Effectors, More than Mere Instruments

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ABSTRACT

In this paper I treat the problematic status of instruments in current linguistic inquiry, by looking at some data from four Indo-European languages: Spanish, French, English, and Hindi. The data presents a same grammatical coding when conveying apparently different thematic roles. In my analysis I treat similar grammatical realizations coding different thematic participants, as revealing the semantic commonalties found in our understanding of the role of these participants at a conceptual level. I account for the data presented in terms of different instantiations of a new macro-role I am putting forward, which I have labeled as Effector, and which accounts for different semantic notions including instrumentals, intermediaries, causees, and defocalized agents in passives. This is a preliminary analysis, hardly an exhaustive one, to account for the whole complexity of the phenomenon as found across natural languages, and consequently, future research still remains to be done in other languages.

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

In this paper I provide an unified analysis to a set of thematic roles rendered by similar instrumental predicates in Spanish (French), English and Hindi. As an illustration of some of the thematic categories I will be treating throughout the paper, consider participants in bold in the following sentences in Spanish, English and Hindi. Note that a similar grammatical coding applies to the different semantic notions in each particular language:

1   *María   conoció   a   mucha   gente   **por**   **Juan***
    Mary   met-3SG   to   many   people   through   John
    «Mary met many people through John»

2   a.   *el   ladrón   mandó   la   misteriosa   carta   **por**   **correo***
         the   thief   sent-3SG   the   mysterious   letter   through   mail
    b.   *The thief sent the mysterious letter **by the mail***

3   a.   *La   casa,   que   fue   diseñada   **por**   **un**   **arquitecto**   **alemán***
         the   house   that   was-3SG   designed   through   an   architect   german
    b.   *se   hundió   **por**   estar   **mal**   **construida.***
         REFL   sinked-3SG   through   be-INF   badly   built
    c.   *The house, which was designed **by a German architect,***
         collapsed because it was badly built

4   *Sempronius passed happily unnoticed **by not uttering a word in the meeting***

5   *mai.m   **qalam**   se   patr   ikhumga*
    I-NOM   pen   INSTR   letter   write-FUT-1SG
    « I shall write the letter with a pen»   (McGregor, 1977: 30)

6   ***mujh-se***   *abhi   bazar   nahim   jaya   jaega*
    me-INSTR   now   bazaar   not   gone   goes-FUT
    «I shan't be able to go to the bazaar»
    (lit. it won't be gone now by me to the bazaar)   (Ibid. (5) p. 117)

In the Spanish sentences in (1-3), a similar grammatical coding, a *por-* phrase, renders various participants which apparently instantiate different thematic roles. In (1) the participant *Mary* can be treated as an intermediary who makes it possible for the participant *John* to get to meet a lot of people. Somehow related, in (2.a) *the mail* is seen as the means that makes *the mysterious letter* travel to an unspecified destination. In (3.b) the *por*-phrase renders the cause why *the house* collapsed, while in (3.a) it conveys the so-called agent participant in the passive voice. In sentences (2.b - 3.c) and (4) in English we encounter a similar phenomena as in the Spanish examples, this time rendered with a *by*-phrase. In (2.b) the participant *mail* conveys the means as in (2.a). As in (3.a) in Spanish, the *by*-phrase renders in English the traditional agent in the passive voice, while in (4) the *by*-phrase renders an action, what has often been treated as the means (Croft, 1991) for the agent participant *Sempronius* to achieve the event of not being noticed by some unspecified entities. In sentence (5) *the pen* is treated as a prototypical instrument, and it is coded in Hindi with the so-called instrumental postparticle *se*. The same coding applies to the participant in (6), which renders no obvious instrumental readings as does the participant in (5), and which is treated as a case of passive-agent of an impersonal construction (Hindi lacks a fully productive passive paradigm). When these phenomena are put together, we notice that similar grammatical codings apply to render mismatching readings

between instruments (means), cause and agency, to the degree that the participants involved have long been regarded as instantiating different roles, i.e. instruments ~ means (2.a/b-4-5); intermediaries (1), cause (3.b) and agents (3.a/c-6).

In accord with most cognitive oriented analysts (Croft, 1991; DeLancey, 1990; Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987/1991; Talmy 1985), in the present analysis, I take morphosyntactic realization of thematic roles as meaningful. Consequently, grammatical coding is not regarded here as a random and formally independent syntactical phenomenon, which barely serves as marking of deep underlying structures organizing linguistic information. Instead, I treat grammatical realization as both emerging from and reflecting our understanding of the energetic role of a participant at a conceptual level. As it follows, I regard the commonalties at a grammatical level shown in sentences (1-6) as resulting from existing commonalties at a conceptual level concerning the understanding of the energetic role of these participants. The goal of this paper is to provide a framework to account for the way these different thematic notions emerge and link as polysemy related. In order to achieve this unified analysis, I make three fundamental claims concerning thematic roles, (i) I propose a new thematic role, the *effector* (EFF)[2], in the attempt to unify the problematic phenomena concerning the analysis of discussed participants in (1- 6), which I will treat as special cases of EFFs, (see §.3 & 4); (ii) the EFF is built on a thematic sub-role which serves as highly schematic structure for active participants in events, which I have called *energizer* (ENE) (see §.2); (iii) I claim for a cognitive process to be taken into account in linguistic analysis which concerns our *dynamic understanding of thematic roles* (DU), which allows a given participant construed as EFF in a given event, display this rich array of thematic notions (see §.9).

