

CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN NEWARI¹

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0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is, first, to provide a rough and summary description of the manifestations of causativity in the grammar of Newari, and, second, to provide a deeper analysis of the semantics of causatives, the morphemes they combine with, and the constructions they enter into, in the framework of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker (1987, and this volume)).

1. Grammatical Summary

1.1 Morphotactics

The productive causative construction in Newari typically involves the suffixing of -k- either directly to the verb stem, or, under conditions to be elaborated below, some form of it (usually the -e- 'TO' form).²

No verb stems ending in n ever occur with the -e- suffix in the causative:

- con-k- 'to cause to BE'³
- dhun-k- 'to cause to HAVE'
- ton-k- 'to cause to drink'
- wan-k- 'to cause to go'
- bon-k- 'to cause to read'
- svan-k- 'to cause to become damaged, to destroy'
- bhin-k- 'to make good, ripe, properly developed'
- luman-k- 'to cause to remember'
- loman-k- 'to cause to forget'

Adjectival verbs (verbs profiling⁴ one place imperfective processes⁵, characterized by their ability to occur in the bare stem to indicate present tense and their occurrence in the bare stem as a citation form) never take -e- in the causative:

- kwaa-k- 'to cause to heat up'
- haaku-k- 'to cause to turn black'

Intransitive verbs (verbs profiling one place perfective processes⁶, and which, like transitives, are characterized by their occurrence with -e-ou '-TO-NOM' in the citation form) typically occur optionally with -e- in the causative:

- (1) Baaburaaajaa-n day-aa Raam-yaata tinnhu-(i) -k -ala.⁷
 -E hit-PROX -D jump -(TO)-CAUS-PD
 Baaburaaajaa made Raam jump (by) hitting him.
- (2) Wa-n macaa-ta-yaata phetu-(i) -k -ala.
 3s-E child-PL-D sit -(TO)-CAUS-PD
 He made the children sit down.

Sometimes there are subtle semantic distinctions between the two versions. Our consultant indicated that Sentence (1) with the -i- suggested that the causer was surprised at what happened, i.e. Raam's jumping. Note also:

- (3) Ji-n wa wa -(?e) -k -e phu.
 1s-E rain come-(?TO) -CAUS-TO can
 I can make it rain (i.e. I am a god or a magician).
- (4) Ji-n yaanaa, sala bwaen-wa -e -k -ala.
 1s-E YAANAA, horse run -come-TO-CAUSE-PD
 I made the horse come running.

Two intransitives never occur with the -e-:

- (5) Gitaa-n motar di -k -ala.
 Gitaa-E car stop-CAUS-PD
 Gitaa stopped the car. (no version with -i-)
- (6) Baaburaaajaa-n yaanaa wi:ta ci -k -ala.
 -E YAANAA 3s/D move-CAUS-PD
 Baaburaaajaa made him move. (no version with -i-)

Transitive verbs seldom occur without the -e- in the causative:

- (7) Gitaa-n Baaburaaajaa-yaata ghari kaa -e -k -ala.
 -E -D watch take-TO-CAUS-PD
 Gitaa had Baaburaaajaa take the watch.
- (8) Gitaa-n yaanaa Baaburaaajaa-yaata me haa -e -k -ala.
 -E YAANAA -D song shout-TO-CAUS-PD
 Gitaa made Baaburaaajaa sing.
- (9) Raam-an yaanaa Gitaa-yaata la: daa -e -k -ala.
 -E YAANAA -D water boil-TO-CAUS-PD
 Raam made Gitaa boil the water.

However, there are exceptions:

- (10) Gitaa-n Baaburaaajaa-yaata pakhaa tinnhu-(*) -k -ala.
 -E -D fence jump -(*)-TO-CAUS-PD
 Gitaa had Baaburaaajaa jump the fence.
- (11) Gitaa-n yaanaa Raam-yaata kitaab nyaa-*e -k -ala.
 -E YAANAA -D book buy -*TO-CAUS-PD
 Gitaa made Raam buy a book.

- (12) Gitaa-n Baaburaaajaa-yaata na -k -ala.
 -E -D eat-CAUS-PD
 Gitaa had Baaburaaajaa eat/ Gitaa fed Baaburaaiaa.

Though compare:

- (13) Gitaa-n Raam-yaata caamcaa-n jaa na -e -k -ala.
 -E -D spoon -I rice eat-TO-CAUS-PD
 Gitaa had Raam eat rice with a spoon.

In addition to combining with roots that are obviously verbal, there are some examples of -k- combining with roots that never occur as main verbs, but rather only in what appear to be compound verbs:

nyaasi-k- 'to walk (a baby)' < nyaasi-wan-i-qu 'walk-go-TO-NOM'
bwaa-k- 'to run (a horse while riding it)' < bwaen-wan-i-qu 'run-go-TO-NOM'

Causatives formed with the -k- morpheme can in turn take apparently any affix that normally attaches to verbs.

Past tense:

- (14) Ji-n anga haaku-k -aa.
 1s-E wall black-CAUS-PC
 I blackened the wall.
- (15) Cha-n anga haaku-k -ala.
 2s -E wall black-CAUS-PD
 You blackened the wall.
- (16) Cha-n anga haaku-k -aa laa?
 2s -E wall black-CAUS-PD
 Did you blacken the wall?
- (17) Wa macaa-n anga haaku-k -ala.
 That child-E wall black-CAUS-PD
 That child blackened the wall.

The past disjunct is marked with -a for most verbs in the corpus, with the exceptions of dhunk-ala 'finish; perfect HAVE', pyank-ala 'kick; cause to kick', thvank-ala 'arrive'. These are the only verb stems ending in k in the corpus, so this peculiarity may have a phonological source. On the other hand, they may be frozen causatives. This latter alternative receives support from the fact that pyank-ala 'kick' serves as its own causative:

- (18) Sala -n Baaburaaajaa-yaata pyank-ala.
 horse-E -D kick -PD
 The horse kicked Baaburaaajaa.
- (19) Gitaa-n Raam-yaata lukha-e pyan-k -e bil -a.
 -E -D door -L kick-CAUS-TO GIVE-PD
 Gitaa let Raam kick on the door.

Future tense:

(20) Ji-n Raam-yaata me -haa -e -k -e.
1s-e Raam-D song-shout-TO-CAUS-FC
I will have Raam sing.

(21) Cha-n Raam-yaata me -haa -e -k -i:.
2s -E -D song-shout-TO-CAUS-FD
You will have Raam sing.

(22) Gitaa-n Raam-yaata me -haa -e -k -i:.
-E -D song-shout-TO-CAUS-FD
Gitaa will have Raam sing.

The future disjunct marking also seems to be slightly anomalous, involving a long -i: rather than the short -i that occurs with other verbs (see Westergaard, this volume).

Imperative:

(23) Cha-n anga haaku-se con-k -i.
2s -E wall black-TS BE -CAUS-IMP
Turn the wall black!

In addition, the non-finite aspectual suffixes can follow the causative morpheme in the appropriate constructions.

PROX in the progressive:

(24) Jimi daaju -n Kathmandu-i aakha-bon -k -aa con-a.
1/G brother-E -L word -read-CAUS-PROX BE-PD
My brother is teaching in Katmandu.

PP in the present perfect:

(25) Gitaa-n Raam-yaata me -haa -e -k -e dhunk-ala.
-E -D song-shout-TO-CAUS-PP HAVE -PD
Gitaa has had Raam sing.

TO as the complement of maasi-wa 'to want':

(26) Gitaa-n Raam-yaata kane me -haa -e -k -e maasi-wa.
-E -D tomorrow song-shout-TO-CAUS-TO want -come
Gitaa wants to have Raam sing tomorrow.

FOR-TO form with ko:sis yaequ 'to make an attempt, try':

(27) Gitaa-n Raam-yaata me haa -e -k -e -ta ko:sis yaat-a
-E -D song shout-TO-CAUS-TO-FOR attempt DO -PD
Gitaa tried to have Raam sing.

The near future, "about to", construction is slightly anomalous in second and third person in that it is marked by the suffix -i:na (possibly analyzable as -i: 'future disjunct' + -na '?') instead of the

future participle with the auxiliary verb tyan 'ready; about to' (here glossed as READY):

- (28) Ji-n Raam-yaata me -haa -e -k -e tyan -a.
1s-E -D song-shout-TO-CAUS-FP READY-PC
I am about to have Raam sing.

- (29) Cha-n Raam-yaata me -haa -e -k -i:na.
2s -E -D song-shout-TO-CAUS-NF
You are about to have Raam sing.

- (30) Gitaa-n Raam-yaata me -haa -e -k -i:na.
-E -D song-shout-TO-CAUS-NF
Gitaa is about to have Raam sing.

Compare the third person near future form of a non-causative:

- (31) Wa dyan -e tyan -a.
3s sleep-TO READY-PD
He's going (about) to sleep.

Finally, there are two constructions with the auxiliary bi:ou 'GIVE' which profiles a schematic action done with the intention of benefitting someone. The two constructions differ in the marking on the non-finite verb complement of bi:ou, one taking the proximal participial -aa and the other, by far the more common in the corpus, with -e, here glossed as TO (the semantics of this morpheme are discussed in section 2.4):

- (32) Raam-an Baaburaaajaa-yaata lisa: luman -k -aa bil -a.
-E -D answer remember-CAUS-PROX GIVE-PD
Raam reminded (caused to remember) Baaburaaajaa of the answer
(i.e. he told him the answer, which B. had forgotten)

- (33) Raam-an Baaburaaajaa-yaata lisa: luman -k -e bil -a.
-E -D answer remember-CAUS-TO GIVE-PD
Raam let Baaburaaajaa remember the answer (i.e. gave him the time or opportunity to remember it)

(32) is clearly the same construction as (34) and (35) below which have non-causative complement verbs, although (32) is the only example of a causative in this construction that we have in the corpus.

- (34) Gitaa-yaa abu -n Gitaa-yaa-gu tuti sil -aa bil -a.
-G father-E -G -IN foot wash-PROX GIVE-PD
Gitaa's father washed Gitaa's feet (for her).

- (35) Raam-an nya:-saa Gitaa-n yaan-aa bi -i.
-E ask -if -E do -PROX give-FD
If Raam asked (her to), Gitaa would do it for him.

There are many examples of the -k-e bi:ou construction and it is invariably translated with 'let'.

1.2 Minor pattern of causative formation and suppletive forms

In addition to the regular causatives with -k-, Malla (1981ms) also refers to a minor pattern of causativization consisting of devoicing and aspirating one of the consonants in the verb stem (apparently the last stop, from his examples). There are only two examples of causatives with this pattern in the corpus:

- (36) Gitaa-Ø Raam-Ø khan-aa gyaa.
-A -A see -PROX afraid
Gitaa is afraid to see Raam.

- (37) Ji-n Raam-yaata khyaan-aa.
1s-E -D scare -PC
I scared Raam.

- (38) Simaa-Ø kodhal-a.
tree -A fall -PD
The tree fell down.

- (39) Cha-n simaa-Ø kothal-a.
2s -E tree -A fell -PD
You felled the tree (intentionally).

Kothala contrasts in meaning with a regular causative built on the same stem, kodha-e-k-ala 'to cause to fall, knock over':

- (40) Cha-n simaa-Ø kodha-e -k -ala.
2s -E tree -A fall -TO-CAUS-PD
You knocked the tree over (accidentally).

In addition to this minor pattern, there is one causative verb which, while primarily suppletive in that there is no other example that patterns with it, still seems to be phonologically related to the non-causative verb stem, syaa-e-qu 'to kill':

- (41) Wa manu-Ø sit-a.
that man -A die-PD
That man died.
- (42) Wa misaa-n wa manu-yaata bikh -an syaat-a.
that woman-E that man -D poison-I kill -PD
The woman killed the man with poison.

Here the causative stem syaa(t) seems to contain the non-causative stem si(t) with the aa apparently marking the causative (the i being realized as y before a vowel according to regular morphophonemic rule).

