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LEXICAL AND SYNTACTIC CAUSATIVES IN NEWARI[1]

Tej R. Kansakar
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Kathmandu

At least four papers on causative constructions in the languages of Nepal have been presented in the past Annual Conferences and Seminars of the Linguistic Society of Nepal: Bhaskarao and Joshi on "Causation, Supervision and Presence in Newari' (1982); Malla on "Suppletive Causatives in Newari" (1983); Yadav on "Causativization in Maithili: A Preliminary Enquiry" (1984); and Bandhu on "Causativization in Nepali" (1985). The present paper on the lexical and syntactic causatives in Newari does not seek to argue against any of these papers but is an attempt to examine how morphological processes affect the complex patterns of causative formations in the language.

I. The formation of causatives in Newari is normally achieved by the affixation of a bound morpheme -k(with surface variants -k-i, -k-e, -k-a, -k-al-a) and the addition of an appropriate argument. In the examples that follow, AGR stands for Agreement, ERG for Ergative marker, INF for Infinitive verb form, SF for Stem Formative, PERM for Permissive auxiliary, and PD for Past Disjunct:

(1) a. duru dā – l - a
milk boil-SF-PD
'The milk boiled.'

b. Ritā-Ā duru dā - e - k - al - a
NOM-ERG milk boil-INF-CAUS-SF-PD
'Rita made the milk boil.' ('Rita boiled the milk.')

The affixation of an additional -k and an argument to an already causativised form results in a multiple causative:

(2) Ritā-Ā Mirā-yāta duru dā - e - k - e bi: - k - aḷ - a
NOM-ERG NOM-AGR milk boil-INF-CAUS-INF PERM-CAUS-SF–PD
'Rita made Mira boil the milk.'

As shown in Kansakar (1982) and Malla (1985) 'the causative form of a root/compound verb is nearly regularly predictable on the basis of (a) morphological class of the verb, and (b) the vowel of the final syllable of the root/stem.' According to this classification the inflectional categories for causatives at the systematic phonemic and at the phonetic levels show a good deal of regularity for all classes of verbs. Malla (1983, 1985) has also cited some pairs of verbs with marked causative/non-causative distinctions without requiring the additional causative morpheme -k. These verbs alternate in voicing and aspiration, i.e. the voiced unaspirated C of the simple verb is devoiced and aspirated in the causative counterpart:

(3)	bā-ye	'to separate'	phā-ye	'make separate'
	gyā-ye	'be afraid'	khyā-ye	'make afraid'
	dan-e	'to stand'	than-e	'make stand'
	ko-ji-ye	'to decide'	ko-chi-ye	'make decide'

This device of causative formation is often referred to as 'suppletive causatives' which Malla (1985) regards as conclusive that Newari historically was a language with prefixes. In other words, the suppletive causatives provide strong evidence of the existence of a prefixal system which affects voicing, aspiration or tone. It was perhaps on the basis of such evidence that TB-linguists such as Shafer (1966), Benedict (1972) and Matisoff (1976) working on various Sino-Tibetan languages posited a Proto-TB sibilant prefix *s- which we assume performed a very positive function in the causativization of the verb.[2]

II. The formation of causatives in Newari is also interesting from a syntactic point of view in that the causative action can be extended to a number of agentive nominals in the resultant causative construction. Thus, the number of agentive nominals that can occur seems to depend on the degree of transitivity of the causative verb, e.g.