2. THE ENERGIZER AND THE BASIC TRANSITIVITY ARCHETYPE

The ENE is a highly-schematic category which serves as substructure to all roles which render different degrees and qualities of active notions within a given event [3] . I regard this substructure as a thematic sub-role which plays a salient part in our understanding of these active roles. The ENE evokes an energy-transfer scenario, and it corresponds to the role of *any entity* which is conceived as impinging some sort of energy to *any other entity*, in other words: one entity (A)- is conceived as impinging some sort of energy onto a second entity -(B). Entity (A), the energy impinger, an ENE, is treated as active, whereas, entity (B), the receiver of the energy is viewed as passive. With the ENE, I attempt to

shed some light onto our understanding of the relation between the notions of agency and cause, which in my opinion has not been properly accounted for in later linguistic inquiry [4]. In my analysis, an entity construed as ENE is treated as displaying both *agential* and *causal* energy. In this light, the character of the energy bears a different semantic quality depending on two different figure-ground conceptual perspectives taken upon the directionality of the energy flow between the two entities involved in the energy frame: **Perspective 1**: If entity (A) is more cognitively prominent, we activate it first with respect to entity (B), in this case the character of the energy transferred from entity (A) to entity (B) is viewed as **agential energy**. As a metonymic consequence, the energetic role played by entity (A) is regarded as agential. **Perspective 2**: In a symmetrical fashion, if we activate entity (B) first, namely because it is more salient to us, and then relate it to entity (A), the character of the energy transferred from entity (A) to entity (B) is treated as **causal energy**. In a similar fashion, following these cognitive profiling stages, the active role played by entity (A) is regarded as causal. Figures in (1) attempt to illustrate these possibilities in a similar notation used in cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987/90/91):
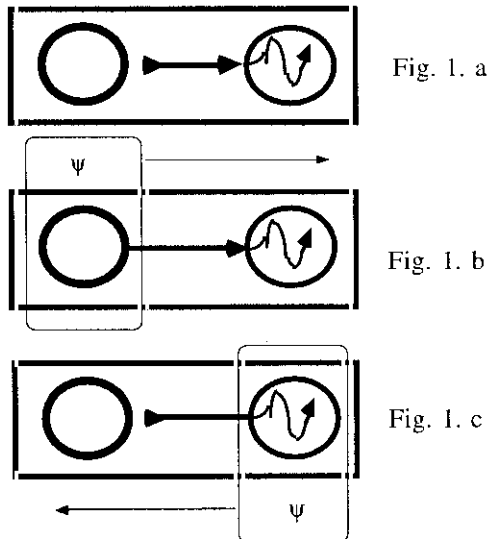
FIGURE (1)

Fig. 1. a

Fig. 1. b

Fig. 1. c

Fig. (1a) represents an abstract scenario of energy transfer. The circles represent the entities involved in the scenario. The enhanced circle represents an entity -(A)- in its role as ENE. The circle with the wiggling arrow represents an entity -(B), the thematic participant (TH) (Langacker 1991:554), in its role as patient receiver of the energy-transfer, which is represented with an enhanced arrow. The directionality of the arrow represents the directionality of the energy emanating from the ENE. The character of this energy is treated as both causal and agential. For pure analytical purposes, I refer to this composite energy as *causagential*, although I am aware that it may have no theoretical relevance in cognitive terms, because in the onset comprehension of energy transfers in real time and space, one of the perspectives is always favored. The agential character of the energy is illustrated in fig. (1.b), where the conceptual perspective (Greek *psi*) upon the energy transfer is taken from the ENE's locus. In contrast, when the recipient is more prominent, so that the conceptual perspective upon the energy is taken from that locus, the character of the energy is causal, as shown in fig. (1.c). (For the grammatical coding of the energizer, see note[5]).

The conceptual frame in fig.(1.b) serves as schematic archetype for the basic transitivity schema[6]. The prototypical construal of a transitive event profiles, the ENE entity as a human being initiating a energy-transfer (treated here as head-ENE), and the patient entity as a 3-dimensional (3-DIM) object[7]. Sentence (7) instantiates the schema in English:

7   *the man extinguished the cigarette*
8   *the ball broke the lamp*
9   *your going away scares me*

In accord with most analysts (Smith 1985; van Oosten 1986; and Nishimura 1993), I treat the participant construed as head-ENE in (7) as a prototype of agent: it is construed as a human being, believed to act volitionally, and able to exert a force, whether mental or physical. Nevertheless, in this basic archetype, the head-ENE does not need to be conceived as a human being, for it can also be treated as an object, as in (8), or as an event, as in (9).

In my analysis, and in accord with Nishimura (1993), I regard these participants as special cases of agents though ranking low with regard to the prototype. However, for the sake of making an analytical distinction between the quality of the energy they display, I will treat prototypical agents as rendering *agentive* energy. The directionality of the energy-flow in transitivity archetypes is cognitively unmarked as agential, and will be referred here as the active perspective upon the event. In §.7 & 8 , I treat the phenomenon found in causative and passive constructions as a reversal of this active perspective. It follows,

within this framework, that agents are figure-ground reversal of causers. In this light, when the conceptual perspective upon the directionality of the energy-flow is reversed, the causal perspective is highlighted, and the conception of the energy displayed by the ENEs along the chain is seen as causal. When the ENE is construed as a human being it will be thus treated as displaying *causative* energy[8]. In this sense, and for pure analytical purposes, I will refer to the composite character of the energy displayed by a human or animate energizer with the general term *causagentive energy*.

3. THE EFFECTOR AND THE EFFECTOR-ARCHETYPE.

From the basic archetype, involving two entities, there is a further extension to an energy-transfer schema which incorporates yet another ENE which is viewed as a mediator for the energy-flow between the head-ENE and the TH. In this paper, I treat the thematic role displayed by this second ENE as an EFF, and call this archetype as the *effector-archetype*. In my opinion, the phenomena stated in §.1 arise as problematic due to the common loose treatment of the thematic role played by this second ENE as instantiating just an instrument role. I treat the instrumental reading that this second ENE participant renders as a salient part of its semantic structure, but in any case as the unique thematic reading the participant displays. Due to its particular locus in the archetype, the second ENE has a cognitive prominent status in our comprehension of its energetic role within a transitive event. Via the cognitive process of DU (dynamic understanding), the role of the EFF can render different notions whether the participant is focused as an energy receiver entity with regard to the head-ENE, or whether it is viewed as an ENE with regard to the thematic entity. The former focalization will render *instrumental* notions whereas the later renders *causagential* notions. There are three fundamental conceptual tiers that serve as schematization of the EFF:

