

The Grammaticalization of the Newari Verb tol

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with the different grammaticalized uses of the verb tol-¹ 'to put/keep' in Newari, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal.² This verb has developed three grammatical functions, as a benefactive/purpose marker, as a perfect, and as an evidential. As a perfect marker and evidential it contrasts with another grammaticalized verb, dhun(-k)- 'to finish'. All three uses will be shown to be consistent with the semantics encoded by the lexical uses of this verb.

2.0 PRELIMINARY NOTES ON NEWARI GRAMMAR

2.1 The Tense/Aspect System

The Newari tense/aspect system consists of a set of inflected verb forms and several auxiliaries. The most common finite verb forms are those referred to as past and non-past conjunct and disjunct (glossed as PC/PD/NPC/NPD).³ The past versus non-past distinction is probably better considered past perfective versus future. The past forms clearly contrast with the two categories of the imperfective -- the progressive and the stative/habitual. Thus all uses of this morpheme are not only past, but also perfective. However, a simple form of a verb with a non-past suffix can refer either to one event or to iteration of the event, as in the following example:

¹The symbol o represents the mid, back, lax vowel [ɔ] . A ~ over a vowel represents nasalization.

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³There are some other stative and imperative forms, which this paper will not be concerned with.

- (1) wə ʃi-gu thae chə-ə wo-i.
he I-GEN place house-LOC come-NPD.
He will come to our house (once or often).

Thus the non-past forms are neutral with respect to perfectivity, and simply code future tense.

The conjunct/disjunct pairs at first appear to be agreement with first versus non-first person:

- (2) ʃi-i duku syan-a.
I-ERG goat kill-PC.
I killed the goat.
- (3) chə-ə/wə-ə duku syat-ə.
you-ERG/he-ERG goat kill- PD.
You/he killed the goat.

However, the disjunct form can occur with first person, indicating a lack of volition on the part of the agent (cf. Hale 1980):

- (4) ʃi-i baltin tunthi-i kur-k-a.
I-ERG bucket well-LOC drop-CAUS-PC.
I dropped the bucket in the well (deliberately).
- (5) ʃi-i baltin tunthi-i kur-kəl-ə.
I-ERG bucket well-LOC drop-CAUS-PD.
I dropped the bucket in the well (accidentally).
- (6) ʃi-i kutu won-a.
I-ERG fall go-PC.
I fell (deliberately).
- (7) ʃi kutu won-ə.
I fall go-PD.
I fell (accidentally).

The conjunct also occurs with non-first persons in various circumstances, including second person direct questions, and indirect quotes (Hale 1980).

Therefore a simple explanation of person agreement is insufficient. Similar systems have been reported for some dialects of Tibetan (Schotteindreyer 1980, DeLancey 1985a). In Lhasa Tibetan the conjunct/disjunct distinction is meshed with a system of obligatory evidential marking which codes whether the speaker's evidence of the event reported was direct perception, indirect inference or hearsay. The conjunct form fits nicely into this schema as a further extension

on the end of direct perception, since it codes direct evidence of volition, the ultimate cause of an event (DeLancey 1985a).

The Newari system outlined above is not nearly as complex as that found in Lhasa, and thus does not furnish the same direct evidence for the fundamentally evidential nature of the conjunct/disjunct contrast. However, considering the close cultural and geographic ties between the two language groups, and the fact that such a distinction is exceedingly rare cross-linguistically, one would like to propose the same account for both of them. Thus it is intriguing to find, as we will in section 3.4, an evidential contrast in Newari which parallels the Lhasa system.

2.2 The Aspectual Auxiliaries cwon- and dhun(-k)-

The other parts of the tense aspect system which will be of concern in the following discussion are the auxiliaries cwɔ̃n-, which marks the progressive, and dhun(-k)-, which is a perfect marker. Both of these are lexical verbs in their own right. cwon- means 'sit' or 'stay', dhun-k- is formed from the verb dhun- 'to finish', and -k-, the causative suffix. The non-suffixed form of the verb is only found with first person agents, and only with the disjunct form. It contrasts semantically with the causative form, indicating less volition on the part of the agent:

- (8) jI-I phɔlphul nɔ-e dhun-ɔ.
I-ERG fruit eat-INF finish-PD.
I finished eating the fruit.
- (9) jI-I phɔlphul nɔ-e dhun-k-a.
I-ERG fruit eat-INF finish-CAUS-PC.
I finished eating the fruit.

