On a Middle Voice Suffi x in Kinnauri (Pangi dialect)

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, reciprocality, 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

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.	*spyaṅ-*	*byaṅ-*	'terrify'
	stuṅ-	*tuṅ-*	'make s.b. drink'[2]
	skwad-	*kʰwačí-*	'boil'
b.	*pʰar-*	*bar-*	'tear'
	pʰrus-	*brus-*	'break (wall, house)'
	ṭʰor-	*ḍor-*	'untie, unlace'
	kʰel-	*gel-*	'break, split, cleave'
c.	*paš-*	*baš-*	'crush'
	par-	*bar-*	'set on fire'
	prā-	*brā-*	'spread' (intr.: 'flow over')
	tus-	*dus-*	'make warm'
	twaṅ-	*dwaṅ-*	'open'
	tser-	*zer-*	'tear'
c'.	*ṭɨg-*	*rɨg-*	'break'
	ṭag-	*rag-*	'make wet'
d.	*pog-*	*pogši-*	'burn' (intr.: 'get burnt')
	ṭʰis-	*ṭʰisši-*	'hurt'
	guryā-	*guryāši-*	'close'

šuryā-	*šuryāši-*	'turn'
sū-	*sūši-*	'wash' (intr.: 'wash oneself')
hud-	*huši-*	'teach' (intr.: 'study, read')

e. *tub-*   *tubči-*   'stick'
    leg-   *legči-*   '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*   *bizɨlī*   **spyug**.*ā*
     brother-in-law.INS   light   put_out.PT
     'Shakpo switched off the light.'

    b. *bizɨlī*   **byug**.*ā*
     light   go_out.PT
     'The light has gone.'

(3) a. *hinā.s*   *bar.ū*   **kʰel**.*a.š*
     PSN.INS   branch.DAT   split(vt.).PT.3S:HON
     'Heena split the branch.'

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

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

The suffix -*ši*[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 -*ši* 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 -*ši*, 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 -*ši* indicates that the action will be done toward the first person subject himself.

(5) a. *gɨ aṅ čʰaṅ.ū deyarō sū.ts*
I   my son.DAT everyday wash.GT
'I wash my son everyday.'

b. *gɨ 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, *ǰiši*- in (6)a and *čī*- in (6)b below. *ǰiši*- 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 -*ši*. In contrast with this, the verb *čī*- in (6)b expresses washing anything but the body and one's own hands.[5]

(6) a. *gɨ aṅ gud.ā jiš.o.k*
　　　 I　 my　hand.PL　wash_one's_hand.FUT.1S
　　　 'I will wash my hands.'

　　b. *gɨ aṅ čʰaṅ.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 *-ši. čīši-* 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) *tsʰetsas.ɨs sisō kʰyā.š.ō du.ē*
　　 lady.INS　　mirror　look.MDL.STT　COP.PT
　　 'The lady looked at herself in the mirror.'

(8) *gɨ/*gɨ.s gɨ.ī tʰis.š̌.e.k*
　　 I/I.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 *-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 rabindar raṅ toṅ.š̌.e.ň*
　　　 you　yesterday　PSN　　with　hit.MDL.PT.2S:HON
　　　 'You fought with Ravinder yesterday.'

    b. *kin   raṅ rabindar mē   toṅ.š.ē*
       your[7] 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 -*ň*, 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 *toṅšeč*. 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.ɨs   ṅā   nukur.e.nū   banṭʰā   sae laṅ.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. *gɨ.s   nāmaṅ 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 *čʰukšek* meaning 'I met with someone.' This verb expresses a naturally reciprocal event, and the form without the suffix, such as *čʰug-*,[9] is not used.

  (12) *gɨ aṅ konyas raṅ   šemlē čʰukš.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 raṅ 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 raṅ 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-*.

(14) a. *gɨ.s   kinū   rotē   kag.č.e.k*
I.INS   you:DAT   chapati   distribute.1-2O.PT.1S
'I divided chapati to you all.'

b. *gɨ.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) *gɨ.s   aṅū.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) *gɨ.s   dogō   raṅ   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**.d*[12]
this   pen   write.MDL.GT
'This pen writes well.'

b. *deyarō   gɨ.s   ju   pen.ɨs   čē.ts*
everyday   I.INS   this   pen.INS   write.GT
'I write with this pen everyday.'

    c. **gɨ.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-like[13] 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 (*laṅɨs*). 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. *gɨ dɨṅ pɨd.eraṅ (*laṅ.ɨs) 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. *gɨ dɨṅ pɨd.eraṅ   laṅ.ɨs rats tātā   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.ɨs šālū.pɨṅ/*šālū   runiṅ.ɨs   ṭʰisṭʰis*
        PSN.INS   PSN.DAT/PSN:ABS stone.INS hit:RDPL
        'Adarsh hit Shalu with a stone.'

      b. *šālū.pɨṅ/*šālū   runiṅ.ɨs   ṭʰisṭʰis*
        PSN.DAT/PSN:ABS stone.INS hit:RDPL
        'Shalu was hit with a stone.'

