On the Verbal Affixes in West Himalayan

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1. Introduction

There is considerable lexical evidence that the West Himalayan languages are genetically related. For example, (1a) is the table which Konow (1905: 119) and Grierson (1909: 428) give for the West Himalayan group. Tables 1-1 and 1-2 of Nishi (1991) demonstrate many lexical items which agree with each other among the West Himalayan group. Nishi's and Konow's lists of West Himalayan lexical items indicate that the West Himalayan languages form one group. At the same time, as Konow (1905) already pointed out one century ago, we can observe lexical similarities between Kinnauri and some of the languages of Northeastern India (the languages which Konow calls 'the Kuki-Chin dialects'). Konow's list, (1b) below, seems to show a relationship between West Himalayan and the Kuki-Chin group or other Tibeto-Burman languages in Northeastern India.[1]

(1) a.

	Kinauri	Kanāṣī	Mancat	Bunān	Raṅkas	Dārmiyā	Caudāṅsī	Byāṅsī
one	it	it	idi	tiki	tākā	tākō	tig	tig
two	niṣ	niṣ	(juṭ)	nyis	nisī	nisū	nis	nisī
four	pü	pu	pi	pi	pi	pi	pi	pi
seven	stiṣ		nyij	nyiẓi	nhisī	nīsū	nīs	nīs
ear	(kánaṅ)	rad	reṭa	retsi	rac	racō	rac	rac
far	vark	(dur)	wai	wai	hvānm	vānam	wānam	wānam
field	ri	rhe	rhi	rig	rai	rē	rī	rai
horse	raṅ	(ghōrā)	rāṅ	ṣraṅs	rhā	rāṅ	rāṅ	rāṅ
water	ti	ti	ti	so-ti	ti	ti	ti	ti

b. Kinnauri

ā́-tē 'elder brother'	Khyang	a-ta	
khui 'dog'	Burmese	khwe	
	Singphō	gui	
	Meitei	hui	
	Lushēi	ui	
ran 'give (to others)'	Garo	ron'ā	
	Dīmāsā	rī	
kē 'give (to me)'	Ao	kwā	
krā 'hair'	Singphō	karā	
	Tibetan	skra	
gud 'hand'	Sunwār	guī	
(Manchat guḍ, Kanāṣī guṭ)	Mãgar	hut	
	Kuki-Chin	khut	
raṅ 'horse'	Lai	raṅ	
	Banjōgī	raṅ	
	Burmese	mraṅ	
lē 'tongue'	Gurung	le	
	Sunwār	le	
	Murmī	le	
	Kuki-Chin	lei	
tī 'water'	Lushēi	tui	
	Lamgang	di	
	Bodo	dui	
	Lalung	di	
	Garo	ti	

What we have to consider in addition to the lexical similarities is morphological features in West Himalayan. According to Nishi (1992: 519, 1990), Grierson (1909: 427) suggests that some features of the West Himalayan languages, such as vigesimal numerals, dual and clusivity pronouns, are inconsistent with Tibeto-Burman features, and that they occurred because of the influence of Munda. We have some arguments about the origin of the person affixes: some say that the person affixes originate from the proto-language, that is, Proto-Tibeto-Burman, others say that they came from the influence of other languages, and so on. It seems that the data of the West Himalayan languages which have been published by now

should be reexamined.

The purpose of this paper is to consider the verb affixes of West Himalayan, not only the person affixes but also other affixes on the verb. Kinnauri, for example, has some types of verb affixes: subject person suffixes, an object suffix, a suffix of middle voice, a negative prefix, a prohibitive prefix, and so on. None of these affixes is common in the West Himalayan languages. We will check their distribution in West Himalayan.

2. Person marking

Subject person suffixes are found in many West Himalayan languages, though not all of them have a full set.

2.1 Kinnauri

In Kinnauri, the singular subject marking suffixes are different for each of the three persons, but in the plural, the first and the second persons have the same form and are different from the third person. While Kinnauri distinguishes first person inclusive and exclusive pronominal forms, no person affix is used in the inclusive form of a verb,[2] although the person affix is found in the exclusive form. There is no difference between the third person singular and plural verb suffixes, but there is a difference between the third person honorific and ordinary pronouns. Though dual forms are different from singular and plural forms in the Kinnauri pronominal system, there are no special dual forms for the verb.[3]

(2)   a.   Kinnauri subject agreement markers (Takahashi 2008: 9; cf. Saxena 1997: 77)

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	-*k*	-*č* (excl.)	-*č* (excl.)
		-∅ (incl.)	-∅ (incl.)
2 (non-Hon)	-*n*	-*n*	-*n*
(Hon)	-*ñ*	-*č*	-*č*
3 (ordinary)			
(Hon)	-*š*	-*š*	-*š*

b.   Kinnauri pronominal praradigm (Takahashi 2002: 13; cf. Saxena 1997: 77)

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*gɨ*	*niši* (excl.)	*niṅā* (excl.)
		kišaṅ (incl.)	*kišaṅā* (incl.)
2 (non-Hon)	*ka*	*kaniš*	*kanegā*
(Hon)	*ki*	*kiši*	*kinā*
3	*do/nu*	*doniš/nuniš*	*dogo/nugo*

In Kinnauri, the first person has a velar sound and the second person singular an alveolar nasal. As stated by Saxena (1997), those sounds seem to trace back to the old pronouns.

Saxena (1997: 77) puts '(-*d*)' in the slot of the third person singular ordinary in Table (2a). Some of the Kinnauri verbs end in -*d* in case of the third person subject and the past tense. Actually, this -*d* is limited not only to verbs in the third person and the past tense, but also to verbs with their stem ending in a vowel. If -*d* were the third person subject suffix, it could be from one of the third pronouns which begins with *d*. It seems, however, that the limitation of its occurence does not mean that this ending expresses the third person.

Kinnauri has the object suffix *-či*, which expresses first and second person object. This marker does not look like the first and second pronouns. Saxena's (1997: 92) explanation that *-k*, 'a cognate of the older agreement marker,' can change to *č* seems ad hoc in this case. As Takahashi (2007) shows, Kinnauri should be considered to have a person-marking system which is based on the deictic center, or the speech act participants. In other words, 'pronominalization' in Kinnauri, in the meaning of the use of a pronoun as a person marker, is limited to first and second persons in the singular.

It is only Kinnauri that clearly has object person marking. As seen in the following sections, it is not obvious that other languages allegedly with an object marker have a true object marker.

2.2 Patni

In Patni, the first person singular has the verbal suffix *-g*, which, as Saxena (1997) says, seems to originate from the first person singular pronoun, and the second person singular has *-n*, which may originate from an old second person pronoun, that is, this pattern is the same as in Kinnauri. These two suffixes, again, are the only examples of pronominalization in Patni. Patni, however, has different markers for dual and plural of the first and second persons unlike in Kinnauri.

Interestingly, Patni has suffixes for expressing third person dual and plural whereas there is no suffix for third person singular, and these suffixes appear to be the same as those marking dual and plural on pronouns, respectively.

(3)   a.   Patni subject agreement markers (Saxena 1997: 78)[4]

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*-g(à)*	*-š(ì)*	*-ñ(ì)*
2 (+/−Hon)	*-n(à)*	*-š(ì)*	*-ñ(ì)*
3 (+/−Hon)		*-k(ù)*	*-r(è)*

   b.   Patni pronominal paradigm (Saxena 1997: 79)

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*gè*	*nè-kù* (excl.)	*nè-rè* (excl.)
		héŋ-gù (incl.)	*hénə-rè* (incl.)
2 (−Hon)	*kà*	*kè-kù*	*kè-rè*
(+Hon)	*kè-nà*	*kèŋ-gù*	*kènə-rè*
			kèn-dè
3 (+/−Hon)	*dù*	*dò-kù*	*dò-rè*

Saxena (1997: 79) says that, unlike Kinnauri, Patni does not mark object agreement, that is, there are no object agreement affixes, and there are no examples of object marking in the author's data, either.

