著者

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<th>著者 (英)</th>
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<td>本籍</td>
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<td>職業</td>
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<td>論文</td>
<td>中央大学 人类学研究科 教授</td>
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記載

| 講演 | 日本民族学会 研究発表会で行われた講演 |

本論文は、中世の語句を用いて、特定の文化の表現法を示唆するものである。Kinnauri（Pangi dialect）の言語学的な分析に基づき、この言語の多様性と発展を理解するのに役立つと考えられる。
On a Middle Voice Suffix in Kinnauri (Pangi dialect)

Yoshiharu Takahashi
Aichi Prefectural University

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>causative</th>
<th>intransitive</th>
<th>meaning of Vt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>spya(n)-</td>
<td>bya(n)-</td>
<td>‘terrify’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stu(n)-</td>
<td>tu(n)-</td>
<td>‘make s.b. drink’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>skwad-</td>
<td>k(^b)wa(c)i-</td>
<td>‘boil’</td>
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<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>p(^b)ar-</td>
<td>bar-</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p(^b)r(u)s-</td>
<td>brus-</td>
<td>‘break (wall, house)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t(^b)or-</td>
<td>dor-</td>
<td>‘untie, unlace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k(^b)el-</td>
<td>gel-</td>
<td>‘break, split, cleave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>pa(a)š-</td>
<td>ba(a)š-</td>
<td>‘crush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>par-</td>
<td>bar-</td>
<td>‘set on fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pr(a)(r)-</td>
<td>br(a)(r)-</td>
<td>‘spread’ (intr.: ‘flow over’)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>tus-</td>
<td>dus-</td>
<td>‘make warm’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>twa(n)-</td>
<td>dwa(n)-</td>
<td>‘open’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tser-</td>
<td>zer-</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c’.</td>
<td>t(i)g-</td>
<td>r(i)g-</td>
<td>‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t(a)g-</td>
<td>r(a)g-</td>
<td>‘make wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>pog-</td>
<td>pog(ši)-</td>
<td>‘burn’ (intr.: ‘get burnt’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t(^b)is-</td>
<td>t(^b)is(ši)-</td>
<td>‘hurt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gury(a)́-</td>
<td>gury(a)́ši-</td>
<td>‘close’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On a Middle Voice Suffix in Kinnauri

(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 -si to a (transitive) verb, and (1)e attachment of the suffix -ci 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    bizīli    spyug.ā
brother-in-law.INS light put.out.PT
‘Shakpo switched off the light.’

b. bizīli    byug.ā
light go.out.PT
‘The light has gone.’

(3) a. hinā.s  bar.ū   k6el.a.š
PSN.INS branch.DAT split(vl),PT.3S:HON
‘Heena split the branch.’

b. pom.is  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  bašhaš  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 -št, shown in (1)d. This suffix is used for the middle voice and in a relativized verb.

2. Usage of -št as the middle voice suffix

The suffix -št\(^3\) basically expresses a middle situation including reflexivity, reciprocality, 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 reciprocality. 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 -št 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 -št, 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 -št indicates that the action will be done toward the first person subject himself.

(5) a. gi an čaṭan.ū deyarō sū.ts
    I my son.DAT everyday wash.GT
    ‘I wash my son everyday.’

b. gi kim.ū bāraṭ 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, jiš- in (6)a and či- in (6)b below. jiš- 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 -št. In contrast with this, the verb či- in (6)b expresses washing anything but the body and one’s own hands.\(^5\)
(6) a. gi an gudā jiš.o.k
    I my hand.PL wash_one’s hand.FUT.1S
    ‘I will wash my hands.’

b. gi an ˇc h a˙n.¯u gud.¯a ˇc.to.k
    I my child.GEN hand.PL wash.FUT.1S
    ‘I will wash my son’s hands.’

ˇcī- can take the suffix -ši. ˇcīši- 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 b.ets.as.is sisō k b yā.ˇs.ō du.ˇe
    lady.IN S mirror look.MDL.STT COP.PUT
    ‘The lady looked at herself in the mirror.’

(8) gi/si ˇc.i ˇc.iˇs.is.ˇe.k
    I/L.INS L.EMPHELP hit.MDL.PUT.1S
    ‘I hit myself.’

In (8), unlike other examples, the subject of the verb is not allowed to be in the instrumental case. 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.¯u saetā an.¯ı lan.¯a
    PSN.IN self.DAT help self.EMPHELP do.PUT
    ‘Rinku helped himself.’

If the verb lanā is changed into lanˇsē, 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 -ši. The verb with the suffix -ši 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 rabin tar ˇs.ˇe.ˇn
    you yesterday PSN with hit.MDL.PUT.2S:HON
    ‘You fought with Ravinder 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 -ã, 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 tonščč. Therefore, this verb is inflected based on the third person subject.

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

(11) a. zimidär.is nā nukur.e.nū bantřā sae laň.ā 
   landlord.INS five servant.PL GEN in return for ten cow.PL 
   change.MDL.PT 
   ‘The landlord bartered five servants for ten cows.’

b. giš nāmaň 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 ĉukšč meaning ‘I met with someone.’ This verb expresses a naturally reciprocal event, and the form without the suffix, such as ĉug-9 is not used.

