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Benefactive Constructions in Nepali

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1. INTRODUCTION

Shibatani (1996) is of the view that benefactive constructions across languages are the cognitive extension (and hence the grammaticalization) of the image-schema (cf. Lakoff 1987; Sweester 1988) of the verb GIVE. He expects that in languages the cognitive prototype of the benefactive structure is basically given by the GIVE- schema which particular languages manipulate in their own ways. Shibatani further adds that both the syntax and the semantics of the benefactive constructions are monitored by the prototypical definition of the GIVE-schema. Thus, he thinks intransitive benefactive is less likely in a language.

Benefactive constructions in Nepali have grammaticalized the verb **de**-(GIVE) with language-specific manouvers. In this paper we will survey both the syntax and the polysemy of the lexeme **de** (GIVE) on the path of grammaticalization.

2. GIVE: SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS

2. 1 The GIVE-schema

1.A. Structure: [NP1 NP2 NP3 GIVE]

NP1= coded as a subject

NP2= coded either as a primary object or as a dative/indirect object

NP3= coded either as a secondary object or as a direct object

B. Semantics: NP1 CAUSES NP2 TO HAVE NP3 ; i.e.

NP1= human agent

NP2= human goal

NP3= object theme

NP2 exercises possessive control over NP3

NP1 creates the possessive situation on behalf of NP2.

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2.2 An Extension of the Give-Prototype in Nepali

2.21 Benefactive and Malefactive Meanings of ÔGIVEÕ

Taking care of the benefactive data in Nepali, we would like to suggest that there is proto-type-extension. Shibatani (Personal communication) believes that the prototype-meaning of the verb ÔgiveÕ is benefactive (or positive). I verified this with my informants and the data support ShibataniÕs reservations. But Nepali uses the verb both as an auxiliary and as a main verb in the negative sense also.

- 2.a.keTA-le keTi-lAi suntalA di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT orange GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy gave an orange to the girl '
- b.keTA-le keTi-lAi bikh di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT poison GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy gave the girl poison.'
- 3.a.keTA-le keTi-lAi suntalA Tip -i di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT orange pick-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy did a favor of picking an orange to the girl.'
- b.keTA-le keTi-ko khuTTo bha cDi di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl-GEN leg break-CONJV GIVE- PERFV
 'The boy broke the girl's leg.'
- 4.a.keTA-le keTi-lAi khel-na di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl- DAT play-INF GIVE- PERFV
 'The boy let the girl play.'
- b.keTA-le keTi-lAi mar-na di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT die-INF GIVE- PERFV
 'The boy let the girl die.'

These data suggest that Nepali has extended the prototype meaning of 'benefactive' -GIVE to 'malefactive' or 'adversative'. The superordinate term to cover the meanings would be just 'transfer of a possession from one person to another'. Both (3) and (4) show further grammaticalization and meaning extension of the verb 'give'.

2.2.2 Permissive Meaning

In (4) the meaning of 'give' is 'permit'. In permission there is no transfer of possession of any concrete object as the prototype expects from one person to another, rather the infinitive clause marked by **-na** might be understood to be transferred from one person to another. Thus, the permissive meaning of 'give' expects the transfer of an abstract entity. This seems to be a metaphorical extension of the direct object in the from of the infinitive clause.

But we consider this to be a different path of the prototype extension in the GIVE-schema, where the basic motive of giving is implied. There is always a question why or for what benefit or use someone is giving something to somebody:

- 5.a.keTA-le keTi-lAi suntalA khA-na di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT orange eat-INF GIVE- PERFV
 'The boy gave the girl an orange to eat.'
 b.keTA-le keTi-lAi ainA her-na di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT mirror look-INF GIVE- PERFV
 i. 'The boy gave the girl a mirror to look into'.
 ii. 'The boy let the girl look into the mirror'.

This type of ambiguity (5b) gave rise to the extension of the second meaning 'permission'. As a result, the typical transitive verb was also extended to intransitive verb on the one hand, and the human object is extended to nonhuman and finally to inanimate. This led to the meaning of 'let something', 'ignore' or 'without caring any results'. Thus, there are examples like:

- 6.a.bAbu -le chori -lAi bajAr jA-na di -yo.
 father-ERG daughter -DAT market go-INF GIVE- PERFV
 'The father allowed his daughter to go to the bazaar'
 b.keTA-le ainA khasḌna di -yo.
 boy -ERG mirror fall- INF GIVE- PERFV
 'The boy let the mirror fall down.'

Thus, these examples also support for the prototype extension of the GIVE-schema along a different path, although reanalysis permits us to think that giving permission is also a metaphorical extension of the concrete object to an abstract entity 'permit'.

This (infinitive) type of benefactive derivation always expects the ergative subject if the finite verb is perfective.

2.2.3 Generation of a Feeling

Example (9) does not show a transfer of any concrete or abstract entity from one person to another. The meaning only shows the generation or inception of a new feeling (happiness or unhappiness) on behalf of the recipient (19a,b) and the possessor (9a). The prototype of 'give' also expects to generate happiness to the recipient, by transferring an object. Between the two components namely (a) the transfer of an object from one person to another and (b) the inception of feeling (typically happiness) on the part of the recipient, only the second one is intact with a little manipulation, but the first component is missing. Therefore, in (9a) the meaning of 'give' is 'generation or inception of a new feeling to the recipient or the possessor'.

This generation of the feeling of happiness or unhappiness may extend from the recipient or the possessor to any concerned person unspecified in the sentence; even to the speaker:

- 7.a. hAbA lAg -i di -yo.
 wind touch-CONJV GIVE- PERFV
 ‘The wind blew’ (and someone was affected)
- b. ghAm lAg -i di -yo.
 sun touch- CONJV GIVE- PERFV
 ‘The sun shone’ (and someone was affected)

The benefactive or malefactive interpretations of (7) depend upon the affected person and the nature of the situation, but:

8. bhuiøcAlo A -i di -yo.
 earthquake come- CONJV GIVE- PERFV
 ‘Earthquake came’ (and everybody including the speaker got affected)

2.2.4 Without Caring any Results

Certain verbs preclude any recipient other than the subject himself. In such a case, since there is no recipient either the possessor or any unspecified person is adversely affected and the volitional action of the subject is always interpreted as ‘to do something without caring any results’.