2.3 Tinani

Tinani has almost the same pattern as in Patni: it should be noted particularly that the dual and plural agreement markers also appear as suffixes on the third person dual and plural person pronouns, respectively.

(4) a. Tinani subject agreement markers (Saxena 1997: 79 with revisions based on Sharma 1992: 155)

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*-k/-g(a)*	*-ṣ(i)*	*-ñ(i)*
2	*-n(a)*	*-č(i)*	*-č(i)*
3	*-∅*	*-k(u)*	*-r(e)*

b. Tinani pronominal paradigm (Saxena 1997: 80; Sharma 1992: 145–146)

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*gye*	*iša* (excl.)	*ena* (excl.)
		ñiši (incl.)	*ñena* (incl.)
2 (Ord)	*kə*	*kənca*	—
(Hon)	*kenə*	*kenci*	*kena*
3 (+/−Hon)	*du/do*	*do-ku*	*do-re*

The difference between Patni and Tinani is the second person dual and plural agreement markers. In Tinani, there is no difference between dual and plural in the second person.

Tinani, like Patni, seems to have no object marker. Sharma (1989) does not mention an object suffix.

2.4 Kanashi

As for Kanashi, no data except those from Grierson (1909) have been available until now. Although Sharma (1992) describes Kanashi, his data seem to be based mainly on Grierson (1909). The subject-marking suffixes of Kanashi in Table (5) are taken from these data.

(5) a. Kanashi subject agreement markers

person	present/future		past	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1	*-tok*	*-toŋ*	*-k*	*-ŋ*
2	*-ton*	—	*-n*	—
3	*-to*	—	*-∅*	—

b. Kanashi pronominal paradigm

	sg.	pl.
1	*gu*	*ni*
2	*ko*	*ki*
3	*du, nu*	*du-ga, nu-ga*

Kanashi is considered to be closely related to Kinnauri, and their agreement systems appear to be similar to one other, though the data lack second and third person plural forms.

> 'Kanashi like Kinnauri belongs to the group of Western pronominalized languages, but by now it has lost much of its pronominalized character, i.e., distinguishing the person of the subject by the verb form itself. However, there are some verbal forms in it which still exhibit [sic.] the feature of incorporating the subject-object element in the verb form itself.' (Sharma 1992: 363)

Though Sharma (1992: 364) uses terms such as 'subject incorporation' and 'object incorporation', the forms for first person (*-k*) and second person (*-n*) are common to those in

Kinnauri. Note the difference between Kinnauri and Kanashi: *-ŋ* is used for the first person plural in Kanashi.[5]

(5a) suggests that *-to* can be considered to be a tense marker, and Grierson's (1909) description indicates that *to-* is a copula.

As for the object suffix in Kanashi, Grierson (1909: 444) says, 'There are no certain instances of the use of suffixes to denote an object or to add a reflexive meaning.' At the same time, Grierson (1909: 446) shows the example *pi-chi-gu-n* 'make me', and explains that this phrase 'apparently contains a suffix *gu* denoting an object of the first person and another suffix *n* denoting the subject.'[6] Sharma (1992: 365) writes that 'the infix /-g/ [sic.] seems to represent the object element of the verb /pici/ [sic.]. Also c.f. /koṇ-mɛk/ ["]I have brought for you". Here the infix /n/ [sic.] may be for the object.' Because of the shortage of data, it is not evident whether these two forms are really object suffixes or not.[7]

2.5 Gahri

Gahri (or Bunan) is one of the languages in Lahoul Valley and has subject-marking suffixes for at least the first person. Sharma (1989: 232) says:

> 'Verbal forms also incorporate the pronominal subject in their tense forms in their reduced forms or symbolic forms.'

(6)   a. Gahri verb agreement schema (Saxena 1997: 90[8])

	Object		
Subject	1	2	3
1		*-ki*-TNS	*-ki*-TNS
2	-TNS		-(*n*)-TNS-*na*
			-(*n*)-TNS-*ni*
3	-(*ku*)-TNS	-TNS	-(*n*)-TNS

   b. Gahri pronominal paradigm (Saxena 1997: 86 with corrections based on Sharma 1989: 221–22)

Person	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	Ord.	Hon.	Ord. (excl.)	Hon. (incl.)	Ord. (excl.)	Hon. (incl.)
1	*gi*	—	*hiṅ(nispi)*	*eraṅ(nispi)*	*hiṅ-ži*	*eraṅ-ži*
2	*hən*	*ini*	*hənnispi*	*ininspi*	*hən-ži*	*iniži*
3	*təl*	—	*təlnispi*	—	*təl-ži*	—

Note that the subject markers other than first person are *-n(V)* in (6a). As seen in (6b), the first person singular pronoun has a velar consonant, which is common to the agreement marker for the first person.

Sharma (1989: 232) shows the following examples for the object marking. These examples show only the case of the first person object. (Emphasis by Y. Takahashi)

(7)   a. *girog khyed-**kyu**-za* 'I was beaten'
      b. *khyed-**kya**-ta* 'he will beat (me)'
      c. *lig-**ku**-ni* 'make for me'

This analysis seems to be echoed from Grierson (1909: 473), though Sharma seems to have checked the meaning of (7b) because Sharma (1989: 232) added 'me' to the translation of (7b).

> 'Like Kinnauri, in [sic.] Gahri transitive verbs, besides the personal suffixes standing for the subject of the verb, also allow incorporation of suffixes which stand for pronominal objects, and are infixed in between the stem and the number-person suffixes.
>
> Synchronically, Gahri seems to have lost this feature for many forms. Now, it is attested with regard to the 1st person only. There it is attested as /-kyu ∼ ku-/, a reduced form of /gyi/ [sic.] "I', ...' (Sharma 1989: 232)

Though Sharma (1989: 232) explains about the object markers of the other persons, it is not clear whether this explanation is true or not because of the shortage of data.[9]

Sharma (1989) just shows that Gahri has an object marking system, though Saxena (1997) insists that Gahri has a split-ergative system in the past tense. The definition of 'split-ergative' by Saxena (1997) seems different from the general one. The split-ergative system seems to be usually defined as a phenomenon in which the ergative marking is split depending on person, tense and so on. The person marking pattern in Gahri is different in person, but the point is not the ergativity but the focus on the first person, that is the first person is marked on the verb.

2.6 Rongpo

With reference to Rongpo, Sharma (2001b: 228) says:

> 'The marking differs with the tense of the verb. In some cases it appears to be a degenerated system, whereas in some cases it is symmetrical.'

We can extract the following tables[10] from Sharma (2001b: 208, 226–227), which are almost the same as those that Saxena (1997) gives.

(8) a. Rongpo person agreement system

	Present tense		Present progressive		Past tense		Future tense	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1	-ŋ	-ni	-ki	-ni	-ki	-n	-a	-an
2	-n	-ni	-ni	-ni	-n	-n	-an	-an
3	-n	-ni	-∅	-ni	-ī/∅	-ī	-i	-in

   b. Rongpo pronominal paradigm (Sharma 2001b: 208)

Person	Singular	Plural
1	gye	in
2	gən	gɛ̃
3/demonstrative		
proximate	dhi	dhitye
remote	dhɛ	dhɛtye
Demonstrative for inanimate object		
proximate	di	
remote	dhu	

In Rongpo, the person suffixes are slightly different depending on tenses. The first person, however, has a velar sound distinguishing it from other persons and numbers, except for the future tense. The first person is expressed with no suffix in the future tense and this is the same pattern as the third person, but it differs from other persons and tenses. What is important is that the first person singular differs from other persons and numbers.

Sharma (2001b: 228) points out, 'There is no agreement with regard to patient or noun-adjective forms in this language.' That is, Rongpo has no verb suffix for the object.

