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Preface

This outline is prepared as a preliminary step to compiling a reference grammar of the Newari language. Its main purpose is to get the facts of the language straight. It is by no means a complete or final statement. As ongoing researches on different areas of Newari phonology, morphology, and syntax come up with meaningful results we hope to integrate them in the working outline of a reference grammar.

Much of the research integrated in this outline are the achievements of several scholars other than myself. I have listed my sources in the bibliography. However, I would particularly like to mention the following on whose research and analyses this outline is largely based:

Thakur Lal Manandhar, Puspa Ratna Sagar, Iswarananda Shresthacarya, Ramapatı Raj Sharma, Tej Ratna Kansakar, and Sisir Kumar Sthapit among Newar scholars;

Austin Hale, Margrit Hale, Bernhard Kölver, and Ulrike Kölver among foreign scholars.

The first draft of this outline was prepared during my term as Visiting Scholar in the University of California, Berkeley. Professor James A. Matisoff encouraged and assisted me in many ways in completing this outline. His constant support and stimulus have been my mainstay while I saw the project through in four months. My visit to Berkeley and this work would not have been possible without the efforts of Thomas Kelly of the U.S. Education Foundation in Kathmandu. I am grateful to the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, Washington for supporting the project under the Fulbright Programme.

For well over three years the draft had remained unattended. I have been under invisible pressure from Professor Matisoff to publish the outline, often bewildered by some of his students who landed up in Kathmandu with a neatly bound xeroxed copy of the draft outline, evidently no longer an inaccessible curio.

Among others, Dr Austin E. Hale was kind enough to read the draft and write me a 52-page long letter, studded with incisive comments, criticism, and suggestions. Although I have not been able to incorporate all his suggestions I have profited a great deal from his meticulous comments in revising the earlier draft.

The last scholar to confront me with a xeroxed copy of the working outline was Dr Yasuhiko Nagano, of the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan. Resolving all my inertia and agonies he offered the services of a midwife to see this monograph through the press.

I am most grateful to Professor Hajime Kitamura of the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies for kindly accepting my work for publication in Monumenta Serindica.

Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur
NEPAL
Kamal P. Malla

November 20, 1984
# Contents

**Preface**

1. Phonology
   1.1 The Inventory of Newari Phonemes ....................................................... 3
   1.2 Contrast ................................................................................................. 4
   1.3 Variation ............................................................................................... 6
   1.4 Vowels ..................................................................................................... 9
   1.5 Variations in Vowels ............................................................................. 11
   1.6 Glides ..................................................................................................... 12
   1.7 Distribution ........................................................................................... 13
   1.8 Syllable Structure ............................................................................... 14
   1.9 Assimilation ......................................................................................... 16
   1.10 Prosodic Features .............................................................................. 17

2. Morphology
   2.1 Roots .................................................................................................... 21
   2.2 Compounding ....................................................................................... 21
   2.3 Affixation ............................................................................................ 23
   2.4 Reduplication ...................................................................................... 26

3. Inflection
   3.1 Inflection ............................................................................................. 31
   3.2 Noun Inflection ................................................................................... 31
   3.3 Case ....................................................................................................... 32
   3.4 Pronoun Inflection ............................................................................. 32
   3.5 Adjective-Classifier Inflection .......................................................... 34
   3.6 Verb Inflection .................................................................................... 35

4. Morphophonology
   4.1 Morphophonology of Newari Verbs ..................................................... 43
   4.2 Morphophonology of Newari Nouns ................................................... 44
   4.3 Stem Alternation in Newari Morphological Cases ............................. 46
   4.4 Morphophonology of Case-markers .................................................. 46

5. Morphosyntax
   5.1 Morpho-Syntax ................................................................................... 49
   5.2 Noun Classification ............................................................................. 49
   5.3 Pronoun Classification ...................................................................... 49
   5.4 Adjective Classification .................................................................... 51
   5.5 Proadjectives ...................................................................................... 53
   5.6 Classifiers .......................................................................................... 54
   5.7 Verb Classification ............................................................................. 58
   5.8 Particles .............................................................................................. 60

6. Syntax
   6.1 Phrase Types ....................................................................................... 69
   6.2 The Noun Phrase ................................................................................ 69
   6.3 The Verb Phrase ................................................................................ 71
   6.4 The Adjective Phrase ....................................................................... 78
   6.5 The Adverb Phrase ........................................................................... 79
   6.6 Basic Clause Types ........................................................................... 81
   6.7 Word Order and Focus .................................................................... 85
   6.8 Concord ............................................................................................... 87
6. 9 Negation ................................................................. 87
6.10 Questions ............................................................... 89
6.11 Nominalization .......................................................... 90
6.12 Sentence Combination: Subordination and Coordination .... 92
6.13 Clause Coordination .................................................... 95
6.14 Causativization ............................................................ 97
6.15 Eventivization and Stativization ........................................ 99
6.16 Zero Anaphora ............................................................. 100
6.17 Sentence Modifiers and Initiators ...................................... 101
6.18 Quotative Statement ...................................................... 101
6.19 Exclamation ................................................................. 101
6.20 Emphasis ..................................................................... 102
6.21 Ergativity and the Notion of 'Subject' in Newari ............... 103

Bibliography ........................................................................ 105
CHAPTER 1

PHONOLOGY
1.1 The Inventory of Newari Phonemes

The Newari language (Kathmandu dialect) has the following contrastive segments:

1.1.1 Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Apico-Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Dorso-Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
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<td>b</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td>jh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mh</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td>(rh)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.2 Glides

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.3 Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Front</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>e i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>eu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ai</td>
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<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back</td>
<td></td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>(ui)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.4 Vowel Length and Nasalization

Newari vowels contrast for length [ː] and for nasalization [˗].
1.2 **Contrast**

1.2.1 **Stops**

/p/ /pā/ axe; wing; feather; cut it!; dry it!
/ph/ /phā/ pig; split it; take it!
/b/ /bā:/ flood
/bh/ /bhā:/ price
/t/ /tā:/ bridge
/th/ /thā:/ beat the drum; knit the wool!
/d/ /dā:/ hit!
/dh/ /dhā:/ tell!
/k/ /kā:/ thread; take it!
/kh/ /khā:/ chicken; hang it!
/g/ /gā:/ shawl
/gh/ /ghā:/ hang it (on the body)!

1.2.2 **Affricates**

/c/ /cā:/ mud; night; cut it (to pieces)!
/ch/ /chā:/ offer it (to God)!
/j/ / já:/ height
/jh/ /jhā:/ time unit; bush; a stretch of work

1.2.3 **Fricatives**

/s/ /sā/ cow
/h/ /hā/ bee; steam; shout!

1.2.4 **Nasals**

/m/ /mane/ to boil
/mh/ /mhane/ to dream
/n/ /nāe:/ butcher
/nh/ /nhāe:/ nose

1.2.5 **Liquid**

/l/ /lā:/ saliva
/lh/ /lhā:/ hand

1.2.6 **Flap**

/r/ /rā/ karā, kadā, hard
/rh/ /rhā/ bārhā, confinement

1.2.7 **Glides**

1.2.7.1 **Syllable-Initial**

/wā/ come
/yā/ do it!
/wāe:/ (I) will throw away; on the teeth
/yāe:/ (I) will do
1.2.7.2 Syllable Medial

/pyā:/ is wet
/pwā:/ stomach
/tyā:/ girth
/twā:/ bill; chin; locality
/syā/ kill it!
/swā/ join it!