(4) a. cwo-k-e 'make write' (< cwo-ye 'write') (Transitive)
Shyam-A tha: kāe-yāta dhayā: Mirā-Ā wo-ya pāsā-yāta
NOM-ERG his son-AGR tell NOM-ERG her friend-AGR
cithi cha - pu cwo - k - al - a
letter NUM - CLF write-CAUS-SF-PD
'Shyam, by telling his own son, had Mira write a letter to her friend.' (4 agentives)

b. bi:-k-e 'make give' (< bi-ye 'give') (Bitransitive)
ji-I Mirā-yāta saphu: cha - gu bi: - k - ā
I-ERG NOM-AGR book NUM - CLF give-CAUS-PC
'I had a book given to Mira.' (3 agentives)

c. bwā-k-e 'make run' (< bwā-ye 'run') (Semi-transitive)
Ritā-Ā macā-yāta bwā - k - al - a
NOM-ERG child-AGR run-CAUS-SF-PD
'Rita made the child run.' (2 agentives)

d. dā-e-k-e 'make boil' (< dā-ye 'boil') *(Intransitive)*
Ritā-Ā duru dā- e - k - al - a
NOM-ERG milk boil-INF-CAUS-SF-PD
'Rita boiled the milk.' (1 agentive)

On the other hand, this phenomenon also explains the formation of multiple causatives where the causative morpheme -k is affixed to a causativised form and an additional agentive argument is added. The examples in (5) show that the number of causative morphemes correlates with the number of agentive nominals in a sentence:

(5) a. Ritā-Ā Mirā-yāta duru dā - e - k - e bi: - k - al - a
NOM-ERG NOM - AGR milk boil-INF-CAUS-INF PERM-CAUS-SF-PD
'Rita made Mira boil the milk.' (2 agentives, 2 CAUS-k's)

b. Ritā-Ā macā-yāta bwā - k - e cho - k - e bi: - k - al - a
NOM-ERG child-AGR run-CAUS-INF send-CAUS-INF-PERM-CAS-SF-PD
'Rita made (someone) make the child run.' (3 agentives, 3 CAUS-k's)

While it is appealing to analyze causative sentences in terms of 'agentives' and 'causative morphemes', there are some syntactic problems in

this approach. Firstly, we cannot very well say that the subjects of all so-called 'semi-transitives' like "run", "cry" or "be angry" have actually agentive roles. For example, from a semantic/thematic point of view, the subject of the semi-transitive *tA:cā-ye/tA:mwo-ye* 'be angry' is no more an agent than the subject of intransitive verbs like *den-e* 'to sleep' or *da-ye* 'to boil'.

(6)	tA:cā-ye	"be angry"	→	tA:cā- e-k-e	'make angry'
	dā-ye	'to boil'	→	dā-e-k-e	'make boil'
	den-e	'to sleep'	→	then-e	make sleep'

Fufrthermore' the subjects of transitive verbs of perception ('hear', see' etc) which normally have the thematic role of 'experiencer' rather than 'agent' can also form their causative with; two causative morphemes.

(7)	nen-e	'hear'	→	nE:-k-e / nE:-k-ā bi: -k-e	'make hear'
	khan-e	'see'	→	khA: -k-e / khA: -k-ā bi: -k-e	'make see'

III. Second, the addition of a -k morpheme to an already causativized form does not always correspond to the addition of another agentive nominal. A comparison of the examples in (8) would make this point clear. The addition of a -k morpheme in (8b), for example, serves to bring out the intentional nature of the action rather than add another agentive argument (where INT stands for 'causative - intensifier'):

(8) a. wo - O: tho khA si: - k - al - a
NOM-ERG this matter know-CAUS-SF-PD
'He came to know about this matter.' (by chance)

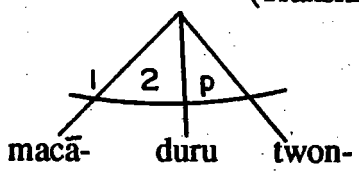
b. wo - O: tho khA si: - k - ā k - āl - a
NOM-ERG this matter know-CAUS-PD-INT-SF-PD
'He came to know about this matter.' (by effort)

The first problem (i.e. subject vs agent) can be handled by looking at the causative constructions in terms of grammatical relations rather than thematic roles. In other words, I suggest that the correlation is really between causative actions and grammatical subjects rather than between causative morphemes and thematic agents.