2.7 Darma

As we can see in (9a), Darma has a contrast between -*n* and no marker. As for the first person, the singular form differs from the plural form and the second person singular and plural. The third person has the same form as the first person in that it is indicated without any marker, so it can be said to differ from the other persons.

(9)   a.   Darma subject agreement system (Saxena 1997: 81)

	1pl, 2sg, 2pl	1pl, 2sg, 2pl
Copula	V-*n*-TNS (past tense)	
Non-copula (transitive)		V-TNS-*n*/*ni* (present tense) V-*n*-TNS (past tense)

b.

	Stem-Agr-Past		Stem-Nonpast-Agr	
	'to do/make'	'to come'	'to do/make'	'to come'
1sg	*ga-∅-yo*	*ra-∅-yo*	*ga-di-∅*	*ra-hi-∅*
2sg	*ga-n-su*	*ra-n-su*	*ga-de-n*	*ra-he-n*
3sg	*ga-∅-su*	*ra-∅-su*	*ga-da-∅*	*ra-ni-∅*
1pl	*ga-n-su*	*ra-n-su*	*ga-de-n*	*ra-he-n*
2pl	*ga-n-su*	*ra-n-su*	*ga-de-n(i)*	*ra-he-n(i)*
3pl	*ga-∅-su*	*ra-∅-su*	*ga-da-∅*	*ra-ni-∅*

(Willis 2007a: 94)

(10)   Darma pronominal paradigm (Saxena 1997: 82 with revisions and additions based on Willis 2007b: 200 and Krishan 2001a: 357)

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 (excl.) (incl.)	*ɟi*	*niŋ-nimi* *niŋ-nimi*	*niŋ* *niŋ-birmi*
2	*gɛ*	*gəni*	*gɛni*
3	*ʔu*	*usi-nimi*	*wi*

(10) may indicate that *n(i)-* is related to the plural form of the first and second persons, but it is not obvious. The first person singular pronoun has *ɟ-* in initial position, but no velar sound. If *ɟ-* had changed to -∅, Darma can be said to have had a pronominal marker on the verb.

2.8 Chaudangsi

From the description of Krishan (2001b: 416–419), we can make the following tables for Chaudangsi:

(11) a.

	Non-past		Past	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1	-yɛ	-nɛ	-sə	-nɛs
2	-nɛ/n	-ni	-nɛsa	-nisə
3	-ni/∅	-nɛ	-s	-nɛs

b.

	sg.	du.	pl.
1 (excl.)	ji, je	in nimi	in
(incl.)		—	in jəmma/in ləiri
2	gɛ	gəni nimi	gəni jəmma
3	o/əti	uɕi nimi/	uɕi jəmma/ətibəŋ
		uɕi nise khən	

(Krishan 2001b: 410)

Like Darma, Chaudangsi has no velar sound in the suffix of the first person singular. (11a) indicates that the first person subject is marked by -yɛ in Chaudangsi and the other persons are by -n. The first person is not marked on the verb by a velar sound, but the first person pronoun may have originated from a velar sound. It is possible to say that the first person marker on the verb developed from the old pronoun.

2.9 Byangsi

The Byangsi data have not been analysed well, but we can see that the first singular differs from other persons and numbers in that they have -n̥ or -n in the suffixes but the first person does not.

(12)

		dzaː 'to eat'	dye 'to go'
1sg.	je	dzɛ	dyeyɛ
1pl.	in	dzaːgn̥yɛ	dyegn̥ye
2sg.	gan	dzaːgn̥ɔ	dyegn̥ɔ
2pl.	gani	dzaːgn̥i	dyegn̥ye
3sg.	uo	dzaːgan	dyegan
3pl.	uʃi	dzaːgn̥an	dyegn̥an

(Sharma 2001c: 307)

Note that this subject marking pattern is very similar to that of Chaudangsi, that is, first person singular is differentiated from the other person and numbers.

2.10 Summary of the section

Saxena (1997: 88–89) provides a table summarizing the person suffixes in West Himalayan. We add the Kanashi and Chaudangsi data and one line indicating object suffixes to this table, and change the order of the languages. The Byangsi data is not included here, but, as stated in section 2.9, the Byangsi pattern is very similar to the Chaudangsi pattern. According to Table (13), we can understand that it is only Kinnauri and Patni (and maybe Tinani) that have a full system of person agreement marking among the West Himalayan languages. 'Full' means that Kinnauri and Patni have an agreement system with forms for almost all persons and numbers. Kanashi also may have a full system, but it is not clear now. Rather, we should

note that the agreement system in those languages can be said to include non-pronominal features.

(13) WH subject agreement markers (cf. Saxena 1997: 88–89)

	Gah (pres)	Gah (past)	Pat	Tin	Kan	Kin	Rong	Dar	Chau
1sg	-gy(a)		-g(à)	-k/-g(a)	-k	-k	(-ki)/(-ŋ)		-yɛ
1du			-š(î)	-ṣ(i)		-č			
1pl	-ni		-ñ(î)	-ñ(i)	-ŋ	-č	-n(i)	-n-TNS	-nɛ
2sg Hon	-na	-(n)-TNS-na	-n(à)	-n(a)	-n	-n -ñ	-n(i)	-n-TNS	-nɛ/n
2du Hon			-š(î)	-č(i)		-n -č			
2pl Hon	-ni	-(n)-TNS-ni	-ñ(î)	-č(i)		-n -č	-n(i)	-n-TNS	-ni
3sg Hon		-(n)-TNS			-∅	-š	(-n(i))		-ni/∅
3du Hon			-k(ù)	-k(u)		-š			
3pl Hon		-(n)-TNS	-r(è)	-r(e)		-š	(n(i))		-nɛ
Obj	-ki ~ ku etc.				-gu	-či			

Either the third person subject is unmarked, or is marked with an alveolar nasal in some languages except Patni and Tinani, where the dual and plural markers of a noun are also marked on the verb. Third person marking, therefore, seems to be innovative.

As for object marking, Kinnauri has an object suffix, but other West Himalayan languages have no marker for an object, though Kanashi and Gahri have something like an object suffix. As stated above, however, both Kanashi and Gahri only mark the first person singular object, if any. Saxena (1997) insists that Proto-West-Himalayan had a split ergative in the person agreement system because the first person object is marked on a verb with the same velar plosive as the subject marker in Gahri. However, Gahri can be considered to have a system in which one of the speech act participants can be marked on a verb. If so, this system is parallel to the Kinnauri object marking system, because, as Takahashi (2007) shows, the Kinnauri object marker indicates one of the speech act participants in a transitive sentence.

As a whole, the person marking pattern of West Himalayan is based on SAP or the deictic center, that is, the members of SAP are marked on a verb, and in particular first person singular is differentiated from other person and numbers.

3. Tense/aspect marking

In discussing the origin of tense/aspect marking, Saxena (1997: 92) says:

'It is possible that the subject agreement system in WH is a consequence of the reanalysis of the **older** copulas as tense markers. The subject agreement markers, as mentioned earlier, are regularly suffixed to the copulas. Once the language started using copulas as tense markers, copulas (along with the subject agreement markers) started occurring at the end of a finite verb,

giving rise to a combination of the split-ergative and the subject agreement system.' [emphasis by Y. Takahashi]

Although it would be best to examine the older copulas in order to check what Saxena says in her article, at present this is not possible, because we do not have sufficient data concerning the older stage. In this section, we only observe the present state of the West Himalayan copulas, which is not sufficient for reconstructing the older stage.