1.2.8 Vowels

/i/ /ti/ broth; liquid
/ti/ reed
/tiː/ mole; in the broth
/tīː/ from the broth; brass pot

/e/ /ke/ keba, garden
/kē/ pulses
/keː/ ke:tula, to become slanted
/kēː/ in the pulses
/gei/ will barter
/gēu/ equivalent to the value of

/æ/ /kaeː/ kaeke, to throw
/kāeː/ bell metal; alloy

/ā/ /kā/ thread; take it
/kāː/ takes (habitual); long trumpet
/kāː/ blind man
/kāːi/ (He) will take
/kāːu/ kaule, cauliflower
/kāːi/ kāi mine, to feel worried

/a/ /ka/ exclamation, expressive of surprise as well as helplessness
/kā/ tell
/kaː/ sediment; residue
/kāː/ thorn
/kai/ pimple
/kau/ blacksmith

/o/ /ko/ younger in age
/koː/ crow
/kōː/ rice powder used for toilet

/u/ /ku/ load
/kū/ smoke
/kuː/ spade
/kūː/ corner
/kuiː/ in the load
/kūiː/ stationary kitchen blade
1.3 Variation

1.3.1 Most Newari segments, as they occur in differing environments, vary in phonetic shape. These variations are sub-phonemic, and they do not entail contrast and change in meaning. Such variations can be determined by taking note of the particular environment where they occur.

1.3.2 Stops

/p/ [p] Voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop

Variations:
- a. With labiodental affrication, before /u/ and /w/
  e.g., pu, seed
- b. With fricative release, before /u/ and /w/
  e.g., pwā, stomach

/t/ [t] Voiceless unaspirated apico-alveolar stop

Variations:
- a. Fronted, before /i/ and /a/
- b. Retracted, before /u/
  e.g., ti, liquid; tu, sugarcane

/k/ [k] Voiceless unaspirated dorso-velar stop

Variations:
- a. Fronted, before /i/
- b. Retracted, before /u/
  e.g., ki:, insect; ku:, spade

/b/ [b] Voiced unaspirated bilabial stop

Variations:
- a. With labio-dental affrication, before /u/
  e.g., bū, field

/d/ [d] Voiced apico-alveolar unaspirated stop

Variations:
- a. Fronted, before /i/
- b. Retracted, before /u/
  e.g., di:, to be (respect); du, to be

/g/ [g] Voiced dorso-velar unaspirated stop

Variations:
- a. Fronted, before /i/
- b. Retracted, before /u/
  e.g., gi:, rotten; guca, marble
1.3.3 Affricates

/th/ [th] voiceless aspirated apico-alveolar stop

Variations:
  a. Fronted, before /i/
  b. Retracted, before /u/
     e.g., thi:, gem; thu, bundle

/kh/ [kh] voiceless aspirated dorso-velar stop

Variations:
  a. Fronted, before /i/
  b. Retracted, before /u/
     e.g., khipa:, rope; khusi, river

/bh/ [bh] voiced bilabial breathy stop

Variations:
  a. With labio-dental affrication, before back vowels /u/ and /o/
     e.g., bhor, widespread

/dh/ [dh] voiced apico-alveolar breathy stop

Variations:
  a. Fronted, before /i/
  b. Retracted, before /u/
  c. Flapped, as a variant of /rh/
     e.g., dhi:, clod, lump; dhu:, dust; ta:dhi, tall

/gh/ [gh] voiced dorso-velar breathy stop

Variations:
  a. Fronted, before /a/
     e.g., gha:, pitcher

1.3.3 Affricates

/c/ [ts] voiceless apico-alveolar affricate

Variations:
  a. Grooved, before /i/ and /u/; some grooving is possible for /c/ in all environments
     e.g., ci, salt; cu, to lean
Fricatives

/s/  [s]  voiceless alveolar fricative
Variation:
  a. Grooved, before /i/ and /u/
     e.g., situ, grass, suka, thread

/h/  [h]  voiceless glottal fricative
Variations:
  a. Voiced, word-initially
  b. Fronted, before /i/
     e.g., hirā, diamond; hi:, asafoetida

Nasals

/n/  [n]  voiced alveolar nasal
Variation:
  a. Velar, before velar stops
     e.g., pyenki, kick (it); jaṅko, child's solid-food-taking ceremony

Liquid

/l/  [l]  voiced alveolar liquid
Variations:
  a. Fronted, before /i/
  b. Retracted, before /u/
  c. Dark variant
     e.g., li:, brass; lu, gold; sā:l, fertilizer
1.3.7 Flap

/ɻ/  [r]  voiced alveolar flap

Variations:
  a. Retracted, before /u/
  b. Fronted, before and after /i/
    e.g., maru, is not; ri:tu, season; sirpā, prize

1.3.8 All stops, liquids and nasals in Newari can take on palatal or labial secondary articulation features. Such variations are not, therefore, described and illustrated here.

1.4 Vowels

1.4.1 Newari has eight primary vowel qualities. In terms of their articulatory features they can be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lip Position</th>
<th>Tongue Height</th>
<th>Unrounded</th>
<th>Unrounded</th>
<th>Rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Front</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[u:\ /u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-close</td>
<td>Higher-mid</td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[o:\ /o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean mid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ə] /a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-open</td>
<td>Lower-mid</td>
<td>[e:]</td>
<td>/ae:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4.2 With the exception of low front vowels, [ɛ:] and [æ:], which have no short counterparts, all the simple vowels can be short or long.

1.4.3 Apart from these simple vowels, there are 7 complex vowel sequences. In these sequences the second member of the cluster is either a high front vowel /i/ or a high back vowel /u/. The complex vowel sequences are:

   ei  eu
   ai  au
  āi  āu
  (ui)
Nevari Vowels and Their Variants

![Diagram of Nevari vowels]

Figure 1. Variants of Nevari long vowels

![Diagram of Nevari short vowels]

Figure 2. Variants of Nevari short vowels

[Adapted from Friedmann et al, 1983]

Key to the Symbols

Phonetically, the symbols used for vowels are those of the Cardinal Vowel System together with the following diacritics: [↑] tongue position lowered from that of the Cardinal Vowel symbol which precedes the diacritic, [↑↑] tongue position raised, [→] tongue position retracted, [↑↑↑] tongue position advanced (fronted), [↑↑↑] nasalization. Certain 'floating' symbols have been used: [ə] to represent a mid central quality, [æ] to represent a low front quality, and [o]. The use of [a↑] and [a↑↑] to represent low back vowels with labial involvement is perhaps questionable. But the labial involvement is slight, sometimes only a pursing of the lower lip, and in the case of [a↑↑] at times totally absent.
1.4.4 Among these vowel clusters, the sequence /ui/ is a loan pattern.

1.4.5 All Newari vowels, simple or complex, can be oral or nasal.

1.4.6 There is no systematic contrast between the simple vowel /o/ and the labial glide /w/ + /a/, /wa/.

1.4.7 The difference between the front vowels /e/ and /ae:/ is not of length; it is a difference of tongue height. The /e:/ is nowhere near or as low as /ae:/.

1.4.8 The long low front vowels, /ae:/ and /āe:/, occur only in open syllables, mainly in morpheme-final position. They resulted from the loss of the morpheme-final fricative -s and affricates -c and -j.

1.4.9 The low front vowel /ae:/ is also more open than /e/ nor has it any palatalizing influence. It is more common in native words than simple /e/ or /e:/.

1.5 Variations in Vowels

1.5.1 "Newari vowels display marked individualistic tendencies." (Friedman et al., 1983: 37). The vowel chart graphically represents these tendencies.

1.5.2 The front high vowel /i/ and the front low vowel /ae:/ are the most stable of the Newari vowels.

1.5.3 The short mid-central vowel /a/ has the most complex range of variants, ranging between the mid-central to low back variety, depending upon 1) the features of the preceding or following consonants, and 2) the quality of the following vowels. The long counterpart of this vowel has, however, a much more restricted range of variants.

1.5.4 The front low open vowel /ā/ has two identifiable variants, a raised and front variant [a+] and a low variant, ranging from low front [a] to low central [ā]. The raised and fronted variant occurs in strong non-word-final syllables following /y/, e.g., yākana, tyāta, nyāta.

1.5.5 The high back vowel /u/ also exhibits a considerable range of variation involving various degrees of fronting.

1.5.6 The mid-front vowel /e/ has often a non-contrastive palatal on-glide, and the mid back vowel /o/ is introduced by a non-contrastive labial glide.
1.6 Glides

1.6.1 From the point of view of the manner of articulation, glides are similar to vowels. But unlike the vowels, the glides are characterized by movement from one vocalic position to another.