My informant says that the second sentence implies that the fruit was eaten rapidly, in order to be finished by a particular point of time, for a particular purpose. The difference in volition is mirrored by the inability of the non-causative alternant to co-occur with the conjunct suffixes.

When cwon- and dhun(-k)- function grammatically as auxiliaries, they follow a non-finite form of the verb, and primarily mark the grammatical categories of progressive and perfect, although they can be roughly translated with their lexical meanings. Thus the following sentences are translated by my informant in two ways:

(10) wɕ-ɕ sɔpɕu bwon-a cwon-ɔ.
 he-ERG book read-PART stay-PD.
 He was reading a book. OR He stayed reading a book.

(11) wɕ-ɕ sɔpɕu bwon-e dhun-kɔl-ɔ
 he-ERG book read-INF finish-CAUS-PD.
 He has read the book. OR He finished reading the book.

That both translations are possible shows that the grammatical function has not diverged significantly from the lexical sense. This suggests that the process of grammaticalization is in the beginning stages, compared to, for example, the causative morpheme, which no longer carries its own lexical meaning. These are thus the Newari analogue of 'versatile verbs' as defined by Matisoff (1969).

2.3 Clause Chaining and Grammaticalization

Newari is a clause chaining language. Clause chains can be identified by final verbs with finite marking, and non-final verbs in a participle form with a lengthened final vowel (here glossed NF for non-final):⁴

(12) jɪ-f pɔsɔl-e won-a-a sɔpɕu miy-a.
 I-ERG store-LOC go-PART-NF book buy-PC.
 I went to the store and bought a book.

This construction is often functionally equivalent to English conjunction with sequential ordering of events, as the translation of the above sentence indicates. Thus in texts, there occur sentences such as the following:

(13) ɔthe juy-a-a wɔ-yagu lha tuti nɔ than-a-a
 thus happen-PART-NF he-GEN hand leg also stick-PART-NF
 This happening, his hands and legs also stuck,

wɕ-ɕ chũye ya-e mɔ-phuy-a-a tɔskɔhe
 he-ERG nothing do-INF NEG-able-PART-NF very
 he could do nothing, and cried out very

⁴Clause chains are often more complicated than this, since they can contain a number of types of nominalized, subordinate or complement clauses which are not directly relevant here.

hal-a hɔl-ɔ.
cry-PART bring-PD.
loudly.

When two or more clauses share the same arguments, these may be deleted in all but the first clause, leading to a chain of non-final verbs followed by a final verb in finite form:

- (14) chɔ-ɔ sɔphu kay-a-a nyan-a-a won-ɔ.
you-ERG book take-PART-NF buy-PART-NF go-PD.
You took the book, bought it, and left.

Such verb chains are analogous to the 'nonce concatenation' constructions found in eastern Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 1969, 1973) and clearly constitute the precondition for the development of grammaticalized verbs (cf. DeLancey 1985b).

The clearest cases of grammaticalization in Newari are verbs which have developed an aspectual, directional or causative function. These constructions are characterized by a non-final verb which is in either the infinitive or the participle form. However, the latter lack the lengthened vowel which indicates the non-final participle form found in clause chains:

- (15) ji-mi kija pyakɔ lhuy-a cwon-ɔ.
I-GEN brother dance dance-PART stay-PD.
My brother is dancing.

- (16) jhɔgɔ bway-a wɔn-ɔ.
bird fly-PART come-PD.
The bird flew this way.

- (17) ji-I wɔ-yatɔ wo-e-k-a.
I-ERG he-DAT go-INF-CAUS-PC.
I made him go.

- (18) wɔ-ɔ ja nɔ-e dhun-kɔl-ɔ.
he-ERG rice eat-INF finish-CAUS-PD.
He finished eating the rice.