3.1 Kinnauri

In Kinnauri, -*to* expressing the future tense is apparently related to a copula, and -*du* expressing the present tense is also considered to be related to another copula.[11]

This usage of the copula is observed in Tibetan, where the tense inflection on a verb collapsed and the copulas with some particles became auxiliary verbs expressing tense/aspect. In the case of Tibetan, these copulas do not directly express tense but aspect. Instead, verb inflection and accompanying particles express tense. In contrast to Tibetan, the Kinnauri verb stem never inflects depending on tense. Tenses are expressed by verbal suffixes. As pointed out above, these suffixes seem to be related to copulas.

Synchronically, the suffix -*to* may be reanalysed as a third person object marker -*t* plus a future tense marker -*o*. Although we do not accept this analysis here because -*t* does not occur as a third person object marker in other tenses, we should note that in some of the other West Himalayan languages, tenses are indicated by vowels. See, for example, the Patni examples in the next section.

In Kinnauri, tenses are neutralized in a negative, finite verb sentence. In the following examples (14) each sentence has the same verb form for 'I did not go/I am not going/I will not go': *mabīk*.

(14) a. *mē   gɨ skul.ō   ma.bī.k/ma.be.o.k*
         yesterday I   school.Loc Neg.go.1S/Neg.go.Pt.1S
         'I did not go to school yesterday.'

      b. *gɨ hunā skul.ō   ma.bī.k/ma.bi.udu.k*
         I   now   school.Loc Neg.go.1S/Neg.go.Pr.1S
         'I am not going to school now.'

      c. *gɨ nasom   skul.ō   ma.bī.k/*ma.bi.to.k*
         I   tomorrow school.Loc Neg.go.1S/Neg.go.Fut.1S
         'I will not go to school tomorrow.'

It is not clear what tense neutralization means in this context, and this phenomenon has not been reported for other languages in West Himalayan.[12]

3.2 Patni

The tense/aspect system of Patni is very complex. According to Singh (1989), -*e* expresses past tense, -*o* future tense, and -*a* present tense. Singh (1989: 45) gives the following examples:

(15)   a.   Present: *šúljatag* 'I wash'

       b.   Past: *šúljateg* 'I was washing'

       c.   Future: *šúljatog* 'I am washing (act continuing into the future)'

Other examples which Singh (1989) gives are very useful for understanding the tense/aspect system of Patni, but here we demonstrate the basic Patni tense patterns with (15). The author's data show almost the same pattern as that of Singh (1989).

The copulas of Patni are [ɕu-] and [to-]. [to] is similar to one of the copulas of Kinnauri. *-to* in *šúljatog* seems to be the copula. *-ta*, *-te* and *-to* can be considered to originate from the copula *to-*.

3.3 Tinani

According to Sharma (1989: 155–158), the copula *to*, expressing existence, seems to be used as a tense/aspect marker in Tinani. In the past tense of Tinani, Sharma (1989: 156) indicates that *-i* is suffixed to a verb stem.

3.4 Gahri

In Gahri, we can extract the suffixes *-cha* for present and *-za* for past from Saxena (1997). Grierson (1909: 474) states: '*Cha* is probably the suffix of a participle or verbal noun. ... The most common suffix of the ordinary past is *za*, dual and plural *tsha*;' The nominalizer can be used as a tense marker, according to Saxena (1997: 82).

Saxena (1997) lists *hen-*,[13] *ni-*,[14] and *kya-*[15] as the copulas in Gahri. Synchronically at least, the tense markers and the copulas in Gahri are very different.

3.5 Rongpo

As seen in (8a) above, the person suffixes inflect depending on tenses. The copulas seem not to be related directly with tense suffixes, rather a copula occurs with almost the same suffixes as those of a verb.

As for the copula in Rongpo, Sharma (2001b: 227–228) shows the following table:

(16)   a.

	Present		Future	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	*hinki*	*hini*	*hwənta*	*hwəntan*
2	*hini*	*hini*	*hwəntan*	*hwəntan*
3	*yã*	*hini*	*hwənti*	*hwəntin*

       b.   Past: *hĩ* 'was, were' (for all persons and numbers.)

3.6 Darma

According to Willis (2007b: 352–359), Darma has two tenses: past and non-past, which are shown in (17).[16] The future tense is expressed by the non-past pattern with the suffix [-aŋ], for example [-aŋ-hi] for the first singular intransitive.

(17) a. Non-past

	Intransitive		Transitive	
Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	[-hi]	[-hɛn]	[-di]	[-dɛn]
2	[-hɛn]	[-hɛni]	[-dɛn]	[-dɛni]
3	[-ni]	[-ni]	[-da]	[-da]

(Willis 2007b: 353)

b. Past

	Intransitive		Transitive	
Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	[-ɟu]	[-su]	[-ɟu]	[-su]
2	[-su]	[-su]	[-su]	[-su]
3	[-ɟu]	[-ɟu]	[-su]	[-su]

(Willis 2007b: 356)

According to Willis (2007b: 333–338), *le* is used for an existential auxiliary, and *ni* for an equational auxiliary.[17]

3.7 Chaudangsi

As we can see from (11a), roughly speaking, Chaudangsi has a contrast between -∅ for the present tense and -*s* for the past tense.[18]

Krishan (2001b: 420–421) gives four sentences with a copula, which shows that the Chaudangsi copula is *hlɛ* or *hlɛni*, though the explanation of the copula by Krishan (2001b) is not sufficient.

3.8 Byangsi

According to Sharma (2001c: 306–309), the tenses are expressed by -*g* for present, -∅/*g* for past and -*i* for future. The copulas of Byangsi are *yi* meaning 'to be, exist' and *hle* for equational. In this case, too, tense markers and copulas do not seem to be related directly to each other.

3.9 Summary of the section

As pointed out in section 2.4, the copula *to* seems to be used as a tense marker in Kanashi. From the observations in this section, it is only Patni, Knashi and Kinnauri that can be said to use a copula as a tense/aspect marker.

(18)

Gah	Pat	Tin	Kan	Kin	Ron	Dar	Chau	Byan
−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−

Saxena (1997: 92) insists that the older copulas were reanalysed as tense markers, as in (19). In Tibetan, too, the copulas are used as tense/aspect markers, so this phenomenon is not unfamiliar in this area. Some West Himalayan languages, such as Kinnauri and Kanashi, have *to-* as a copula and use it as a tense marker, but in the other languages this grammaticalization is not clear.

(19)   Stage I   V-Sub
        Stage II   V-Sub Cop-Sub
        Stage III   V-Sub-Tns-Sub

Saxena (1997: 92) maintains that the original subject marker suffixed to a verb changed into an object marker after the copula changed to a tense marker. Even if this were the case, it happened only in Kinnauri among the West Himalayan languages. Kanashi might have shifted from Stage II to Stage III, but the shortage of Kanashi data does not give strength to this view. In addition, if the Gahri system is considered to be split ergative, it does not seem to be consistent with a development such as (19). Therefore, we have to say that the development of the object suffix is not clear. As stated above, the person suffix is considered only to mark the SAP, whether it is the subject or the object.

4. Middle voice

In Kinnauri, the suffix -*ši* functions as a middle voice marker. According to LaPolla (2000), Proto-Kiranti and Proto-West-Himalayan have very similar forms for the middle voice marker, which could mean that Proto-Kiranti and Proto-West-Himalayan middle voice markers had the same origin. LaPolla (1996) shows that some Tibeto-Burman languages have very simi-lar affixes for middle voice marking. The following table of West Himalayan middle markers with Proto-Dulong-Rawang and Proto-Kiranti forms is taken from LaPolla (2000).[19]

(20)

	1sg	1pl	2pl	dual	refl
Kinnauri	-*g*	-*č*	-*č/-ñ*	-*č/-ñ*	-*si*
Rongpo	-*ŋ*	-*ni*	-*ni*	–	-*s*
Byangsi	-∅ (*yɛ*)	-*nye*	-*ni*	-*çi*	-*çi*
Darma	-∅ (*yɛ*)	–	-*ni*	–	-*çi*
Chaudangsi	-∅ (*yɛ*)	–	-*ni*	–	-*çi*
Raji	-∅	-*i* (pl)	-*i* (pl)	–	–
Manchad	-*g*	-*ñi*	-*ñi*	-*shi*	–
Tinan	-*g*	-*ñi*	-*ñi*	-*shi*	–
Proto-W. Himal.	*-*g/ŋ*	*-*ni*	*-*ni*	*-*si*	*si*
Proto-D-R	*-*ŋ*	*-*i*	*-*n*	*-*si*	*-si*
Proto-Kiranti	*-*ŋ*	*-*i*	*-*n*	*-*ci*	*-nsi*

4.1 Kinnauri

In Kinnauri, the suffix -*ši* functions as the middle voice marker. (21a) expresses reflexive, (21b) reciprocal, and (21c) collective plurality.