Two other pairs of examples show completely suppletive causative stems:

- (43) Wa-Ø mhiga wan-a.
3s-A yesterday go -PD
She went yesterday. (< wan-i-qu 'to go')

- (44) Wa-n yaanaa Raam-yaata chol-a.
 3s-E YAANAA -D send-PD
 He made Raam go. (< cho-e-qu 'to send, cause to go')

- (45) Wa-Ø wal -a.
 3s-A come-PD
 She came.

- (46) Wa-n ji-ta hal -a.
 3s-E 1s-D bring-PD
 She brought me.

While almost every sentence that involved some kind of causing to go elicited a form of choequ and the consultant often said there was no alternate with the fully regular pattern based on waniqu, there was one example which allowed either the suppletive or the regular causative, and furthermore involved a semantic difference:

- (47) Wa-n yaanaa Raam-yaata skul -e nyaasi-chol-a.
 3s-E YAANAA -D school-L walk -send-PD
 He made Raam walk to school (by ordering him).

- (48) Wa-n yaanaa Raam-yaata skul -e nyaasi-wan-k -ala.
 3s-E YAANAA -D school-L walk -go -CAUS-PD
 He forced Raam to go to school (e.g. by wrecking his car).

The productive form of the causative of waequ appears in various compounds (e.g. bwaen waekala 'to cause to come running'), when waequ functions as an auxiliary (e.g. maasi waekala 'to cause to want (literally 'to cause to come needing)'), and in the following sentence:

- (49) Wa-n aes ken -aa ji-ta wa -e -k -ala.
 3s-E hope show-PROX 1s-D come-TO-CAUS-PD
 Showing hope, he made me come. (He got me to come by making me think there would be something there for me.)

It is not clear exactly how to characterize the distinction between the productive and the suppletive forms of the causative of waequ 'to come'.

Although there are no double causatives with two occurrences of the productive causative -k- on the same stem to give the meaning 'to cause to cause to V', there are instances of both suppletive and minor pattern causatives with -k-:

- (50) Gitaa-n Baaburaaajaa-yaata khaa syaa-k -ala.
 -E -D chicken kill-CAUS-PD
 Gitaa made Baaburaaajaa kill the chicken.

- (51) Baaburaaajaa-n Raam-yaata pau cho -e -k -ala.
 -E -D letter send-TO-CAUS-PD
 Baaburaaajaa had Raam send the letter.

- (52) Wa-n yaanaa Raam-yaata simaa kotha-e -k -ala.
 1s-E YAANAA -D tree fell -TO-CAUS-PD
 I made Raam fell the tree.

1.3 Extended senses of -k- and specialized senses of formally regular causatives

There is (at least) one other morpheme -k'- that seems clearly to be an extension of the causative -k-. It generally attaches to stems of verbs profiling an internal cognitive or emotive experience (luman 'to remember', loman 'to forget', ya 'to like/love') to render an intentional sense of the verb:

(53) Ji-ta cha luman.
1s-D 2s remember/ST
I will remember you.

(54) Ji-n chan-ta luman -k -e.
1s-E 2s -D remember-k'-FC
I will remember you (e.g. in my will).

(55) Ji-ta Raam loman -a.
1s-D forget-PD
I forgot Raam.

(56) Ji-n Raam-yaata loman-k -aa.
1s-E -D forget-k'-PC
I (intentionally) forgot Raam.

(57) Raam-yaata Gitaa yal -a.
-D like-PD
Raam has come to like Gitaa.

(58) Raam-an Gitaa-yaata ye -k -ala.
-E -D like-k'-PD
Raam liked Gitaa (despite his mothers wishes).

It is apparently the same morpheme, or a closely related one that appears (optionally) in the following example:

(59) Gitaa-n yaanaa Raam-yaata me -haa(l)(-k) -e maasi-wa -e
-E YAANAA -D song-shout (-k')-TO want -come-TO
Gitaa made Raam want to

k -ala.
CAUS-PD
sing.

(The stem of 'shout' has the suppletive form haal- when the -k'- is not present.) Note that the -k- glossed as -k'- cannot be the causative, since Gitaa is causing the wanting, not the singing (although perhaps the singing is being caused indirectly). However, it makes sense that the complement of 'want' would be construed as intentional, and that this would be marked on it.

The following two examples suggest another extension of -k- as a marker of increased transitivity:

- (60) Wa-Ø tyaat-a.
3s-A win -PD
He won.

- (61) Wa-n tyaa-k -ala.
3s-E win -k"-PD
He won (something, e.g. a prize, a race).

Finally, there are two formally regular causative verbs with meanings which are specialized, though clearly related to the regular causative meaning:

- haa-e-k-i-qu 'play (a radio, phonograph)'; lit. 'to cause to shout/sing'
bon-k-i-qu 'to teach'; lit. 'to cause to read'

1.4 The arguments of a causative and their case marking

In a sentence with a causative verb, the causer is always marked with the ergative case -n, as can be seen by looking at any of the examples above. The trajector of an intransitive stem (i.e. what would be realized as the subject of the clause if the stem were the main verb)⁸ is marked either absolutive -Ø or dative -yaata, depending on its height on a scale of animacy/sentience, its definiteness and apparently also its plurality, the same factors determining the case marking of a patient in a non-causative transitive clause (see Hung, Cook, this volume):

- (62) Gitaa-n macaa*(-yaata) nyaasi-wa -e -k -ala.
-E child*(-D) walk -come-TO-CAUS-PD
Gitaa made the child come walking.
- (63) Wa-n macaa-ta(-yaata) pethu-i -k -ala.
3s-E child-PL(-D) sit -TO-CAUS-PD
She made the children sit.
- (64) Gitaa-n sala (-?yaata) nyaasi-wa -e -k -ala.
-E horse(-?D) walk -come-TO-CAUS-PD
Gitaa made the horse come walking.
- (65) Wa-n pankhaa(-*yaata) caahi -k -ala.
3s-E fan (-*D) go:around-CAUS-PD
He made the fan go around.

Although I do not have as much data on the landmark of transitive stems (i.e. the participant that would be the direct object if the stem were the main verb), the following two examples suggest that the same principles may be involved as with the trajectors of intransitives; human landmarks are marked dative and inanimates are marked absolutive:

- (66) Ji-n Gitaa-yaata bal -an kek -aa laa m-k -aa.
1s-E -D ball-E hurl-PROX strike-CAUS-PC
I hit Gitaa with (by throwing) the ball. (literally: I caused the ball to strike Gitaa by throwing (it).)

(67) Gitaa-n Baaburaaajaa-yaata jaa thu -i -k -ala.

-E -D rice cook-TO-CAUS-PD

Gitaa had Baaburaaajaa cook rice/dinner.

Human trajectors of transitive stems are always realized in the dative in the causative construction, as in (67) as well as (8), (10), (11), (12), (13), (32), (33), (50), (51) and (52) above. Inanimate trajectors of transitive stems are rare in the corpus, but in (66) it is marked with the instrumental case.

Newari does not allow two different nominals to be marked dative in the same clause; when a definite, animate patient occurs with a recipient, the patient is marked absolutive (see Cook, this volume). Causatives are no exception to this rule:

(68) *Gitaa-n yaanaa Baaburaaajaa-yaata Raam-yaata kitaab bi -k

-E YAANAA -D -D book give-CAUS

*Gitaa let Baaburaaajaa give Raam the

-e bil -a.

-TO GIVE-PD

book.

Our consultant would always give periphrastic constructions when asked for a causative of a ditransitive verb:

(69) Gitaa-n yaanaa, Baaburaaajaa-n Raam-yaata kitaab bil -a.

-E YAANAA, -E -D book give-PD

Because of Gitaa, Baaburaaajaa gave Raam the book.

If the trajector and landmark of the stem are both human, the trajector (causee) is realized in the dative and the landmark is realized as an absolutive if it is low enough on the animacy and definiteness scales, otherwise it is not realized at all, and must be pragmatically recoverable:

(70) Raam-an Baaburaaajaa-yaata *Gitaa-yaata/*manu-yaata/?manu/duku

-E -D * -D /*man -D /*man /goat

Raam made Baaburaaajaa kill *Gitaa/*the man/?a man/a goat/

khaa /Ø syaa-k -ala.

chicken/him/her/it kill-CAUS-PD

a chicken/ him/her/it.

2. The semantics of Newari causative constructions

2.1 Extending the theory of action chains

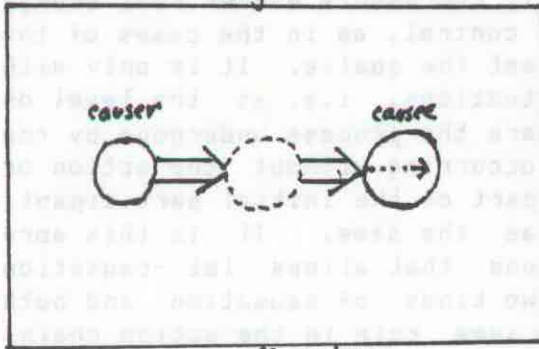
The purpose of this section is to motivate a number of concepts necessary for the semantic analysis of the Newari causative and the constructions it enters into. The general framework employed is Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 1987 and this volume; see the latter for a brief introduction to some of the essential constructs employed as well as a rather thorough motivation and analysis of the construct action chain, which plays a central role in my own analysis).

Langacker (this volume) provides an analysis of action chains at a highly schematic level, although grounding it in the prototype of a volitional agent affecting some object by direct physical manipulation. At a slightly more abstract level, the action chain is characterized as the energetic interaction of entities in the world, where energy is construed as flowing from one entity, the energy source to another entity, the energy sink. At a still more abstract level, the relationship between an experiencer and an experienced object (be it real or merely an idea) can be seen as analogous to the relationship between an energy source and an energy sink in that the experiencer, by virtue of his mental activity, whether passive or controlled, is energetic (though not a source of energy for some process in the physical world) and the object, even if located in the real world (as in perception), is non-energetic, like an energy sink.

Here I would like to concentrate on a level in between the last two levels. Characterizing an action chain as a schema involving an energy source and an energy sink implies that the primary or sole source of energy is the entity characterized as the energy source. In fact, this is most certainly the prototype (i.e. a human agent physically acting upon an inanimate object so as to change its state or location) and I will refer to it as the chain of energy flow. However, there are also cause-effect chains, relations involving energy and energy-driven processes in the physical world, which do not conform to the prototype. For example, the action of an engineer pressing a button causes a multi-ton rocket to blast its way into orbit. There is a sequence of physical processes linking the engineer's physical activity with the take-off of the rocket and each link is mediated by physical forces. However, the primary energy source that lifts the rocket is not the engineer. At a further remove still from the prototype is the activity of removing an obstruction from the path of a potential energy flow, e.g. "He drained the sink (by pulling the plug)." At a still further remove is the act of refraining from obstructing some activity or flow of energy, e.g. "The ball rolled toward the edge of the table and Gerald let it fall to the ground" or "The goalie let the ball get past him". English 'let' profiles exactly this indirect, non-efficient causation.⁹ At the more abstract level of the cause-effect chain, the subject of 'let' is a source: were it not for the act of pulling the plug or Gerald's refraining from interfering with the ball, or the goalie's failure to fulfill his responsibility and intercept the ball, the event would not take place (or is so construed). Fig. 1 represents this abstraction from the energy flow chain, which I call simply a cause-effect chain. The double arrows represent any real or potential dynamic process which relates one entity with the next. With respect to the more concrete and prototypical chain of energy flow from a source to a sink, on the other hand, neither the person pulling the plug nor Gerald nor the goalie is a true energy source, i.e. they are not the primary source of energy driving the resulting process. Rather they stand in an oblique relationship to it. The contrast between these two relationships of an agent to a caused event within the more concrete domain of energy flow can be represented by the diagrams in Fig. 2 and Fig. 3.