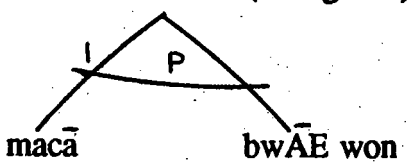
In line with this approach we can specify three classes of verbs in Newari: (a) transitive, i.e. verbs that select an initial subject and direct object; (b) unergative, i.e. verbs that select an initial subject only; and (c) unaccusative, i.e. verbs whose single argument is initially a direct object.

Using the relational grammar framework of Perlmutter (1980), the relational network of clauses containing each of these three classes of verbs can be represented as in (9), where the notation 1 is for subject, 2 for DO and P for Predicate:

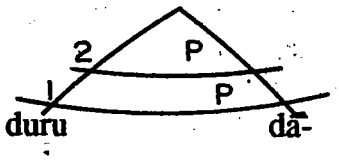
(9) a. macā-Ā duru twon - a (Transitive)
NOM-ERG milk drink-PD
'The child drank the milk.'



b. macā bwĀE won - a (Unergative)
NOM run go-PD
'The child ran.'

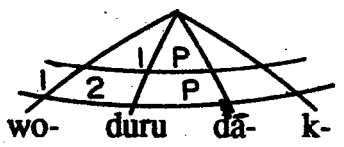


c. duru dā - l - a (Unaccusative)
milk boil-SF-PD
'The milk boiled.'

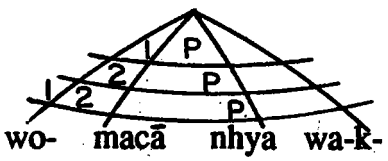


In (9c) the nominal *duru* can be the grammatical subject but is actually a logical DO of *da-l-a* 'boiled'. Underlyingly, *da-ye* 'to boil' and verbs of this class are subjectless. Although (9b) unergative and (9c) unaccusative are structurally similar, we can assume that they are grammatically distinct. In terms of language-specific rules an unergative is opposed to an unaccusative verb.

(10) a. wo-O: duru dā-e-k-al-a
'He made the milk boil.'



b. wo-O: macā-yāta nhya: wa-e-k-ā bi-l-a
'He made the child sleepy.'



The causative constructions in (10a) and (10b) both have the causative morpheme as part of the predicate but grammatically these are not identical. In *duru da-l-a* 'The milk boiled' and *maca-ya nhya: wo-l-a* 'The child was sleepy' the subjects of the embedded predicate (when present) can be interpreted as the direct object, while the examples are causativized by introducing an additional subject argument into the clause. Thus, 'He made the milk boil' and 'He made the child sleepy' do not bear the same grammatical relation. It is precisely for this reason that we have recognized the three classes of verbs in (9) as relevant to the grammar of Newari causatives.

The second problem referred to in Section III above has to do with causative constructions which add a causative morpheme but do not add an agentive argument. The examples in (8) thus can be described as 'causative - intensive' (INT-k) constructions which may provide important evidence for distinguishing accurately the nature of causative phenomena in Newari and other TB-languages of Nepal. While -k usually functions as a causative marker attached to a number of underlying grammatical subjects, it can, as was shown above in (8), serve as an intensifier. Further examples of this can be seen in (11):

(11) a. Ritā-Ā Mirā-yāta wosa: hi: - k - al -
NOM-ERG NOM -AGR clothes wash-CAUS-SF-PD
'Rita made Mira wash the clothes.'

b. Ritā-Ā Mirā-yāta wosa: hi: - k - e bi: - k - al - a
NOM-ERG NOM - AGR clothes wash - CAUSE - INF PERM-INT-SF-PD
'Rita made Mira make the clothes to be washed.'

c. Ritā-Ā Mirā-yāta wosa: hi: - k- e mãe - k - e
NOM-ERG NOM - AGR clothes wash - CAUS - INF need - INT-INF
bi: - k - al - a
PERM - INT - SF - PD
'Rita forced Mira to have the clothes washed.'