3.1. The head-ENE is construed as a human being which volitionally initiates an energy-transfer onto a second entity to intentionally achieve a change of state onto another third entity. In this scenario, the energetic role of the second entity is backgrounded, while its role as patient receiver of energy is highlighted. This is the conceptual scenario schematizing our understanding of use, tools and instruments in general. I will refer to this schematization as the tier of use (USE), where the EFF's energy is profiled as being manipulated by the agent at the head to achieve her action-goal, and which renders the instrumental readings of the EFF participant (**INSTR:EFF**). Consider for this purpose sentence (10) which

intantiates an EFF participant, and sentence (11) which elaborates on our reasoning of the role of the participant by highlighting the USE tier:

10   *the fairy opened the door* **with the golden key**
11   *the fairy* <u>*used*</u> **the golden key** *to open the door*

3.2. The head-ENE's agentive role is backgrounded, however the conceptual perspective upon the event is still agential, because the presence of an intentional agent participant is still relevant. In this light, the second entity is construed as an ENE that effects a change onto the state of the TH in favor to the head-ENE. The energetic role of the second entity is highlighted as being active. This is the conceptual scenario schematizing our understanding of help/aid and enablers in general. In a similar fashion as in (3.1), I will refer to this schematization as the tier of enablement (ENABL), which renders the enabling readings of the EFF (**ENABL:EFF**)[9]. Consider for this purpose sentences (12) and (13) in English which elaborate on our reasoning of the role of the participant in (10), by highlighting the ENABL tier:

12   **the golden key** <u>*enabled*</u> *the fairy to open the door*
13   *the fairy opened the door* **with the help of the golden key**

Figures in (2) attempt to illustrate these conceptual focalizations on the role of an EFF as both rendering instrumental and enabling notions:
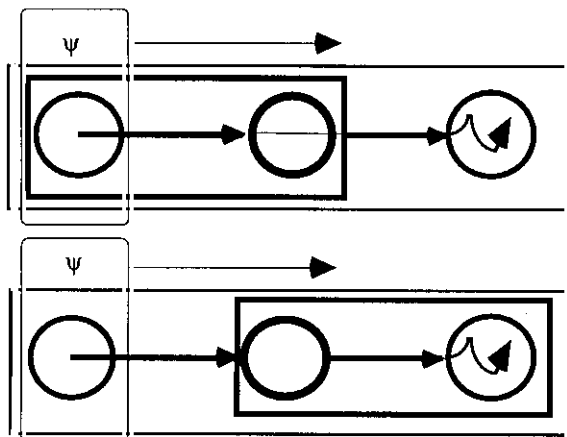
FIGURE (2)

Fig. 2. a

Fig. 2. b

3.3. Notice that in fig. (2.a) the character of the energy displayed by the INSTR:EFF is treated as agential. The treatment of the INSTR:EFF as agential is at odds with the well-established accounts for instruments in case grammar (Fillmore, 1968/78) and with Croft's (1991) views upon the instrument as an antecedent participant in a causal chain. These approaches treat the instrument as the second immediate cause in the event, i.e.: in an event as in (10), *the golden key* is both treated as *instrument* and viewed as the *immediate cause* of the event of opening the door. In these analyses, the thematic role of the *instrument* is not viewed as composite in nature, and instrumental notions get confused with causagential notions. In my analysis, I claim that instrumental notions are always agential, and should be regarded as dependent conceptual construals (in the sense of Langacker 1987:8.3) which need an agent for their full semantic implementation. The causal notions rendered by an EFF participant should not be treated as instrumental, because they result from highlighting the natural energetic role of the participant as an EFF ENE, and from backgrounding the role of the agent at the head. As illustration of this phenomenon, consider sentence (14) which renders an anticausative construal in English (Siewierska, 1984; Moreno, 1985) of a similar event treated in (10):

14   *the door opened **with a golden key***

In sentence (10) above, *the golden key* is understood as effecting the opening of *the door* for *the fairy,* and instantiates the prototypical construal of a participant as INSTR:EFF[10]. However, the energetic role of *the fairy* as agent is salient, and the USE tier is highlighted, so that the passive side of the EFF participant is prominent and the thematic notions rendered are instrumental. The USE tier has an essential agential quality, and consequently a participant construed as INSTR:EFF renders always agential energy. In contrast, the event profiled in (14) is taken as intransitive and the TH as prominent, the conceptual perspective upon the energy-flow is causal. The participant *the golden key* is still rendered with the prototypical coding for inanimate participants treated as INSTR:EFFs. However, in this construal of the event, the participant does not render prominent instrumental notions, but highlighted causal notions, mainly because the agent is unspecified and is therefore cognitively irrelevant, otherwise there would be no conceptual motivation for the construction shown in sentence (14). The causal perspective upon the role of the participant in (14) is further elaborated in sentences (15) and (16):

15   *the door opened **thanks to the golden key***
16   *the golden key <u>caused</u> the door to open*

The causal readings of the EFF emerge when the TH is the most prominent entity in the event, so that the conceptual perspective upon the directionality of the energy-flow is shifted, and the second ENE is viewed as rendering causal notions. Figure (3) attempts to capture the conceptual schematization of these causal notions:

FIGURE. (3)
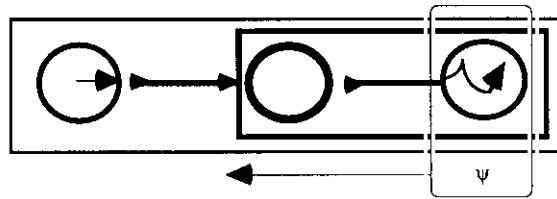
4. DIFFERENT CONSTRUALS OF THE EFFECTOR

Up this point in the discussion about EFFs, I am able now to account in my own terms for the different construal of participants in sentences (1-6) in §.1. In my analysis, I treat the following participants as special instantiations of ENEs. For analytical purposes I have grouped them in four different categories: (i), *Mary* in (1), *the house* as subject of (3.b), *Sempronius* in (4), and the speaker in (5); (ii), the event of the house being badly built in (3.b); (iii), *John* in (1), *the mail* in (2), the event of Sempronius not being noticed by anyone in the meeting in (4), and *the pen* in (5); and finally (iv), *the german architect* in (3.a/c), and the speaker in (6). The ENEs in (i) are treated as head-energizers. In (ii) the ENE is rendered as a cause, while ENEs presented in (iii) are cases of second ENEs in events, and thus instantiate different construals of EFF participants. I will treat (iv), commonly regarded as instantiating passive agents, as special cases of head-energizers being construed as EFFs, see §.8. The EFF can be construed as a human being, i.e. *John* and *the German architect*, and the speaker in (6), instantiating a causagentive ENE just as *Mary*, *Sempronius* and the speaker in (5). It can be construed as a 3-DIM object as *the pen* in (5), just as the house in (3.b). The EFF can also be treated as an event as in (4) just as the causal event ENE in (3.b), or as a more abstract entity, i.e.: the mail in (2).