The reduction in form parallels a change of meaning. If sentences (15), (16), and (18) had the main verb in the long participle form of a clause chain, the sentences would

translate differently:⁵

- (15) Having danced, my brother stayed.
- (16) The bird flew around, then came.
- (18) He ate the rice, then finished (something besides eating).

In general, the syntactic reduction of the non-final verb form, which is present in all cases of grammaticalized verbs in Newari, correlates with a tighter semantic binding of the events coded by the respective verbs.

3.0 tɔl-

3.1 Lexical Meaning

The verb tɔl- 'to put' or 'to keep' has the following forms:

tɔy-a	PART or PC
tɔl-ɔ	PD
tɔ-e	INF or NPC
tɔ-i	NPD or reduced form of <u>tɔy-a</u>

The normal meaning of this verb in simple sentences is 'to put'. Unlike English 'put', this verb does not require an overt syntactic reference to the locative goal. Thus in many instances it is best translated as 'put away':

- (19) Ram-ɔ dhewa tebɔl-e tɔl-ɔ.
Ram-ERG money table-LOC put-PD.
Ram put the money on the table.

- (20) Ram-ɔ dhewa tɔl-ɔ.
Ram-ERG money put-PD.
Ram put (away) the money.

In these sentences the verb can also be translated as durative 'keep' although 'put' is the preferred reading. This verb can be progressivized with cwon-, or with a partially reduplicated form to indicate simultaneity with the action of the final clause:

⁵The causative morpheme kɔl- has grammaticalized to the point of having no independent lexical meaning, and has become syntactically a suffix. Thus it can never be separated from a main verb in a clause chain.

- (21) wɕ-ɕ tisa tɔy-a cwon-a-a....
 he-ERG jewelry put-PART stay-PART-NF...
 He was putting (away) the jewelry...
- (22) wɕ-ɕ tisa tɔ-tɔ wɕ-ɕ dhal-ɔ...
 he-ERG jewelry put-put he-ERG say-PD...
 While he was putting (away) the jewelry he said...

Both of these sentences can only be translated as 'put'; these progressive constructions do not permit the lexical meaning of 'keep'.

In English there are two related semantic distinctions between 'put' and 'keep'. First, where 'put' is a telic event, 'keep' is inherently stative and atelic. Related to this are the case relations of the verbs, such that 'put' requires a goal, whereas 'keep' requires a location, although this is not reflected in the syntactic coding. Both these distinctions suggest that 'put' denotes the entrance into the state coded by 'keep'. In Newari, the progressive cwon- does not occur with verbs denoting states, but only events. Thus the impossibility of the translation 'keep' in the above sentences.

One important point to stress is that while in English the event 'put' and the state 'keep' are coded as separate verbs, in Newari these are the same lexical unit, and the division between the two meanings is not as clear. The English translations tend to dichotomize the difference, while my Newari informant is more comfortable talking about the relative length of time of the event and/or resultant state. While I will be opposing 'put' and 'keep' in the translation, this point should be kept in mind.

There are two constructions which require the 'keep' translation. The first is when an adverbial is added that denotes an extended period of time:

- (23) jɪ-I tisa dɔchi tɔkkɔ tɔy-a.
 I-ERG jewelry year up to keep-PC.
 I kept the jewelry for a year.

Without the adverbial this would simply mean 'I put the jewelry (away)'. The other is to use this verb grammatically.

3.2 tɔl as 'keep'.

tɔl is a grammaticalized verb, as defined in 2.3, above. It follows a main verb in the short participle form, and the resulting meaning differs from the same sentence with a clause chain.

To code the meaning of 'keep', tɔl- can occur once in the participle form, then be repeated with a grammatical use. Thus the following sentences form a minimal pair:

- (24) wɔ̃-ɔ̃ sɔpɰu chɛ̃-ɛ̃ tɔl-ɔ̃.
he-ERG book house-LOC put-PD.
He put the book in the house.
- (25) wɔ̃-ɔ̃ sɔpɰu chɛ̃-ɛ̃ tɔy-a tɔl-ɔ̃.
he-ERG book house-LOC put-PART put-PD.
He kept the book in the house.