- 9.a.keTA-le keTi-ko suntalA khA-i di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl-POS orange eat- CONJV GIVE- PERFV
 ‘The boy ate the girl’s orange (snobbishly or selfishly without caring any results)’
- b.keTA-le bikh khA -i di -yo.
 boy-ERG poison eat- CONJV GIVE- PERFV
 ‘The boy took poison without caring any results’
- c.keTo aphis-mA sut-i di -yo.
 boy office-LOC sleep- CONJV GIVE- PERFV
 ‘The boy slept in the office without caring any results’

This also we consider the prototype extension of the GIVE-schema, because when the agent gives something to the recipient his target may be (a) to make the recipient happy or (b) to make the recipient unhappy or (c) he may be indifferent to any results. This third case may be basic for the extension of the ‘without caring’ interpretation.

The same meaning is germinated by auxiliarization of the verb ‘gave’ in the following examples too:

- 10.A.a.keTA-le acAr -mA nun hAl -yo.
 boy -ERG pickle-LOC salt put- PERFV
 ‘The boy put salt into the pickle’

b.keTA-le acAr -mA cini hAl -i di -yo.
 boy-ERG pickle-LOC sugar put- CONJV GIVE- PERFV
 'The boy put sugar into the pickle without caring any results'

The following examples are also further examples of this type of interpretation:

12.a.ma poila ga -i di -n -chu.
 I husband-change go-CONJV GIVE- HABIT -am.
 'I would rather change my husband'.
 b.ma mar-i di -n -chu.
 I die- CONJV GIVE -HABIT -am
 'I would rather die!'

2.2.5 Metaphorical Extension

Although the prototype of the 'give' schema corresponds to (1), in Nepali we see metaphorical extension on various components of the schema:

a. The GIVE schema expects the typical example of the direct object to be an inanimate noun but this position is found occupied by human and animate nouns on the one hand and abstract nouns on the other:

13.a. kisAn -le rAjA-lAi chori di -yo.
 farmer-ERG king-DAT daughter give-PERFV
 'The farmer gave his daughter to the king'.
 b. kisAn -le rAjA -lAi gAi di -yo.
 farmer-ERG king-DAT cow GIVE- PERFV
 'The farmer gave his cow to the king'.
 c. kisAn -le rAjA-lAi bATo di -yo.
 farmer-ERG king-DAT road GIVE- PERFV
 'The farmer gave the king a side to pass through'.

Example 13c is idiomatic or metaphorical extension of the direct object prototype. Other metaphorically extended direct objects are the following:

14. bal 'strength'	bhar 'support'	man 'heart'
dhyAn 'diligence'	sajAya 'punishment'	arti 'lesson'
buddhi 'knowledge'	gyAn 'lesson'	sakti 'power'
kAn 'ear'	nAk 'nose'	drisTi 'sight'

Most of such direct objects come from human surroundings.

- (b) The **give** -schema specifies the NP1 (subject/agent) to be human.
Along this parameter also we find prototype extension:

- 15.a. gAi-le hAmi-lAi dudh di -n -cha.
cow-ERG we -DAT milk GIVE-HABIT-is
'The cow gives us milk'.
b. jhiogA-le hAmi-lAi dukha di -n -cha
fly -ERG we -DAT trouble GIVE-HABIT-is
'The fly gives us trouble'
c. jhari-le hAmi-lAi dukha di -n -cha.
rain -ERG we -DAT trouble GIVE-HABIT-is
'The rain gives us trouble'.

- (c) The typical recipient is human in the **give**-schema This is almost maintained in a maximally projected sentence with 'give'.

- 15.a. keTA-le keTi-lAi suntalA di -yo.
boy-ERG girl-DAT orange GIVE-PERFV
'The boy gave an orange to the girl'.
b. keTA-le gAi-lAi ghAos di -yo.
boy -ERG cow-DAT grass GIVE-PERFV
'The boy gave the cow grass'.
c. keTA-le phul -*lAi pAni *di -yo.
boy-ERG flower-DAT water give-PERFV
d. keTA-le phul-mA pAni hAl-yo.
boy-ERG flower-LOC water pour-PERFV
'The boy watered the plant'

- (d) Among the metaphorically extended examples like (15) the following have idiomatic meaning:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 17. man (heart) de 'love/like' | kAn (ear) de 'listen' |
| nAk (nose) de 'be insulted' | drisTi (sight) de 'look/take care' |
| hAt (hand) de 'help' | auolo (finger) de 'give secrets' |
| kAodh (shoulder) de 'support' | ghicro (neck) de 'die' |
| TAuko (head) de 'die' | laTThi (stick) de 'beat' |

2.2.6 Participant Manipulation

‘Give’ as a main verb does not allow less than three participants:

- 18.a. keTA-le keTi-lAi suntalA di -yo
 boy -ERG girl-DAT orange GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The boy gave an orange to the girl’.
 ? b. keTA-le keTi-lAi di-yo.
 ? c. keTA-le suntalA di-yo.
 d. *keTi-lAi suntalA di-yo.

But when the verb is used as a vector, it is free from this constraint:

- 19.a. keTA-le keTi-lAi kuT -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT beat-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The boy beat the girl without caring any results’
 b. ma-lAi TAuko dukh-i di-yo.
 I- DAT head ache-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘I got a headache’
 c. bhuiœcAlo A-i di-yo.
 earthquake come-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The earthquake came (and everybody suffered including the speaker)’.

Even in the compounding of the verb there is metaphorical extension:

20. mero/ma-lAi bhAt pAk-i di-yo.
 my I -DAT rice cook-CONJ GIVE-PERFV
 ‘My rice is cooked’ (so I am happy/unhappy).

If the basic meaning of give is maintained, then the typical paraphrase of a benefactive construction would be ‘to give happiness’ and that of a malefactive is ‘to give unhappiness’.

2.2.7 The Effect of Grammaticalization on the Main Verb

When the infinitive is embedded into a **give**-clause the infinitive means ‘in order to utilize’, but when the bracket is pruned, on the one hand the verb **-give** is grammaticalized to mean ‘permit/allow/let’ and on the other hand the meaning of the infinitive is also extended in that the specific meaning ‘to utilize’ is not maintained.

21. keTA-le keTi-lAi suntalA-[~] khA-na di-yo.

boy-ERG girl-DAT orange-ACC eat-INF GIVE-PERFV

- a. 'The boy gave the girl an orange to eat'
- b. 'The boy allowed the girl to eat the orange'
- c. 'The boy let the girl eat the orange (without caring)'

We suppose that in (b) **give** is grammaticalized and in (c) it is more grammaticalized than in (b).