1.6.2 In certain morphophonemic conditions /y/ and /w/ may be regarded as phonetic variants of /i/ and /u/.

1.6.3 The palatal glide /y/ cannot precede high front vowel /i/; the labial glide /w/ cannot precede high back vowel /u/. Thus sequences such as *yi or *wu are not permissible in Newari.

1.6.4 From the point of view of syllable structure, however, /y/ and /w/ cannot be used to represent both glides and vowels. (cf. Hale and Hale 1969, Hale 1970a, 1970b and 1970c)

1.6.5 The glides /y/ and /w/ occur only after consonants. Syllable medial glides are natural pattern in native words. The flap medial is a loan pattern.

1.6.6 Glides can cluster with any consonant irrespective of whether it is a stop, affricate, fricative, liquid or nasal. There is no constraint on the sequence of initial consonant followed by a medial glide.

1.6.7 While a stop-glide or liquid-glide cluster is permissible, a glide cannot be followed by a liquid within any given syllable. So no sequences such as *yl or *wl is permissible in Newari.

1.6.8 A glide cannot follow a glide or flap, and /i/ and /u/ do not follow /y/ and /w/ respectively. So sequence such as the following are not permissible:


1.6.9 Glides participate as non-contrastive assimilatory features as well as contrastive medial segments in CC-cluster.

1.6.10 Glides that occur word-initially or syllable-initially (e.g., wo-ye, yā-ye) have phonemic status and they do not arise from phonetic assimilations.

1.6.11 In strong or stressed syllables beginning with C (not G), assimilatory processes of labialization and palatalization take place.

1.6.12 Palatalization occurs in syllables with initial consonants which occupy 'strong' positions within a word (i.e., word-initial or the initial syllable of a word compound), with front vowels /e/ or /i/ as a nucleus.

1.6.13 Labialization occurs in syllables with initial consonants which occupy 'strong' positions within a word where the syllable nucleus is either of the back vowels /u/ or /o/.
1.7 Distribution

1.7.1 Glottal fricative /h/ can occupy only the initial position within a syllable, and it cannot occur as a member of a CC-cluster.

1.7.2 Glides do not occur word- or syllable-finally.

1.7.3 Consonants in general and voiced aspirated consonants, (/bh/, /dh/, /jh/, and /gh/), in particular do not occur syllable medially, nor does the voiced alveolar stop /d/.

1.7.4 Consonants do not occur word-finally.

1.7.5 Except in loan words, CCC sequences do not occur initially or finally.

1.7.6 Consonants other than aspirated ones form geminates.

1.7.7 There are no CC-clusters at the beginning of a syllable involving true consonants (such as /pl/, /kl/, /sl/, /sk/, /st/).

1.7.8 Any vowel can follow the initial consonant.

1.7.9 The low front vowels /ae:/ and /æe:/ are restricted to the morpheme-final positions. They do not occur between two consonants.

1.7.10 All complex vowels can potentially occur in syllable-final or word-final positions as syllabic nuclei.

1.7.11 The velar nasal [ŋ] occurs only where a nasal /n/ has assimilated to the following velar stop /k/ or /g/, as in puwońka, detailed. The velar nasal can occur in syllable initial position in Bhaktapur dialect.

1.7.12 Word-initially the breathy and aspirated consonants pattern unambiguously as unit phonemes. They have limited distribution intervocally, nor have they been found to occur in final positions. Only /kh/, /th/, and /ph/ are found in some loans.

1.7.13 The non-laterals /r/ and /rh/ are given marginal status because they have been found to fluctuate freely with /d/ and /dh/, particularly in intervocalic positions. Word-initially there is no /rh/. In loan words /r/ may follow a variety of initial consonants.

1.7.14 The vowel sequence /ui/ has been observed either in loan words or in nominal or verbal inflections, e.g., bûi, in the field, bui, will be born.
1.8 Syllable Structure

1.8.1 The constituent structure of basic syllables in native Newari words may be formulated as

\[ C(C)V(V) \]

where the initial CC-cluster is optional and this is followed by a vowel nucleus, giving us an open syllable. In this syllable shape the onset is filled by a single consonant; the glide -- if present -- is the only segment that can cluster with the initial consonant. The nucleus can be a simple or complex vowel, long or short, oral or nasal.

1.8.2 The VV cluster can be interpreted in three ways:

a. clusters which are disyllabic in structure but reduced to a single long vowel in normal speech, e.g., thae, to save thae;
b. disyllabic clusters which remain disyllabic in normal speech, e.g., du.i, two dui.
c. a high vowel /i/ or /u/, is converted into a glide under certain morphological conditions, e.g.,

\[ \text{bū} \quad \text{būi} \quad \text{bwī} \]

(field) (in the field)

1.8.3 The favourite syllable patterns in native Newari words are thus:

CV, CVV, or CCV, and minor patterns such as VC or V.

1.8.4 Although syllable patterns such as CVC and CCVC frequently occur, they can be treated as loan patterns, e.g., bi:kh, poison, mec, chair, khor, cage, etc., or as a result or rapid speech, e.g., bham.cā for bhaumacā, bride; cir.mā for cirimā, step-mother.

1.8.5 It is possible to obtain CVC syllables in morphological case frames and phonoesthetic words, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative Case</th>
<th>Locative Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upright Form</td>
<td>Oblique Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lākā</td>
<td>lāk.mae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonesthetic words: sullā swātta twākka sirra

1.8.6 The following are the possible syllable structures in Newari:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial V</th>
<th>Initial C</th>
<th>Initial CC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. V</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>CCV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. VC</td>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>CCVV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. VV</td>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>CCVC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.8.7 Contrast and Variation in Syllable Structure

**V-pattern:**
- ā: now
- ñ: mango
- icā: sickle
- uye: to bark

**VC-pattern:**
- appē: brick
- ultē: opposite

**VV-pattern:**
- ūl: mad woman
- ñū: dysentery
- aelō: wine
- āepē: tile

**CV-pattern:**
- jī: I
- jipī: we, us
- jā: rice
- je: light
- jujū: king

**CVC-pattern:**
- cirmā: stepmother
- bhāmē: bride
- timlā: moon

**CVV-pattern:**
- kai: pimple
- kau: blacksmith
- kāe: son, (I will) take
- kāe: bell metal; alloy

**CVVV-pattern:**
- gwā: betel leaf
- gyā: afraid
- jhyā: window
- lyā: accounts

**CCVV-pattern:**
- lhei: will carry
- lwā: will fight
- chāi: will burn

**CCVC-pattern:**
- nyākka: with force
- jhwātta: suddenly
- thūssa: without noise

1.8.8 Consonant Patterns in Syllables

The asterisk [*] in a consonant denotes that it is not permitted in the language in a given environment.
Syllable Initial Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless Unaspirated</th>
<th>Voiceless Aspirated</th>
<th>Voiced Aspirated</th>
<th>Voiced Breathy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>jh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>bh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable Medial Glides</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial Glide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal Glide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syllable Final Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless Unaspirated</th>
<th>Voiceless Aspirated</th>
<th>Voiced Aspirated</th>
<th>Voiced Breathy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gh*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch*</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>jh*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dh*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>bh*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>h**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.8.8.1 Breathy consonants are initially voiceless and end as voiced, though the onset of voicing may be delayed. This voice is breathy or murmur voice. It continues throughout the whole syllable.

1.8.8.2 The breathiness feature of the syllable depends upon the choice of the syllable-initial consonant.

1.8.8.3 Just as a nasalized vowel tends to nasalize the whole syllable, an initial breathy consonant tends to make the whole syllable breathy.