We understand animate entities in a clear distinct fashion than inanimate entities, mainly because the first are seen as capable of self-emanating energy to initiate energy-transfers. In this light, the DU of the role of the EFF as rendering instrumental or causagential notions, highly depends to the degree the participant construed as EFF ranks to the prototype of animate entities, namely human beings. The USE tier is naturally activated when a 3-DIM entity gets construed as EFF, and the participant should be accounted as INSTR:EFF, as *the pen* in (5), or *the golden key* in (10). However, if a human being is ceived as EFF in an event, its natural construal as fully causagentive ENE triggers the interpretation of this participant as either ENABL:EFF or causative EFF as *John* in (1).

There are substantial differences across languages concerning the coding of these effective categories in relation to the passive agent. As way of illustration, in Spanish the passive agent in (3.a) receives the same coding as intermediaries in (1), whereas in a related language like French, where the passive agent is also coded with the cognate preposition *par*, as in (19.a) below, this coding is only marginal when expressing intermediaries. Similarly, in English the *by*-phrase conveys both the passive agent (3.c) and an event EFF, as in (4), whereas this is not applicable to either Spanish nor French. Lastly, in Hindi the same coding is applicable to conveying both the the passive agent (6) and a prototypical INSTR:EFF (5). At a first sight, the data suggests a different semantic path chosen to render this participant in EFF's terms, however, all these languages seem to share in common the fact that effective predicates coding the passive agent are also applicable to construe the causee in causative constructions, see §.7. Sentences (17-20) serve as evidence for this claim. Note the same grammatical coding applies to both participants in (17.a) and (3.a) in Spanish. The same is applicable to French sentences (18.a) and (19.a), and to English (17.b-18.b) and (3.c-19.b), and to Hindi (20) in relation to (6):

17 a.   *El*   *mercader*   *se*   *hizo*   *reparar*   *las*   *botas*
         the   merchant   REFL   made-3SG   repair   the   boots
         por   ***el***   ***mejor***   ***zapatero***   ***de***   ***la***   ***ciudad***
         through   the   best   shoe-maker   of   the   city
    b.   «*The merchant had his boots repaired **by the best shoe-maker in the city**»*

18 a.   *j'*   *ai*   *fait*   *nettoyer*   *les*   *toilettes*   ***par***   ***le***   ***général***
         I   have   made   clean-INF   the-PL   toilets   through   the   general
                                                          (Himman & Zimmer, 1976: 199-200)
    b.   «*I had the toilets cleaned **by the general**»*

19 a.   *Il*   *a*   *été*   *mordu*   ***par***   ***en***   ***chien***
         he   has   been   bitten   through   a   dog
    b.   «*he has been bitten **by a dog**»*

20   *mai.nee* **raam.see**   *masaala*   *cakh.vaa.yaa*
      I-AGT   Ram-INSTR   spice   taste-CAUS-PAST
      «I had Ram taste the seasoning»

<div align="right">(Saksena, 1982:827)</div>

«I got the seasoning tasted by asking Ram to do it»

<div align="right">(Kemmer & Verhagen's rephrasing)</div>

I treat these thematic readings as semantically related. In the following sections, I use DU as a relevant analytical tool to account for their emergence. In the next section (§.5), I present a brief account for the EFF construed as an event, which I believe is relevant to the discussion concerning English data. In §.6, I introduce my analysis of some effective readings displayed by the preposition *por* in Spanish when rendering an EFF construed as a human being. In §.7, I attempt to introduce my account for construals of the causee in causative constructions in effective terms, and in §.8, I treat the passivization phenomena concerning the coding of the head energizer. Finally, in §.9, I give notation for these various thematic extensions displayed by the EFF in terms of semantic spaces by using a topological map based on a cuspid catastrophe (Thom 1981, Wildgen 1982). These notions emerge from our DU of the EFF as regulated by three conceptual parameters discussed in the section.

5. THE EFFECTOR CONSTRUED AS AN EVENT

In this section I briefly treat the role of the EFF when it gets construed as an event. This event is normally portrayed as profiling an action that an agent has performed in a temporal precedence to the action profiled in the main event, as illustrated in sentence (22):

21   *The man hung the picture on the wall **by nailing it with a hammer***

Sentence (21) instantiates this general pattern in English. The event of nailing is treated as a sub-event which precedes the event of hanging the picture. Talmy (1991), regards this sub-event as a «*supportive event*», which I treat as an event-EFF. Being an ENE, it could also be profiled as a agential head-ENE, as illustrated in (22), from Talmy (1988: 60):

22   **the ball's hitting it** *broke the vase*

Although, Talmy (1978/1991:464) treats causality and manner as the most prominent readings of the sub-event, I believe that instrumental readings need

to be accounted as well. The section attempts to show some light upon how these different instrumental and causagential notions emerge when being treated as effective. If the energetic role of the agent is highlighted, and the action of the main event is portrayed as the agent's action-goal, the sub-event renders instrumental notions: i.e. *the man* nailed *the picture* with the intention of achieving the event-goal of hanging *the picture*. However, enabling readings are possible by backgrounding the agentive volitional energy of the head-ENE, so that the agential energy of the sub-event is prominent (event-ENABL:EFF): i.e. the sub-event enables *the man* to have *the picture* hung on the wall. If the agent is not profiled, so that it gets back-grounded from the conceptualization, the energetic role of the event-EFF is more prominent. Since the outcome of the event is prominent to the conceptualization, the causal perspective is activated and the event-EFF is seen as causal. This type of anticausative construction is illustrated in Spanish and English in sentence (23):

23	a.	*la*	*ventana*	*se*	*rompió*	*tirándo.le*	*una*	*piedra*
		the	window	REFL	broke-3SG	throwing-it:DAT	a	stone
	b.	*the window broke by throwing a stone at it*						

In Spanish, as shown in sentence (23.a), the event-EFF is coded with a gerundive predicate, whereas in English, in (23.b), the event is coded with a *by*-prepositional phrase, which also serves to code both the causee and the passive agent as shown in (17.b-18.b) and (3.c-19.b) respectively.