2.2.8 Extended GIVE-schema

With respect to Nepali data a maximally projected GIVE-schema is as follows:

- 22.a. [[POSS-Sub]-le [POSS-Recipient]-lAi [POSS-Obj]-[~] [V-CONJV]
[V-INF] GIVE]
- b. [NP1 NP2 NP3 S' 1 S' 2 GIVE]
 - c. NP1= [(POSS) NP]+(ERG)
NP2= [(POSS) NP]+ DAT
NP3= [(POSS) NP]+[~]
 - d. S' 1= [NP1 NP2 NP3 V-CONJV]
 - e. S' 2= [NP1 NP2 NP3 V-INF]
 - f. V-CONJV= V-i 'after v-ing'
 - g. V-INF= V-na 'in order to v'
23. mero chorA-le teri chori -lAi jyApu-ko suntalA khA-na di -e -cha.
my son-ERG your daughter-DAT farmer-POSS orange eat-INF GIVE-PF-is
'I came to know that my son gave your daughter the farmer's orange to eat'.

2.2.9 Bracket Pruning and Reinterpretation

The extended give-schema (22) presupposes at least two sentence embeddings within the give-clause. In the course of grammaticalization the embedded clauses become mutually exclusive, that is, they do not occur in the same sentence.

24. keTA-le keTi-lAi suntalA Tip -i di -yo.
boy-ERG girl-DAT orange pick- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
'The boy did a favor of picking the orange for the girl'.
25. keTA-le keTi-lAi suntalA khA-na di -yo.
boy-ERG girl-DAT orange eat-INF GIVE-PERFV
'The boy let the girl eat the orange'.

Our interpretation is that when the participle or the infinitive is immediately followed by the finite verb ‘give’ there is a tendency of bracket pruning consequently, merging two clauses into one complemented by the participle or the infinite. At the very outset of the grammaticalization the embedded S-bar is reinterpreted as an abstract object (NP3) to match the GIVE-schema proposed by Shibatani. So, we would expect that in the course of grammaticalization of the benefactive construction there seems to be a tendency of leveling the output for the maintenance of and mapping with the give-schema.

We presuppose the following patterns of sentence-embedding for the emergence of the grammaticalization (or compounding) of the **give** in a typical Nepali benefactive (malefactive) sentence:

26. [NP1 NP2 NP3 [NP1 (NP2) NP3 V-CONJV] GIVE]
 27. [NP1 NP2 NP3 [NP1 (NP2) NP3 V-INF] GIVE]

NP3 (Patient) is the common factor in any benefactive construction, Thus EQUI-deletion of one of the two NP’s (NP3 and NP1) is the basic syntactic motivation of compound verbs. Even if the conjunctive or infinitive is monovalent or divalent, the syntactic tendency of matching the resultant with the GIVE-schema is the basic reason for the Dative Insertion and Possessor Raising.

As a result of such manoeuvres there is sharing or division of labor between the embedded main verb and grammaticalized give in that transitivity is given by the main verb and the meaning of transfer of something (typically a concrete object>abstract object> feeling of happiness or unhappiness, etc.) is given by the grammaticalized verb **give**.

In case of the infinitive type both transitivity and the meaning of **let** is given by the give clause while the lexical meaning comes from the main verb.

2.2.10 Causative Function

Handling with Hindi data Bhatia (1979) is of the view that in case of the typical reflexive verbs like ‘bathe’ the vector ‘give’ has the causative function:

- 28.a. ChorA-le nuhA -yo.
 son-ERG bathe-PERFV
 ‘The father bathed his son’
 b. bAbu -le chorA-lAi nuhA -i di-yo.
 father-ERG son-DAT bathe-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The son bathed’

But parallel to (28b) Nepali has 29:

29. bAbu -le chorA-lAi nuhA-yo
 father-ERGson -DAT bathe-PERFV
 ‘The father bathed his son’

- b. tyo keTA-le mero chorA-lAi bikh di-yo.
 'that boy-ERG my son -DAT poison GIVE-PERFV
 'That boy gave my son poison'

Here the possessor of the indirect object is also affected in a parallel direction with the usefulness of the object transferred. However, the possessor of the direct object's happiness goes in the opposite direction with the utility of the speaker.

- 33.a. keTA-le keTi-lAi mero suntalA di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT my orange GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy gave my orange to the girl'.
 b. keTA-le keTi-lAi mero bikh di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT my poison GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy gave my poison to the girl'.

It is likely that the deictic role of the possessor may have an effect on the interpretation of the possessor's affectedness. Different pragmatic situations determine the positive or the negative interpretations of the affectedness of the agent's possessor:

- 34.a. mero chorA-le keTi-lAi suntalA di-yo.
 my son-ERG girl-DAT orange GIVE-PERFV
 'My son gave the girl an orange'
 b. mero chorA-le keTi-lAi bikh di-yo.
 my son-ERG girl-DAT poison GIVE-PERFV
 'My son gave the girl poison'.

In the interpretation of the possessor's affectedness culture-specific domains, body parts, kinship, intimacy and separable and inseparable possession also play significant roles.

This possessor's underlying role also has an impact upon the benefactive construction. The following examples show the role of a vector give:

- 35.a. bhakunDo khas-yo (intransitive)
 ball fall-PERF
 'The ball dropped'.
 b. chorA-le bhakunDo khas-A -yo (causative)
 son-ERG ball fall-CAUS-PERFV
 'The son dropped the ball'.
 c. bAbu -le chorA-lAi bhakunDo khas-A -i di-yo.
 father-ERG son-DAT ball fall-CAUS-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The father dropped the ball for the son' (causative benefactive)
 d. bAbu -le chorA -ko bhakunDo khas-A -i di-yo(malefactive)
 father-ERG son-POSS ball fall-CAUS-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The father dropped the son's ball'.

- e. bhakunDo khas-i di-yo (benefactive/malefactive)
 ball fall-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The ball dropped’

The interpretation of 35e depends upon the situation as to where the ball dropped, what relation the speaker has to the ball, who is the possessor, etc. All these pragmatic factors will determine whether the speaker has to be happy or unhappy.

When we compare 35c and 35d we will see that choro ‘son’ becomes happy if the word is followed by -lAi (dative particle). The possessor of the direct object suffers or is adversely affected if his possession is given by the usefulness and the utility of the object in that the more the possessor of the direct object suffers the more utility is incurred in the object. Otherwise he may be happy if his object is troublesome or harmful:

- 36.a. keTA-le keTi-lAi sAthi -ko suntalA di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT friend-POSS orange GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The boy gave the girl his friend’s orange’.
- b. keTA-le keTi-lAi sAthi -ko kasingar di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT friend-POSS dirt GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The boy gave the girl his friend’s dirt’.