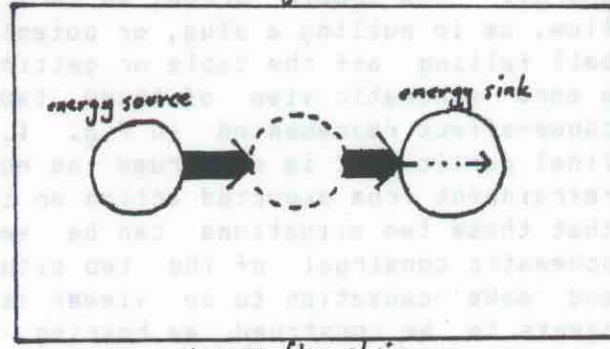
In Fig. 2, the true energy source lies at the head of the most salient chain in the network of energy flow. The solid arrows indicate the flow of energy from participant to participant in the action chain. Intermediate entities (i.e. instruments) may or may not be present or

Fig. 1



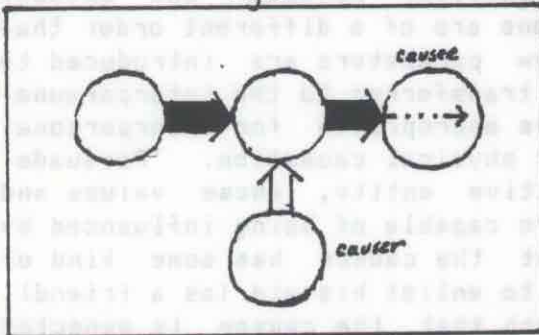
cause-effect chain

Fig. 2



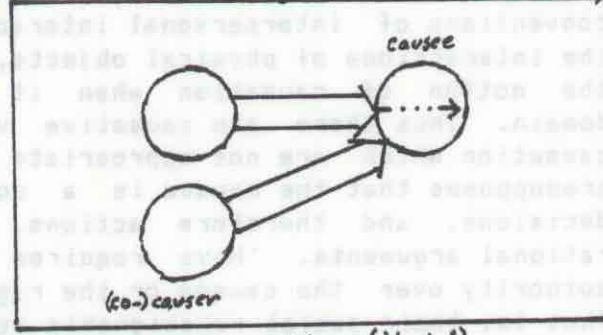
energy flow chain

Fig. 3



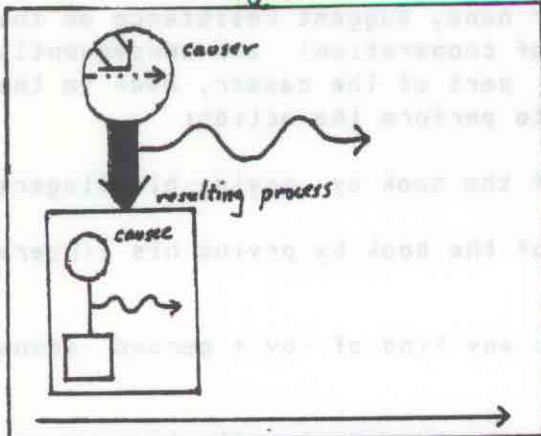
indirect causation ('let')

Fig. 4



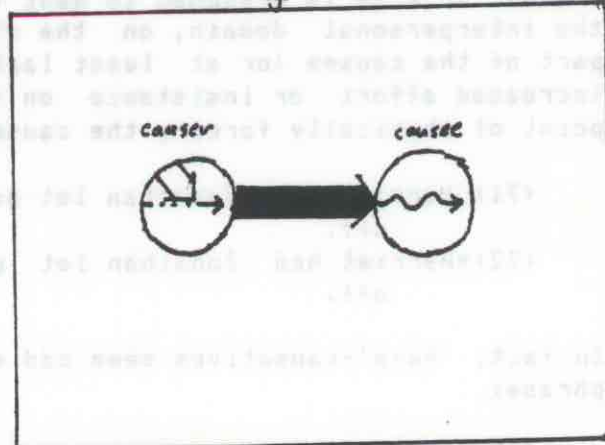
co-causation ('help')

Fig. 5



prototypical causative event
process construal

Fig. 6



prototypical causative event
action chain construal

salient, hence the dotted circle. The partially dotted line within the right-hand circle stands for some kind of change induced in the last participant, whether physical change or mental activity. In Fig. 3, the agent is seen as off to the side of the primary (efficient) flow of energy. The double arrow, as in Fig. 1, represents either real energy flow, as in pulling a plug, or potential control, as in the cases of the ball falling off the table or getting past the goalie. It is only with a more schematic view of these two situations, i.e. at the level of cause-effect represented in Fig. 1, where the process undergone by the final participant is construed as not occurring without the action or refrainment from expected action on the part of the initial participant, that these two situations can be seen as the same. It is this more schematic construal of the two situations that allows 'let'-causation and 'make'-causation to be viewed as two kinds of causation and both agents to be construed as bearing the same role in the action chain, i.e. as sources in a cause-effect chain.

The above discussion deals with variants of causality in the domain of physical objects and energy. As is well known, causal events also occur in the interpersonal or social realm: we construe people as influencing and even causing other people's actions. Because people are considerably more complicated than physical objects and because conventions of interpersonal interactions are of a different order than the interactions of physical objects, new parameters are introduced to the notion of causation when it is transferred to the interpersonal domain. Thus there are causative verbs appropriate for interpersonal causation which are not appropriate for physical causation. 'Persuade' presupposes that the causee is a cognitive entity, whose values and decisions, and therefore actions, are capable of being influenced by rational arguments. 'Have' requires that the causer has some kind of authority over the causee or the right to enlist his aid (as a friend). That is, their social relationship is such that the causee is expected to carry out the requests or orders of the causer. This being the case the causer does not need to do anything more than let his desire be known to the causee. Because of this expectation, 'have'-causation also suggests no resistance on the part of the causee, in contrast to 'make'-causatives; the 'have' causee is in no position to object (openly anyway) or else is presumed to want to cooperate. 'Make'-causatives in the interpersonal domain, on the other hand, suggest resistance on the part of the causee (or at least lack of cooperation) and consequently increased effort or insistence on the part of the causer, even to the point of physically forcing the causee to perform the action:

- (71) Harriet made Jonathan let go of the book by prying his fingers off.
- (72)*Harriet had Jonathan let go of the book by prying his fingers off.

In fact, 'have'-causatives seem odd with any kind of 'by + gerund' means phrase:

- (73)?*Harriet had Jonathan fetch the car by ordering him to.

Again, this suggests the immediacy, in the social domain, of 'have'-causation; minimal mediating activity is involved.

This immediacy probably underlies the extension of the possession sense of 'have' to this form of causation. In the prototypical sense of possession, physical possession, the possessed object is in contact with (or within reach of) the possessor. Even in more extended senses (e.g. "I have a house in New York"), the possessed object is within the range of socially legitimated potential control of the possessor. Translated into the realm of interpersonal causation, this is the authority of the causer over (some aspect of) the causee's activities, i.e. socially legitimated potential control.

The basic sense of 'make' ('to construct or create') portrays a situation in which physical activity must be performed by an agent to bring about the end result. In the extension of 'make' to causation, this sense of physical effort and mediating activity is maintained. Even though this activity may be minimal (e.g. "After I hypnotized him, I made him bark like a dog by merely snapping my fingers"), it still suggests some kind of mediating activity (which may be made explicit by the 'by + gerund' phrase).

There is yet another causative verb in English which portrays causation primarily, though not exclusively, in the interpersonal domain: 'help' (see Fig. 4).¹⁰ The agent of 'help' is seen as a co-agent at the level of energy flow. In the situation profiled by 'help', the energy flow consists of two streams flowing together. In this sense, it is like Fig. 3 above. However, it is distinct in that it prototypically portrays the portion of the energy sidestream headed by the subject of 'help' as considerably more efficient than that headed by the subject of 'let', and as flowing in the same direction as the other sidestream (by virtue of the coinciding purposes of the helper and helpee), rather than obliquely to it. Consider the difference between "I helped him bake a cake" and "I let him bake a cake". With 'help', my activities are construed as contributing directly, in an effective way, to getting the cake baked. With 'let', my activities are in no way directly effective in getting the cake baked, nor do they determine or even parallel the direction of the main flow of energy (which derives from the person I am helping or letting do his thing).

Let's turn now to deviations from the prototypical causative event at a lower level of abstraction. Not all transitive verbs are causatives. Transitive verbs, even those that fit the energy flow schema fairly closely, range from those which focus on the activity of the agent and profile little or no change in the patient (e.g. 'kick', 'hit'), through verbs which profile both the activity of the agent and the change undergone by the patient (e.g. 'throw', 'tear'), to verbs which are highly schematic with respect to the activities of the agent and focus primarily on the change undergone by the patient (e.g. 'open'(tr.), 'melt'(tr.), 'kill'). It is the last group which constitutes the class of causatives.

Within the class of causatives, the prototypical situation involves an agent acting in some unspecified manner so as to bring about some change of state in an inanimate object. In this situation, the agent is the sole energy source and the object merely undergoes the process; the object contributes no energy of its own. The process undergone by the object is thus an absolute process (see Langacker (to appear) for a discussion of the concept of 'absolute process').

Fig. 5 and Fig. 6 give two different representations for a prototypical causative event. Fig. 5 represents the causative event

explicitly as a perfective process. Fig. 6 abstracts away, or rather, backgrounds the processual aspects of the event and makes explicit the relationships between the entities in the dynamic domain, the domain of energy flow or its more abstract analog, the cause-effect chain. The partially dotted line within the upper circle in Fig. 5 and the left-hand circle in Fig. 6 represent the mental and physical processes in the agent, including representing a goal, deciding to act to achieve it, and initiating and carrying out the physical activity needed to achieve that goal (this is not meant to imply that agents actually carry out these as a sequence of separate and discrete activities or that people conceive of them in this way; however, people do conceive of agents as involved in some complex cognitive process when they are acting and these different aspects can be picked out and focused on). The double arrow within the left-hand circle indicates that in an agent these processes are self-induced. The rectangle on the bottom in Fig. 5 represents the process effected (e.g. the opening of the door). Within that rectangle, the circle refers to the object that undergoes a change (e.g. the door), and the square represents the aspects of the situation that the object represented by the circle is seen in relation to, i.e. the landmark(s). For example, with a verb like 'open', it is the relation between the door and the doorframe that is relevant. The circle and object, together with the line connecting them, represent schematically any kind of state (e.g. being closed, being open etc.). The wavy arrow inside the rectangle represents a perfective process, i.e. it is a shorthand for a sequence of states in time, not all of which are identical. The time line at the bottom of Fig. 5 represents the fact that it is a process that is being portrayed. In Fig. 6, the time line is lacking and the change undergone by the final participant is represented as internal to that participant, emphasizing that this representation focuses on energetic relationships between entities, abstracting away from processual aspects of the event.

Both Fig. 5 and Fig. 6 are appropriate to the characterization of a causative event, but take slightly different perspectives on it. Fig. 5, though already rather schematic, is the more concrete representation of the two. It portrays a causative event as a perfective process, i.e. a sequence of states (static relations among entities) in time. The relations just happen to refer saliently to energy in true causatives. Fig. 6, on the other hand, takes the relationship between entities in the energy domain as primary. Different constructions may emphasize one or the other and different morphemes may take one or the other as their point of reference, or the base of their semantic structure (see fn. 3 for a definition of 'base'). For example, Fig. 6 is more appropriate for the characterization of nominal case, even in explicit causative constructions (see Langacker, this volume). On the other hand, I suggest below that Fig. 5 is more salient in explicit causatives. In fact, it is the base of the semantic structure of the causative -k- and is essential in the characterization of the -e- 'TO' interposed between some verb stems and the causative suffix -k-, as well as in the characterization of the valence relations involved in one construction with yaanaa.

Deviations from the prototype portrayed in Fig. 5 can involve lack of volitionality, partial or total. Partial lack of volitionality would occur if the resulting process is in any way distinct from that which the agent intended to bring about. Total lack of volitionality would

occur if the agent had no intention of bringing about the process at all, but his actions nevertheless led to it, possibly rather directly (as when horseplay leads, rather directly, to the breaking of vases). The physical activity of the agent may be less directly involved in the result, either in time or space, or involve intermediate processes or even (usually passive) energy sources (remember the engineer and the rocket).

