- 7) *kin* is the genitive form of a second person pronoun *ki* ‘you’. Pronouns are usually in genitive before *rañ*. In the case of a noun, it is in absolutive.
- 8) As seen in (8), the verb *t^his-* also means ‘hit’. While *t^his-* with the middle suffix means reflexive, *toñ-* with it means reciprocal. The reason for the difference in the meaning between (8) and (10) is not clear. A survey of the functions and meanings of these verbs needs to be made.
- 9) *č^hug-* would be the base form of *č^hukšī-* without the middle suffix, but not *č^huk-*, because the stem final consonant would not be voiceless but voiced based on the other verb forms. In this paper, however, *č^hukšī-* is adopted because *č^hug-* is not attested.
- 10) Instead of the middle voice suffix, the verb can take the suffix *-či* which expresses intransitivization: *-či* of *kagček* is not the object marker in the following example:

(n1) *gí.s añū.li kag.č.e.k*
 I.INS me:DAT.too divide.CI.PT.1S
 ‘I divided for myself.’

As for the suffix *či*, see section 4.

- 11) Actually, this demotion is not necessary. In (16), the dative form *dogonū* can be used instead of *dogō rañ*.
- 12) *-šid* can be analysed as the middle voice suffix with a general tense marker, which has two allomorphs; *-ts* and *-d*. *-šid*, however, can be analysed as consisting of one morpheme. *-šid*, very similar to *-ši*, is a verbal suffix expressing past. Cf. Sharma (1988: 140). See the following example:

(n1) *do mī šī.to.k byañ.šid/*byañ.ts*
 that person die.FUT.1S be.afraid.DPT/be.afraid.GT
 ‘That man was afraid of death.’

Interestingly, according to footnote 15 of Willis (2007: 365), in Darma, *-hi ~ -xi*, which is very similar to the middle voice suffix also ‘appears to indicate that an event happened in the past ...’

- 13) ‘Passive-like’ means here that at least the Pangi dialect has no passive voice.
- 14) The former suffix *-ts* is attached to the verb stem, and the latter suffix *-d* to the verb with the suffix *-ši*, so they are in complementary distribution.
- 15) With reference to this example, it should be noted that, as Sharma (1988: 140) shows, *-šid* can express past tense as in (n1) of footnote 12. *-šid* looks like the suffix *-ši* plus *-d*, but *-šid* should be considered as a separate independent suffix.
- 16) Regarding relative clauses, further research is necessary. In this paper we observe the suffix *-ši* in the relative clause. There are other constructions for a relative clause in Kinnauri, which are not treated in this paper.
- 17) *-ši* is very similar to the past tense suffix *-šid*, as stated in footnote 12. *-ši* in a relativized verb, therefore, is very ambiguous. Actually, there are some examples where *-šid* is used as a past tense marker in a relativized verb.
- 18) When the verb modifies a noun, Kinnauri has other constructions besides that in (32). Because *-ši* does not seem to be used in other relative constructions in the same way as the *tseyā*-construction, we do not consider such examples here.
- 19) In case that the verb ends in a vowel, *t* occurs after the vowel. It is not clear why the consonant occurs at this position. In this paper, however, this consonant is considered to belong to the preceding

constituent, such as a verb stem with/without any suffixes, that is, the verb ending in a vowel takes *d* or maybe devoiced *d* for some reason that we have not yet discovered.

- 20) The author has written the general tense form of the verb *tō-* ‘exist’ as *tots* so far. Possibly, however, this should be written as *tod.ts* though it is written in the same way as before in this paper.
- 21) *-č̣i* can be considered as *-č̣y*, though we write *-č̣i* in this paper, like *-ṣ̌i* (see footnote 3).
- 22) The first and second person object is marked by *-č̣i*, too, as in the following example:

(n1) *nu.s p^hōtu.gā aṅū tub.č̣.ē*
 he.INS picture.PL me:DAT stick.1-2O.PT
 ‘He stuck pictures on me.’

Although the form of those markers is the same, they have different distributions.

- 23) Verb stems with *-č̣i*, however, are not always intransitive. For example, *poč̣i-* ‘look for’ and *k^huč̣i-* ‘steal’ are transitive.
- 24) As the result of checking the examples of the early version of the paper which are related to the relative clause, some of them were found to be inappropriate for the discussion of this paper. Some of the examples with the suffix *-ṣ̌i*, however, apparently have the function of middle voice. Needless to say, any further research is necessary for this usage of *-ṣ̌i*.

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