6. CAUSATIVE EFFECTORS

When a human participant is treated as EFF in an event, the energetic role of the EFF is salient, and since it has a prominent status in the energy-transfer, it also renders a rich display of different semantic notions. For this purpose, consider again sentence (1) in Spanish:

1	*María*	*conoció*	*a*	*mucha*	*gente*	*por*	*Juan*
	Mary	met-3SG	to	many	people	through	John

The bolded participant in sentence (1) can render various semantic readings, elaborated in (A) and (B) below. In my analysis, I treat these readings as related through polysemy, and account for them as emergent from our DU of the role of the EFF:

(**A**) the participant is treated as a causagentive-EFF, so that *John* is regarded

as effecting *Mary* getting to know people. However, a DU upon the role of participants in the event, triggered namely by contextual knowledge, allows a different profile on the role of the EFF:

(**A.1**) The agentive role of *Mary* can be highlighted as volitional, in such a fashion, she manipulates the agentive second ENE to achieve her goal. In this sense, the USE tier is highlighted, *Mary* achieves her action-goal: meeting people, *by means of John* (namely, John's active introductions). The USE tier applied involving human entities renders our understanding of concepts such as English "to manipulate/take advantage of someone to do something». In this case, *John* is treated as an agentive-INSTR:EFF.

(**A.2**) The participant can be overtly seen as getting involved in social interactions to enable *Mary* to know a lot of people. I will account for this construal as an agentive-ENABL:EFF, which may be coded in English with the preposition *through* as in (13) above: *Mary met many people **through John***. This corresponds to our natural comprehension of the role played by so-called *intermediaries*[11]. This construal is often treated across languages from a different and somewhat more natural perspective, where *John* stands as head-ENE of a different predication, as in English, ***John** introduced many people to Mary.*

(**A.3**) However, the completion of the action may reach a prominent status in the conceptualization of the event, say that *Mary* would have never met anybody, if it hadn't been because of John. In this case, the perspective is shifted into causal readings, and the EFF participant is thus viewed as a causative EFF, and the event can be nicely rephrased in English with the following causal predicates *Mary got to know a lot of people **because of/thanks to John***.

(**B**) The participant is treated as a benefactive participant, so that *Mary* is seen as getting involved in the mental action of getting to know people to benefit *John*. I treat (B) as a natural semantic extension from (A.3), where effective notions are backgrounded, while causative readings are prominent. Croft (1991) treats benefactives and recipients, as in (B), as subsequent roles, which fall after the TH in a causal chain, and claims that these subsequent participants seldom merge with antecedent participants, as in (A), which under his analysis are treated as falling before the TH in the causal chain. My analysis proves that Croft's claims do not apply to the Spanish data presented in (1). Benefactive participants are treated here as sentient (human) ENEs which always render causative notions, because they work as prominent conceptual triggers for the volitional action of the agent participant to take place. In this sense, it is not that surprising that a same grammatical coding applies to notions treated as rather distinctive within their particular interpretative contexts [12].

7. THE EFFECTOR IN CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Anticausative, as in sentences (14) and (23.b), causative, in (17-18-20), and passive, (3.a/b-6-19) are closely related constructions, because they emerge as grammatical constructs coding different construals upon events under the causal conceptual perspective on the directionality of the energy-flow. Two special causative constructions have long been noticed across languages (Comrie 1976; Kremmer and Verhagen 1994; Palmer 1994), which either treat the causee as object or dative, or as instrumental. As an illustration of this phenomenon, notice the following well known sentences in French and Hindi:

24	*j'*	*ai*	*fait*	*nettoyer*	*les*	*toilettes*	***au***	***général***
	I	have	made	clean-INF	the-PL	toilets	to:the	general

«I made the general clean the toilets»

<div align="right">(Himman & Zimmer, 1976: 199-200)</div>

25	*mai.nee*	***raam.koo***	*masaala*	*cakh.vaa.yaa*
	I-AGT	Ram-DAT	spice	taste-CAUS-PAST

«I had Ram taste the seasoning»

<div align="right">(Saksena, 1982:827)</div>

In both sentences (24) and (25) the causee, *the general* and *Ram*, is treated as a dative-object and rendered as a more affected participant. In (24) *the general* is the one who directly cleans the toilets and in (25) *Ram* is the one who tastes the seasoning for his own benefit. In the same languages , in sentences (18.a) and (20) above, the participants are treated with so-called instrumental predicates, and they are seen as less affected by the action, in (18.a) the stress is on the cleaning, and *the general*'s participation is accidental, in (20) the tasting is relevant and *Ram* is seen as the accidental taster for somebody else's benefit. In Kemmer and Verhagen own word's "*With instrumental participants, ... the focus is not on the experiencing of an effect by the participant but on the nothing more than its **intermediary** role in accomplishing the effected event*" (1994:135, bolding is mine). Since the main concern of this paper is *instrumental* or *intermediary* participants, I will be focusing my analysis on constructions rendered in (18.a) and (20), leaving aside the discussion concerning dative constructions as in (24) and (25).

Authors come up with different accounts for constructions in (17-20) , which stem from different theoretical approaches and methodologies. Comrie (1976/1981) and Himman & Zimmer (1976) propose mechanisms of passivization, since the so-called agent participant in the passive voice receives the same coding. Such a view has been rightly criticized by Kemmer and

Verhagen (1994:136) who point out that verbal morphology does not show traces of passivization, and that a similar phenomenon occurs in languages which outrule any instantiation of the passive-agent (Finnish). The authors claim convincingly that causative structures are modeled on more basic transitive structures such as ditransitives (dative-markers in (24) and (25)) and constructions involving instruments, so that criteria of affectedness and degree of topicality are mapped from the more basic constructions onto the causative ones. I basically agree with this analysis, however, Kemmer and Verhagen still regard participants in (17-20) as *causees*, which I believe it is somehow a misleading treatment, resulting from imposing a biased frame of causation in the reasoning about the participant's role as being caused to performed an action by a causer. Taking the effector-archetype as model, in my analysis, I propose a rather innovative view upon these controversial causative constructions, and will treat the so-called causer as an agent and the causee as a causative EFF.