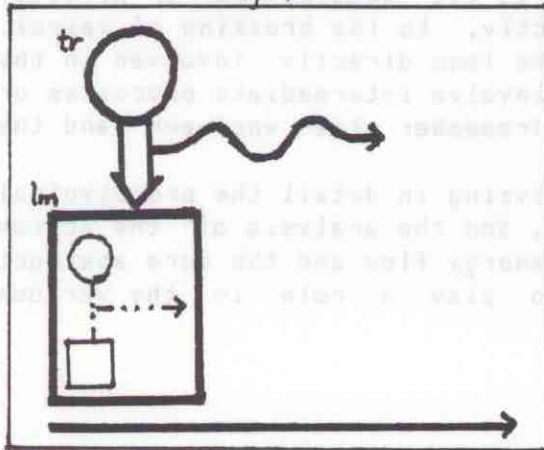
The concepts developed above in analyzing in detail the prototypical transitive event and deviations from it, and the analysis of the action chain at two levels of abstraction (energy flow and the more abstract cause-effect chain) will all be seen to play a role in the various constructions in Newari.

2.2 The meaning of -k-

The causative suffix -k-, in its most schematic version, profiles a perfective process whose trajector (tr) is the head of a cause-effect chain and whose landmark (lm) is an absolute process (see Fig. 7). Since it occurs in various constructions implying not only prototypical 'make'-causation, but also 'have', 'let', and 'help' causation, I assume that in its most schematic form, it takes as its primary domain the abstract sense of action chains described above as cause-effect chains, hence the double arrow connecting the trajector and the landmark. It emphasizes a construal of the event like that of Fig. 5 above by making explicit the process (expressed by the verb stem) and the relationship between the agent and the process (expressed by the -k-). The nominal trajector and landmark process are represented only schematically within -k-; although -k- profiles the relation between the causer and the caused process, it does not specify what is doing the causing or what the resulting process is. The fact that the process is only schematic within the meaning of -k- is represented by the partially dotted line linking the circle and the square within the rectangle representing that process. The trajector is elaborated or made specific by the subject of the causative verb and the landmark is elaborated by the verb stem. The trajector, landmark and the causal link between them are what is profiled, and are indicated by bold lines. The whole causative event is a perfective process portrayed as unfolding in time, i.e. it has a temporal profile. The fact that it is a perfective process is represented by the wavy arrow, as in Fig. 5. The fact that it is a process, i.e. has a temporal profile, is indicated by the bold time line at the bottom of the rectangle.

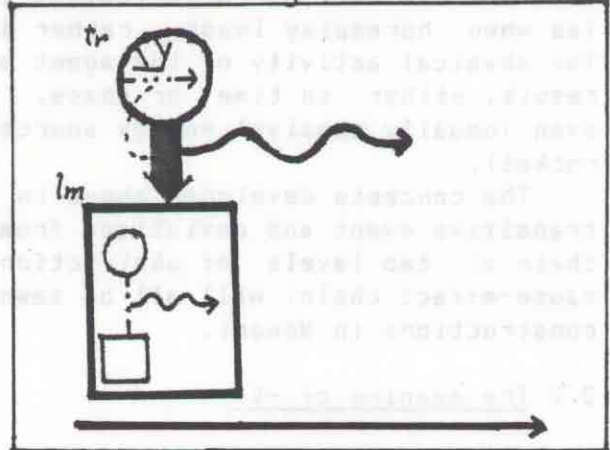
More realistically we would have to consider there to be a family of senses of -k- clustered about the prototypical transitive relation between a volitional agent and the absolute process he brings about by virtue of fairly direct physical manipulation. The representation of the prototypical sense of -k- is given in Fig. 8. Fig. 8 differs from Fig. 7 in four ways. First, the causal source is represented as a true volitional agent. Second, the causal link is represented as the flow of physical energy, symbolized by the solid arrow. Third, the fact that prototypical causation is mediated by physical manipulation is represented by identifying the causal link between the trajector and the resulting process with the physical activity of the trajector (the causer). This is shown as a dotted correspondence line between the arrow inside the trajector and the solid arrow. Finally, the resulting

Fig. 7



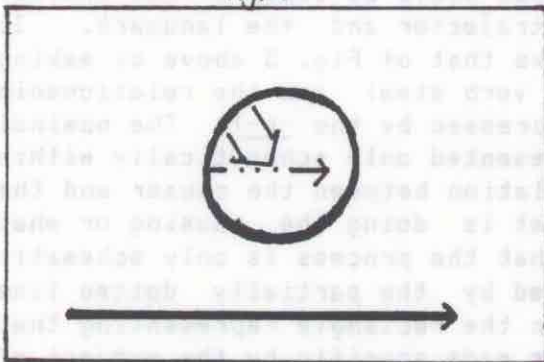
schematic \underline{k}

Fig. 8



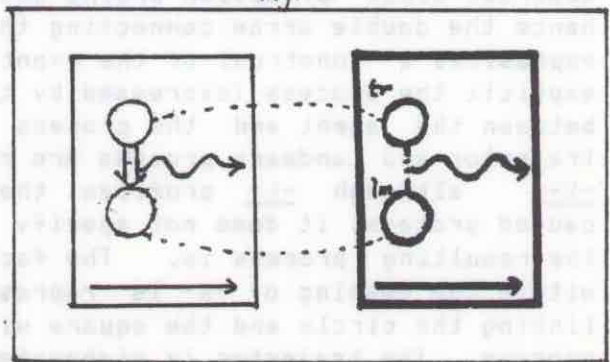
prototypical \underline{k}

Fig. 9



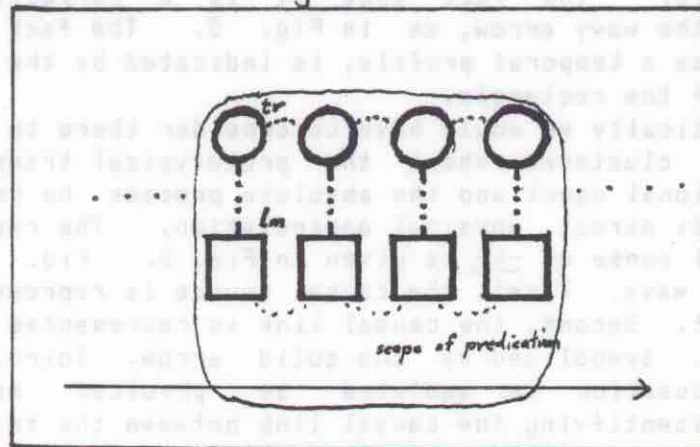
intentional $\underline{k'}$

Fig. 10



absolutizing \underline{e}

Fig. 11



proximal \underline{aa}

process in a prototypical causative is physical change (represented by the wavy arrow inside the rectangle).

The relevance of intentionality for at least the prototype of -k- can be seen from the tendency for inanimate forces to be personified when they are made the subject of a causative:

- (74) Kun -an yaanaa dhalin haaku-se con -a /-k -ala.
 smoke-E YAANAA ceiling black-TS BE -PD/-CAUS-PD
 Because of the smoke the ceiling got black/The smoke made the ceiling black.

Our consultant said that the causative version suggested the speaker was "blaming the smoke". The same is true of the lexical causative syaaegu 'to kill':

- (75)?*Mi:n Baaburaajaa-yaata syaat-a.
 fire/E -D kill -PD
 The fire killed Baaburaajaa.
 (76) Mi:n yaanaa Baaburaajaa sit-a.
 fire/E YAANAA die-PD
 Baaburaajaa died because of/from the fire/ The fire killed Baaburaajaa.

(75) is odd because, in contrast to (76) with 'fire' as an oblique, it suggests that the fire "woke up and killed B., like it was alive".

The extension of -k- represented above by -k'- is represented in Fig. 9. It is similar to -k- in that it profiles the causal link between an agent and an absolute process caused by that agent. It differs from -k- in that the absolute process (indicated by the dashed arrow) is typically mental rather than physical, and, further, in that the object which undergoes this process is the agent himself.

2.3 The meaning of -e-(k-)

The failure of -e- to occur on adjectival verbs, prototypical absolute processes (i.e. relations construed in non-dynamic terms, abstracting away from the flow of energy) and its tendency to occur on most transitives suggest that the function of -e- is to absolutize a dynamic process, i.e. to construe it as a pure process, abstracting away from the flow of energy profiled in the verb stem. The resulting absolute process corresponds to the caused absolute process within the representation of -k- and is mapped onto it. Fig. 10 shows the semantic structure of -e-. It profiles a maximally schematic absolute process (the contents of the bold rectangle on the right), but contains within its base reference to a dynamic process with which its substructures will be linked (the rectangle on the left, with a double arrow indicating energy transfer). That dynamic process is schematic for the meaning of the stem which is mapped onto it, and so the appropriate correspondences between substructures within the absolute process and those within the dynamic relation are assured to be right.

Some of the semantic contrasts involved when it is optional, and some of the apparent exceptions to the generalization of optionality in the use of -e- with stems profiling intransitive processes and its

necessity with transitive processes turn out upon close analysis to support this characterization of -e-.

The sense of surprise associated with the presence of -i- (-e-) in the causing to jump example, (1) above, is consonant with the characterization of the jumping as outside the expectations of the causer and, therefore, as involving some other energy source within the causee. Insofar as some flow of energy is salient within the caused process, it departs from the characterization of an absolute process and becomes an, albeit subtly, dynamic one. The -e- is thus necessary to convert it into an absolute process compatible with the specification of the causative -k- to which it is joined.

The verb wa-e-qu 'to come', while a rather prototypical absolute process, normally takes the -e- with the causative. This may be motivated by the fact that initiating a coming process involves acting at a distance, and, in example (4) above, involves a horse, an animate, sentient being which must come of its own accord (presumably in response to a call). On the other hand, the causee in (3) is the rain, an inanimate, which is acted on rather directly by the magic of the magician or god causing it to come. Its coming is thus a more prototypical absolute process, and the fact that -e- sounds odd with it is explained.

One transitive that did not have the -e- in the causative was tinnhu-k-ala in (10) above. Although this example is superficially the causative of a transitive, with pakhaa 'fence' occurring in the absolutive case like a direct object, the sentence does not entail any effect on the fence. Rather 'fence' is semantically much more akin to a path, and in fact the above sentence was also translated as "Gitaa had Baaburaajaa jump over the fence." If this is the case, the movement through space may be more salient than the energy involved in jumping, making the caused process more like an absolute process than a truly transitive process.

Another deviant causative of a transitive is 'cause to buy' in (11). Nyaa(t)- 'buy' clearly profiles a transitive process in that the agent brings about a shift in ownership of some object. However, the process is primarily a social transaction, rather than a physical process and it may be this that accounts for the lack of -e- on nyaa(t)- in the causative.

One transitive that normally does not take -e- is na-k- 'to feed, cause to eat' (see sentence (11) above), even when it is not portraying manipulative causation. Shibatani (1976) observed that monomorphemic (lexical) causatives in English and Japanese can depart from their prototypical profiling of direct manipulative causation only when they expand their scope to include some conventionalized purpose. For example, in "We brought Chomsky to Berkeley", where the causing to come is not physical manipulation; however, the sentence suggests that having Chomsky come was done for some highly conventionalized purpose, e.g. to give a lecture or a class or participate in some important meeting. Shibatani's generalization about the extended (non-manipulative) senses of monomorphemic causatives can perhaps be of use here. Although na-k- is not a monomorphemic causative, it is reduced compared with the expected form with -e-. Its use with non-manipulative causation to eat might be the result of the fact that making sure people eat is a conventionalized duty of people in authority, i.e. mothers and fathers, who would be the most likely subjects of this kind of sentence. Notice

a similar situation obtains in English: a working man might declare "I manage to feed my family", using the monomorphemic causative 'feed' even though he does not physically put food in their mouths. The situation in which the -e- does show up in fact supports the analysis of -e- as an absolutizing suffix. In (12), an instrument used by the person eating is made explicit, and the -e- is present. Insofar as an instrument makes the energy flow internal to the caused process more salient, it forces its construal in dynamic terms and therefore requires the -e-.

I suspect that this -e- is related to the -e-s functioning as future conjunct (first person future tense), and the future and past participles. What seems to unite these other three suffixes is a sense of distance. The future conjunct profiles a time distant from the time of speaking, in the future. I will argue later that -aa-, the "past" conjunct (actually a non-future marker, see below), is actually a proximal marker. Why should the future be considered distant while the past is considered proximal? The past is more easily perceived; we can remember what happened in a fair amount of detail, we can keep records etc. The events of the future are considerably more obscure; even events that we schedule do not always come off ("The best laid plans of mice and men . . ."). Things near to us are more clearly seen, just as things in the past can be remembered in a fair amount of detail. The obscurity of the future is analogous to the fuzziness of the details of an object seen at a distance. This basic association of obscurity with distance and clarity with proximity in our everyday experience provides a basis for this extension.