1.9 Assimilation

1.9.1 The features of a Newari vowel may be superimposed on a consonant. A consonant can take on a secondary modification from the following vowel. Such processes commonly involve palatalization (the front of the tongue is raised toward the hard palate) and labialization (lip rounding). While consonants are palatalized before front vowels, they are labialized before the rounded back vowels in syllable-final
positions. This is, however, restricted to strong syllables within a word.

1.9.2 A stop or a nasal followed by another stop will agree in voicing within a morpheme, and not between morphemes. If the first consonant is voiced the second consonant is voiced too.

1.9.3 Most syllable-final nasals before consonants are homorganic, i.e., the nasal and the following consonant have the same place of articulation. This does not, however, apply across morpheme or word boundaries.

1.9.4 Syllable-initial /h/ and aspirated voiced consonants condition breathiness in the following vowel.

1.9.5 If any vowel in the syllable is nasalized, the whole syllable is nasalized.

1.9.6 Monosyllabic vowel clusters in slow speech are realized as single vowels in normal speech. Thus /ae/ and /āe/ are monophthongized to [ɛ:] and [æ:] in normal speech.

1.9.7 High vowels /i/ and /u/ preceding another different vowel triggers glide reduction, e.g., bi-u, give, becomes byu, gu-i, (will be) torn, becomes gwi.

1.9.8 In closed syllables, high vowels are more open than in open syllables.

1.9.9 In syllables with oral vowels, short vowels are more open than in those with nasalized vowels.

1.10 Prosodic Features

1.10.1 Newari is not a tone language. Fluctuations of voice pitch or 'speech melody' at the word level make no difference in meaning.

1.10.2 There is contrast between the oral and the nasal vowels but none between the clear and the breathy vowels which are phonologically conditioned.

1.10.3 In polysyllabic words stress does not make any difference in meaning. However, not all syllables have the same prominence in such words.

1.10.4 In polysyllabic words relative syllable prominence depends upon

a. the position of the syllable within the word
b. the segmental composition of the syllable

1.10.5 Although stress appears to be predictable on the basis of syllable structure within a word, no definitive statements can be made because a number of factors of voice dynamic seem to be involved here.
1.10.6 Although stress as a phonetic feature is not significant at the word-level it has been tentatively suggested that "Newari has a distinct stress-timed rhythm." (Kansakar, 1977:1) That is to say, the stressed syllables tend to occur at regular intervals of time in normal speech or a running text of Newari.

1.10.7 Newari clauses or sentences have two basic intonation patterns:

Tune I: marked by a pitch fall on the last syllable of the pattern.
Tune II: marked by a pitch rise on the last syllable.

1.10.8 Tune I intonation pattern occurs with

a. unmarked statements
b. questions containing a question-marker at the end of the utterance
c. commands, and
d. statements with implications

1.10.9 Tune II intonation pattern occurs with

a. marked statements
b. questions without a question-marker at the end of the utterance, and
c. exclamations

1.10.10 If the stress occurs on the final syllable of an utterance there is a corresponding rise in tone. If the stressed syllable occurs elsewhere in the utterance the final syllable "invariably registers a falling tone." (Kansakar, 1977:12).
2.1 Roots

Most, though not all, of Newari roots are monosyllabic. They consist of one single free monosyllabic morpheme such as **ti**, liquid, **jyā**, work, **me**, tongue, **tu**, sugarcane.

Contemporary Newari has also a large number of disyllabic and even trisyllabic stems. "A good many polysyllables are perhaps nothing but obscured compounds, especially nouns like hnas-pot 'ear', hni-pot 'a tail', an-gwod 'a wall', khicā 'a dog' and similar words." (Jørgensen, 1941:17)

A number of polysyllabic words are a result of fusion between nominal root and classifier, e.g., **a-pā** 'tile', **a-thāl** 'earthen washing bowl', or between postposition and noun, e.g., **a-na** 'there', **tha-na** 'here', co-e 'up', ko-e 'down' or between noun and noun, e.g., **jyā-mi** 'work man', **mi-khā** 'fire crystal, i.e., eye'.

Some of the monosyllabic words ending in long vowels or nasalization of syllable-final vowel were disyllabic roots in the past. Through a process of widespread loss of final consonants or consonant-initial final syllable they became monosyllabic, e.g., **kuli>kū** 'spade', **bhati>bhau** 'cat'.

Primary roots apart, Newari stems can be analyzed in terms of three basic morphological processes:

1. Compounding
2. Affixation
3. Reduplication

2.2 Compounding

Two elements which are both free morphemes or independent roots combine to form a compound. In Classical Newari "compounds are frequent, derivations rare" (Jørgensen, 1941:5). Current analysis of contemporary Newari indicates that compounds are relatively limited, derivations through affixation are profuse.

Newari compounds can be analyzed in terms of the constituents, their formal structure and semantic consequences. There are two basic types of compounds: endocentric compounds (where the meaning of the compound is not different from the meaning of either or both the elements), and exocentric compounds (where the meaning of the compound is different from the meaning of either or both the elements). Endocentric compounds can be either subordinating (where one element of the compound is a modifier of the other) or coordinating (where both the elements are equally important).
### 2.2.1 Endocentric Compounds: Subordinating Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun+Noun</td>
<td>jāki+cū (rice+dust) = the dust of rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kusā+lapte (umbrella+leaf) = a variety of leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lū+curi (gold+bangles) = the bangles made of gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective+Noun</td>
<td>tago+kaegu (big+beans) = white beans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaci+apa (unburnt+brick) = mud brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dathu+patī (middle+finger) = middle finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal Adjective +Noun</td>
<td>naye+wā (eat+tooth) = back tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sulā+kāsā (hide+game) = hide and seek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nawo+ghā: (malodorous+grass) = a variety of grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonesthetic Modifier+Noun</td>
<td>murumuru+kōe = a soft bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phiriphiri+jhyā: = a kind of revolving window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique Noun+Noun</td>
<td>bapī+kōe (ribs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nhikā+jhaṅga: (day blind+bird) = owl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2.2 Endocentric Compounds: Coordinating Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun+Noun</td>
<td>kalā+bhāta (husband+wife) = couple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complementary</td>
<td>dāju+kijā (elder brother+younger brother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cā+nhi (night+day) daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chē+bū (home+field) property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun+Noun</td>
<td>la:+mi (water+fire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td>dune+pine (inside+outside)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nhāpā+lipā (before+after)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun+Noun</td>
<td>bhau+macā (daughter+child) daughter-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appositive</td>
<td>me:+mikhi (buffalo+eye) big eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhattu+nā: (parrot+nose) hooked nose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2.3 Exocentric Compounds

The resultant meaning of these compounds is different from the meaning of either of the two elements which form the compound.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun+Noun</td>
<td>khicā+khi (dog+shit) someone who is difficult to handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phae+gā (wind+bell) liar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moti+māicā (pearl+girl) alcohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dega+bakhū (temple+pigeon) idler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective+Noun</td>
<td>tāpā+khwā: (far+face) rarely seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hāku+nuga: (dark+mind) mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuti+phaī (Tibetan+sheep) obstinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tago+chyō (big+head) important man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3 Affixation

Unlike compounds, where both the elements are free morphemes, affixation consists of a free base or root and a normally bound morpheme affixed to it. Newari affixation system consists of prefixes (affixed before the stem) and suffixes (affixed after the stem), but no verifiable infixes (inserted between two elements of the stem).