Therefore the generation of happiness of the recipient is directly proportional to the utility of the object, but the happiness of the object’s possessor is inversely proportional to the utility of the object in the act of giving.

2.2.11.1 Possessor Raising

2.2.11.1.1 Imminent Possessor: a Case of Dative Demotion.

In Nepali an imminent possessor (Croft 1985) is also marked by the possessive particle-**ko**. That is, if something is expected or meant to be somebody’s possession in the near future, then the expected recipient (or possessor) is marked by **-ko**:

- 37.a. bAbu -le chorA -ko kitAb kin-i di-yo.
 father-ERG son-POSS book buy-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The father bought the book for the son’.
- b. keTA-le keTi-ko suntalA Tip-i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-POSS orange pick-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The boy did a favor of picking the orange for the girl’.

These recipients can also be marked by the dative particle **lAi**, that is, in such a context the Dative and the Possessor are in free variation with more sentimental attachment to the imminent possessor:

- 38.a. bAbu -le chorA-lAi kitAb kin-i di-yo.
 father-ERG son- DAT book buy-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The father bought a book for the son'.
 b. keTA-le keTi-lAi suntalA Tip-i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT orange pick-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy did a favor of picking an orange for the girl'.

We consider this to be a case of 'Dative Demotion' in that an underlying dative or benefactive that is a core case becomes peripheral (possessive).

2.2.11.1.2 Possessor Raising

(a) This is a case of changing an underlying possessor into a recipient or dative if the action has typical benefactive interpretation. That is, if the possessor is happy by the action then the possessive marker **-ko** and the dative marker **-lAi** are in free variation otherwise Possessive Raising is less likely:

- 39.a. keTA-le keTi-lAi ghar banA -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT house build-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy did a favor of building a house to the girl'.
 b. keTA-le keTi-ko ghar banA -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-POSS house build-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy did a favor of building the girl's house'.
 40.a. keTA-le keTi -ko hAt bhAøc-i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-POSS hand break-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy broke the girl's hand'.
 ?b. keTA-le keTi -lAi hAt bhAøc-i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT hand break-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy broke the girl's hand'.
 41.a. keTA-le keTi-ko ghar bhatkA -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-POSS house demolish-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy demolished the girl's house'.
 b. *keTA-le keTi-lAi ghar bhatkA-i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT house demolish-CONJV GIVE-PERFV

If the possession is inalienable (40b), then in a topicalized case the possessor may change into dative to give malefactive interpretation:

- 40.b keTi-lAi keTA-le hAt bhAøc-i di-yo.

(b) In another type of Possessor-Raising if the possession is not mentioned, then the possessor changes into dative.

- 42.a. keTA-le keTi-ko jiu cho -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-POSS body touch-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy touched the girl's body'.
 b. keTA-le keTi -IAi cho -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT touch-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy touched the girl'.

Shibatani (1994) points to another type of Possessor Raising in a typical Indo-European language and in Hebrew where a possessor is raised to dative if the recipient is unhappy. However, Nepali, although an Indo-European language, does not support Shibatani's observations. On the contrary, Nepali raises a possessor to dative only when the recipient is happy. It may be that (40b) is an Indo-European remnant.

2.2.11.1.3 Distribution of the Dative Particle (IAi)

(a). IAi is basically an animate counterpart of the locative particle mA

- 43.a. keTA-le keTi-IAi Tika lagA-i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT Tika mark-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy marked the girl with Tika on the girl's forehead'.
 b. keTA-le gAi-IAi TikA lagA -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG cow-DAT Tika mark-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy marked Tika on the cow's forehead'.
 c. keTA-le rukh-mA TikA lagA-i di-yo.
 boy-ERG tree-LOC Tika mark-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy marked the tree with Tika'.

(b). IAi is a dative marker if the valency of the verb is three:

- 44.a. keTA-le keTi-IAi suntalA di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT orange GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy gave the girl an orange'.
 b. keTA-le keTi-IAi yo kuro sodh-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT this talk ask-PERFV
 'The boy asked the girl this question'.

(c). If the valency of the verb is less than three, then **IAi** marks the animate (preferably human) direct object :

- 45.a. keTA-le keTi-IAi kuT-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT beat-PERFV
 'The boy beat the girl'.
 b. keTA-le gAi- (IAi) kuT-yo.
 boy-ERG cow-(DAT) beat-PERFV
 'The boy beat the cow'.
 c. keTA-le cAmal kuT-yo.
 boy-ERG rice beat-PERFV
 'The boy beat the rice'.

(d). With the object complement verbs like **mAn** 'consider', **ThAn** 'consider', **samjhi** 'consider', **cun** 'nominate/elect', **banAu** 'make', **IAi** marks the direct object and the complement is left unmarked.

- 46.a. keTA-le keTi-IAi deutA mAn -cha.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT God consider-is
 'The boy considers the girl as God'.
 b. keTA-le DhungA-IAi deutA mAn -cha.
 boy-ERG stone-DAT God consider-is
 'The boy considers the stone as God'.

(e). If the valency of the verb is less than three, then **IAi** marks definiteness of the direct object:

- 47.a. keTo keTi khoj -dai cha.
 boy girl search-PROG is
 'The boy is looking for a girl'.
 b. keTo tyo keTi-IAi her -dai cha.
 boy that girl-DAT look-PROG is
 'The boy is looking at the girl'.
 c. ma yo DhungA-IAi ke gar-u-
 I this stone-DAT what do-OPTATIVE
 'What should I do with this stone ?'
 d. ma Dhungo khoj -dai chu.
 I stone search-PROG am
 'I am looking for a stone'.

(f). If the direct object is a pronoun, then it is always marked by **IAi** (Abadie 1971), but in this case to avoid confusion the order of the direct and indirect object is changed :

48. mai-le taø-IAi jwAi- -IAi di -e-.
 I-ERG you-DAT son-in-law-DAT GIVE-lsg.PERFV
 'I gave you to the son-in-law'.

(g). 'Dative Subject Construction' is one of the defining characteristics of South Asia (Masica 1976) in that an experiencer (Verma and Mohanan 1990) shares some of the characteristics of the subject (Keenan 1976; Wallace 1985) but is typically marked by the dative marker.

- 49.a. ma-IAi bhok lAg-yo.
 I-DAT hunger touch- PERFV
 'I am hungry'.
 b. ma-IAi Tauko dukh-yo.
 I -DAT head ache- PERFV
 'I have a headache'.