(12) giš an konyas raň Šemlē ĉukš.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 -šči expresses that the action was carried out for persons other than the subject.

(13) a. hinā raň šalāš an.niš.ā komō saetā lanš.ē/šlan.ā 
   PSN and PSN self.TWO GEN among help do.MDL.PT/do.PT 
   ‘Heena and Shalu helped each other.’

b. hinā raň šalāš 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-.
On a Middle Voice Suffix in Kinnauri

(14) a. gi. s kinū rotē kag.č.e.k
     I.INS you:DAT chapati distribute.1-2O.PT.1S
     ‘I divided chapati to you all.’
     b. gi. 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 -či 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, -ši cannot be used in the following sentence:

(15) gi. s aňũ.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 -ši.10

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

(16) gi. s dogō raň 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 -ši in this section.

The verb with the suffix -ši 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 -ši shows the fact that the first-person singular subject just uses ‘this pen’ everyday.

(17) a. ju pen čē.ši.d12)
     this pen write.MDL.GT
     ‘This pen writes well.’
     b. deyarō gi. s ju pen.šs čē.šs
     everyday I.INS this pen.INS write.GT
     ‘I write with this pen everyday.’
c. *gi.s/*auŋu ju pen češi.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 če- 'write' with the middle marker. In this case, the verb has a passive-like\(^{13}\) meaning, and expresses the state of pieces of paper with something written on each.

(18) ju tsoir kagli.gā češi.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 (lan̂is\(\)). 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. gi dün πid.erañ (*lan̂is\(\)) rats tāši.s du.č
I there arrive.CONJ cow.INS calf bear.MDL.RDPL COP.PT
‘When I reached there, a calf had been born.’

b. gi dün πid.erañ lan̂is rats tātā du.č
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 šalū.piň/*šalū runiň.is t\(^6\)ist\(^5\)is
PSN.INS PSN.DAT/PSN:ABS stone.INS hit:RDPL
‘Adarsh hit Shalu with a stone.’

b. šalū.piň/*šalū runiň.is t\(^6\)ist\(^5\)is
PSN.DAT/PSN:ABS stone.INS hit:RDPL
‘Shalu was hit with a stone.’

c. šalū/*šalū.piň runiň.is t\(^6\)isši.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 chèn.ù/*chèn  deyarō ton.ts
     that child.DAT/child:ABS everyday hit.GT
     ‘That child is hit everyday.’

     b. nu chèn/*chèn.ù deyarō ton.ši.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) aŋ gasā ęšā či.š.e
    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) kotbä känin.m.ig.seyä nī.m.ä tsoi hāškamsi.d
    story bore.INF.OBLG.ATTR exist.INF.COND all yawn.GT
    ‘If the topic is boring, everybody yawns.’

(24) gi dokan.ìs tůwā strapš.e.k
    I mountain.INS upward climb.PT.1S
    ‘I climbed up the mountain.’

2.4. Plurality: collectivity
The suffix -ši 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. niňa  kra[a.ò]/kra[b.š.e.č]
     we cry.PT.1-2S/cry.MDL.PT.1-2S
     ‘We cried.’

     b. gi  kra[a.a.k]/*kra[b.š.e.č]
     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 -ši, the subject should be singular, as in (26)b.
(26) a. pyä.ts.ä/*pyä.ts  deyarô  lagyad.ô.li  yab.ši.d  
   bird.DIMN.PL/bird.DIMN  everyday  rain.LOC.even  fly.MDL.GT  
   ‘The birds always fly even in the rain.’

   b. pyä.ts  deyarô  lagyad.ô.li  yab.či.d/*yab.ši.d  
   bird.DIMN  everyday  rain.LOC.even  fly.CL.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) an dek³ras  raû  dô  konyâ  kéusís  wa.š.udû  
   my husband with his friends cheerfully laugh.MDL.PR  
   ‘My husband and his friends are laughing cheerfully.’

   In (28), the verb rig.ši.s indicates that there are many tables which are broken.

(28) mëz.ä  rig.ši.s  dü  
   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 byanís and byanšid 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, byanís, and the suffix -d in the latter form, byanšid.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. bârì  më.gä  ši.to.k  byan.ts/*byan.ši.d  
   many  person.PL  die.FUT.1S  be_afraid.GT/be_afraid.MDL.GT  
   ‘Many people are afraid of death.’

   b. do  mì  ši.to.k  byan.ts/*byan.ši.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.ô.li  pyä.ts  yab.ô/*yab.š.ô  
   rain.LOC.even  bird.DIMN  fly.STT/fly.MDL.STT  
   ‘The bird is flying even in the rain.’

   b. ḣì  mì  ča.udû/*čë.š.udû  
   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 čhān.ā gušryā.š.ō yun.ō dū
   small child.PL crawl.MDL.STT walk.STT COP
   ‘Little babies are crawling.’

b. zigits čhān pōor.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. Strictly speaking, we cannot yet say that this -ši in a relative clause is the same suffix as the middle suffix. 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). In this sentence, čhān is the subject of the relativized verb, and -ši is not used.
(32) mē piō ma.bit.tseyā 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 cʰən is the subject of the relativized verb, as in (32), and makrab-tseyā, which does not include -ši in it, is grammatical. In (33)b, however, makrabšittseyā is grammatical.