The same contrast exists in the progressive, where the event verb is progressivized with cwon-, and the durative verb is again marked with the grammaticalized tɔl-:

- (26) jɪ-I tisa tɔy-a cwon-a-bɔle...
I-ERG jewelry put-PART stay-PART-when...
When I was putting the jewelry (somewhere)...
- (27) jɪ-I tisa tɔy-a tɔ-i-bɔle...⁶
I-ERG jewelry put-PART put-PART-when
When I was keeping the jewelry...

In examples (25) and (27), the final tɔl- serves to code a different aspectual meaning, by extending the resultant state of the event coded by the first verb. When following 'put' the extension of the resultant state leads to the lexical meaning of 'keep'.

The functions of tɔl with other lexical verbs varies with semantic and pragmatic factors. One of the functions of tɔl- when used with other verbs is simply to code the lexical meaning of 'keep', when the object of both verbs is co-referential:

- (28) jɪ-I jɪ-gu lɔ̃ khun-a tɔy-a.
I-ERG I-GEN clothes tear-PART keep-PART.
I'll tear my clothes and keep them (for you to take tomorrow).
- (29) jɪ-I wɔ̃-yatɔ̃ sɔpɰu nyan-a tɔy-a.
I-ERG he-DAT book buy-PART keep-PC.
I bought a book and kept it for him.

⁶Before -bɔle 'when', the participle form tɔya is phonologically reduced to tɔl.

Note that while there is no benefactive specified in the first of these examples, there is an implied benefactive or purpose which is often associated with this use of the verb. This is likely because if a person keeps something, and tells someone about it, there is a particular reason why it is kept. The same process is seen in the following example, where 'make a chair and keep it' implies a benefactive or purpose. This contrasts with the simple 'make a chair' where keeping the chair for oneself is the unmarked and assumed interpretation:

- (30) wə-ə mec dek-a tɔl-ə.
 he-ERG chair make-PART keep-PD.
 He made a chair and kept it (for someone).

Note that although the first verb in the sentence is in the short participle form, without the lengthening of the vowel which indicates a clause chain, the two events can be viewed separately, even as occurring in sequence, as the translations suggest. These examples could be interpreted as having a less grammatical function than those (below) for which such an interpretation is not possible.

While I noted before that tɔl- following other verbs could mean 'keep' providing the objects are co-referential, I was purposely vague with reference to the subjects of the two clauses, which it turns out can refer to different participants. Normally in a clause chain if the second clause has a different subject than the first, then the second subject must be specified:

- (31) Ashis khwoy-a-a pyā won-ə.
 Ashis cry-PART-NF out go-PD.
 Ashis cried and left.
- (32) Ashis khwoy-a-a ji pyā won-a.
 Ashis cry-PART-NF I out go-PC.
 Ashis cried and I left.

However in constructions with tɔl- this is often not the case. Thus compare the following two examples:

- (33) jI-I wə-yake sɔphu tya kɔy-a tɔy-a.
 I-ERG he-ASSO book loan take-PART keep-PC.
 I borrowed the book from him and still have it (although I'll give it back to him).

- (34) jI-I wə-yatə səphu tya biy-a tɔy-a.⁷
I-ERG he-DAT book loan give-PART keep-PC.
I lent him the book (and he is still keeping it).

Whereas in the first example the subject is co-referential, in the second example this is clearly not the case, although the translation as 'keep' works perfectly well. This is yet another indication of the grammaticalized status of this verb, and begins to suggest the semantic functions associated with the process.

3.3 tol- grammaticalized as a marker of the perfect

In example (34) above, the event of lending the book occurred prior to the time of speech. The meaning of this sentence differs from (35):

- (35) jI-I wə-yatə səphu tya biy-a.
I-ERG he-DAT book loan give-PC.
I lent him the book.

Here 'give' has the simple PC form, with no auxiliaries. (34) specifies that the state that the event led up to -- possession of the book by the third party -- still holds, thus emphasizing the gap in time between the event and the time of speech. Furthermore, the fact that the book is still with the borrower is obviously important information, or else it would not be emphasized by the tol- construction. Thus the news is also currently relevant. This fact is also suggested by the implied purpose discussed above. These two senses constitute the standard definition of perfect aspect. The compatibility of this function with the lexical meaning of 'keep' can be seen quite clearly in some of the examples above, such as (29):

- (29) jI-I wə-yatə səphu nyan-a tɔy-a.
I-ERG he-DAT book buy-PART keep-PC.
I bought a book and kept it for him.