What we have called an intensifier of causatives (INT-k) is essentially the same morpheme as CAUS-k, but the two are introduced by distinct processes and have different grammatical consequences.[3] The addition of a -k to a causative verb normally requires the addition of a subject/agentive argument and this, as we have seen, produces a multiple causative. The

causative-intensive construction, on the other hand, increase the force of the causative argument by reduplicating the -k of a main causative verb unto a string of auxiliaries. In these constructions the number of CAUS-k's (or INT-k's) do not therefore match the number of grammatical subjects as in (4 a-d) above.

IV. The function of causative - intensive as a reduplicative process *may* have further support from cross-linguistic comparisons. Like Newari, a number of TB-languages of Nepal - among them Thakali, Chepang, W.Tamang, Sunwar and Khaling - form their causative by inflecting a verb stem with various causative affixes. Some examples from these languages are provided in (12):

(12):

	move	**cause to move**
Thakali	'prah-la	'prah-la -ttan-la
Tamang	kor-pa	kor-nala-pa
Chepang	chyu? saa	chyu?saa-'taak
Sunwar	duuk-tsa	duuk-'payh-tsa
Khaling	thu-ne	thu- man-ne

What is not clear at the moment is whether these languages also have a reduplication of the causative morpheme as an intensifier marker. In Newari it is clear that the INT-k is necessarily restricted to causative verbs since it is the causative morpheme which is reduplicated and not the verb stem.

We have examined in this paper the causative construction in Newari with reference to (a) initial grammatical relations and (b) lexical and syntactic affixation. In the first case,we identified the causative predicate as a bound morpheme and showed that the number of -k affixes in a causative sentence would depend on the number of its initial (logical) subjects. Thus, causatives formed with transitive or unergative stems can have two or more -k morphemes, while those formed with unaccusative stems contain only one .In the second case, we have noted that the causative morpheme can combine lexically with a certain class of predicates, e.g. the unaccusative verb *tajyā-ye* 'be broken' has an initial DO only. but its causative form *tachyā-ye / tachyā-k-e* 'cause to break' requires the initial 1 and 2 (i.e. subject and DO). Here the causative form serves as a transitivizing affix, deriving a transitive verb *tachyā-ye* from the intransitive *tajyā-ye*. On the other hand, the formation of *gan-k-e* 'make dry' from *gan-e* 'dry' involves the syntactic affixation of a CAUS-k to a clause. The two sets can be seen in (13) below:

(13) a. cya:-nA syI gan - k - al - a
NOM-ERG wood dry-CAUS - SF - PD
'The servant made the wood dry.'

b. cya:-nA bhega: tachyā - t - a
NOM-ERG pot break - SF - PD
'The servant broke the pot.'

We see that (13a) is a syntactically derived causative 'union' construction, while (13b) is a simple transitive clause containing a single predicate.

Further, we said that the syntactically affixed -k morpheme can then undergo reduplication to form a causative-intensive. Such reduplication in effect would take place in the lexicon although derived by syntactic rules. We can on this basis formulate two tentative rules:

(14) a. The syntactically causativized forms have initially the affixation of a single -k morpheme which has a transitivizing function in a clause.

b. The lexically produced 'causatives' operate on the output of syntactic rules and can undergo further causativization by affixation of additional CAUS-k's including INT-k's. The intensive/reduplicative causative however depends on the presence of an auxiliary verb in the verb string.

Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 10th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal on 26th November, 1989. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Austin Hale for his valuable comments and suggestions on the first draft of the paper.
2. A part of the evidence also rests upon the actual s-prefix in written Tibetan, and the s-prefix in conservative languages. Kham, for example, has an s-prefix that may have descended from the Proto-TB form.
3. The CAUS-k and reduplicating -k do not change the surface form of the verb stems in (11 a-c) but the causative effects of the constructions differ. While $2 + 2$ and 2×2 give us the same result, the operations involved are different.

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