(21) a. *gɨ kim.ū   bāraṅ sū.**š**.o.k*
          I   house.Gen outside wash.MidV.Fut.1S
          'I will bathe (myself) outside the house.'

      b. *kin   raṅ rabindar mē   toṅ.**š**.ē*
          your[20] and PN   yesterday hit.MidV.Pt
          'You and Ravinder fought yesterday.'

      c. *niṅā   krab.a.č/krab.**š**.e.č*
          we   cry.Pt.1-2S/cry.MidV.Pt.1-2S
          'We cried.'

In Kinnauri, the suffix -*ši* can also be used in a relativized verb. The relativized verb with this suffix means that the antecedent is an object or other argument of the relativized verb, or its plural subject. The suffix seems to retain the meanings of the middle voice. More analysis is needed on this suffix.[21], [22]

4.2 Gahri

Gahri has the suffix -*ša* for the middle voice. Sharma (1989: 233–234) gives a list of verbs with and without the suffix -*ša*, as in (22) and example sentences, as in (23).

(22) a. *coša* 'to burn' vs. *coca* 'to kindle'
    b. *nanša* 'to be pressed' vs. *nanca* 'to press'
    c. *senša* 'to rise' vs. *senca* 'to raise'
    d. *cagša* 'to wash (1st)' vs. *cogca* 'to wash (2nd, 3rd) clothes'
    e. *kiša* 'to clean onself [sic.]' vs. *kica* 'to clean autensil, etc.'
    f. *lanza* 'to sell oneself' vs. *lanca* 'to sell things'
    g. *ligša* 'to do for oneself' vs. *ligca* 'to do for others'

(23) a. *təl inzi phos cakšare*
      'He washes his own clothes.'

    b. *təl cicizi phos cakcare*
      'He washes the child's clothes.'

    'A peculiar feature of stem formation in Gahri is the use of infixes to denote whether the fruit of the action goes to the doer of the action or to someone else. It is similar to the OIA [= Old Indo-Aryan] concept of middle (*ātmanepada*) and active (*parasmaipada*) voices in the verbal conjugation. The verb takes the infix /-ša-/ in the former case and /-ca-/ in the latter case. Incidently these infixes are identical with the object infixes discussed above.' (Sharma 1989: 233)

Although the vowel of the Gahri suffix is different from that of Kinnauri, those suffixes seem to have the same origin.

4.3 Patni

In Patni, there is no middle voice marker, or if any, it seems to occur at a very low rate. A few intransitive verbs in Patni have the suffix [-ɕ]. It is not clear whether this suffix functions as a middle voice marker, or even an intransitivizer, as in (24) from the author's research notes, though it seems to be a cognate of the middle voice marker of other West Himalayan languages. This means that, though, as LaPolla (2000) shows, some of the West Himalayan languages have a very similar form of the middle voice marker, the function of the markers can be very different from one another.

(24) a. [pad   joːtɕiraŋ pallikɕiri]
      paper easily   turn (vi.)
      'The paper turns easily.'

   b. [ɡe pad palliktaɡ]
      I   paper turn (vt.)
      'I turned the paper.'

In (24), *pallik-* is a transitive verb and *pallikɕ-* is an intransitive verb. [ɕ] in Patni, however, is not used for marking reflexive or reciprocal.

4.4 Tinani

Francke (1909: 91–92) shows *-si* for a suffix of 'Passivisches Perfekt' in Tinani. The form of *lasi shu*[d], which is derived from *lazim* 'machen', is given in the table of 'Passivisches Perfekt', but there is no explanation of its usage.

   Sharma (1989) describes nothing of the middle voice, but two suffixes: *-ši* and *-ži*, the latter of which, according to Sharma (1989: 167), is the voiced variant of the former. Sharma (1989: 167) says that *-ši* is attested with only a few stems, but does not mention its function.[23)] Therefore, though the form of these suffixes is very similar to that of the middle voice suffix in other West Himalayan languages, nothing is evident.

4.5 Kanashi

Kanashi has the suffix *-shi*.

> 'There are no certain instances of the use of suffixes to denote an object or to add a reflexive meaning. It is probable that the *shi* in forms such as *ashig*, become; *lam-shig*, was found; *na-shi-tamung*, we sit, is an intransitive or passive suffix, but nothing can be said with certainty.' (Grierson 1909: 444)

   From this description, the suffix *-shi* seems to have an intransitive meaning, though it is not evident whether it has a reflexive meaning or not.

4.6 Rongpo

In Rongpo, *-s* expresses an intransitivizing or reflexive meaning. Sharma (2001b: 217) says:

> 'The suffix /-s/ is added to a transitive base to derive a [sic.] intransitive base. This also has reflexive and middle uses as well.'

and gives examples as following:

(25) *sopəŋ*   'to raise'   > *sospəŋ*   'to be raised'
     taːpəŋ   'to keep'   > *taːspəŋ*   'to be kept'
     ɡʰopəŋ   'to dissolve'   > *ɡʰospəŋ*   'to get dissolved'
     punpəŋ   'to cook'   > *pũspəŋ*   'to be cooked'
     huncpəŋ   'to sit'   > *hũspəŋ*   'to be seated'
     pinpəŋ   'to fill'   > *pĩspəŋ*   'to get filled up by
                                                itself' (by some natural process)
     urpəŋ   'to wash'   > *uspəŋ*   'to wash oneself, to be washed'

4.7 Darma

Willis (2007b: 364–69) explains the suffix *-xi* [çi] as a middle voice marker.

(26)

Infinitive form stem + [mu]	gloss	Middle form stem + [çi]	gloss
[te-mu]	'to understand (vt)'	[te-çi-mu]/[te-ɟi-mu]	'to think (vi)'
[tʰu-mu]	'to take (vt)'	[tʰu-ɟi-mu]/[tʰu-çi-mu]	'to distribute (vi)'
[jaŋ-mu]	'to get s.th ready (vt)'	[jaŋ-çi-mu]	'be ready/get self ready (vi)'
[tʰaŋ-mu]	'to butcher (vt)'	[tʰaŋ-çi-mu]	'to bite self'
[jɛb-mu]	'to wait for s.o. (vt)'	[jɛb-çi-mu]	'to wait (vi)'
[ʔur-mu]	'to wash (vt)'	[ʔur-çi-mu]	'to bathe (vi)'
[çi-mu]	'to apply (vt)'	[çi-çi-mu]	'to apply (vi)'
[χi-mu]	'to teach (vt)'	[χi-çi-mu]	'to study (vi)'
[ge-mu]	'to cover (vt)'	[ge-çi-mu]	'to cover self (vi)'

Krishan (2001a: 376) says, 'The reciprocal construction does not have either a suffix or a prefix ...',[24)] but one of the examples which Krishan gives indicates that *-si* seems to have a reciprocal meaning. As Willis (2007b) explains, it is obvious that Darma has a middle voice marker.