(h) **IAi** is also marked by cause or intention:

50. ke kAm-IAi Au-nubha-yo.
 what work-DAT come-HON- PERFV
 'What for have you come?'

(i) **IAi** is also marked after a nonpast temporal word to mean 'for' :

51. ma yo suntalA bholi -IAi rAkh-chu.
 I this orange tomorrow-DAT keep-am
 'I will keep this orange for tomorrow'.

This use of **IAi** is in free variation with **ko lAgi** 'for', another diachronically related peripheral expression:

52. ma yo suntalA bholi -ka lAgi rAkh-chu.
 I this orange tomorrow-POSS for keep-am
 'I will keep this orange for tomorrow'.

We think the development of **IAi** to be a result of compounding of **lAgi** with a typically preceding noun:

53. keTi-ko (DIR) lAgi - > keTi-kA (OBL) lAgi - > keTi-IAi (DAT)

Historically even the ergative marker **le** seems to be derived from **IAi**, because there is found an intermediate form **lai** documented in an inscription (cf. Pokharel 2044 BS). Thus, we expect the following templates of the derivation:

54. **IAgi (for) - > IAi (DAT) - > (HIST. ERG) - > le (ERG)**

(j) As Genetti (1986) notes the extension of the dative marker as a purposive clause complementizer in Newari, we expect that the phenomenon might be a crosslinguistic diffusion from Nepali, because Genetti (1986) notes that such a phenomenon was a later development in Newari.

- 55.a. keTo suntalA Tip -na IAi ga-yo.
 boy orange pick-INF-DAT go- PERFV
 'The boy went to pick the orange'.
 b. yo Topi bAhira Jaø-dA -IAi hun-cha.
 this cap out go -WHEN-DAT be -is
 'This cap will be (useful) for going out'.

Similar situation is attested in Ik and Kanuri languages of Africa by Heine (1990) and Heine *et al* (1991).

2.2.11.1.4. IAi in the Benefactive Construction

All the structural distribution of **IAi** (discussed in 2.2.11.1.3) can have corresponding benefactive (or malefactive) derivation of both infinitive (**na**) and conjunctive (**-i**) types except for the case like 44a where there is already GIVE as a main verb:

- 56.a. keTA -le keTi-IAi yo kuro sodh-i di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl -DAT this talk ask-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy asked the girl this thing'.
 b. bAbu -le keTA-IAi keTi-IAi yo kuro sodh -na di -yo.
 father-ERG boy -DAT girl-DAT this talk ask- INF GIVE-PERFV
 'The father let the boy ask this question to the girl'.
 c. keTA-le keTi-IAi kuT -i di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT beat - CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy beat the girl without caring any results'.
 d. bAbu -le keTA- IAi keTi -IAi kuT -na di -yo.
 father ERG boy -ERG girl-DAT beat-ING GIVE-PERFV
 'The father let the boy beat the girl'.
 e. keTA-le gAi- (IAi) kuT-i di -yo.
 boy-ERG cow-(DAT) beat- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy beat the cow without caring any results'.

- f. bAbu -le keTA-lAi gAi-lAi kuT -na di-yo.
father-ERG boy -DAT cow-DAT beat-INF GIVE-PERFV
'The father let the boy beat the cow'.
- g. keTA-le cAmal kuT -i di -yo.
boy-ERG rice beat- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
'The boy did a favor of milling the rice' (typically without dative)
- h. keTA-le keTi -lAi cAmal kuT-i di -yo.
boy-ERG girl-DAT rice beat- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
'The boy did a favor of milling rice to the girl'.

In such derivation the basic structure of **lAi** is maintained.

2.2.12. Human Relevance

All the sentences will have human relevance as soon as they undergo benefactive (or malefactive) derivation:

- 57.a. bhuiɕAlo A -yo.
earthquake come-PERFV
'Earthquake came'.
- b. bhuiɕAlo A-i di -yo.
earthquake come-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
'Earthquake came (and everybody suffered)'.
- c. mai-le bhuiɕAlo Au-na di-eø.
I -ERG earthquake come -INF GIVE-1 sg.PERFV
'I let the earthquake come i.e., I did not show any response'.

If there is someone to feel happiness or unhappiness with the action, the one who is happy can easily be followed by **lAi**:

- 58.a. pAni par -yo.
water fall -PERFV
'It rained'.
- b. pAni par -i di -yo.
water fall -CONJV GIVE-PERFV
'(The speaker is affected by the rain)'.
- c. ma- lAi pAni par-i di -yo.
I -DAT water fall-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
'It rained for me (and I am happy)'.

But if I am unhappy with the rain there cannot be **IAi**. Rather, there may be the possessive marker:

59. keTA-ko bATA-mA pAni par-i di -yo.
 boy-POSS road-LOC water fall-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘It rained on the boy’s way (to his destination and he could not go).

Similarly, there are other examples:

60. a. ma-lAi gAi byA -i di -yo.
 I -DAT cow bear calf- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘My cow has born a calf’ (and I am happy).
 b. mero gAi byA -i di -yo.
 my cow bear calf- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘My cow has born a calf. (and I am suffering from hardwork)’.
 c. mero gAi mar -i di -yo.
 my cow die- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘My cow died’ (and I am suffering).
 d. *ma-lAi gAi mar-i di -yo.
 I -DAT cow die- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 e. syAl -lAi gAi mar -i di -yo.
 ackal -DAT cow die- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The cow died and the jackal became happy’.

These examples show that there is Possessor Raising only in case of benefactive while in case of malefactive reading there is no possessor raising to dative. Besides, the benefactive/ malefactive interpretation is pragmatic and culture-specific. The cow’s death is malefactive for the owner, but benefactive to the jackal.

2.2.13. Increase in Valency

In Nepali there is a constraint in derivation by valency in that the valency of a verb whether lexical or derived cannot be more than three. It means a trivalent verb especially **de** ‘give’ cannot be causativized. The causative counterpart of this verb in literary Nepali is borrowed from Hindi but the form is not used by uneducated speakers:

61. a. keTA-le keTi- lAi suntalA di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT orange GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The boy gave the girl an orange’.
 b. keTA -le keTi -lAi suntalA *di-A-yo (regular causative).
 c. keTA -le keTi -lAi suntalA di-lA-yo (Hindi Causative morpheme).
 ‘The boy caused the girl to have the orange’.