2.3.1 Prefixes

Most Newari prefixes are directional postpositions affixed to the base as prefixes. They are a small and limited class of morphemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Newari</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nhya (front)</td>
<td>nhyane (in front of)</td>
<td>nhya-kāye (to bring forward)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li (behind)</td>
<td>liune (behind)</td>
<td>li-phyāye (to leave behind)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du (inside)</td>
<td>dune (inside)</td>
<td>du-kāe (to bring in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi (outside)</td>
<td>piene (outside)</td>
<td>pi-kāye (to bring out)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko (down)</td>
<td>kone (downstairs)</td>
<td>ko-kāye (to bring down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tha (up)</td>
<td>thane (upper zone)</td>
<td>tha-kāye (to bring up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u (there)</td>
<td>ukhe (thither)</td>
<td>unha (that)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thu (here)</td>
<td>thukhe (hither)</td>
<td>thumha (this)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu (what)</td>
<td>guke (whither)</td>
<td>gumha (who)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A more productive system of prefixes in Newari are the "pre-verbial", i.e., those morphemes which come before a finite verb to make a new verb. The basic meaning of the "root verb" is changed by adding various prefixes. Newari verbs have a high propensity to derivational morphology through such prefixial networks. (Shresthacarya, 1963, 1979, and 1981 are reliable inventories of Newari root verbs and their affixial derivations.) Given below are the examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Newari</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bu-lhāye</td>
<td>to teach thoroughly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cā-lhāye</td>
<td>to gather, to make something round in shape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la-lhāye</td>
<td>to submit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twā-lhāye</td>
<td>to cut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-lhāye</td>
<td>to dedicate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu-lhāye</td>
<td>to wind up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-lhāye</td>
<td>to straighten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu-lhāye</td>
<td>to stop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li-lhāye</td>
<td>to add</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-lhāye</td>
<td>to cook/take out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du-lhāye</td>
<td>to dip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2 Suffixes

Suffixation in Newari is relatively more productive than prefixation. Some of the nominalizing suffixes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Newari</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na-ye</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>nasā food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-ye</td>
<td>to wear</td>
<td>tisā ornament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co-ye</td>
<td>to write</td>
<td>cosā pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thā-ye</td>
<td>to cast</td>
<td>thūsā mould</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Verb + -si
dâ-ye to boil dâsi boiling
pyâ-ye to be wet pyâsi one who remains
attached (soaked?)
da-ye to exist dasi evidence
c. Verb + -pu
so-ye to lock so-pu good-looking, health
lwâ-ye to quarrel lwâ-pu quarrel
swâ-ye to join swâ-pu joint
lyan-e to remain lyâ-pu remains
d. Verb + -pu:
dhâ-ye to speak dhâ-pu: statement; view
gyâ-ye to fear gyâ-pu: fear
e. Verb + -ka
lhâ-ye to speak lhâka speaker
dhâ-ye to say dhâka sayer
yâ-ye to do yâ-ka doer

Abstract nouns in Newari are formed mainly by three suffixes:

-şu: nhîl-e to laugh nhî-su: propensity to laugh
kho-ye to weep kho-su: propensity to weep
macâ child macâ-su: childishness
wê madman wê-su: symptoms of madness

-chu: ta:dhâ big tadhâ-chu: snobbiness
sa: knowledgeable sa:-chu: affectation of learning
matâ: unheard matâ:-chu indifference

-hu wê madman wê-hu: madness; spell of madness
lyâemha young lyâemha-hu: youth; spell of youth

f. Verb + -pâ
su-ye to dry up su-pâ the proportion of dryness
ha-ye to bring ha-pâ effort
di-ye to stop di-pâ interval
kâ-ye to take kâ-pâ the proportion taken out

Newari has some adjectival suffixes as well. They range from relatively 'productive' ones such as -mi to 'unproductive' ones such as -gulu, -mhulu, and -chulu. Given below are some examples of each suffix:

-mi jyâ work jyâ-mi worker
la way la-mi match-maker
Sako a place-name Sako-mi inhabitant of Sako,
i.e., Sâkhu
Kipu: a place-name Kipu:-mi inhabitant of Kipu:,
i.e., Kirtipur
-c Yala Yalae: inhabitant of Yala, i.e. Patan
Khopā Khopāe: inhabitant of Khopā, i.e. Bhaktapur
Bode Bode: inhabitant of Bode
-gulu gaji hashish gaji-gulu addicted to hashish-smoking
thō rice beer thō-gulu addicted to drinking beer
aelā: wine aelā:-gulu addicted to drinking wine
khā: talk khā-gulu talkative

-mhulu/-culu (exclusively limited to):
khī stool khi-mhulu coward
co urine co-mhulu one who urinates too frequently

2.3.3 A number of Newari stems are derived from one word class to make another word class. For example, Newari has very few pure adjectives. Almost all adjectives are derived from stative forms of verb class.

Citation Form of the Verb Stative Adjective
cāku-ye to become sweet cāku cāku
tyānu-ye to become tired tyānu tyānu
tapen-e to become straight tapyā tapyā

2.3.4 There is a closed set of derivatives from pronouns. They are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>proximate</th>
<th>non-proximate</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tho/thu/-th-</td>
<td>u-/a-</td>
<td>go/gu/-gu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thuli</td>
<td>uli</td>
<td>gulī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thukhe</td>
<td>ukhe</td>
<td>gukhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thana</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td>gana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thathe</td>
<td>athe</td>
<td>gathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thukathā</td>
<td>ukathā</td>
<td>gukathā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thubale</td>
<td>ubale</td>
<td>gubale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thubeata</td>
<td>ubeata</td>
<td>gubeata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thumha</td>
<td>umha</td>
<td>gumha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thugu</td>
<td>ugu</td>
<td>gugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thupāeco</td>
<td>upāeco</td>
<td>gapāeco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thujo:gu</td>
<td>ujo:gu</td>
<td>gujo:gu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.5 Some Newari verbs take -ko suffix which functions to quantify the verb, e.g.,

verb dhā-ye to say dhā-ko as much as is said
bī-ye to give bī-ko as much as is given
so-ye to see so-ko as much as is seen
2.4. Reduplication

In reduplication the stem is repeated completely, or partially, or in a modified form. Colloquial Newari is characterized by a frequency of reduplicated forms in nominal, verbal, adjectival, and more frequently in adverbial use.

2.4.1 Reduplication of nominal stems tends to be partial, and the reduplicated second element is, in itself, meaningless although the whole reduplicated form acquires an additional meaning. The meaning of the reduplicated form is stem meaning and similar other things with a slightly pejorative connotation. For example:

ko: (crow) ko:ki: (crow and similar other things)
l: (water) l:li: (water and similar other things)
h: (hole) h:hi: (hole and similar other things)
m: (price) m:m: (price and similar other things)
m:kh: (eye) m:kh:m:kh: (eye and similar other things)

In the above examples the stem consonant is retained while the stem vowel is altered in the reduplicated element. However, among the nominals there is also a set of 'anomalous' reduplicated words which have become a part of established usage. They cannot be reduced to any meaningful generalization except that they repeat the stem-final syllable in the reduplicated element. For example:

hil: (change) hil:bal: (plural sense)
na: (festival) na:a:kha:
dh:ku: (store) dh:ku:p:i:
w:sa: (medicine) w:sa:a:s:
s: (fruit) s:bas:
ph:ki: (kin) ph:ki:b:ki:
jhy:tu (heavy) jhy:tu:k:i:
th:la (utensil) th:la:
jol (neighbour) jol:hal:
hal (requisites for worship) hal:hal:

2.4.2 Reduplication of adjectives is, in fact, the reduplication of adjectival verbs. The semantic effect of reduplication is to modify the stem meaning, "not totally, but somewhat." For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Adjectival Verb</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mh:su (yellow)</td>
<td>mh:su-ye</td>
<td>mh:summh:su-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yecu (clean)</td>
<td>yecu-ye</td>
<td>yecuyacu-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h:ku (black)</td>
<td>h:ku-ye</td>
<td>h:kuh:ku-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulu (dim)</td>
<td>bulu-ye</td>
<td>bulubulu-ye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.3 Both finite and non-finite verbs in Newari can be reduplicated to suggest different meanings. The main process of reduplication in finite verbs is to insert emphatic particles -ttu, or -ttu matu between two elements of the reduplicated verbs. For example:
wō jīta: thwāta (He kicked me)
wō jīta: thwāttu thwāta (He kicked me hard)
wō jīta: thwāttu matu thwāta (He kicked me hard repeatedly)

2.4.4 The non-finite verb forms have various processes of reduplication. In narrative discourse, a usual linkage verb is a reduplicated one in which the short stem of the verb is followed by its nasalized stative form. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation Form</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Nasalized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bi-ye to give</td>
<td>byu:</td>
<td>byū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sil-e to wash</td>
<td>syu:</td>
<td>syū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā-ye to do</td>
<td>yā:</td>
<td>yā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lak-e to snatch</td>
<td>lāku:</td>
<td>lākū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:t-e to call</td>
<td>sa:tu:</td>
<td>sa:tu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reduplicated pairs, byu:byū, syusyū, yāyā, lākulākū, sa:tu:satū, will each mean verb meaning plus uninterrupted continuity of the action of the verb.