4.8 Chaudangsi

Krishan (2001b: 422–423) states that '[t]he suffix /-çi/ is often added to transitive verbs to mark reflexives, middle voice, and reciprocals' in Chaudangsi, and provides a small list of examples:

(27)   a.   *wur-çi-mo* 'bathe (vi.; < wur-mo 'bathe (vt.)')'
  b.   *thi-çi-mo* 'melt (vi.; < thi-mo 'melt (vt.)')'
  c.   *cya-çi-mo* 'hide (self) (vi.; < cya-mo 'hide (vt.)')'
  d.   *phok-çi-mo* 'cover (self) (vi.)'
  e.   *dak-çi-mo* 'fight (vi.)'

4.9 Byangsi

Byangsi has the suffix *-ʃi* for intransitivization and reciprocal functions, according to Sharma (2001c: 298–299).

> '/-ʃi/ is the most common suffix added to the transitive stem to derive intransitive stems. ... The suffix /-ʃi/ has another function in the case of some other verbs, and that is marking reciprocal action.' (Sharma 2001c: 298)

(28)   Intransitivizing
   lò-mo   'to shake'   *lò-ʃi-mo* 'to be shaken'
   thì-mo   'to melt'   *thì-ʃi-mo* 'to be melted'
   chaː-mo 'to break'   *chaː-ʃi-mo* 'to be broken'
   ʃɔŋ-mo 'to sit'   *ʃɔŋ-ʃi-mo* 'to sit by oneself'
   chɔ-mo 'to itch'   *chɔ-k-ʃi-mo* 'to get an itch'
   khɔ-mo 'to peel'   *khɔ-k-ʃi-mo* 'to be peeled'
   no-mo   'to pull'   *no-k-ʃi-mo* 'to be pulled'
   Reciprocal action
   pù-mo   'to make some drink' *pù-ʃi-mo* 'to make each other drink'
   duŋ-mo 'to beat'   *duŋ-ʃi-mo* 'to beat each other'
   Natural reciprocal action
   tsimʃimo 'to wrestle'   *tshɔŋʃimo* 'to cock fight'
   khaʃimo 'horse fight'   *ʈʰìʃimo* 'dog fight'

Sharma (2001c) does not give an example of a reflexive, but the examples in (28) indicate that -*ʃi* can be a middle voice marker.

4.10 Summary of the section

From the observations in this section, we can make the following table, which shows that all the languages use an alveolar or palatal fricative for the middle voice marker.

(29)
Gah	Pat	Tin	Kan	Kin	Ron	Dar	Chau	Byan
-*ša*	-*ɕi*	-*ši*	-*shi*	-*ši*	-*s*	-*çi*	-*ɕi*	-*ʃi*

LaPolla (2003: 35) states:

> 'Reflexive marking of different types, using reflexive pronouns or verb suffixes, is found throughout the family, but a small number of languages have independently innovated patterns ... .' and *-si* is 'found in the Rawang, Kiranti, Kham, and Western Himalayan languages. ... This suffix has also become extended to use as a detransitivizer in some contexts (...).'

Some of the West Himalayan languages have a clear middle voice marker which is considered to have originated from the proto-language. For example, Kinnauri, as seen above, has the suffix -*ši*, which is suffixed to a verb and means reflexive, reciprocal and so on. Others, however, have the same form for the middle voice marker, but its usage is limited.

5. Causative prefix or voicing alternation

LaPolla (2003: 33) points out that '[t]he PST *s-causative prefix and voicing alternations are no longer productive in most TB languages, ...' In this section we will examine the extent to which the West Himalayan languages preserve this prefix and the voicing alternation.

5.1 Kinnauri

Nishi (1993: 83) writes that the number of pairs with voicing alternation is very small in Kinnauri, and Takahashi (2004) points out that Kinnauri has some pairs of verbs with voicing alternation and *s*-causative. Takahashi (2008) provides more than twenty pairs of verbs, some of which are the following:

(30)	causative	intransitive	meaning of Vt
a.	*spyugim-*	*byugim-*	'put out (the fire)'
	skrabim-	*krabim-*	'make sb. cry'
b.	*kʰelim-*	*gelim-*	'break, split, cleave'
	pʰarim-	*barim-*	'tear'
c.	*twaṅim-*	*dwaṅim-*	'open'
	pašim-	*bašim-*	'crush'

In Kinnauri, the original voicing alternation may no longer be productive, although there are some new pairs which do not seem to reflect the proto forms. Examples of *s*-causative in Kinnauri are limited in number, so *s*-causative formation is not productive.

5.2 Patni

In Patni, there are a few examples of voicing alternation. The following examples from the author's research notes indicate a contrast of the initial sounds of the verbs.

(31) a. [garbaːr dakɕa]
       house   break (vi.)
       'The house broke.'

   b. [oːtsi garbaːr tʰakɕtor]
       they house   break (vt.)
       'They broke the house.'

Patni, however, does not seem to have many pairs. The prefix-like *s*- also occurs in the author's data, but it does not function as a causative marker.

5.3 Tinani

As we can see in (32), which Sharma (1989: 159) gives in his book, there are some verbs with a voicing contrast of the initial sounds.

(32)	a.	*jalphi*	'to split'	*čalči*	'to tear'		
		byampi	'to hide oneself'	*pyamči*	'to hide'		
		dagphi	'to be broken'	*thagči*	'to break'		
	b.			*khəntri*	'to see'	*kəntri*	'to show'

Example (32a) shows voicing alternation between intransitive and transitive verbs. (32b) may have developed from *s*-causative in the initial sound of *kəntri*, but no evidence is available in Sharma (1989).

5.4 Rongpo

The lexicon of Sharma (2001b) does not include pairs of verbs with voicing alternation. As was seen in section 4.6, Rongpo has a suffix -*s* for a kind of middle voice marker, but this suffix is not related to the causative marker.

There is another suffix -*c*, according to Sharma (2001b), which has a very similar form to the Kinnauri suffix -*či* expressing intransitivization.[25] Sharma (2001b: 218) says that this suffix is added to an intransitive verb but does not change its meaning.

(33)   *gyaːkcpəŋ* or *gyaːpəŋ*   'to be broken'
       darcpəŋ or *darpəŋ*   'to tremble'
       nhyaːcpəŋ or *nhyaːpəŋ*   'to dance'
       lyacpəŋ or *lyappəŋ*   'to get burnt'

5.5 Chaudangsi

From the lexicon of Krishan (2001b), we can pick up some pairs of Chaudangsi verbs, but it is not sure whether those pairs indicate that Chaudangsi has a voicing alternation.

(34)   a. *jil-də* 'clear' vs. *chilmo* 'wash (clothes)'
       b. *rimo* 'write' vs. *hrimo* 'teach'
      cf. *gənmo* 'close (door)' vs. *kəmmo* 'close (eys [sic.], mouth)'

5.6 Byangsi

Sharma (2001c: 299) shows some voicing alternation sets in Byangsi:[26]

(35)   *cuŋ-*   'to drown'   *juŋ-*   'to be drowned'
       cyà-   'to break (rope)'   *jya-*   'to be broken'
       pyo-   'to frighten'   *byo-*   'to be frightened'
       kaŋ-   'to cause to swell' *gaŋ-*   'to swell by itself'

We can pick up some other verb pairs from the lexicon of Sharma (2001c).

(36)   a. *cìmmo* 'to burn, to ignite' vs. *jimmo* 'to get burnt'
       b. *hwammo* 'to show; to drive away' vs. *wàmmo* 'to spring out (streamlet)'

5.7 Summary of the section

From the observations in this section, both the *s*-causative and the voicing alternation patterns seem not to be productive in West Himalayan. Gahri, Kanashi and Darma do not seem to have verb pairs with voicing alternation.

Sharma (1992: 361–62) shows a list of verbs with the suffix -*au*, which Sharma calls causativization, as follows:

(37)   *ṭulh-* 'to sleep'   :   *ṭulhyau*   'to make to sleep'
       pɔr-   'to walk, move'   :   *pɔryau*   'to make a walk'

According to Sharma's description, Kanashi does not have *s*-causative and voicing alternation.