- d. keTA-le nokar -dwArA keTi-lAi suntalA di -lA -yo.
 boy-ERG servant -by girl-DAT orange GIVE-H. CAUS-PERFV
 'The boy caused the girl to have an orange through his servant'.
- e. bAbu-le keTA-dwArA keTi-lAi suntalA di-lA-yo.
 father-ERG boy-by girl-DAT orange GIVE-H. CAUS-PERFV
 'The father caused the boy to give the orange to the girl'.

The irregularities in the typical trivalent verb **be** 'give' are:

1. It does not have a native causative derivation.
2. The underlying subject **keTo** cannot be marked by the dative particle **lAi**, which is typical of a derived causative retired agent.
3. Only the literal peripheral argument marked by **dwArA** can follow the retired agent.
4. Although other trivalent verbs like **bhan** 'say', **sodh** 'ask', **bhan-Au** 'cause to say' and **sodh-Au** 'cause to ask' are there, but irregularities are still witnessed:

62. a. keTA-le keTi-lAi yo kuro bhan-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT this thing say- PERFV
 'The boy said this thing to the girl'.
- b. bAbu -le keTA- dwArA keTi-lAi yo kuro bhan-A -yo.
 father-ERG boy -by girl-DAT this thing say-CAUS-PERFV
 'The father caused the boy to say this thing to the girl'.

These irregularities are not found with divalent or monovalent verbs:

63. a. keTA-le suntalA Tip -yo.
 boy-ERG orange pick- PERFV
 'The boy picked an orange'.
- b. bAbu -le keTA-lAi suntalA Tip -A -yo.
 father-ERG boy-DAT orange pick CAUS -PERFV
 'The father caused the boy to pick the orange'.
64. a. choro sut -yo.
 son sleep-PERFV
 'The son slept'.
- b. bAbu-le chorA -lAi sut -A -yo.
 father-ERG son. OBL-DAT sleep-CAUS-PERFV.
 'The father caused the son to sleep'.

In case of typical monovalent (64) and divalent (63) verbs we can see that the basic subject is demoted as direct or indirect object as permitted by the structure of the given verb.

There are some verbs in Nepali which are remnants of the Indo-European derivation by ablauting:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 65. phuT 'be broken' | phoD 'break' |
| chuT 'be left' | choD 'leave' |
| juT 'be assembled' | joD 'join/assemble' |
| khul 'be opened' | khol 'open' |

The causative counterpart of such intransitive sentences can be derived either by regular derivation or by ablauting:

66. a. anAr phuT -yo
pomegranate break-PERFV
'The pomegranate split up/broke'.
- b. keTA-le anAr phuT -A -yo.
boy-ERG pomegranate split-CAUS-PERFV
'The boy broke the pomegranate'. (Noncoercive)
- c. keTA-le anAr phoD -yo.
boy-ERG pomegranate break-PERFV
'The boy broke the pomegranate'. (Coercive)

A basic Nepali sentence cannot have double causative markers ***Au-Au-**. Moreover, a root of the verb already ending in **-Au** also cannot have a morphologically derived causative counterpart:

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 66. Au 'come' | *Au-Au 'cause to come' |
| paThAu 'send' | *paThAu-Au 'cause to send' |
| samAu 'catch' | *samAu-Au 'cause someone to catch something' |

All this means that Nepali basically does not have a double causative derivation comparable to Hindi or Japanese which have double causative derivation, but the roots derived by ablauting can undergo double causation first, by ablating, then by suffixing:

68. a. bAbu -le keTA-lAi anAr phoD -a -yo.
father-ERG boy-DAT pomegranate break. ABLAUT-CAUSE-PERFV
'The father made the boy break the pomegranate'.
- b. bAbu -le keTA-dwArA anAr phoD -a -yo.
father-ERG boy -by pomegranate break. ABLAUT-CAUSE-PERFV
'The father caused the pomegranate to be broken by the boy'.

In a typical benefactive construction in Nepali there is Dative Insertion in that a new dative-marked (IAi) NP is inserted together with auxiliarization (or compounding) of the verb **de** ‘give’:

69. a. anAr phuT -yo. ‘The pomegranate split’.
 pomegranate split up-PERFV
 b. ma-lAi anAr phuT -i di -yo.
 I-DAT pomegranate break- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The pomegranate split up for me’.
70. a. keTA-le suntalA kin-yo. ‘The boy bought an orange’.
 boy-ERG orange buy-PERFV
 b. keTA-le keTi-lAi suntalA kin-i di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT orange buy- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The boy bought the girl an orange’.

But if the verb is already trivalent, there cannot be a Dative Insertion which precludes double dative in such a case. This points that benefactive case is an extended dative in Nepali (cf. Foley and Van Valin 1984: 198). Anyway, a benefactive construction triggers valency increase in a monovalent or a divalent verb.

However, in the infinitive-type benefactive there will be typically

- (i) an agent (marked by **-le**)
- (ii) changing the underlying agent into dative whereby there is a possibility of double dative in a sentence
- (iii) auxiliarization of the verb ‘give’
- (iv) no constraint of valency
- (v) no constraint of the sequence of two ‘give’s.

71. a. anAr phuT -yo. ‘The pomegranate split up’.
 pomegranate break-PERFV
 b. keTA-le anAr phuT-na di-yo.
 boy-ERG pomegranate break-INF GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The boy let the pomegranate split up’.
72. a. chorA-le suntalA Tip -yo.
 son -ERG orange pick- PERFV
 ‘The son picked an orange’.
 b. bAbu -le chorA-lAi suntalA Tip -na di -yo.
 father-ERG son -DAT orange pick-INF GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The father let the son pick the orange’.
73. a. keTA-le keTi-lAi suntalA di -yo.
 boy-ERG girl - DAT orange GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The boy gave an orange to the girl’.

- b. sAthi -le keTA-lAi keTi-lAi suntalA di-na di -yo.
 friend-ERG boy-DAT girl-DAT orange GIVE-INF GIVE-PERFV
 'The friend let the boy give the orange to the girl'.

This type of benefactive is somehow similar to a causative construction in changing an underlying agent into dative, but is different with respect to constraints of valency and auxiliarization of 'give'.

Haspelmath (1993) supports Saksena (1982) that certain verbs like **phod** 'break' are underlyingly transitive and the ablauted higher variant like **phuT** 'split up' (intransitive) are derived. Thus, Saksena (1982) thinks that the intransitive variant is anticausative. But our data do not support Saksena, because in Nepali the final consonant of the intransitive variant is a stop. Phonetically one cannot derive a stop from a flap, the reverse natural order. Thus, we consider the higher vowel variant to be basic the lower vowel variant to be derived, as already mentioned, are the remnants of the Indo-European ablauting in the Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali, Hindi or Marathi. Considering Nepali data we think Saksena needs further verification of her data.