The future and past participles are also seen to be clear instances of distance, except that, in contrast to the distance represented by the future conjunct, they profile distance from the time of the READY and HAVE auxiliaries, respectively. In marking the distance of the events profiled by the verb stems to which they are attached from the time of the auxiliary, they also make the boundaries of these events more salient. The past participle is portrayed as ending before the time of the auxiliary (whether the present or some other reference point); in this sense it contrasts with the mutual proximity associated with the events in a serial verb construction, which, while profiling a succession of events, does not make their boundaries clearly distinct. This association of boundaries with distance arises from our experience of looking at things up close and losing sight of their overall shape; you have to step back to view something as a whole and see its edges.

How does a sense of distance help us to explain the -e- as an absolutizing suffix? When we step back from a picture we are viewing in order to include more of it within our field of vision, the details become less salient. When one portrays a complex causative, one takes a wider perspective on the action chain than one would when using the verb stem alone, including in the profile a participant further upstream along the action chain. It is as if we "stepped back" to include more of the action chain in the scene we are viewing. From this more distant viewpoint, that portion of the whole caused event which is profiled by the verb stem is thus reduced, being only a proper substructure within the profiled scene, so when we view a typically energy-driven process as merely the caused sub-process within a larger transitive event, details such as energy flow become less salient. The distance is, in a sense, the distance the construer has to put between himself and a scene viewed from a wider perspective.

2.4 The meaning of the -k-e bila and -k-aa bila construction

The auxiliary bi:qu 'to help or do something for someone's benefit' (here glossed as GIVE because of its obvious relation to the verb bi:qu 'to give') interacts in interesting ways with the causative. First, it is clear that the version of bi:qu glossed here as 'GIVE' is indeed an auxiliary distinct from its more basic sense of 'to give'. The verb bi:qu profiles the transfer of some object by some agent from the state of being possessed by the agent to the state of being possessed by another person. See (77) and (78):

(77) Wa manu-na macaa-ta-yaata dhibaa bil -a.
that man -E child-PL-D money give-PD
That man gave money to the children.

(78) . . . cirhika-ma kae-tantun wa-yaa-gu des lhaat-e
small -AN son-self/D 3s-G -IN country hand -L
. . . he put his country in the hand of his younger son

tay-aa bil -a.
put-PROX give-PD
himself.

(78) is interesting in that there is a participle tay-aa 'putting' adjacent to the verb bi:qu, making the construction look superficially similar to one with the auxiliary bi:qu and a complement marked with -aa:

(79) Gitaa-yaa abu -n Gitaa-yaa-gu tuti sil -aa bil -a.
-G father-E -G -IN foot wash-PROX GIVE-PD
Gitaa's father washed Gitaa's feet (for her).

However, in the latter, bi:qu does not profile the transfer of any object into the possession of another person, but merely profiles the performance of some activity by the agent of bila with the intention that that process (or some result of it) will benefit someone (in this case, Gitaa). Insofar as the intent to benefit the recipient is a salient part of the base of 'give' in its prototypical sense, the auxiliary version of bi:qu involves two extensions from the 'give' version: first, the intent to benefit someone becomes part of the profile of the auxiliary version; second, the action of transferring possession is generalized to any action which could benefit someone.

Participles marked with the proximal participial marker -aa enter into a series of constructions which involve progressively tighter integration of the process profiled by the participle and the process profiled by the main verb.

Participial absolute construction:

(80) Bom muy -aa Gitaa sit-a.
bomb explode-PROX die-PD
The bomb exploding, Gitaa died.

- (81) Gitaa tyaan-aa Raam laetaal-a.
 win -PROX happy -PD
 Gitaa's winning made Raam happy. (lit.: Gitaa winning. Raam
 "happied".)

Serial verb construction (two actions performed by same agent,
 temporally adjacent):

- (82) Wa-n phetun-aa Gitaa-yaata daal-a.
 3s-E sit -PROX -D hit -PD
 Sitting down, he hit Gitaa.

- (83) Ji-n ghari kay -aa ji-mi kalaa-yaata bi:.
 1s-E watch take-PROX 1s-POS wife -D give/FC
 I will take the watch and give it to my wife.

Means:

- (84) Sala -n pyank-aa Gitaa-yaata syaat-a.
 horse-E kick -PROX -D kill -PD
 The horse killed Gitaa by kicking her.

(I suspect there are many constructions of this form and many factors involved in the integration of the semantic structures of the participle and the main verb; the above is not meant to be exhaustive, but merely to exhibit some of the range of constructions into which the participle can enter.)

There also exist two constructions with the participle adjacent to the main verb which seem to have the same meaning as the last two constructions above (whatever difference there may be between these and the above is subtle and I have no evidence bearing on it):

- (82') Wa-n Gitaa-yaata phetun-aa daal-a.
 (83') Ji-n ji-mi kalaa-yaata ghari kay-aa bi:.
 (84') Sala-n Gitaa-yaata pyank-aa syaat-a.

Finally, there are the structures with various auxiliaries.
 Progressive with con-qu 'to stay; BE':

- (85) Ji coy -aa con-a.
 1s write-PROX BE -PD.
 I am writing.

Present relevance construction with adjectival verb stems and con-qu:

- (86) Wa macaa ta:rhiy-aa con-a.
 that child big -PROX BE -PD
 Oh! That child is bigger now.

And a progressive inchoative construction, also with adjectival verb stems and the auxiliary wa-e-qu 'COME':

- (87) Khyun-aa wal -a.
dark -PROX COME-PD
It's getting darker.

Example (79) would seem to fit into this last group, the auxiliaries. That its verb bila is distinct from the verb 'to give' is supported by the fact that the consultant, upon questioning as to what was being given, said there was nothing being given and that bila actually meant something like 'do'. In addition, the participle in the auxiliary construction must occur adjacent to the auxiliary, in contrast to the serial verb and means constructions. Compare (88) and (89):

- (88) Raam-an Baaburaaajaa-yaata lisa: luman -k -aa bil -a.
-E -D answer remember-CAUS-PROX GIVE-PD
Raam reminded (caused to remember) Baaburaaajaa of the answer
(i.e. he told him, gave him the answer).

- (89)*Raam-an luman-k-aa Baaburaaajaa-yaata lisa: bil -a.

This suggests a more intimate connection between the participle and bi:qu here, such as might exist between an auxiliary and its complement.

What all of these participial constructions have in common is that they refer to processes which are proximal in time to the process profiled by the main verb. They vary in degree of overlap between the process profiled by the participle and that profiled by the main verb, from distinct but adjacent (participial absolute, serial verb), to partial overlap (means), to complete overlap (the progressive). Furthermore, they are clearly non-finite forms of the verb since they always occur in clauses with a distinct tense-marked verb. I therefore propose to analyze -aa as a maximally schematic complex atemporal relation viewed as proximal from the perspective of (the time of) the main verb. As a complex atemporal relation, the various component states (except possibly for the boundary states) are all profiled and there is a directionality inherent in them; however, these distinct states are not scanned sequentially, but are viewed like a time lapse photograph, simultaneously.

The semantic structure of -aa is given in Fig. 11. As before, the circle-square combination schematically represents a state or stative relation. -aa profiles a sequence of relations, which may or may not all be the same, but it does not explicitly profile boundary states (i.e. initial and final states). It is thus inexplicit as to whether the process extends beyond the set of states profiled, and this is represented by the dotted lines to either side of the oval containing the profiled states. The arrow at the bottom represents conceived time. Although the different states are represented as occupying different points in time, they are not scanned sequentially but summarily. This is what makes the participle non-finite; in Cognitive Grammar it is said to lack a temporal profile. This is represented diagrammatically by not having the time line in bold face. See Langacker (1982, 1987a) for an extensive justification of this kind of analysis.

The progressive can be explained with this analysis if we assume that con-qu 'BE' is like English be in profiling a maximally schematic imperfective process. The -aa attaches to a perfective process,

removing its temporal profile. In this case, it also construes the process as maximally proximal with respect to the time of the main verb, the auxiliary con-qu. By taking a maximally proximal viewpoint, the process is viewed "from within", so to speak. That is, only a few component states are within its scope of predication.¹¹ Con-qu reinstates the temporal profile (like reconstructing the initial motion from a time lapse photograph) but imposes an imperfective construal on the participle. That is, it views it as consisting of a sequence of essentially identical states. This can be accomplished because the -aa focuses on a sufficiently small enough sequence of states within the initially perfective process profiled by the participle's stem so that these states can be viewed as effectively identical, giving a progressive construal with its oft-noted internal perspective on the process.¹²

This sense of proximity inherent in the proximal participle also provides at least a tentative explanation for the present relevance construction. Adjectival verbs normally occur as a bare stem, to indicate present tense:

- (90) Wa anqa haaku.
that wall black
That wall is black.

- (91) Wa duru pu.
that milk hot
That milk is hot.

This is expected since they profile imperfective processes. Forming participles from them with -aa and then using the imperfective auxiliary con-qu should give an imperfective process which is identical with that profiled by the adjectival verb stem alone, as in (90) and (91), except for the sense of proximity contributed by -aa. Since the adjectival verb stem alone can indicate present tense, the -aa con- construction reiterates and emphasizes the "now-ness". Just as in English the addition of the adverb 'now' to a present tense verb suggests a contrast with the situation in the past (e.g. "He lives in L.A. now"), the -aa con- construction in Newari suggests that the situation portrayed is new.

Although I will not here attempt an extensive analysis of the final construction with wa-e-qu 'to come; getting more (adj.)' I will note that the imperfective process profiled by the stem of the participle is portrayed as concurrent with the progressive process profiled by wa-e-qu, and thus the proximal sense of -aa is at least intuitively understandable.

It is also likely that the so-called "past" conjunct -aa is related to the proximal participle -aa by the notion of proximity. First, note that when the "past"-conjunct -aa occurs on the auxiliary con- 'BE' in the progressive construction, it can actually represent present tense, as well as past tense. This suggests that it is actually a non-future tense marker. The fact that it represents only past tense with perfective verbs is probably due to the same reason that English perfectives in the present tense represent habituais rather than presently ongoing processes (see Langacker (1982) for an analysis of why this should be). Since Newari has a special verb form, the stative, for

the habitual, the non-future -aa with perfectives is excluded entirely from the semantic range covered by English present tense, and thus only indicates past tense.

The "past" (non-future) conjunct, a tense marker, portrays proximity to the time of speaking. This includes both past and, under the right conditions (i.e. with the progressive) present. As elaborated above in the discussion of the future conjunct -e, the past is in a sense closer to us than the future in that it is more clearly seen and more thoroughly known.

In (79), the schematic process profiled by bila merges fully with the process profiled by the stem of the participle, adding, however, the notion of intent to benefit someone, which is pragmatically inferred to be the person whose feet are being washed, Gitaa.

Bi:-qu also frequently occurs with participles of causatives and, furthermore, there is an interesting semantic contrast depending on the choice of participle. Compare (88) above with (92):

(92) Raam-an Baaburaajaa-vaata lisa: luman -k -e bil -a.
-E -D answer remember-CAUS-TO GIVE-PD

Raam let Baaburaajaa remember the answer (i.e. gave him the opportunity or the time to remember).