Via our DU of the participant's role, we may obtain a construal in which the USE tier is highlighted, so that the participant renders instrumental notions: the agent at the head is seen as having a goal: the event to happen, and she "uses" the participant as the means to achieve this goal. This suggestion has been made by Palmer (1994: 237). Somehow a more natural interpretation renders the EFF as a stable active ENE, since the participant is construed as a human being and its energetic role is highlighted. The participant is thus reasoned as intermediary (Kemmer and Verhagen 1994), which I account here as emerging from viewing the participant as an agentive (ENABL):EFF, treated applied to construal (§.6.A.2) in sentence (1) above. However, the causative construction profiles an agent which wants to have an action accomplished. The accomplishment of the action is prominent and the conceptual perspective is shifted, so that the character of the energy rendered by the human second ENE is reasoned as causative. In this sense, some languages prefer to construe this causative participant as a more prototypical cause[13]. In other languages the participant effecting the event is construed as a causative-EFF, which is coded with a preposition elaborating on a transit-schema in French and Spanish, as in (18.a) and (17.a) [14] respectively, whereas in English a path-preposition is preferred as in (17.b-18.b).

However, other languages like Hindi in sentence (20), make use of a so-called instrument case-marker. In my opinion, part of the problems raised concerning effective predicates emerge from treating them with the unique label of instruments, so that the construal of the EFF as a non-animate INSTR:EFF, is taken as prototypical, and consequently other readings are regarded as extensions from instrumental construals. As an illustration of this claim, Kemmer and Verhagen (1994) account for *instrumental-marked* causees and *instrumental-*

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marked passive-agents as metaphorical elaborations of instruments. On these grounds, I believe such an analysis lacks explanatory power in accounting for the way instruments merge into causees and them into causers. In my analysis, I account for instrument case-markers as coding effective notions, and believe should be treated as *effector* case-markers, which may render different thematic readings either instrumental or causagential, depending on how the role of the participant coded as such is understood in the event. Figure (4) attempts to capture the schema for causative construals:

FIGURE (4)
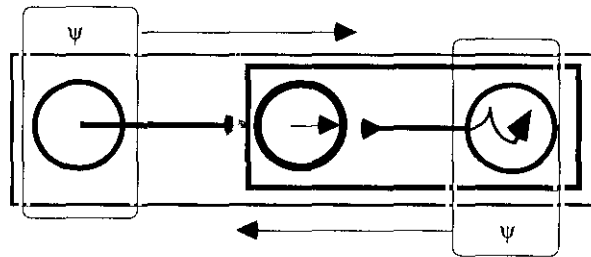
I have treated fig.(4) as a further elaboration on fig. (3). However, the EFF is treated as causative, that is to say it is construed as animate sentient entity which can initiate an energy chain. The c̶   ̶ er of the energy has been given a complex notation, because the event const̶   ̶ealed in causative constructions renders, in my opinion, a high degree of   ̶ ̶al complexity. The agential energy is displayed on a first stage where   ENE is seen as an agent that initiates a chain towards the achievement   ̶tion-goal, however, on a second stage of the conceptualization, the acc̶ ̶   ̶shment of the event is prominent, and triggers a shift of perspective, wher̶̶ ̶e second human ENE effecting this event is viewed as causative. These two ̶ ̶ ̶ges are captured by the crossing arrows.

8. THE EFFECTOR IN PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In accord with cognitive gram ̶ ̶r (Langacker, 1982/87/90/91), I regard passivization phenomenon as emer ̶ g from a conceptual level, so that passive predications are not viewed as syn   ymous nor as structural derivatives from actives. Actives and passives are viewed as counterpart structures which share

a same composite semantic structure, but arrived at it by different compositional paths (Langacker, 1990: 127 & 1982: 57). In the cognitive organization of an event, agential perspective is naturally unmarked, because in such energetic scenarios, active entities as ENEs are more cognitively salient to us than patient entities. The active voice results as the grammatical construction to code this prominent perspective, and it is therefore the most unmarked grammatical structure across languages. The passive voice, on the other hand, corresponds to the coding of causal perspective in accusative systems, and accordingly it is a highly marked grammatical structure, which reveals its marked status via the great morphosyntactical variation shown across languages.

Shibatani (1985) accounts convincingly for the conceptual motivation of passivization in terms of a pragmatic principle of agent-defocusing. In accord with him, I take the defocusing of causagentive energy as one relevant parameter to treat the head-ENE under the passive perspective. The EFF is the second ENE within an energy-transfer scenario construed with the effector-archetype (see, §.3). Having such a position in the frame, the energetic notions displayed by the participant are backgrounded by the salient energetic role of the head-ENE, accordingly, the participant construed as EFF can also be reasoned as a case of default defocused causagential energy. Since the goal of the passive perspective is to treat the causer of the event as a backgrounded ENE, it follows that an optimal choice found across languages to profile the head-ENE is to construed the participant as a causal~causative EFF. In this light, I take the so-called *passive-agent* as a wrong thematic label to refer to the energetic participant in the passive perspective. On the one hand, such a terminological view emerges from old biased treatments of the passivization phenomena as emerging from active underlying structures which are seen as grounds for linguistic organization; on the other hand, the participant is not an agent, because it is not treated as such for grammatical purposes, otherwise, there would be no reason at all to talk about a passive voice. Figure (5) attempts to capture these semantic subtleties:

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FIGURE (5)
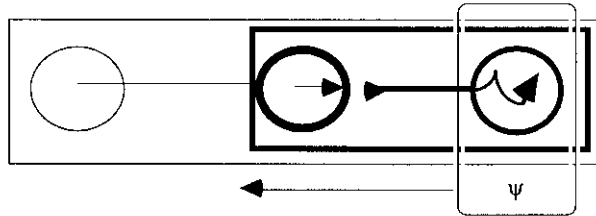
The schema is instantiated in sentences (3.a) in Spanish, (19.a) in French, (3.c-19.b) in English, and (6) in Hindi. Note that the same coding applies to causative-EFFs in causative constructions in the three languages, as shown in (17.a), (18.a), (17.b-18.b) and (20) respectively. However, the semantic path differs across the systems, in Spanish and French the causal head-ENE is treated as a human EFF. In English the same coding applies to an event-EFF, as treated in §.5, and to other effective notions as in (2.b). In Hindi the head-ENE is coded with an EFF (instrumental) case-marker, which also conveys the prototypical construal of a non-animate INSTR:EFF, as in (5). As I have shown, in passive voice the perspective upon the energy-flow is shifted, and the energy is viewed as causal. Languages may opt to construe the head-ENE as a causer and not as an EFF. In this light, the participant gets coded with grammatical predicates that elaborate on source-space schemata[15].


9. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND DYNAMIC UNDERSTATING OF THE   EFFECTOR

In this paper I have revisited the question of the problematic thematic merging between agents, causers and instruments as presented in sentences (1-6). I have regarded this grammatical coding as emerging from conceptual grounds. I have suggested the *energizer* as a thematic sub-role, which serves as a highly-schematic conceptual sub-structure to these notions as active participants in events, (§.2). This solution serves as an analytical tool to account for these merging phenomena in a unified motivated fashion. I have treated the traditional instrument as a special thematic reading rendered by a much broader role of the *effector*, which corresponds to the thematic role of the second ENE participant in an event construed with the effector-archetype (§.3). In this light, in sentences (1-6) bolded participants are viewed as cases of EFFs, and the different thematic readings are

accounted as emerging via our *dynamic understanding* of participants in events. In this fashion, an EFF, by having a prominent position in the archetype, can render instrumental notions if its role as patient energy receiver of energy is highlighted, as in (2), (5) and (10) above. However, being an ENE, the EFF also renders a rich display of causagential notions, which serve to treat participants across anticausative, as in (14), and causative constructions, as in (17-20). The EFF has also been treated as a case of default defocused energy, and in this light, it has been accounted for as an optimal choice to construe the back-grounded causal head-ENE in an event treated under the passive perspective, as shown in §.8.

In this section, I introduce a topological map to capture the dynamics of the various thematic readings rendered by the EFF participant via the process of DU. The map is based on a cuspid catastrophe from the model of Catastrophe Theory (Thom 1981). The model, which has been applied to semantic analysis (Wildgen 1982/1994, Bernárdez 1994), is based on topological grounds and provides an accurate account for the dynamics of sudden qualitative changes occurring in dynamic systems. The cuspid catastrophe topological map in fig.(6) represents the semantic spaces covered by effective readings of the second ENE in an event. The location of a certain semantic region is regulated by the three main conceptual parameters which align in the three axes shaping the map as 3-DIM. The catastrophe or sudden qualitative change in the semantics rendered by the participant is represented by the folding and corresponds to the sudden thematic change from the instrumental readings rendered by the EFF when construed as a *backgrounded* ENE, in relation to the active readings the participant renders when its role as second ENE is activated. For analytical purposes, the parameters are rephrased as follows: **Parameter (1)**, which accounts for the dynamics of the Z-axis in the map: «degree of conceptual prominence of the agent participant in the energy-transfer». **Parameter (2)**, which accounts for the dynamics of the X-axis in the map: «degree of conceptual prominence of the TH in the energy-transfer». **Parameter (3)**, which accounts for the dynamics of the Y-axis in the map: «degree of construal of the EFF as ENE (high values: the EFF as human causagentive ENE; middle values: the EFF as causagential ENE (non-animate); low values: the EFF as a backgrounded ENE (its role as passive receiver of energy is highlighted).

FIGURE (6)
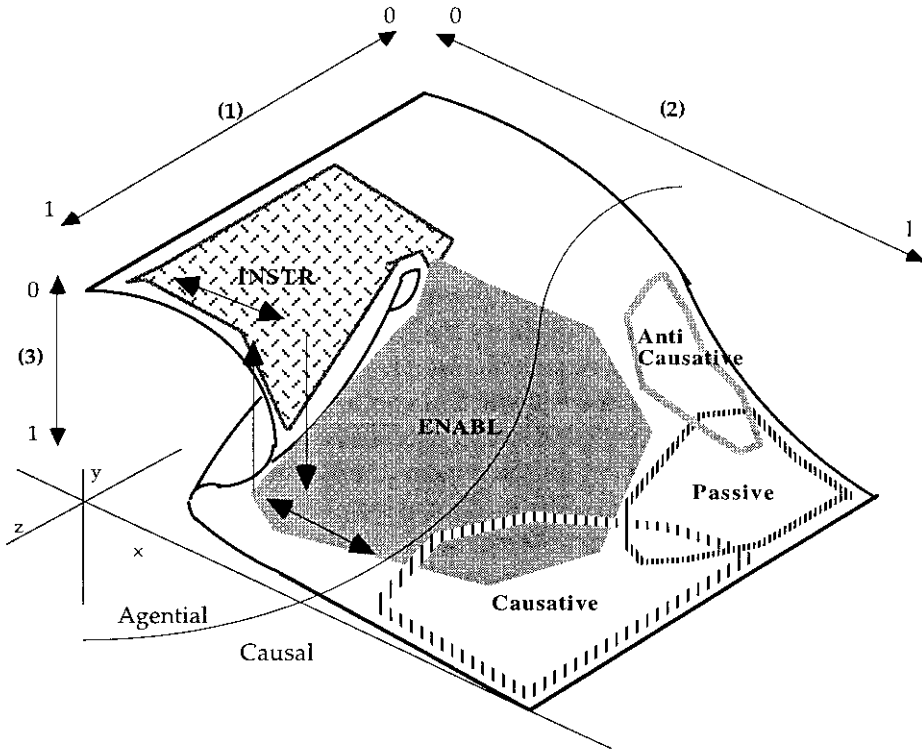
In the topological notation, I have also tentatively marked the critical unstable semantic space where the character of the energy shifts from agential into causal renderings and vice versa. As it was claimed in §.3, I treat the instrumental and enabling thematic readings rendered by the EFF as agential because the presence of the agent is prominent. The other thematic notions fall within the causal region because they emerge from a frame where the TH is conceptually relevant. The following paragraphs (1-5) serve as interpretative tools for the different semantic regions in the catastrophe:

1. The prototypical **instrumental reading** (INSTR) of the EFF is rendered when values are high in parameter (z), and low in both parameters (y) and (x). The agentive volitional character on the role of head-ENE is prominent; the participant is construed as low energetic ENE to initiate an energy-transfer, namely an inanimate entity (3-DIM object); and the TH is construed as ground of the conceptualization.