2.4.5 Another non-finite verbal reduplication takes place when it functions as complement of certain verbs. Gerundive forms occurring as complements to finite verb such as wo-ye (come) or won-e (go) undergo such reduplication. It entails the modification of stem-vowel in the second element of the pair. Its meaning is "verb plus similar other things". For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation Form</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na-ye to eat</td>
<td>naeni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kā-ye to take</td>
<td>kāeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ton-e to drink</td>
<td>tonetine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.6 Reduplication of pre-verbal elements results in distributive meaning, e.g.:

pa:khā thapāe jāla The wall became high
pa:khā thapāe thapāe jāla Each wall became high
pa:khā thathapāe jāla

2.4.7 Reduplication of most verbal prefixes leads to intensification of meaning or the suggestion of repeating the action of the verb again and again, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation Form</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pha-so-ye to look back</td>
<td>phaphasoye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li-cil-e to retreat</td>
<td>lilicile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-tan-e to pile/add</td>
<td>dedetane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la-thyā-ye to fold</td>
<td>lalathyāye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhe-cul-e to lean/stagger</td>
<td>dhedhecule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4.8 A further intensification or modification in degree takes place by inserting the negative particle -ma between the reduplicated elements, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhe-cul-e</td>
<td>dhe-dhe-cule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-tan-e</td>
<td>de-de-tane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhe-dhe-ma-dhe-cule</td>
<td>de-de-ma-de-tane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.9 Some Newari pronouns have their plural forms in reduplicated forms of their stem, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>su</td>
<td>susu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who (animate)</td>
<td>who (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chuchu (thing)</td>
<td>chuchu (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu</td>
<td>gugugugu (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which (which)</td>
<td>gumbagumha (animate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.10 Indeterminate pronouns, when reduplicated, mean none/nothing, when the accompanying verb is negated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>su (anyone/someone)</td>
<td>susu (none)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chu (anything/something)</td>
<td>chuchu (nothing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(See Shresthacarya, 1976 for further details on reduplication in verbs.)

2.4.11 Phonesthetic reduplication (mostly adverbial in use) is a very productive type in contemporary Newari. Such reduplications are complete as well as partial, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sulu (flow, liquid)</td>
<td>siri (air flow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulusulu (slow)</td>
<td>sirisiri (gently)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sutu (thick flow)</td>
<td>sutusutu (slow thick flow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulululu (fast)</td>
<td>siririri (intensely)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(fast but in small thick flow)</td>
<td>sutututu (fast but in small thick flow)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Partial reduplication repeats the stem-final syllable twice; complete reduplication repeats the whole stem. A compilation lists 428 examples of this kind (See Kansākār, Hitakarbir, 1966:54-81).
3.1 Inflection

On the basis of inflection Newari stems can be classified into two groups:

a. Stems which inflect, and
b. Stems which do not inflect.

All stems which do not inflect are Particles. As a word class, the Particles together with their sub-classes will be discussed in the chapter on Morpho-syntax.

Newari stems which inflect are

a. Nominals
   1. Nouns
   2. Pronouns
   3. Adjectives
   4. Classifiers
b. Verbs

3.1.1 Nouns inflect for number and case, but not for gender. Like nouns, pronouns inflect for number and case only.

3.1.2 Verbs inflect for tense, person, aspect, and mood.

3.1.3 In substantival use Newari adjectives inflect for number and case in conjunction with classifiers. Numerical classifiers inflect for case, but not for number.

3.2 Noun Inflection

3.2.1 Number

Newari nouns have two numbers: singular and plural, e.g., manu:, man; manu:ta, men; āju, ancestor; ājupī, ancestors.

3.2.2 Proper nouns are not pluralizable.

3.2.3 Normally, inanimate nouns do not inflect for number.

3.2.4 There are two plural markers for animate nouns: -pi: and -ta; -pi: is used for nouns which are respect or kinship terms. For all other animate nouns the plural marker is -ta. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>misā</td>
<td>misāta</td>
<td>kijā</td>
<td>kijāpi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>women</td>
<td>brother</td>
<td>brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sā</td>
<td>sāta</td>
<td>jiju</td>
<td>jujupī:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>cows</td>
<td>king</td>
<td>kings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khicā</td>
<td>khicāta</td>
<td>bhāju</td>
<td>bhājupī:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>dogs</td>
<td>gentleman</td>
<td>gentlemen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 Case

Excluding the unmarked nominative case, Newari nouns inflect for five cases. They are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nominative</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a. Agentive</td>
<td>-ū/-ū:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(if animate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b. Instrumental</td>
<td>-ū/-ū:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(if inanimate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ablative</td>
<td>-ū/-ū:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a. Dative</td>
<td>-yāta/-ita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(if animate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b. Objective</td>
<td>-yāta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(if inanimate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a. Comitative</td>
<td>-yāke/-ike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(if animate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b. Locative</td>
<td>-e/-i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(if inanimate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Genitive</td>
<td>-yā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of case morphology Newari nouns can be divided into two classes:

a. Nouns with no stem alternation
b. Nouns with stem alternation

The case-markers are the same for both classes of nouns. In one class of nouns the stem remains the same in all case frames, whereas in another class of nouns, the stem has two different forms: upright form and oblique form. Their distribution in the morphology of cases will be discussed in the chapter on Morpho-phonology.

3.4 Pronoun Inflection

Newari pronouns have an elaborate and somewhat irregular inflection system. All pronouns inflect for case. Some pronouns have only singular form, whereas first person inclusive pronoun, jhi:, has only plural form. The pronouns which have only singular form are:

| wo    | that, inanimate |
| thō   | this, inanimate |
| hū    | that, far, inanimate |
| āma   | this, near, animate |
| gugu  | which? |

As Newari pronouns show marked idiosyncratic tendencies they are presented in paradigms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Person Exclusive</th>
<th>1st Person Inclusive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td>jī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agr.</td>
<td>jī:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>jike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>jīta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>jī/jigu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha</td>
<td>2nd Person Familiar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agt.</td>
<td>cha:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>cháke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>cháta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>cha/chāgu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**cha:pí: 2nd Person Honour**

**Singular**

|-----|------|--------|------|----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|---------------------|

**wo** that, animate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>ipi:</td>
<td>tho</td>
<td>thupi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agt.</td>
<td>wō:</td>
<td>imisā:</td>
<td>thō:</td>
<td>thumisā:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>woike</td>
<td>imike</td>
<td>thoike</td>
<td>thumike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>woita</td>
<td>imita</td>
<td>thoita</td>
<td>thumita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>woyā</td>
<td>imi/imi gu</td>
<td>tho yā</td>
<td>thumi/thumigu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**waeka: 3rd person, far respect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>waeka:</td>
<td>waeka:pí:</td>
<td>thoeka:</td>
<td>thoeka:pí:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agt.</td>
<td>waekalā:</td>
<td>waeka:pisā:</td>
<td>thoeka:lā:</td>
<td>thoeka:pisā:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>waeka:yāke</td>
<td>waeka:pinke</td>
<td>thoeka:yāke</td>
<td>thoeka:pinke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>waeka:yāta</td>
<td>waeka:pinta</td>
<td>thoeka:yāta</td>
<td>thoeka:pinta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>waeka:yā</td>
<td>waeka:piní/-gu</td>
<td>thoeka:yā</td>
<td>thoeka:piní/-gu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**hū: that, far animate**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>hū:</td>
<td>hūpī:</td>
<td>āma</td>
<td>āmapī:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agt.</td>
<td>hūnā:</td>
<td>hū:pisā:</td>
<td>āmā:</td>
<td>āmapisā:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>hū:yāke</td>
<td>hū:pike</td>
<td>āmike</td>
<td>āmapike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>hū:yāta</td>
<td>hū:pīta</td>
<td>āmaīta</td>
<td>āmapīta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>hū:yā</td>
<td>hū:pini/-gu</td>
<td>āmayā</td>
<td>āmapini/-gu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5 Adjective-Classifier Inflection