      c. *šālū/*šālū.pɨṅ   runiṅ.ɨs   ṭʰis.**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   čʰaṅ.ū/*čʰaṅ   deyarō   toṅ.ts*
that child.DAT/child:ABS everyday hit.GT
'That child is hit everyday.'

b. *nu   čʰaṅ/*čʰaṅ.ū   deyarō   toṅ.**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) *aṅ   gasā   ēsā   čī.**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) *kotʰā   kāniṅ.m.ig.seyā   nī.m.ā   tsoī hāškam**ši**.d*
story bore.INF.OBLG.ATTR exist.INF.COND all   yawn.GT
'If the topic is boring, everybody yawns.'

(24) *gɨ   ḍokaṅ.ɨs   tʰwā   strap**š**.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. *niṅā   krab.a.č/krab.**š**.e.č*
we   cry.PT.1-2S/cry.MDL.PT.1-2S
'We cried.'

b. *gɨ   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 *-ši*, the subject should be singular, as in (26)b.

(26) a. *pyā.ts.ā/*pyā.ts*   *deyarō*   *lagyad.ō.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. *pyā.ts*   *deyarō*   *lagyad.ō.li*   *yab.či.d/*yab.ši.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) *aṅ* *dek^hras* *raṅ* *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 *rɨg.ši.s* indicates that there are many tables which are broken.

(28) *mēz.ā*   *rɨg.ši.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 *byaṅts* and *byaṅšid* 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, *byaṅts*, and the suffix -*d* in the latter form, *byaṅšid*.[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*   *byaṅ.ts/byaṅ.**ši**.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*   *byaṅ.ts/*byaṅ.**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.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/*čā.**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   čʰaṅ.ā   gušryā.š̌.ō   yun.ō   dū*
       small   child.PL   crawl.MDL.STT   walk.STT   COP
       'Little babies are crawling.'

    b. *zigits   čʰaṅ   pʰor.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, *čʰaṅ* is the subject of the relativized verb, and *-ši* is not used.

(32) *mē   piō   ma.bīt.tseyā*[19]   *čʰaṅ   nasom   saṅglā   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 *čʰaṅ* 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, *makrab**šit**tseyā* is grammatical.

(33) a. *hunak.staṅ   ma.krab.tseyā/*ma.krab.**šit**.tseyā   čʰaṅ   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.staṅ   ma.krab.**šit**.tseyā   čʰaṅ.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. *kʰaū 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 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 -*ši.*

(34) a. *aṅ   kim.ō   aṅū   kʰaū   zuryāt.tseyā   boesā   to.ts*[20]
         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. *gɨ.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), -*ši* indicates that the head nouns are the object of the relativized verb, as in (34)b and (34)c.

(35) aṅ   goenē.s   bɨzar.ō.č   zog.**ši**t.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.ň.a   mē   gɨ.s   jɨṅ tā.**ši**t.tseyā   kɨtāb 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.ɨs mēz.u   den tā.**ši**t.tseyā   kɨtāb 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 reflexitivity.

(37) sū.**ši**t.tseya.gā   hasal tʰɨttā   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   pʰōṭū.gā   aṅ   ḍeyaṅ.ō   tub.ā*
          he.INS picture.PL my   body.LOC   stick.PT
          'He stuck pictures on my body.'

       b. *nu   pʰōṭū.gā   bitiṅ.ō   tub.**či**.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) *gɨ.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   čʰaṅ   aṅ   čimē   raṅ   ekē   yō**č**.ē*
          your son   my   daughter with   together play.PT
          'Your son played with my daughter.'

       b. *orčʰē   nu   čʰaṅ.ā   raṅ   yō**čit**.tseyā   mī.ga.nū   kukū   ka.ň*
          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   dul**čit**.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. *ṭašī.s   gasā   lan**č**.ē*
          PSN.INS clothes   wear.PT
          'Tashi wore clothes.'

       b. *amā.s   ṭašī.pɨṅ   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   lan**či**t.tseyā   tsʰetsā   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 *-či*		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			

Acknowledgments

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) *tuṅ-* is a transitive verb, and as a result of attaching *s-*, *stuṅ-* 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, *stuṅ-* 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 *jiši-*. Kinnauri, however, does not have a verb form like *jĭ-*.

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 *ṭʰis-* also means 'hit'. While *ṭʰis-* 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) *čʰug-* would be the base form of *čʰukši-* without the middle suffix, but not *čʰuk-*, because the stem final consonant would not be voiceless but voiced based on the other verb forms. In this paper, however, *čʰukši-* is adopted because *čʰug-* 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) *gɨ.s   aṅū.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 raṅ*.

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   byaṅ.**šid**/*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 *-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) -*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) *nu.s*   *pʰ ō̤ṭu.gā*   *aṅū*   *tub.**č**.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 -*či*, however, are not always intransitive. For example, *poči-* 'look for' and *kʰuči-* '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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