As indicated by the glosses, with -aa the construction implies direct causing to remember, 'remind', with the auxiliary bila contributing the idea that the causing to remember was for causee's benefit. With -e, on the other hand, the construction translates roughly as 'to let remember', which the consultant went on to explain 'gave him the opportunity or gave him time to remember'. In both constructions the 'causing to remember' elaborates the schematic process profiled by bi:-qu. It is true the causer is in some sense more distant from the causee along the causal chain in 'let remember' than it is in 'remind'. It is also true that the remembering is future with respect to the act of the causer. However, these cannot explain the function of the distal -e because it is in the wrong place. It is the 'remembering' not the 'causing to remember' that is distant from the causal source in time and along the action chain. What seems more likely to be the source of contrast is the position of the causing activity with respect to the energy flow. In the case of 'remind', the activity of the agent lies directly in the action chain construed in its most prototypical and concrete sense of energy flow; it is an immediate and efficient cause. In the 'let remember' sentence, the causing activity is minimal (it may amount to merely refraining from acting in such a way as to prevent the whole sequence). In the more schematic sense of the action chain, the cause-effect chain, the causative participle merges fully with the process profiled by bi:-qu and the subject of bi:-qu is the causal agent. However, in the more concrete sense of action chain as energy flow, the subject of bi:qu is oblique to and at a distance from the action chain, as in Fig. 3. The agent and his act are by no means an efficient cause; if the "causee" remembers, it is by his own efforts or luck. It is this distance that is probably being indicated by the -e in these constructions. The sense of the English 'let'-causative appropriate to the interpersonal domain is thus constructed out of three different components in Newari. It is portrayed as an action done for someone's benefit (bi:qu) which is simultaneously a form of oblique (-e)

causation (-k-). This -k-e bi:gu construction occurs many times with the sense of 'let' and seems to have become conventionalized into a well established pattern.

2.4 The meanings of -n and yaanaa

As noted above, the causal agent is always marked with the ergative -n and in some cases may be additionally marked with yaanaa. DeLancey (1984) has discussed some constructions with yaanaa and -n and noted a number of interesting contrasts; however, he does not deal with true ergatives also marked with yaanaa but rather only with obliques. The purpose of this section is to note the contrasts between ergatives with and without yaanaa and to provide an analysis of both -n and yaanaa.

The analysis of -n incorporates many of the insights contained in the other papers in this volume, in particular Langacker, Hung and Cook.

As noted in the papers in this volume, -n marks true ergatives, instruments, and ablatives. DeLancey (1984) notes that it can also mark an inanimate force (disease, fire, the cold of winter) which occurs as an oblique in an intransitive clause:

- (93) Wa misaa-Ø jwara -n sit-a.
that woman-A disease-E die-PD
That woman died from disease.

- (94) Wa misaa-Ø qaram-an sit-a.
that woman-A heat -E die-PD
That woman died from the heat.

The intransitivity of the verb, plus the unmarked occurrence of these nominals (here inappropriately glossed as 'ergative') after the absolutive participant, suggest that they are indeed obliques.

What unites all of these notions is the sense of source; and with all but the ablative, energy source. The ergative -n profiles an initial source of energy (or sometimes somewhat more abstractly, the starting point of a causal chain) within the portion of the action chain profiled by the main verb. The instrumental marks a non-initial source of energy within this profile, and the oblique inanimate force -n marks an initial source outside the portion profiled by the main verb.

There is also a construction in which the -n occurs with virtually any kind of nominal and is followed by yaanaa 'because of' (merely glossed as YAANAA in the examples) and occurring as an oblique. This seems to be the same -n that occurs with the oblique inanimate forces; it marks an initial causal source in the action chain that lies outside the portion profiled by the main verb. The level of schematicity of the action chain required is determined by the nature of the nominal: it can be the most prototypical sense of the action chain if the nominal is human and there are already too many arguments in the clause, or it can be an extremely schematic sense that is invoked with inanimates:

- (95) Gitaa-n yaanaa, Raam-an sala -yaata na -k -ala.
-E YAANAA, -E horse-D eat-CAUS-PD
Gitaa made Raam make the horse eat/ Because of Gitaa, Raam made the horse eat.

- (96) Bandukhan yaanaa Gitaa-Ø sit-a.
gun YAANAA -A die-PD
Because of the gun, Gitaa died (e.g. Gitaa was holding a gun in her hand, someone saw it and assumed she was a robber and shot her).

The network for -n is shown in Fig. 12.

The yaanaa morpheme occurs immediately after both true ergatives and oblique energy sources. In both cases the nominal also bears an -n suffix. It is clearly related to the proximal participial form of the verb ya-e-qu 'to do', with which it is homophonous:

- (97) Wa-n jyaa yaan-aa con-a.
3s-E work do -PROX BE -PD
He is working (i.e. doing work).

However, DeLancey (1984) argues that it is not identical with this. He notes that while the verb yaegu requires an animate subject, the nominal marked by yaanaa and portrayed as a causal source need not be animate. Compare (96) above with (98), (99):

- (98) Baaburaajaa yaat-a.
do -PD
Baaburaajaa did (it).

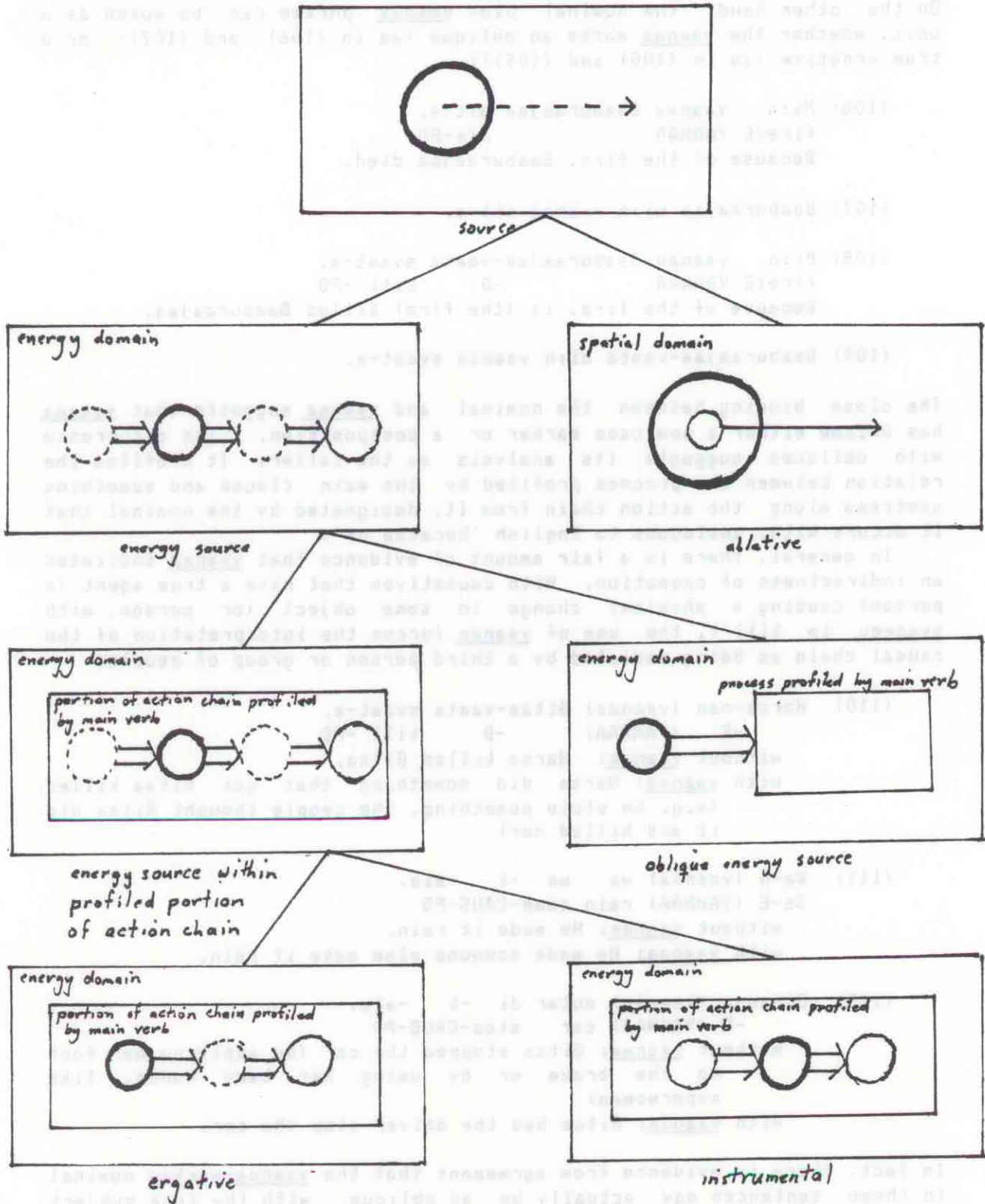
- (99) *Mi:n yaat-a.
fire do -PD
The fire did (it).

The verb also requires either an explicit object, as in (97) above, or else a pragmatically recoverable one, as in (98). Yaanaa in the constructions under consideration never seems to be associated with any other nominal, implicitly or explicitly. Finally, he notes that while the relationship between the verb and yaanaa is transparent to his consultant, the consultant preferred to translate it as 'because of', although the proximal participles of other verbs were translated into English with the present participle. The same was true for our consultant. To these arguments I would like to add another: while participles with -aa typically can be moved away from the ergative nominal and either preposed to the sentence or moved adjacent to the verb, yaanaa cannot:

- (100) Baaburaajaa-n phetun-aa Raam-yaata daal-a.
-E sit -PROX -D hit -PD
Sitting down, Baaburaajaa hit Raam.
(101) Phetun-aa, Baaburaajaa-n Raam-yaata daal-a.
(102) Baaburaajaa-n Raam-yaata phetun-aa daal-a.
(103) Baaburaajaa-n yaanaa Raam-yaata tinnhu-i -k -ala.
-E YAANAA -D jump -TO-CAUS-PD
Baaburaajaa had Raam jump.

Fig. 12

-n



(104) *Yaanaa, Baaburaajaa-n Raam-yaata tinnhu-i -k -ala.

(105) *Baaburaajaa-n Raam-yaata yaanaa tinnhu-i -k -ala.

On the other hand, the nominal plus yaanaa phrase can be moved as a unit, whether the yaanaa marks an oblique (as in (106) and (107)) or a true ergative (as in (108) and (109)):

(106) Mi:n yaanaa Baaburaajaa sit-a.
fire/E YAANAA die-PD
Because of the fire, Baaburaajaa died.

(107) Baaburaajaa mi:n yaanaa sit-a.

(108) Mi:n yaanaa Baaburaajaa-yaata syaat-a.
fire/E YAANAA -D kill -PD
Because of the fire, it (the fire) killed Baaburaajaa.

(109) Baaburaajaa-yaata mi:n yaanaa syaat-a.

The close binding between the nominal and yaanaa suggests that yaanaa has become either a new case marker or a postposition. Its occurrence with obliques suggests its analysis as the latter. It profiles the relation between the process profiled by the main clause and something upstream along the action chain from it, designated by the nominal that it occurs with, analogous to English 'because of'.

In general, there is a fair amount of evidence that yaanaa indicates an indirectness of causation. With causatives that have a true agent (a person) causing a physical change in some object (or person, with syaaegu 'to kill'), the use of yaanaa forces the interpretation of the causal chain as being mediated by a third person or group of people:

(110) Harsa-nan (yaanaa) Gitaa-yaata syaat-a.
-E (YAANAA) -D kill -PD
without yaanaa: Harsa killed Gitaa.
with yaanaa: Harsa did something that got Gitaa killed
(e.g. he stole something, the people thought Gitaa did it and killed her)

(111) Wa-n (yaanaa) wa wa -k -ala.
3s-E (YAANAA) rain come-CAUS-PD
without yaanaa: He made it rain.
with yaanaa: He made someone else make it rain.

(112) Gitaa-n (yaanaa) motar di -k -ala.
-E (YAANAA) car stop-CAUS-PD
without yaanaa: Gitaa stopped the car (by applying her foot to the brake or by using her bare hands, like superwoman)
with yaanaa: Gitaa had the driver stop the car.

In fact, there is evidence from agreement that the yaanaa-marked nominal in these sentences may actually be an oblique, with the true subject unmentioned:

- (113) Ji-n vaanaa Gitaa-yaata *svaan-aa/ svaat-a.
1s-E YAANAA -D *kill -PC/ kill -PD
I made (someone) kill Gitaa.

Only non-first person agreement is allowed in (113) with vaanaa.