When Newari adjectives function as noun phrase heads, they inflect for case and number. They take classifier -mha for animate and -gu for inanimate nouns in singular number and -pI for plural number. The adjective, together with its classifier, inflects for case and number, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective + classifier/ Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bā:lā</td>
<td>-mha (animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-gu (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. bā:lāmha</td>
<td>bā:lāpī:</td>
<td>bā:lāgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. bā:lāmhaya</td>
<td>bā:lāpinigu</td>
<td>bā:lāguyā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5.1 Bound numerals with appropriate classifiers inflect for case but not for number, e.g.:

Bound Numeral + Classifier

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>chapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>chapū:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc.</td>
<td>chapwi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obj.</td>
<td>chapuyātā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>chapuyā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6. Verb Inflection

3.6.1 On the basis of inflection, Newari verbs can be classified into finite verbs and non-finite verbs.

3.6.2 Finite verbs inflect for various secondary categories of verb. These categories are:

- Tense: past/non-past
- Mood: indicative/imperative
- Person: conjunct/disjunct
- Aspect: stative/eventive

3.6.3 Non-finite verbs occur mainly as modifiers of the main finite verb to express various aspectual, modal, and temporal shades of meaning. These functions of the non-finite verbs in complex verb phrases will be discussed in the chapter on Morphosyntax and the chapter on Syntax.

3.6.4 Finite verbs have a regular and, on the whole, predictable inflectional morphology. A few exceptional irregularities can be cited in the dictionary.

3.6.5 On the basis of the stem-finals Newari verbs can be divided into five classes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Verb Stem-final</th>
<th>Past Conj.</th>
<th>Disj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-nā</td>
<td>-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-yā</td>
<td>-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>-p/-t/-k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although both Class II and Class III verbs have stem-final vowels, the justification for keeping these two verb classes apart is that Class II verbs have -ta in Past Disjunct and -nā in Past Conjunct whereas Class III verbs have -la in Past Disjunct and -yā in Past Conjunct.
3.6.6 The Newari verb has the following principal parts:

1. Infinitive or Citation form, unmarked
2. Non-Past Conjunct
3. Non-Past Disjunct
4. Past Conjunct
5. Past Disjunct
6. Imperative
7. Stative
8. Causative
9. Short Stem

3.6.7 Given the five classes of verbs all the eight principal parts can be regularly predicted.

3.6.8 Paradigms of Newari Verbs

Given below are paradigms of inflected and derived forms of the five classes of Newari verbs.

Class I Stem-final -n, e.g., in-e, to distribute

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Past Disjunct</th>
<th>Past Conjunct</th>
<th>Non-Past Disj.</th>
<th>Non-Past Conj.</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Short Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>in-e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Disjunct</td>
<td>in-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Conjunct</td>
<td>in-ā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Past Disj.</td>
<td>in-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Past Conj.</td>
<td>in-e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>yû:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>yû</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>ink-e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Stem</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class II Stem-final Vowel -e, e.g., ci-ye, to tie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Past Disjunct</th>
<th>Past Conjunct</th>
<th>Non-Past Disj.</th>
<th>Non-Past Conj.</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Short Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>ci-ye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Disjunct</td>
<td>ci-ta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Conjunct</td>
<td>ci-nā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Past Disj.</td>
<td>ci-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Past Conj.</td>
<td>ci-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>cyu:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>cyu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>cik-e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Stem</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class III Stem-final Vowel -e, e.g., bi-ye, to give

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Past Disjunct</th>
<th>Past Conjunct</th>
<th>Non-Past Disj.</th>
<th>Non-Past Conj.</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Short Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>bi-ye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Disjunct</td>
<td>bi-la</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Conjunct</td>
<td>bi-yā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Past Disj.</td>
<td>bi-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Past Conj.</td>
<td>bi-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>byu:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>byu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>bi:ke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Stem</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Class IV Stem-final -l, e.g., hil-e, to change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Past Disjunct</th>
<th>Past Conjunct</th>
<th>Non-Past Disj.</th>
<th>Non-Past Conj.</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Short Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>hil-e</td>
<td>hil-a</td>
<td>hil-ā</td>
<td>hil-i</td>
<td>hil-e</td>
<td>hyu:</td>
<td>hyu</td>
<td>hi:ke</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class V Stem-final -p/-t/-k

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kop-e, to assist</th>
<th>sa:t-e, to call</th>
<th>lāk-e, to snatch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>kop-e</td>
<td>sa:t-e</td>
<td>lāk-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Disjunct</td>
<td>kop-ala</td>
<td>sa:t-ala</td>
<td>lāk-ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Conjunct</td>
<td>kop-ā</td>
<td>sa:t-ā</td>
<td>lāk-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Past Disj.</td>
<td>kop-i:</td>
<td>sa:t-i:</td>
<td>lāk-i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Past Conj.</td>
<td>kop-e</td>
<td>sa:t-e</td>
<td>lāk-c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>kopyu:</td>
<td>sa:t-u:</td>
<td>lāk-u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>kopyu</td>
<td>sa:t-i</td>
<td>lāk-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>kopc</td>
<td>sa:tk</td>
<td>lākake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Stem</td>
<td>kopyu</td>
<td>sa:tu</td>
<td>lāku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.9 Newari verbs, thus, inflect regularly although the derivation of other principal parts of a verb depends upon the stem vowel of the verb. This aspect of verb morphology will be discussed in the chapter on Morphophonology.

3.6.10 Tense in Newari Verbs

Tense inflection in Newari verbs is marginal -- mainly a contrast between past and non-past, and it consists of a simple set of vowel contrasts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conjunct</td>
<td>-e/i (following i/u stem vowels)</td>
<td>-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disjunct</td>
<td>-i/i:</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.11 Aspect in Newari Verbs

Newari finite verbs have only one aspectual distinction:

a. Stative, or Habitual
b. Eventive, or Non-Habitual

Although morphologically this is the only aspectual distinction in a finite Newari verb, syntactically in conjunction with auxiliary verbs complex verb phrases have several different aspectual meanings which will be discussed in the chapter on Syntax.
3.6.12 Mood in Newari Verbs

The category of mood in the Newari verb is exclusively limited to imperative form as distinct from the infinitive citation form on the one hand and indicative forms, on the other.

3.6.13 Person in Newari Verbs

Coupla Verbs, Attributive Verbs, and Impersonal Verbs do not inflect for the category of person at all. Only Transitive and Intransitive Verbs inflect for person. The verbs which inflect for the category of person have two forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conjunct</td>
<td>-e/i</td>
<td>-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disjunct</td>
<td>-i/i:</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conjunct form occurs with first person in statements and with second person in questions. The disjunct form occurs with the rest. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>Conjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Disjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>Disjunct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples

jī: saphu: khanā
I saw the book.

jī: saphu: khanā la?
Did I see the book?

chā: saphu: khana
You saw the book.

chā: saphu: khanā la?
Did you see the book?

wō: saphu: khana
He saw the book.

wō: saphu: khanā la?
Did he see the book?

(See Hale, 1980 for further analysis of this phenomenon in Newari Verbs.)