⁷I cannot help noting the phonological similarities between this tya and the verb I'm chiefly concerned with, tol- (tɔy-a-a PART-NF form). It seems possible that this could be a phonologically reduced form of this verb, most likely of the NF participle form, such that the stem vowel would be deleted, as opposed to the long vowel at the end.

which could easily be translated as 'I have bought a book for him', which in English implies that that the the book is not yet given. Similarly, it is not surprising to find constructions such as the following, which my informant translates into English with 'have', for the perfect, but also with 'already', which emphasizes both the gap in time and the current relevance:

- (36) jI-I wə-yatə dhay-a təy-a.
I-ERG he-DAT say-PART keep-PD.
I have already told him (about you).
- (37) chə-ə wə-yatə səphu nyan-a biy-a təl-ə.
you-ERG he-DAT book buy-PART give-PART put-PD.
You already bought a book for him.
- (38) jI-I chən-gu chə miy-a təy-a.
I-ERG you-GEN house buy-PART keep-PD.
I've already sold your house (for you or some other purpose).

The use of this verb as a marker of perfect is actually more complicated. The first of these three examples, (36), could not be used in any context, but must imply lasting consequence of the event. Thus the context supplied by my informant is one where 'he' is a potential employer, and 'you' a hopeful employee. The other implication of this sentence is that the event of telling occurred a considerable length of time before the scheduled interview. If this were not implied, the sentence would have instead the more common marker of the perfect, dhun(-k)-.

The semantics of the verb 'finish' emphasize the time gap between the event and the time of reference of the discourse, thus it is fairly common to find it developing to a perfect marker cross-linguistically (Comrie 1976). In Newari, the distinction between the causative and non-causative forms is retained in the grammaticalized use of this verb. Consider again sentences (8) and (9):

- (8) jI-I phəlphul nə-e dhun-ə.
I-ERG fruit eat-INF finish-PD.
I finished eating the fruit.
- (9) jI-I phəlphul nə-e dhun-k-a.
I-ERG fruit eat-INF finish-CAUS-PC.
I finished eating the fruit.

These could both be translated 'I have eaten the fruit' with the contrast in degree of volition discussed in 2.2.

The contrast between dhun(-k)- and tol- seems to be, at least in some cases, one of the length of time in the gap in question. This matches up nicely with the semantics of the verbs, since dhun(-k)- emphasizes the end point of the event, whereas tol- denotes the resultant state. Thus sentence (38) above contrasts with the same sentence with dhun(-k)-, which implies that the selling of the house was recently completed:

- (38) jI-I chon-gu chē miy-a tōy-a.
I-ERG you-GEN house buy-PART keep-PD.
I've already sold your house (quite a while ago).
- (39) jI-I chon-gu chē mi-i dhun-k-a.
I-ERG you-GEN house sell-INF finish-CAUS-PC.
I've sold your house (quite recently).

The same distinction exists in the future:

- (40) jI-I chon-gu chē miy-a tō-e.
I-ERG you-GEN house sell-PART keep-NPC.
I'll have sold your house (long before your return).
- (41) jI-I chon-gu chē mi-i dhun-k-e.
I-ERG you-GEN house sell-INF finish-CAUS-NPC.
I'll have sold your house (by the time you get back).⁸

3.4 tol- and dhun(-k)- as evidential markers

There is yet another semantic distinction between the two perfects which is quite different in some senses, but when examined in conjunction with the original lexical meaning of the verbs in question, seems a natural semantic extension.

A connection between the perfect and evidentiality has been observed in a number of languages (cf. Comrie 1976, Delancey 1981, 1982, Slobin and Aksu 1982). In Newari, the two perfect markers again contrast to form an evidential system. tol- can mark direct evidence, whereas dhun(-k)-

⁸While my informant was initially quite sure of this distinction in our first two discussions of this verb, during the third session he wavered to some extent on this point, saying that the house could be sold at the same time for either sentence, both in the future and the past tenses. (My impression was that he was confused at that point).

marks inference. Consider again the lexical semantics of 'keep'.