In the following example, vaanaa seems to suggest some action on the part of the ergative subject that is contributory to bringing about the caused process:

- (114) Raam-an (vaanaa) Baaburaajaa-yaata lisa: luman -k -aa
-E (YAANAA) -D answer remember-CAUS-PROX
bil -a.
GIVE-PD

without vaanaa: Raam reminded Baaburaajaa of the answer
(i.e. told him the answer).

with vaanaa: Raam helped Baaburaajaa remember the answer
(e.g. he gave him a hint).

The vaanaa implies a kind of indirectness again, but notice that the indirectness of giving a hint is distinct from the indirectness of the 'let'-causative, which is symbolized by the distal -e attached to the -k- with the bi:qu auxiliary (see (92) above). In the 'let'-construction, the causer does not contribute to the remembering at all, except negatively, by not interfering. On the other hand, the -aa bi:qu construction with vaanaa implies that the causer is positively involved, but just further out along the causal chain; the positive actions of the causer are not coincident in time with the causing to remember. The concept of subordinate but positive causation in the interpersonal domain rendered by 'help' in English is portrayed in Newari as causing someone to do something (-k-) by some positive (-aa) but remote (vaanaa) action which is intended to benefit the causee (bi:qu).

Further evidence for the vaanaa as an indicator of indirect causation comes from sentences with inanimate forces (qaram 'heat', nibaa(l) 'the sun', cikula '(the cold of) winter', jwara 'fever, disease', min 'fire') in the oblique construction mentioned above (see examples (93) and (94)). These nouns can occur as obliques, with or without vaanaa, in sentences with the verb si:qu 'to die' where they are construed as the cause of death:

- (115) Wa misaa cikula-n (vaanaa) sit-a.
that woman winter-E (YAANAA) die-PD
The woman died in/from the winter.

- (116) Baaburaajaa mi:n (vaanaa) sit-a.
fire/E (YAANAA) die-PD
Baaburaajaa died because of the fire.

On the other hand, neither true agents nor ordinary inanimates (inert objects) can occur as obliques without the vaanaa. DeLancey (1984) suggests that the inanimate forces, while true causal sources, have their effects by virtue of their mere presence. True agents, by contrast, have an effect on something only by virtue of physical

activity, and inanimates can be construed as a causal source only insofar as people react to them in a certain way. See for example (96) above, where the gun is portrayed as initiating a chain of cause and effect leading to the death of Gitaa, but it does so only because of the way other people interpret its significance and react to it. The ability of inanimate forces and they alone to occur as obliques without yaanaa is therefore a consequence of the indirectness of causation designated by yaanaa and the peculiar way in which these forces have their effects, which distinguishes them from both true agents and inert objects. Slight additional support for this analysis comes from the fact that in (115) the consultant felt that with the yaanaa it was best rendered in English as "from the winter" while without the yaanaa it was more like "in the winter", although cikulan is non-homophonous with the locative form of 'winter'. The 'in' in contrast to the 'from' emphasizes the immediacy of the causal source, 'winter', in having its effect.

In addition to marking obliques, yaanaa also marks true subjects in some sentences, as indicated by verb agreement:

(117) Ji-n yaanaa Raam-yaata pyaakhan swe -k -aa.
1s-E YAANAA -D movie watch-CAUS-PC
I made Raam watch the movie.

(118) Baaburaajaa-n yaanaa Raam-yaata pyaakhan so -k -ala.
-E YAANAA -D movie watch-CAUS-PD
Baaburaajaa made Raam watch the movie.

(where, in declaratives, the conjunct form, PC, indicates first person agreement and the disjunct form, PD, indicates second or third person agreement). This also shows that yaanaa cannot be analyzed as a gerund, because the verb agrees with the nominal in construction with yaanaa, whereas we would expect it to be uniformly third person (i.e. disjunct) if the NP-yaanaa phrase were a gerund phrase.

Yaanaa occurs with a true ergative subject typically in the case where a true agent is causing another person to perform some action, that is, in the interpersonal domain. The contrast in meaning in sentences of this type with and without the yaanaa is slightly different than those above, but I think fits into the same pattern. In general, with yaanaa these sentences tend to be translated as 'make'-causatives; without yaanaa they tend to be translated as 'have'-causatives.

(119) Baaburaajaa-n (yaanaa) wi:ta tinnhu-i -k -ala.
-E (YAANAA) 3s/D jump -TO-CAUS-PD
with yaanaa: Baaburaajaa made him jump (e.g. by hitting him, sticking him with a pin etc.).
without yaanaa: Baaburaajaa had him jump (e.g. by ordering him).

Note that yaanaa tends to emphasize the physical mediating activity of the causer (hitting, sticking with a pin). Without yaanaa, the mediating activity of the causer is minimized; he merely has to make the causee aware of his desires. Although the independent agency of the causee in a 'have'-causative suggests a kind of indirectness in the causation, what seems to be relevant is the fact that he is obliged by

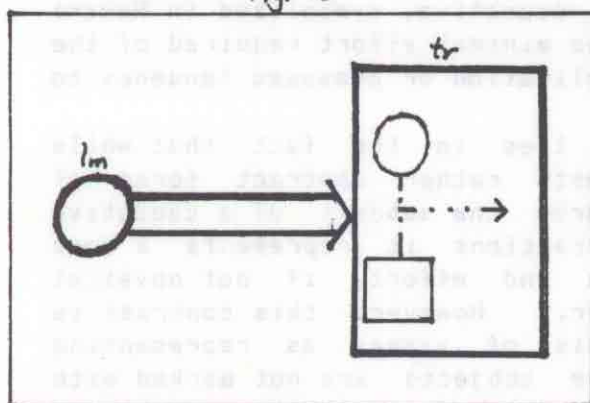
the authority of the causer over him or by bonds of friendship to cooperate. The immediacy of the 'have'-causative, symbolized in Newari by the lack of the yaanaa, stems from the minimal effort required of the causer, which in turn is due to this obligation or presumed tendency to cooperate on the part of the causee.

The oddness of this construction lies in the fact that while typically yaanaa with obliques suggests rather abstract forms of causation (as in (96) above), when it marks the subject of a causative in the domain of interpersonal interactions it represents a more concrete form of causation: intention and effort, if not physical activity, on the part of the causer. However, this contrast is perfectly consistent with the analysis of yaanaa as representing indirect causation. Causatives whose subjects are not marked with yaanaa tend to refer to the most direct form of causation possible in the appropriate domain (the domain being determined by the nature of the caused process). In the domain of physical causation (i.e. where an agent induces a physical change in the causee -- note that the causee need not be inanimate, for example 'kill'), the most direct way the causer can bring about the resulting process is by physically acting on it. In the domain of interpersonal causation, however, it is possible for the causee to cooperate with the causer, thus minimizing the need for physical activity and effort on the part of the causer. The most direct form of causation in the interpersonal domain, the one requiring the least mediating activity on the part of the causer, is thus 'have'-causation. When a yaanaa is attached to the subject of a verb denoting physical causation, the indirectness is interpreted as another link in the chain, making the yaanaa marked nominal an oblique. In the domain of interpersonal causation, on the other hand, the causer can be interpreted as more indirect by emphasizing the mediating physical activity by which he brings about the resulting process, rendering something analogous to the English 'make'-causative. Yaanaa emphasizes the length of the causal chain mediating the causal source and the caused process in all the sentences in which it occurs; however, the length is interpreted relative to the unmarked case, which is different in the domains of physical causation and interpersonal causation.

Fig. 13 shows the semantic structure of the postposition yaanaa. It portrays its landmark (the nominal it attaches to, represented by the circle on the left) as the causal source for some process (represented by the rectangle on the right). It is very similar to the version of -n that occurs with obliques referring to inanimate forces (see Fig. 12), except that it is relational rather than nominal (i.e. a postposition rather than a case marker) and thus profiles the causal relation between the causal source and the resulting process, rather than just the causal source as the -n does. I am assuming that the yaanaa is a postposition rather than a case marker because of its unmarked occurrence with obliques and its marked occurrence with non-obliques (subjects), because whenever it occurs on a nominal, -n also occurs on that nominal (together with the assumption that a nominal can only be case marked once), and because of its position outside the -n when they both occur with the same noun. In addition, the indirectness of yaanaa is represented by the length of the double arrow relative to those in the other diagrams.

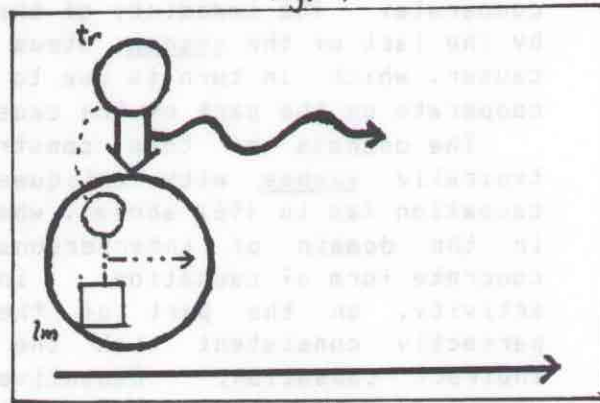
The relationship of yaanaa to the verb yaequ 'to do' is fairly straightforward. Fig. 14 gives the structure of yaequ. Yaequ portrays

Fig. 13



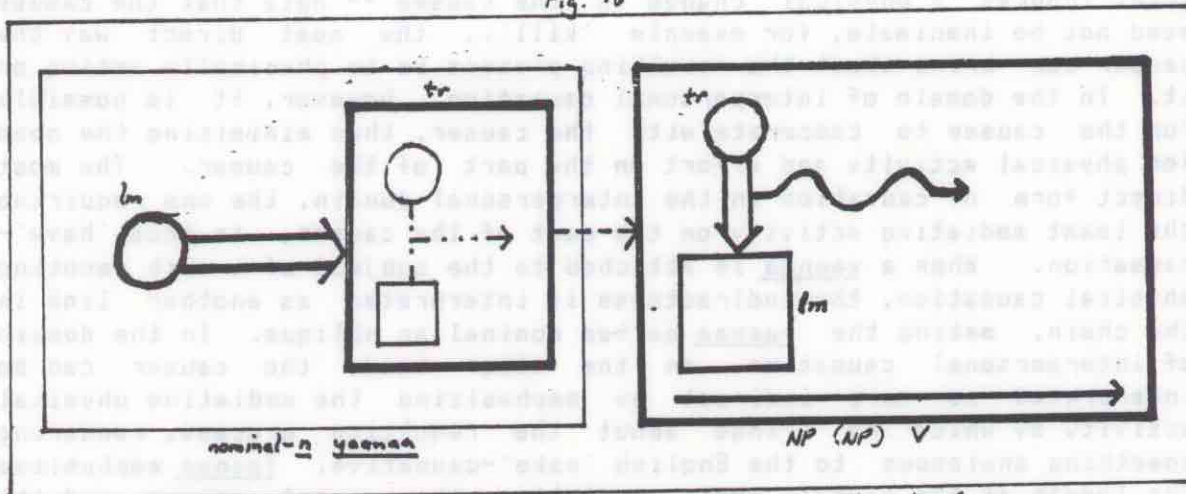
yaanaa

Fig. 14



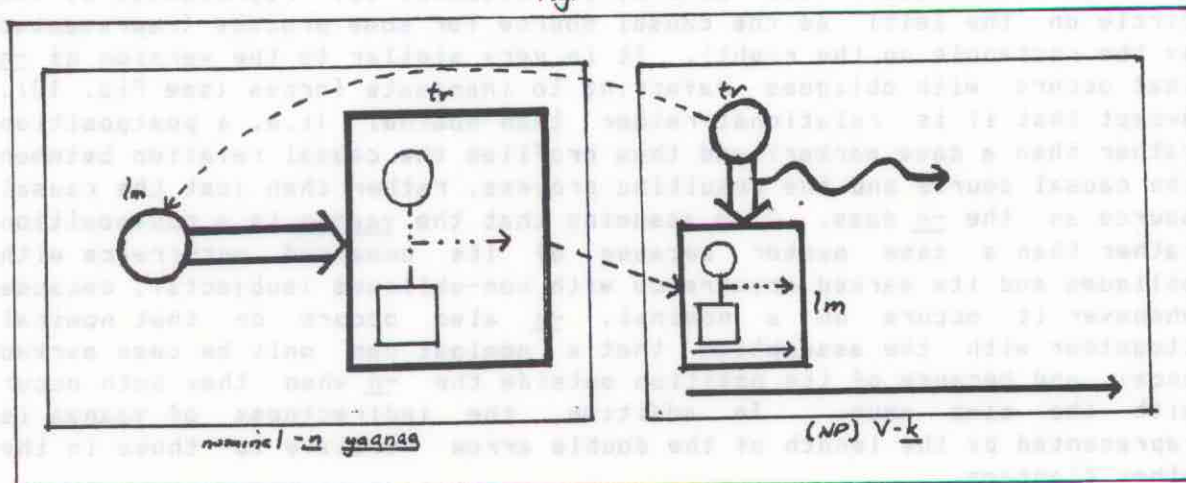
yaegu 'to do'

Fig. 15



valence relations between oblique NP-yaanaa phrase and rest of clause

Fig. 16



valence relations between NP-yaanaa phrase and causative verb phrase

an agent exerting some effort (symbolized by the double arrow) which causes him to perform some action (symbolized by the larger lower circle). The action is construed as a nominal and is realized as the object of yaegu (e.g. iyaa 'work' in (97) above). Although nominalizations (whether morphologically related to verbs or not) have implicit within them some process, i.e. some sequence of states, I assume they represent a different construal of these states than a verb does (for some discussion of this see Langacker (1987a)). As in the other diagrams, the sequence of states is symbolized by a circle in conjunction with a square (the trajector and landmark of the process) and a partially dotted arrow representing a sequence of states (mental or physical). The large circle around the whole process is intended to express a nominal construal of the process. The dotted line connecting the trajector of yaegu with the small circle within the nominalized process expresses the referential identity of the trajector of yaegu and the trajector of the process that is nominalized. Yaegu itself is a perfective process, and this is symbolized by the wavy arrow and somewhat redundantly by the bold-faced time line at the bottom of the diagram.