2. The **enabling reading** (ENABL) covers the semantic region rendered by flexible medium-level values in all parameters. So that in (z) the agentive volitional character on the role of head-ENE is present but it is not highly prominent ; in (y) the participant gets more saliently construed as ENE, from agential to agentive or from causal to causative; in (x) the TH acquires a gradual degree of conceptual prominence which at high values merges into causal perspective.

3. The **causative reading** of the EFF is rendered when values are high in all parameters. Since parameter (x) is high, because the accomplishment of the event is most prominent, the casual perspective is adopted. In (z) the volitional character on the role of head-ENE is prominent, however, it is regarded as causative. In (y) the participant gets saliently construed as a causative ENE.

4. The **passive-causal:EFF** is rendered when values are highest parameter (x) and high in (y), and lowest in parameter (z). So that in (x) the TH is taken as figure; in (y) the head-ENE participant gets saliently construed as a causative ENE, with further extensions to causal readings; and in (z) the topicality of the head-ENE as agent is non-existent.

5. The **anticausative readings** are rendered when values are high in parameter (x), medium in parameter (y), and low in parameter (z). In such a fashion that in (x) the TH is as prominent as in (3) and it gets treated as figure; in (y), the EFF ENE is construed as causal rather than as causative; and in (z) the head-ENE is not instantiated, because it plays no role in the conceptualization.

NOTES

[1] I am thankful to Enrique Bernárdez for suggesting that I write this article, obliged to Rolf T. Endresen for his invaluable comments on an earlier version of this paper, and indebted to Jan Erik Rekdal: *go raibh míle maith agat as an spreagadh agus as an tacaíocht a fuair mé uait.*

[2] I have borrowed the term *effector* from Role and Reference Grammar, where it is defined as: «*a participant which does some action and which is unmarked for volition and control*» (Van Valin, 1993:40).

[3] The energizer here is taken as a *schema*, in Langacker's terms (1987:371), which all members of the category elaborate and give further specification. The highly-schematic structure is also one of the prototype structures proposed by Rosch (1975).

[4] In my opinion, the relation between cause and agency has not been stated in clear terms in later linguistic inquiry, and authors tend to regard participants as both agents and causers without any apparent methodological discipline. In my analysis I have taken Talmy (1985) as an invaluable inspiration. However, Talmy's analysis does not show any light on the problem that concern us now, because it mainly concentrates on the study of causation.

[5] The conceptual structure concerning the role of participants and the directionality of the energy flow in the ENE energy-transfer is based on a topological image-schema (Lakoff 1987; Johnson 1987). In the agential reading the participants are comprehended as aligned with a *starting locus ~ target locus* schema, whereas in the causal reading with a *source ~ achieved locus* schema.

Grammatical coding of participants in this energetic frame elaborates on these two image-schemata. As a way of illustration consider sentence (a) in Spanish, where the *a*-preposition renders an animate thematic participant, while it is also commonly used to code allative notions: (a) *el ratón se comió al gato y se salió a la calle* (the/mouse/ REFL/ate3SG/ **to**:the/cat/and/REFL/exited-3SG/to/the/street) «the mouse swallowed the cat and went out». In sentence (b) the *de*-preposition codes a causal participant and renders ablative notions as well: (b) *me fui de tu casa porque me moría de aburrimiento* (I-DAT/ went-1SG/ **from**/your/ house/ because/ I-DAT/ die-IMPERF-1SG/ **from**/ boredom) «I left your place because I was dead-bored».

[6] Croft (1991) treats transitivity as basically causal in character, in contrast to Langacker's (1991) account for action-chains which is agential. In the present analysis both readings are accounted for with the figure-ground conception upon the energy flow.

[7] Lakoff (1977) and Lakoff & Johnson (1980) treat very insightfully the prototypical transitive event as a composite category built up as an experiential gestalt. See also Langacker (1991: 302), and Hopper & Thompson (1980)

[8] Croft's analysis does not incorporate agential and causal conceptual perspectives upon an event, so he is forced to regard the agent in causal terms: «*an initiator of an act of volitional causation*» (1991:176).

[9] The notation in Palancar (1995) as EFF:INSTR and EFF:ENABL is rejected here. This old notation triggers the reading of the EFF as a predicative of instruments and enablers, whereas the theoretical claim here is quite the opposite.

[10] The conventional construal of this prototypical reading of the EFF as INSTR:EFF is based on prepositions elaborating on a neighboring-space schema in analytical languages, as illustrated in, *Peter laid the vase **with the candles*** in English, where the preposition *with* construes the entity *vase* as a trajector being located in the neighborhood of the entity *candles* which functions as the landmark.

[11] Notice that the etymology of the word (Latin, *inter.mediarius*) reveals the elaboration of this concept on a middle-space schema, it literally translates: «*one who goes in between the middle space*»

[12] From this prototypical case, in which the EFF participant is construed as a causative ENE, extensions could occur to other cases in which the participant is construed as a causal entity, such as events or objects which are imputed of prominent causal energy, as illustrated in sentence (2.a) in Spanish.

[13] Hence the ablative coding found in Italian, as illustrated in sentence (c) (Burzio 1986): (c) *farò telefonare a Maria da Giovanni* , (make-FUT-1SG/ phone-INF/ to/ Mary/ **from**/ Giovanni) «I'll make Giovanni call Maria».

[14] In Castillian Spanish the participant remains uninstantiated in a more natural way. The construction sounds somehow archaic to the modern native speaker of Spanish from Spain, although the pattern is productive in other dialects from Spanish from Central and South America.

[15] As illustration for this claim Latin and Norwegian code the passive-causer with ablatives. A similar phenomenon has been pointed out by DeLancey (1990:313).

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