When a person keeps something, it remains in that person's possession, so that he or she at any point has access to it. Thus example (30):

- (30) wɔ̄-ɔ̄ mec deka tɔ̄l-ɔ̄.
 he-ERG chair make-PART keep-PD.
 He made a chair and kept it (for someone).

implies that the chair is completed, but not yet given to the person for whom it is intended, so it is possible to see the chair and thus vouch for the truth of the statement. This is one semantic property of the verb tɔ̄l- which allows for its grammatical extension as a marker of evidentiality. Thus there are sentences like the following:

- (42) wɔ̄-ɔ̄ chē sapha yan-a tɔ̄l-ɔ̄.
 he-ERG house clean do-PART keep-PD.
 He has cleaned the house.
- (43) wɔ̄-ɔ̄ jhya tɔ̄chan-a tɔ̄l-ɔ̄.
 he-ERG window break-PART keep-PD.
 He has broken the window.

Both of these sentences could be interpreted as meaning that the house, or the window, was purposely kept in the condition brought about by the event. Thus the benefactive/purpose feature of this verb is relevant in these examples. These sentences also imply that the speaker directly witnessed the state which was deliberately prolonged. However, the speaker did not witness the event itself. Thus there is a reading based on perception of the resultant state, which here combines with the benefactive/purpose use, although this combination is not always necessary, dependent on the semantics of the sentence, as in the following example:

- (44) mɔ̄ste-sɔ̄ mhitɔ̄y-a tɔ̄l-ɔ̄.
 children-ERG play-PART keep-PD.
 The children have played (I can tell because the room is all messed up.)

Here a reading of intent to keep the room messy is clearly inappropriate. Rather, the speaker asserts the truth of the statement by using a verb which indicates direct evidence of the result.

The other semantic feature of the verb tɔ̄l- which contributes to its use as an evidential is that of the anteriority

coded by the perfect, as discussed above. If an event has been completed, then the resulting state is available as evidence. Thus the sentence:

- (45) wɕ-ɕ ja noy-a tɕl-ɔ.
he-ERG rice eat-PART keep-PD.
He's already eaten the rice.

codes the perfect, and in addition would be used when, upon returning home one finds the empty rice pot. Direct evidence of the resulting state is obligatory here, although the event itself must not have been seen. Also, this sentence strongly implies that the absence of the rice will somehow affect the speaker. Either he was planning to eat the rice himself, or the person who ate the rice did the speaker a favor by eating it. Thus the benefactive/purpose meaning, the perfect and the evidential cannot be separated in this example. I have no examples where perfectivity and evidentiality could be separated, since all sentences which are marked for evidentiality are intrinsically completed, and currently relevant.

The evidential contrast between tɕl- and dhun(-k)- can be seen in the following pairs of sentences. In all cases the actual event was not witnessed by the speaker:

- (46) wɕ-ɕ swama piy-a tɕl-ɔ.
he-ERG flower plant-PART keep-PD.
He has planted flowers (they're blooming).
- (47) wɕ-ɕ swama pi-i dhun-k-ɔlɔ.
he-ERG flower plant-INF finish-CAUS-PD.
He's planted flowers (but they're not up yet).
- (47) mɔnu-te-sɕ duku-tɔ syan-a tɕl-ɔ.
person-PL-ERG goat-DAT kill-PART keep-PD.
The people have killed the goat (I saw the dead goat lying there).
- (49) mɔnu-te-sɔ duku-tɔ sya-e dhun-k-ɔlɔ.
person-PL-ERG goat-DAT kill-INF finish-CAUS-PD.
The people have killed the goat (I didn't see it but I can infer it).

In these examples, if the speaker had witnessed the events directly, the simple past disjunct form would have been used. Thus there is a three way evidential contrast.