The postposition yaanaa, while presenting a similar overall structure, differs in a number of ways. First, the resulting process is no longer construed as a nominal, but rather as a true process. This process is realized by the main verb in sentences where the yaanaa attaches to obliques. Second, the correspondence line linking the causal source with the trajector of the resulting process in yaegu is lacking in yaanaa (the oblique nominal is not identified with the subject of the main verb). Third, there is a reversal of trajector and landmark: in yaegu it is the causal source which is the trajector and the resulting process which is the landmark; in yaanaa the causal source is the landmark (the object of the postposition) and the resulting process is the trajector. Finally, yaanaa profiles a stative relation while yaegu profiles a perfective process. Although process is implicit in all the sentences with yaanaa, yaanaa itself merely portrays the relationship between an entity and a process in the domain of energy transferral rather than tracking that transferral through time (as yaegu and causative -k- do).

When the yaanaa attaches to an oblique, the process specified schematically within it is identified with and elaborated (made specific) by the process represented by the main verb. These valence relations are shown in Fig. 15. When the yaanaa attaches to a true subject (i.e. in the case of interpersonal causation, rendering a 'make'-causative), the yaanaa is profiling the distance along the causal chain from the subject (the causer) to the resulting process. The trajector of yaanaa therefore seems to be the resulting process internal to the causative verb, i.e. the process profiled by the verb stem rather than the whole causative main verb. In addition, the landmark (the object of the postposition yaanaa) is identified with the trajector of the main (causative) verb (similar to the correspondence of the subject of yaegu with the trajector of the nominalized process). The valence relations for this situation are represented in Fig. 16. The schematic process in the NP-yaanaa phrase not only is identified with the resulting process inside the causative, but is elaborated by it (i.e. the process profiled by the verb stem in the causative verb makes specific the process represented only schematically in yaanaa). This is

represented by the dotted arrow from the schematic process in NP-yaanaa to the process in the V-k- structure. The reverse is true of the nominal landmark of NP-yaanaa. In the NP-yaanaa phrase, the nominal is already specific; at the level of the postpositional phrase the object of yaanaa has already elaborated or "filled in" the nominal which is only schematic in the semantic structure of yaanaa itself. This specific nominal in turn elaborates the trajector of the causative verb, which is represented only schematically in the verb. There is thus an asymmetry in the valence relations between the NP-yaanaa and the causative verb (V-k-) in that one substructure of the NP-yaanaa phrase (the process trajector) is elaborated by a substructure of the causative verb, while another substructure of the NP-yaanaa phrase (the nominal landmark) elaborates a substructure of the causative verb. The NP-yaanaa phrase is thus neither an argument (its entire profile does not elaborate a substructure of the profile of the causative verb) nor is it a modifier (the profile of the verb does not elaborate a substructure of the profile of the NP-yaanaa phrase). In addition, there is another asymmetry in that the nominal landmark of the NP-yaanaa phrase is identified with the trajector of the causative verb.

It seems very possible that yaanaa could develop into a true case marker, where it would profile just the schematic nominal which now is its landmark. As it is, it tends to reinforce the initial link in the causal chain in the base of ergative -n with a fairly restricted class of subjects. If the class of subjects it occurs with were to expand, it could gradually come to have the same meaning as the true ergative -n and replace it, distinguishing true ergative nominals from the non-ergative versions of -n. If yaanaa did become a case marker, the asymmetries mentioned above (which intuitively seem rather unstable) would disappear, since as a nominal, its entire profile would elaborate a schematic substructure of the verb, i.e. the trajector. It would thus be a straightforward argument of the verb. There are two things which help maintain the current situation with postpositional subjects. First, yaanaa's use with subjects has functional utility in distinguishing two important sub-classes of interpersonal causation ('make' and 'have' causatives). Second, one of the functions of the proximal participle is to indicate the means by which the action of the main verb is carried out (see (84) above). This is very similar to the meaning of yaanaa when it occurs on true subjects of causatives, emphasizing the physical activity of the causer in bringing about the resulting process. The relationship of the postposition yaanaa to the proximal participle of yaegu is transparent to Newari speakers (the consultant occasionally commented that it literally meant "doing something", although the "something" could never be expressed overtly). This semantic and formal similarity to another firmly established construction in the grammar apparently also serves to reinforce the acceptability of the postpositional subject construction.

In this paper I have attempted to provide an explicit semantic analysis of Newari causative constructions and the various morphemes that make them up. A unified analysis has been suggested for the various senses of the distal -e, the proximal -aa, and the source marking -n. The syntax and semantics of the auxiliary bi:gu have been discussed, including its relationship to the more concrete version of bi:gu 'to give'. The semantic contribution of the postposition yaanaa, both to sentences in which it marks an oblique and to those in which it

marks a subject, has been described, and its relationship to the verb yaegu 'to do' discussed. Given the semantics of these various Newari morphemes, it has been shown how analogues to (at least some of the senses of) English 'let', 'help', 'make' and 'have' causatives are constructed from them. In the process I hope to have shown to some degree how the various causative constructions fit into the larger system that is the grammar of Newari.

FOOTNOTES

1. This paper was only possible because of funds provided by the Academic Senate of UC San Diego for the fieldwork. Our consultant was Narendra Suwal, a native of Kathmandu who is now living in the United States. This paper owes much to his patient and enthusiastic cooperation as well as his valuable insights into the workings of his native language. I also wish to thank Margaret Langdon, Ronald Langacker and Ken Cook for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper, which is not to say that they agree with all aspects of my analysis.

2. In what appears to be a fully regular phonological pattern, e is realized as i after i, u, l and n. After i the two segments merge to become a long i: phonetically.

3. Auxiliary verbs will be glossed with the nearest English equivalent verb in upper case. While possibly redundant in some cases (e.g. con 'BE'), it will hopefully help the reader understand sentences with auxiliaries related to the more concrete verbs 'come' and 'give'.

4. The base of a linguistic predication consists of the domain or complex set of domains (matrix) presupposed by that predication. The profile is the substructure within that domain which is designated by the linguistic predication. For example, the base for 'finger' is the human body (more immediately and saliently, the hand), while the profile of 'finger' is a particular substructure of that domain. The base for the relation 'above' is physical space; it profiles a particular relationship between two objects in that domain.

5. In Cognitive Grammar framework, imperfective processes are distinct from statives in that they profile a sequence of identical states in time. What in Newari correspond roughly to English adjectives are distinct in that they have a temporal profile, i.e. they profile a whole sequence of states in time, whereas English adjectives are true statives, requiring be, which profiles a schematic imperfective process, in order to function as heads of clauses. Newari adjectival verbs can function as heads of clauses by themselves.

6. Perfective processes profile change through time, i.e. a sequence of non-identical states in time.

7. The following abbreviations are used in the glosses:

E Ergative -n (after most vowels), -an (after consonants), -nan

(after some vowels, distribution uncertain)

D	Dative
G	Genitive
L	Locative/directional
I	Instrumental
A	Absolutive (@, and usually left unglossed)
YAANAA	Postposition occurring with both oblique and subject nominals in the ergative case and usually translated as 'because of'
NOM	Nominalizer
IN	Inanimate modifier particle
AN	Animate modifier particle
PC	Past Conjunct, first person past tense in declaratives, second and third person in questions
PD	Past Disjunct, second and third person past tense in declaratives, first person in questions
FC	Future Conjunct, same agreement pattern as PC
FD	Future Disjunct, same agreement pattern as PD
PROX	Proximal participial suffix (discussed in section 2.4)
FP	Future participial suffix
PP	Past participial suffix
TS	Temporary state suffix

8. The trajector of a relational predicate is the figure and the landmark is the most salient substructure in the ground. Consider examples (i) and (ii):

(i) The chandelier is above the table.

(ii) The table is below the chandelier.

Both sentences can be used to describe the same objective situation, but (i) takes the table as a point of reference in order to pinpoint the location of the chandelier while (ii) takes the chandelier as a point of reference to determine the location of the table. In each case, the object which is being located is directly analogous to the figure of the scene being portrayed, while the object serving as a point of reference is analogous to the ground. Sometimes there may be more than one salient substructure with respect to which the figure is oriented, as with 'between'. The subject of a finite verb is its trajector while its various objects and complements are its landmarks. However, the notions 'trajector' and 'landmark' are more general than 'subject' and 'object' or 'complement'. For example, the trajector of a prepositional phrase in adverbial use (e.g. 'in a factory' in 'He works in a factory') is the whole process designated by the finite verb (i.e. '(he) works'), while the landmark is the object of the preposition ('factory' here).

9. See Talmy (1985) for an extensive analysis of the various forms of causation, including 'let' and 'help' in his Force Dynamics framework, which is slightly different but complementary to the action chain schema used here.

10. See Talmy (1985) for a general discussion of how 'help' fits into the general system of causatives. I describe it as referring to causation primarily in the interpersonal domain because that seems like its most likely first extension into the causative domain. Without a verb phrase complement, 'help' requires a sentient or institutional object:

(i) I helped John/the tennis club/*the ball.

This is because its landmark is a beneficiary and must be construed as having values or goals. When 'help' occurs as a causative verb (i.e. when it has a verb phrase complement) its object is still typically sentient and is portrayed as the intended beneficiary of the action of the subject. 'Help' as a causative seems to allow an inanimate object only when that object is portrayed as already in motion:

(ii) I helped the ball roll off the table faster by tilting the table.

In these cases, the motion of the object makes salient a virtual path of the object, which gives it a kind of goal.

11. The scope of predication is the focus within the base that is immediately relevant for the specification of the profile of a semantic structure. For example, although the entire human body is the domain for specifying the meaning of 'finger', only the hand is the immediate scope of predication.

12. See Langacker (1982, 1987a) for a discussion of complex atemporal relations and the semantic structure of English 'be' and '-ing'. The analysis given here is very similar to the one given in those papers for the English progressive construction, except that it builds up the same resulting complex from slightly different building blocks. The main difference is that the component states of -aa are not viewed as a necessarily identical. Although the proximal perspective imposed by -aa results in an internal perspective on the process in most of the constructions, this is not so in the Participial Absolute or the Serial Verb constructions. The complex atemporal relation profiled by -aa simply remains inexplicit about whether the component states are different or identical. This seems necessary in order to account for the sequential sense of the processes profiled by the participles in the Serial Verb construction, as well as the progressive inchoative sense given to adjectives in the construction with wa-e-qu 'COME'.

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