6. Prohibitive mood

In Written Tibetan, there are two forms of negative: one is *ma* for perfect and imperative, and the other is *mi* for present and future. Some of the languages in the Himalaya region, however, have a distinction between a negative statement and a negative imperative or prohibitive. In almost all West Himalayan languages, as far as we know, the latter type of distinction is found.

Among West Himalayan, Chaudangsi has no prohibitive marker according to Grierson (1909: 509),[27] Krishan (2001b: 420) construes the imperative suffix -*m* as a prohibitive marker in Chaudangsi. In the examples which Krishan (2001b: 420) gives, the negative prefix *mə*- precedes the verb, and the suffix -*m* follows the verb. Because Chaudangsi has the imperative marker -*mə*, the final vowel *ə* seems to be deleted when the imperative suffix follows a negated verb. If so, it is not accurate to say that -*m* is a prohibitive marker. Grierson (1909: 446) also does not refer to any prohibitive marker in Kanashi. The other languages have the prohibitive marker *tha-*.

(38)		Gah	Pat	Tin	Kan	Kin	Rong	Dar	Chau	Byan
	prohibitive	*tha-*	*tha-*	*thə-*	—	*tha-*	*thə*	*tha-*	—	*tha-*
	cf. negative	*ma-*	*ma-*	*ma-*	*ma-*	*ma-*	[mha ∼ ma]	*mə-*	*ma-*	*ma-*

We have examples of Kinnauri (39) and Patni (40) from the author's reseach notes.

(39)   Kinnauri prohibitive

    a. *piō tʰa.bi.ň*
       PlN   Proh.go.2S(sg.)
       'Don't go to Peo.'

    b. *aṅū   tʰa.tʰan.či.ň*
       me.Dat   Proh.touch.1-2O.2S(sg.)
       'Don't touch me.'

(40)   Patni prohobitive (tone neglected)

    a. [di   ɕeː   tʰa.zou]
       this apple Proh.eat(Imp)
       'Don't eat this apple!'

    b. [miː   tʰa.sadu]
       man   Proh.kill(Imp)
       'Don't kill that man!'

7. Dual marking

Dual marking does not seem to be traced back to Proto-West-Himalayan, because many West Himalayan languages have the dual forms of pronouns after the form meaning 'two'. For example, as for Byangsi, Sharma (2001c: 284) says, 'The prefix /nis-/ is an alternate form

of the numeral /naʃɛ/ "two" which is sometimes prefixed to nouns representing humans to indicate the dual number.'

Dual marking on a verb is not usual in the West Himalayan languages. As we saw in section 2, no languages have a dual marker on the verb except Patni and Tinani.

Patni and Tinani mark duality on the verb. Tinani has dual markers for the first and third persons, and Patni has dual markers for all persons. The dual and plural markers of third person on the verb of both languages are the same as the dual and plural markers of pronouns respectively, as seen in sections 2.2 and 2.3 above. With this observation, Patni and Tinani are considered to have developed dual marking in their own histories.

8. Clusivity

As for clusive marking on the verb in West Himalayan, LaPolla (2005) provides some information; that he does not provide more information is probably because many of the West Himalayan languages do not mark clusivity on the verb. In Kinnauri, exclusive plural (and dual) subjects are marked on the verb, but there is no marker which uniquely marks inclusive. That is, in the case of inclusive, the verb is not marked. Strictly speaking, there are clusivity markers on the verb, but they do not mark inclusive.

(41)

	1sg	1dl-incl.	1dl-excl.	1pl-incl.	1pl-excl.
Raji	na	na-dʑi ∼ nhi-mi	—	na-ni-dʑəmməl	na-ni
Chaudangsi	dʑi ∼ dʑe	in-ni-mi	—	in-dʑəmma/ in-ləiri	in
Darma	dʑi ∼ dʑe	niŋ-ni-mi	—	niŋ-bir-mi	niŋ
Bunan (Gahri)	gji	eraŋ-(njispi)	hiŋ-(njispi)	eraŋ-ɟi/eraŋ-ʑi	hiŋ-ɟi/hiŋ-ʑi
Manchad	gje	hen-gu	ɲje-ku	hena-re	ɲje-re ∼ ɲe-re
Pattani	gè	héŋ-gù	nè-kù	héŋə-rè	nè-rè
Lower Kinnauri	gə ∼ əŋ	kasaŋ	ni-ɕi	kasaŋ-a	niŋa
Tinani (S. R. Sharma)	gje	i-ɕa-g	ɲji-ɕ	ɲje-naŋ	ɲje-ne
Tinani (D. D. Sharma)	gje	i-ɕa	ɲi-ɕi	ɲe-na	e-ne

(LaPolla 2005: 302)

Table (41) suggests that clusivity does not trace back to Proto-West-Himalayan. LaPolla (2005: 305) points out:

'We have seen that the inclusive–exclusive distinction, when it is found in Tibeto-Burman, is often an innovation within a single low level grouping, or even of single languages within a group. ... Only one group, the Kiranti group, has marking of the distinction that can be reconstucted to the proto level. Kiranti is also the only group as a whole that marks the inclusive–exclusive distinction in its person marking system (verbal suffixes) as well.'

9. Consideration

We can summarize what we have observed through the previous sections in the following table:

(42)

	Gah	Pat	Tin	Kan	Kin	Rong	Dar	Chau	Byan
subject person affix	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
object person affix	(+)	−	−	(+)	+	−	−	−	−
tense marker	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
middle voice	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	+
voicing altern.	?	(+)	+	?	+	−	(+)	(+)	+
s-causative	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
prohibitive	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
dual (verb)	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
dual (pron)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
clusivity (verb)	−	−	−	?	(+)	−	−	−	−
clusivity (pron)	+	+	+	?	+	−	+	+	−

(+: exist, (+): possibly exist, −: non-exist, ?: no data)

Although this table shows that all the languages which have been considered in this paper have subject person affixes, it is only Kinnauri and Patni (and maybe Tinani) that have a 'full' system of person markers. In addition, (13) shows that the agreement pattern of Gahri is very similar to those of Rongpo and Chaudangsi: only the first person is different from the other persons, and all the other persons have an alveolar nasal sound. Gahri and the Almora group have the same simple agreement pattern, and the 'central group'[28] such as Kinnauri, Patni and possibly Tinani (and maybe Kanashi) share the complex agreement system.

This distribution suggests the possibility that the West Himalayan languages had a person marking pattern at an earlier stage, whether simple or complex. Generally speaking, however, the Kinnauri pattern is considered to be innovative because the same pattern is found on both sides of this area. That is, the distribution suggests that the 'central group' has developed the complex system, but this suggestion does not exclude the possibility that Proto-West-Himalayan had a person-marking suffix.

> 'Several branches of TB have independently innovated person marking, possibly due to areal influence (...). The marking develops from copies of the free pronouns becoming prefixed or suffixed to the verb.' (LaPolla 2003: 32)

Among other affixes, it is clear that Kinnauri has an object person suffix, but it is not clear for the other languages. It is the 'central group', only Kinnauri in this case, that has the complex agreement system. Furthermore, the object suffix expresses only first and second persons, that is only speech act participants can be marked on the verb.

In addition, Kinnauri has all the suffixes except the dual marker on a verb, as we have observed in this paper, but it is also the 'central group', Patni and Tinani that have the dual marker.

The middle voice marker can be considered to be distributed all over the West Himalayan area, but in the western part of the area, the usage of the marker is not clear.