The use of tɕl- as a marker of direct evidence is appropriate providing that evidence is possible. Thus while tɕl- cannot

be used with won- 'go' or si- 'die', it can co-occur with 'jump' and 'kill', as in the following:

- (50) mənu-nə pəkha tinhuɣ-a təl-ə.
 man-ERG wall jump-PART keep-PD.
 The man jumped (over) the wall (I can tell from his footprints in the mud).
- (51) Ram-yatə syən-a təl-ə.
 Ram-DAT kill-PART keep-PD.
 Ram was killed (I saw his corpse).

However, the effect on the patient does not have to be visible. Thus təl- can be used with 'meet', but the possible interpretations become complicated:

- (52) chə-ə mənu-yatə napələn-a təy-a.
 you-ERG man-DAT meet-PART keep-PD.
 You've met the man.

This sentence either implies that you've met the man a while ago and still know him, thus the interpretation of the grammaticalized verb as perfect; or you've just met him and you're still in conversation with him, thus both perfect and evidential use of the morpheme; or you've met him and he's a valuable business contact, thus the benefactive/purpose interpretation is valid. Clearly in this case the three cannot be separated. However this does show that there does not need to be physical evidence for the verb to apply.

There is yet a further development in the use of təl, so that it can be used to express extreme certainty based on inference, presumably implying that the speaker is as certain as if he'd had direct perception:

- (53) wə birami mə-ju-gu-sa wə-ə sidhek-a tə-i.
 he sick NEG-happen-NOM-if he-ERG finish-PART keep-NPD.
 If he hadn't been sick, he would've finished (the work).
- (54) wə birami mə-ju-gu-sa wə-ə sidhek-e dhun-k-i.
 he sick NEG-happen-NOM-if he-ERG finish-INF finish-CAUS-NPD.
 idem.

The sentence with təl- implies greater certainty on the part of the speaker than that with dhun(-k)-i. However since the event is in the future, there is no possibility of direct evidence, particularly in a conditional.

4.0 Conclusions

The Newari verb tol- has three grammatical uses all stemming from the lexical meaning of 'put/keep'. These are the benefactive/purpose, the perfect and the evidential. Although I have no diachronic evidence to suggest the stages in the evolution of these functions, the semantics suggest the following:

- (1) tol- means 'put', and 'keep' which denotes long periods of time. Implied benefactive or purpose.
- (2) tol- used in clause chains with co-referential objects, and still retains 'keep' meaning.
- (3) The long period of time denoted by 'keep' grammaticalizes to a marker of anteriority, contrasting with dhun-k- by length of time. Perhaps this step corresponded to the loss of the NF marker on the preceding verb.
- (4) The perfect is extended to include direct evidence, again tol- contrasts with dhun(-k)-. This is the current state of affairs.
- (5) Direct evidence of resultant state extended to inference.

Newari thus can be seen as developing an evidential system which is somewhat similar to that of Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1985a).

<u>Newari</u>	<u>evidence</u>	<u>Lhasa</u>
conjunct/disjunct	witnessed event	<u>söö</u>
<u>-tol</u>	direct perception of resultant state	<u>-saa</u>
<u>dhun(-k)-</u>	inference	<u>-p -ree</u>

It is clear that these systems do not match up on a one-to-one basis. The Newari system is still very new compared to that rigidly grammaticalized in Lhasa, where one of the three forms must be chosen for every perfective final verb. However it is interesting that they both have three term systems, with the third term being that of perception of the resultant state. In both languages the marker for the category of direct evidence derives from the verb 'put', although as the Newari and Tibetan forms are not apparently cognate, these must represent at least partly independent (though very likely mutually influenced) developments.

Remember also that both Lhasa and Newari have the conjunct/disjunct distinction. This strongly suggests that

the conjunct/disjunct distinction and evidence on the basis of perception of the resulting state are indeed related, and this supports the applicability of DeLancey's (1985a) analysis of Lhasa to Newari. Considering the extreme sensitivity of the ergative system to volitionality, it is clear that in this language the effect of semantics on syntax is very great. The process of grammaticalization of evidentiality in Newari indicates a trend toward increasing syntacticization of these semantic parameters, and suggests possible movement towards a rigidly syntacticized system, such as that found in Lhasa.

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