The point raised in this chapter is that in a benefactive construction (in Nepali) there is valency increase either by inserting a dative phrase or by changing the underlying possessive (**ko**) into the dative marker (**lAi**) if there is not already any dative phrase in the sentence. Foley and Van Valin (1984:201) also note that in a typical benefactive construction there is a universal tendency of increase in valency of the verb. They further add that valency increase is very common in a compound verb especially if the auxiliary verb is **give** or **take**.

2.2.14 Transitivity and Benefactivity

Foley and Van Valin (1984:198) and Shibatani (1996) expect benefactives to be mainly transitive, but in Nepali benefactive derivation there is no constraint of transitivity. Every Nepali sentence can have benefactive derivation of Give-compounding (or cliticization) although the derived sentence may have benefactive or malefactive interpretation:

- 74.a. ma- lAi kAn cilA -yo.
 I- DAT ear itching-PERFV
 'I felt itching in the ear'
 b. ma-lAi kAn cilA -i di-yo.
 I- DAT ear itching- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'I felt itching in the ear' (and I was affected)
- 75.a. bhuicAlo A -yo.
 earthquake come-PERFV
 'The earthquake came'.
 b. bhuicAlo A -i di-yo.
 earthquake come- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The earthquake came' (and all the people suffered)

2.2.15 Benefactive and ‘Juncture’ of the Clause

If we follow Foley and Van Valin (1984) benefactive derivation in Nepali is in all three junctures, i.e. ‘nucleus, core and periphery’.

2.2.15.1 Benefactive Derivation in the Nucleus

One way of deriving benefactive in Nepali is by compounding a verb in the sentence with GIVE. There is no constraint in this level except for the double give constraint mentioned above.

2.2.15.2 Benefactive Derivation in the Core

Dative Insertion or Possessive to Dative derivation is another way of deriving benefactive. There are some constraints in Dative Insertion and Possessive to Dative derivation, but there is already an underlying **IAi** in the basic sentence where it remains intact. Hence we can expect the presence of an underlying **IAi** in a malefactive sentence, but the derived dative phrase is less likely. However, there are examples:

- 76.a. keTA-le keTi-lAi Dhoka thun -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT door close- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The boy closed the door on the girl’.
- b. keTA-le keTi-lAi/ko hAt bhAøc -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT/POSS hand break- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The boy broke the girl’s hand on her’.

2.2.15.3 Benefactive Derivation at the Periphery:

IAgi ‘for’ is a particle in Nepali which is always preceded by the possessive marker (**ko**) in a sentence. There is no constraint in the insertion of **NP-ko IAgi** and the corresponding change in meaning is always benefactive.

- 77.a. dadhici indra-kA lAgi mar-i di-e.
 Dadhici Indra-POSS for die- CONJV GIVE-PERFV.HON
 ‘Dadhichi died for the sake of Indra’.
- b. parasurAm-le bAbu -kA lAgi AmA -lAi kAT-i di-e.
 Parashuram-ERG father-POSS for mother-DAT cut- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 ‘Parashuram beheaded his own mother for the sake of (=to please) his father’.
- c. AmA -kA lAgi keTA-le jogi -lAi cAmal di-yo.
 mother-POSS for boy-ERG hermit-DAT rice GIVE-PERFV
 ‘The son gave rice to the hermit for the sake of (=to please) his mother’.

As noted earlier, **IAi** is historically derived from **IAgi** as a result of compounding it with the preceding noun whereby deleting the possessive marker **ko**.

78. keTi-ko lAgi keTi kA (OBL.) lAgi * keTi-lAi

The points noted above clearly show that the benefactive derivation in Nepali (by **IAgi**) at the periphery has no restriction. There is restriction only at the core and the nucleus in that :

- i. compounding of GIVE+GIVE is not allowed in the conjunctive type
- ii. the monoclausal GIVE always co-occurs with **IAi**
- iii. there cannot be Dative Insertion in a trivalent sentence
- iv. possessive to dative derivation is less likely if the meaning is malefactive.

In terms of such restriction there is the following hierarchy:

79. Hierarchy of Restriction in Benefactive Derivation

Core > Nucleus > Periphery

It show that there is least restriction in periphery and the restriction gradually increases towards the left side.

2.2.16 Culture-Specific Interpretation:

A derived benefactive sentence may have culture-specific interpretation as noted above :

80. keTA-le keTi-lAi rAmro sapanA dekh -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT good dream see- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy dreamt a good omen for the girl'.
- 81.a. keTA-le sAathi -ko /lAi dAri kAT -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG friend-POSS/DAT beard cut- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy did a favor of saving his friend's beard'
- b. keTA-le sAathi -ko/*lAi Tuppi kAT-i di-yo.
 boy-ERG friend-POSS/DAT Ôtoupee cut- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy cut off his friend's toupee'.
- 82.a. keTA-le keTi-lAi parebA mAr -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT pigeon kill- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy did a favor of killing a pigeon for the girl'.
- b. keTA-le keTi-*lAi bAcho mAr -i di-yo.
 boy-ERG girl-DAT calf kill- CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The boy killed a calf for the girl'.

Nepali-speaking people culturally interpret the feature of the dream whether it is a good omen or a bad omen. Thus, one person may dream something auspicious on behalf of someone else, hence the benefactive derivation of (80). Shaving somebody else's beard is considered a favor, but shaving moustache or cutting of the **Tuppi** is not considered a favor. People of Nepal can eat a pigeon, but not a calf, hence pragmatically killing a pigeon may be interpreted to be benefactive while killing of a calf is always understood to be malefactive.

Thus, it shows that the basic motivation for the grammaticalization and the semantic interpretation of GIVE have both situational and pragmatic relevance.

2.2.17 Honorific and Polite Function

'Give' as a vector (Hook 1974) is used to make the language honorific or more polite:

- 83.a. guruji, ma- lAi nepAli sik -Au -nuhos.
 teacher I -DAT Nepali learn-CAUS-HON
 'Teach me Nepali, sir !'
- b. guruji, ma -lAi nepAli sik -A -i di-nuhos.
 teacher I-DAT Nepali learn-CAUS-CONJ GIVE-HON
 'Sir, please teach me Nepali !'

83(a) is a bit rude and we do not expect a student to use this sentence to request the teacher, while 83 (b) is commonly used. Similarly,

- 84.a. pahile mero kAm gar-nuhos.
 first my work do -HON
 'Do my work first !'
- b. pahile mero kAm gar-i di-nuhos.
 first my work do-CONJ GIVE-HON
 'Could you please do my work first ?'