(33) a. hunak.staŋ ma.krab.tseyā/*ma.krab.šit.tseyā cʰən 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.staŋ ma.krab.šit.tseyā cʰən.ə 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. kʰəŋ 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 -ši when the head noun is the object 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 -ši.

(34) a. aŋ kim.ə aŋū kʰəŋ zuryā.tseyā boesā to.ts
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/*zuryā.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. gā.s gatōdā boesā.s zuryā.šit.tseyā/*zuryā.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), -ši indicates that the head nouns are the object of the relativized verb, as in (34)b and (34)c.
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(35) an goenē.s bizarr.ō.č zog.št.tseyā/*zog.tseyā skanā 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.ā.a mē gā.s jūn tā.št.tseyā kītāb hām you.INS know.FUT.2S.QM yesterday 1.INs here place.MDL.ATTR book where dū COP

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

b. pradīp.ī.s mē.z.u den tā.št.tseyā kītāb 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 -šī expresses reflexivity.

(37) sū.št.tseyā.gā hasal tīttā lančī.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 -šī 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 -čī

Kinnauri has a suffix -čī 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. 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.
"He stuck pictures on my body."

"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 -ˇsi is attached to the relativized verb, and -ˇci can be used instead of -ˇsi.

'I shot one of the birds flying in the sky.'

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

"Who is that napping person?"

If -ˇci is omitted from the verbs, the verb stem yˇo- means ‘collect (vt.)’ but not ‘let play’, and dul- is not in the author’s data. Therefore, -ˇci is a part of the verb stem in yˇoˇci- and dulˇci-. 23)

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

'gaˇcy¯a'- 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.).’
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(43) ju dēšaṅ.ō bārī mul.u kagon lančit.tseyā tءetsā 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

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Acknowledgments

This paper was read at the third meeting of the project on May 19, 2007, and is a revised version of section 1.6 in Takahashi (2008). I would like to thank those who gave me advice on the paper.

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) tuń- is a transitive verb, and as a result of attaching s-, stun- 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, stun- is used when a mother makes her baby drink some milk.

3) As Takahashi (2008: 54) points out, the Kinnauri middle voice suffix is -śi or -śy. 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 či- and jiši-. Kinnauri, however, does not have a verb form like ji-.

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 *raṅ*. In the case of a noun, it is in absolutive.

8) As seen in (8), the verb *ṭīs*- also means ‘hit’. While *ṭīs*- with the middle suffix means reflexive, *toṅ*- 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) *ṭug*- would be the base form of *ṭukši*- without the middle suffix, but not *ṭuk*- , because the stem final consonant would not be voiceless but voiced based on the other verb forms. In this paper, however, *ṭukši*- is adopted because *ṭug*- is not attested.

10) Instead of the middle voice suffix, the verb can take the suffix *-či* which expresses intransitivization: *-či* of *kaṅček* is not the object marker in the following example:

  (n1) *gi.s aṅũ.li kag.če.k*
  
  I.INS me:DAT.too divide:CL.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 *dogonũ* can be used instead of *dogo raṅ*.

12) *-śid* can be analysed as the middle voice suffix with a general tense marker, which has two allomorphs: *-ts* and *-d*. *-śid*, however, can be analysed as consisting of one morpheme. *-śid*, very similar to *-si*, is a verbal suffix expressing past. Cf. Sharma (1988: 140). See the following example:

  (n1) *do mĩ śi.to.k byaṅ.śid/*byaṅ.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 *-śi*, so they are in complementary distribution.

15) With reference to this example, it should be noted that, as Sharma (1988: 140) shows, *-śid* can express past tense as in (n1) of footnote 12. *-śid* looks like the suffix *-si* plus *-d*, but *-śid* should be considered as a separate independent suffix.

16) Regarding relative clauses, further research is necessary. In this paper we observe the suffix *-śi* in the relative clause. There are other constructions for a relative clause in Kinnauri, which are not treated in this paper.

17) *-śi* is very similar to the past tense suffix *-śid*, as stated in footnote 12. *-śi* in a relativized verb, therefore, is very ambiguous. Actually, there are some examples where *-śid* 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 *-śi* 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, *ṭ* 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 todnts though it is written in the same way as before in this
paper.
21) -či can be considered as -čy, though we write -či in this paper, like -ši (see footnote 3).
22) The first and second person object is marked by -či, too, as in the following example:

\[(n1) \text{ nu.s } pōtu.gā anā tubčē]'

‘He stuck pictures on me.’

Although the form of those markers is the same, they have different distributions.
23) Verb stems with -či, however, are not always intransitive. For example, poči- ‘look for’ and kūči-
’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 -ši, however, apparently have the function of middle voice.
Needless to say, any further research is necessary for this usage of -ši.

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