Some morphological processes which are common in the West Himalayan group such as voicing alternation,[29] and the prohibitive marker can be traced back to Proto-West-Himalayan, or further to Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

10. Final comment

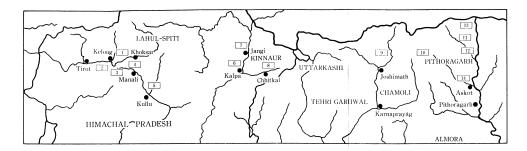LaPolla (1992: 311–312) states:

1. that we do not have sufficient evidence to allow us confidently to assert that the suffixal pattern is a case of shared retention in those languages that exhibit it, and that it was lost in those languages that do not exhibit it, so the dating of those systems that can be reconstructed for certain subgroups must be later than the Proto-Tibeto-Burman stage, and

2. that most of the systems we find are not of an ergative nature, and do not reflect semantic or syntactic relations, but all seem to have grown out of pragmatic pressures to mark the salient participants involved in the speech act.

What we can say is only the possibility that there were some person markings at the Proto-West-Himalayan level, as stated in the previous section. As LaPolla (1992) points out, we need sufficient evidence for the reconstruction of the complex system of person marking. We can say nothing of the stage older than Proto-West-Himalayan now, but I think that we have reached the point where we can say something of person-marking suffixes based on SAP in Proto-West-Himalayan.

Abbreviations

1S	1st person subject	Loc	locative
1-2S	1st or 2nd person plural subject	MidV	middle voice
Agr	Agreement	Neg	negative
anim.	animate	Ord	ordinary
Byan	Byangsi	Pat	Patni
Chau	Chaudangsi	pl.	plural
Dar	Darma	PlN	place name
Dat	dative	PN	personal name
dl	dual	Pr	present
du.	dual	Proh	Prohibitive
excl.	exlusive	prox.	proximate
Fut	future	Pt	past
Gah	Gahri	refl	reflexive
Gen	genitive	rem.	remote
Hon	honorific	Rong	Rongpo
Imp	impenative	SAP	speech act participant
inanim.	inanimate	sg.	singular
incl.	inclusive	Tin	Tinani
Kan	Kanashi	TNS	tense marker
Kin	Kinnauri		

Map 1
1. Bunan (Gahri), 2. Manchad (Patni), 3. Tinan, 4. Ranglo, 5. Kanashi, 6. Kinnauri, 7. Thebor, 8. Chitkal,
9. Rangpa (Rongpo), 10. Rangkas, 11. Darma, 12. Chaudans, 13. Byans, 14. Raji (Raut)

(from Nishi 1990)

Acknowledgments

Notes

1) Konow (1905: 119) writes: 'The indigenous vocabulary is more closely connected with that in use in the Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam and Further India than with the Tibetan one. ... It will be seen that there appears to be a good many cases in which Kanāwarī agrees with the Kuki-Chin dialects.'

2) Some suffixes, such as *-tē*, *-šō* and *-šē*, are found in inclusive forms of a verb, but they are not person affixes.

3) In Saxena (1997: 77), the first person plural suffix is *-me*, but in the Pangi dialect, which I have been working on, it is *-č*, the same as the first person dual form. In addition, in Grierson (1909) and Sharma (1988) also the first person plural has the suffix *-č*, though Grierson (1909) shows that the first person inclusive plural form has *-nmē* in the present tense.

4) The author has collected Patni data for four years (every August during 2005 through 2008), but he could not finish analysing the data for this paper. As a result of comparing his data with the table

of Saxena (1997), the author's data show almost the same pattern as Saxena (1997), so the author cites the tables of Saxena (1997) with some corrections.

5) In the author's data, two forms are found with a first person singular subject. These verbs are [zaːtoŋ] and [tuŋtoŋ], both of which have the suffix [-ŋ] in them. This suffix is different from that given in Grierson's data. It is necessary to survey Kanashi.

6) Grierson (1909: 447) translates this phrase word for word in the Kanashi specimen as following:

(n1) *pi-chi-gu-n*
       make-me-thou
       'make me'

7) Note that Grierson (1909: 444) writes that like Kinnauri, Kanashi has two verbs, *raṇ* and *ke* for the meaning 'give.' In Kinnauri, the two verbs meaning 'give' are used depending on the dative object (cf. Takahashi 2007). That means that the verbs themselves include the meaning of the dative object. In other words, the verb itself can make a distinction between the speech act participants (that is, the first and second persons) and the third person.

8) Table 27 of Saxena (1997: 90) has nothing in the slots of 1→2 and 3→2, but these slots have the suffix -*za* in another table, and -*za* seems to indicate the past tense, so those slots have '-TNS' in (6a).

9) Sharma (1989: 233) shows that Gahri has two verbs meaning 'to say', one of which is *loca* and expresses saying something to the second or third person hearer. The other is *ringde*, and Sharma (1989: 233) does not explain the verb but shows one sentence /təlzi ∼ hənzi girog rinza/ 'he/you said to me.' This difference is parallel to the Kinnauri verbs *lod-* and *riŋ-*. In other words, Gahri may have some morphological ways of distinguishing objects.

10) Sharma (2001b: 228) says: 'Past progressive and present perfective follow a highly simplified system where only a single form is found in all the numbers and persons.' That is, there is no difference between the person markers for 'past progressive' and 'present perfective'.

11) In example (14b), the present marker is analysed as -*udu*, which can be analysed as -*u*, the genitive marker, and *du*, a copula, but synchronically it is not necessary to analyse *udu* as *u+du*. See Takahashi (2008).

12) According to Sharma (1989: 86 and 161), Patni and Tinani have some 'structural change' in a negative sentence. Sharma's description, however, does not seem to show that there is tense neutralization in a negative sentence.

13) Francke (1909: 67) indicates that Gahri has *yen-* instead of *hen-*.

14) According to Saxena (1997: 83–84), *ni-* has an allomorph *go-* for dual and plural.

15) Francke (1909: 67–68) does not give the form *kya-*.

16) According to Saxena (1997: 81), the present tense is expressed by *d-*, the future tense by *ŋd-*, and the past tense by *su*.

17) Krishan (2001a: 367) says, 'In the case of predicative adjectives, the adjective must take the copula /the/', but Willis (2007b: 333–338) does not mention *the*.

18) Cf. Krishan (2001b: 416–419).

19) Other Tibeto-Burman languages for which LaPolla (1996, 2000) provides data are, for example, Rawang (Daru): -*sì*, Dulong: -*ɕɯ*, Padam-Mishing (Eastern Tani): -*shu*, Padam: *su*, Nishi (Dafla): -*su*, rGyalrong: *nə-*, Mizo (Lushei): *in-*, Tiddim Chin: *ki-*, Southern Chin: *ng'-*.

20) *kin* is the genitive form of a second person pronoun *ki* 'you'.

21) For details, see Takahashi (2008), which gives a brief explanation about the suffix -*ši* in a relativized verb.

22) There is, however, a very similar suffix -*šid*, which expresses the past tense. Because -*ši* takes almost the same form as -*šid* in a relativized verb, the relativized clause can be interpreted as showing past tense. Interestingly, according to footnote 15 of Willis (2007b: 365), in Darma another morpheme, -*hi* ∼ -*xi*, which is very similar to the middle voice suffix also 'appears to indicate that an event happened in the past ...'

23) Sharma (1989: 168) shows the suffix -*ṣi* in the section called 'past participle'. This suffix may be related to the middle voice, too, though it is not clear now.

24) Krishan (2001a: 376) shows some examples of the reciprocal words /usi-usi/ and /əphi-əphi/, both of which mean 'each other.'

25) Actually, in Kinnauri the function of the suffix -*či* for intransitivization is not clear, but there may be some relation between them.

26) Trivedi (1991: 70) gives a similar list, including more pairs.

27) Grierson (1909: 509) says, 'There are no instances in the specimens of a negative imperative.'

28) Of course, this 'central group' is a temporal grouping.

29) The *s*-causative prefix is reconstructed to Proto-West-Himalayan, even though it is no longer found in most of the languages, because of its limited use in Kinnauri and because it is reconstructed to Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

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