2.2.18 'End up with'

Auxiliarization of GIVE also means 'end up with' in the following sentences:

- 85.a. ma yo dudh pokh -i di -n -chu.
 I this milk spill-CONJV GIVE-HABIT-am
 'I will throw up this milk' (end up by spilling)
- b. yo dudh pokh -i di-nuhos.
 this milk spill-CONJV GIVE-HON
 'Please throw up this milk'.

It seems this use of the GIVE is an extension of the 'without caring any results'.

2.2.20 Semantic Bleaching and Phonetic Erosion

When a main verb like GIVE is auxiliariized, there is a gradual semantic bleaching (Sweester 1988; Pokharel 1991), syntactic sharing, suffixing, phonetic erosion and loss. We have already pointed to the semantic bleaching of the lexical meaning of GIVE. Although we have written the full forms of GIVE (**de**) in the examples above, there is always the eroded forms being used in actual conversation:

- 86.a. bhan-i di-yo = bhandyo.
 say-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 gar-i di-yo = gardyo.
 do-CONJV GIVE-PERFV

The following data also support Foley and Van Valin (1984:198) and Shibatani's (1996) thesis that the benefactive construction in languages develop through the grammaticalization of the GIVE:

- 87.a. mero lugA dhobi -le dhun-cha.
 my clothes washerman-ERG wash-is
 'The washerman washes my clothes' (as a part of his duty)
 b. mero lugA sAthi -le dho -i din-cha.
 my clothes friend-ERG wash-CONJV GIVE-is
 'My friend does a favor of washing my clothes'.
 c. ma-lAi lugA sAthi -le dho-i din-cha.
 I-DAT clothes friend-ERG wash-CONJ GIVE-is
 'To me, my friend washes clothes'.
- 88.a. chorA -le kapAl kor -yo.
 son-DAT hair comb-PERFV
 'The son combed his hair himself'.
 b. bAbu -le chorA -ko kapAl kor -i di-yo.
 father-ERG son-POSS hair comb-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The father did a favor of combing his son's hair'.
 c. bAbu -le chorA-lAi kapAl kor -i di-yo.
 father-ERG son-DAT hair comb-CONJV GIVE-PERFV
 'The father did a favor of combing his son's hair'.
- 89.a. chorA -le iskul -ko pAth gar-cha.
 son -ERG school-POSS lesson do-is
 'The son does his school's homework'.
 b. bAbu -le chorA -ko/chorA -lAi iskul-ko pAth gar-i din-cha.
 father-ERG son-POSS/son-DAT school-POSS lesson do- CONJV GIVE-is
 'The father helps his son by doing school's homework'.

3. SUMMARY OF THE PROTOTYPE EXTENSION

3.1. Syntactic Extension

- (a). Monoclausal > Biclausal > Compound Verb (monoclausal)
 - 1. Conjunctive Type
 - Prior action unmarked > Prior action relevant > ‘Without caring’
 - 2. Infinitive Type
 - Recipient’s use unmarked -> Recipient’s use highlighted (Purposive/Intentional) > Recipient’s use ignored (Permissive) > ‘Without caring’
- (b). Valency 3(+0) > Valency 2 (+1) > Valency 1(+1)
 - (Ditransitive) (Transitive) (Intransitive)
- (c). Possessor unmarked > Possessor relevant > Possessor raising (Happy Possessor vs. Unhappy Possessor) > Imminent possessor

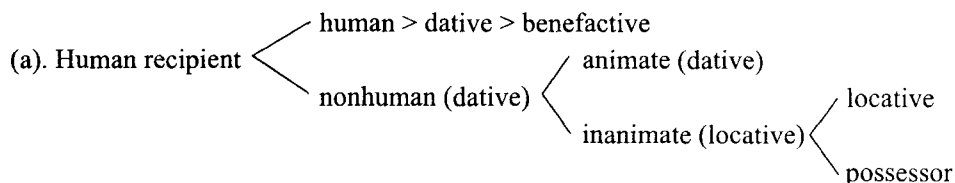
3.2 Diachronic Extension

- (a). V1+GIVE > V1+FAVOR > V1+AFFECTIVITY > V1+WITHOUT CARING
- (b). lexical > metaphorical > grammatical (vector > clitic)
- (c). Benefactive in the nucleus (compound verb) > Benefactive in the core (dative) > Benefactive in the periphery (I_{Agi}).

3.3 Phonetic Development

Phonetically intact > Phonetically eroded

3.4 Semantic Extension



- (b). Human agent > human and nonhuman agent > animate and inanimate agent > concrete and abstract agent > agent deletion.
- (c). Concrete object > animate and inanimate object > human and nonhuman, concrete and abstract object (benefit > feeling).

- (d). Useful object > useful, and harmful object -) useful, harmful and useless object.
 (e). Underlyingly benefactive > benefactive and malefactive > benefactive and permissive > without motive > without caring.
 (f). Volitional > volitional and nonvolitional > without caring and automatic transfer.

4. CONCLUSION

Thus Nepali data support Shibatani's thesis that the benefactive construction in languages derive basically from an extension of the GIVE schema with a lot of meaning extension and the extension of the GIVE schema prototype.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	Ablative	MASC	Masculine
ACC	Accusative	MGH	Middle Grade Honorific
ADJ	Adjective	MUT	Mutative
ANIM	Animate	NEG	Negative
CAUS	Causative	NEP	Nepali
CL	Classifier	NOM	Nominalizer
COMIT	Comitative	NP	Noun Phrase
COMP	Complementizer	OBL	Oblique
CONJV	Conjunctive	OPT	Optative
DAT	Dative	PART	Particle
DESID	Desiderative	PASS	Passive
EH	Elite Honorific	PERFV	Perfective
ELL	Ellative	PF	Perfect
EMPH	Emphatic	PL	Plural
ERG	Ergative	POSS	Possessive
FEM	Feminine	PROG	Progressive
FUT	Future	QUES	Question Particle
GEN	Genitive	QUOT	Quotative
HABIT	Habitual	REPR	Representative
HGH	High Grade	SG	Singular
	Honorific	SUB	Subject
HON	Honorific	TOP	Topic
IMPF	Imperfective	V	Verb
INF	Infinitive	1	First Person
INSTR	Instrumental	2	Second Person
JAP	Japanese	3	Third Person
LGH	Low Grade		
HON	Honorific		
LIT	Literary		
LOC	Locative		

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