3.6.14 A Note on the Derived Forms of the Newari Verb

a. Causative

Causative is derived by adding the suffix -k to the verb stem. The derived form as such depends upon the verb class and the stem vowel. For details see the chapter on Morphophonology.

b. Stative

Event verbs have derived stative forms. Stative forms are generally phonetically long forms of short stem.
c. **Short Stem**

Short stems are used in the reduplication of non-finite verbs. They form an initial member of the reduplicated pair with their stative forms. There exists a short verb stem derived from the stative form, used in sentences such as the following:

- tha lā, ma tha: Profit? No profit.
- ya lā, ma ya: Like it? I don't like it.

d. **Imperative**

The imperative form of a Newari verb is a shortened form of its stative counterpart. See the chapter on Morphophonology for further details.
CHAPTER 4

MORPHOPHONOLOGY
4.1 Morphophonology of Newari Verbs

4.1.1 The nature of the stem vowel influences the inflected as well as the derived forms of Newari verbs.

4.1.2 In Class I Newari verbs (i.e., with stem-final -n) the inflected forms of the verb are not affected by the nature of the stem vowel, but the derived forms are. For example:

**Class I Stem-final -n**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Vowel</th>
<th>Citation Form (to distribute)</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>in-e</td>
<td>yū:</td>
<td>yū</td>
<td>ink-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>nen-e</td>
<td>nyā:</td>
<td>nyā</td>
<td>neṅk-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>kan-e</td>
<td>kā:</td>
<td>kā</td>
<td>kaṅk-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>lhon-e</td>
<td>lhō:</td>
<td>lhō</td>
<td>lhoṅk-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>won-e</td>
<td>wō:</td>
<td>hō</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>dun-e</td>
<td>dū:</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>thun-e</td>
<td>thū:</td>
<td>thū</td>
<td>thouṅk-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.3 Note that the imperative of won-e is irregular hū. Both won-e and dun-e have suppletive causatives cho-ye and thun-e.

4.1.4 In Class I verbs (i.e., with stem-final vowel) the inflected forms of the verb are affected in the following way:

a. With the stem vowels /a/ and /o/ the past conjunct form is regularly -yā; with any other stem vowel the past conjunct form is regularly -nā. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Vowel</th>
<th>Citation Form (to be true)</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kha-ye</td>
<td>kha-ye</td>
<td>kha-ye</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so-ye</td>
<td>so-ye (too see)</td>
<td>so-ya</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gā-ye</td>
<td>gā-ye (to be enough)</td>
<td>gā-nā</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci-ye</td>
<td>ci-ye (to bind)</td>
<td>ci-nā</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.5 The derived forms of the Class II verbs also appear different depending upon the stem vowel of the verb. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Vowel</th>
<th>Citation Form (to bind)</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ci-ye</td>
<td>cyu:</td>
<td>cyu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>da-ye (to be)</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>daek-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>kha-ye (to be true)</td>
<td>kha:</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>khaek-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>chyā-ye (to mix; to pound)</td>
<td>chyā:</td>
<td>chyā</td>
<td>chyk-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>gā-ye (to be enough)</td>
<td>gā:</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>gāk-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>so-ye (to see)</td>
<td>so:</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>sok-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>cho-ye (to send)</td>
<td>cho:</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>chok-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>chu-ye (to cook)</td>
<td>chu:</td>
<td>chu</td>
<td>chuk-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.6 In Class III verbs (i.e., with stem-final vowel), verbs with stem vowels /i/ and /u/ have the non-past conjunct form -i; verbs with all other stem vowels have -e as the non-past conjunct form.
4.1.7 How the stem vowels affect Class III verbs in their derived forms can be seen from the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Vowel</th>
<th>Citation Form</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>bi-ye (to give)</td>
<td>byu:</td>
<td>byu</td>
<td>bi:k-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>phe-ye (to lick)</td>
<td>phya:</td>
<td>phya</td>
<td>phyaek-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>dhā-ye (to say)</td>
<td>dhā:</td>
<td>dhā</td>
<td>dhāek-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>na-ye (to eat)</td>
<td>na:</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>nak-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>go-ye (to knit)</td>
<td>go:</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>goek-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>ju-ye (to happen)</td>
<td>ju:</td>
<td>ju</td>
<td>jwi:k-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.8 In Class IV verbs (i.e., with stem-final -I), the inflected forms are not affected by stem vowels of the verb but the derived forms are. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Vowel</th>
<th>Citation Form</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>hil-e (to change)</td>
<td>hyu:</td>
<td>hyu</td>
<td>hi:k-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>kel-e (to sift)</td>
<td>kya:</td>
<td>kya</td>
<td>ke:k-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>pāl-e (to cut)</td>
<td>pā:</td>
<td>pā</td>
<td>pāek-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>thal-e (to break)</td>
<td>tha:</td>
<td>tha</td>
<td>thaek-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>hol-e (to scatter)</td>
<td>ho:</td>
<td>ho</td>
<td>hoek-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>pul-e (to pay back)</td>
<td>pu:</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>pwi:k-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.9 As in the case of the other consonant-final verb classes (i.e., Class I and Class IV), Class V verbs (i.e., verbs with stop finals -t, -p, and -k), the inflections are regular regardless of the stem-vowel. The derived forms are different. In this class of verbs, however, the derived forms differ not according to the stem vowels but according to the stem-final consonant, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Vowel</th>
<th>Citation Form</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>dohalap-e (to offer)</td>
<td>dohalapyu</td>
<td>dohalapyu</td>
<td>dohalapake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>sa:-e (to call)</td>
<td>sa:tu:</td>
<td>sa:ti</td>
<td>sa:take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>lāk-e (to snatch)</td>
<td>lāku:</td>
<td>lāki</td>
<td>lākake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.10 With the exception of the Class V verbs, the imperative form is the phonetically shortened version of the stative form. The general rule is that what is long in the stative form is always short in the imperative.

4.2 Morphophonology of Newari Nouns

4.2.1 A large number of stems in Modern Newari, mostly nouns, have lost morpheme-final consonants or consonant-initial syllables. The lost consonants are:

- nasals /m/, /n/  
- affricate /j/  
- stops /k/, /kh/  
- liquid /l/  
- /t/, /th/
4.2.2 The loss of nasal-initial syllable has brought nasalization in the preceding vowel. For example:

- lana → lā
- pona → pō
- puthana → puthā
- nakina → nākī
- tutāma → tutā
- tama → tā

4.2.3 The loss of other consonants has given compensatory length to the preceding vowel. For example:

- dhalaka → dhala:
- khokha → ko:
- akhata → akha:
- twātha → twā:
- phukija → phuki:
- kila → ki:

4.2.4 Modern Newari has also lost some consonant-initial syllables in morpheme-final positions. These syllables have as their nucleus the high front vowel /i/ preceded by one of the following consonants: /t/, /n/, /l/, and /th/ so that the lost syllables are

/ti/, /ni/, /li/, and /th/.

4.2.5 If the syllable-nucleus of the preceding syllable is high back vowel /u/ then the lost syllable merely gave a compensatory length to this vowel. However, if the nucleus is a mid vowel /a/ it is replaced by a complex nucleus /au/. For example:

**Initial-syllable with /u/**

- ku-thi → ku:
- tāpu-ti → tāpu:
- dabu-li → dabu:
- saphu-li → saphu:

**Initial syllable with /a/**

- bha-ti → bha:
- pa-ti → pau
- dha-lī → dha:

4.2.6 In the stems which have lost fricative /s/, affricates /c/ or /j/, they are replaced by front mid vowel /e/. If the preceding nuclear vowel is the central vowel /a/, then /s/, /c/, and /j/ become /æ:/; if the preceding nuclear vowel is /ā/, then /s/, /c/, and /j/ become /āe:/.

For example:

- thāsa → thāe:
- nhāsa → nhāe:
- gwāca → gwāe:
- phasa → phae:
4.2.7 A few Newari words have lost the final -wo, giving compensatory length to the preceding vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nhyawo</th>
<th>sleep</th>
<th>nhya:</th>
<th>nhuwo</th>
<th>new</th>
<th>nhu:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thawo</td>
<td>oneself</td>
<td>tha:</td>
<td>mewo</td>
<td>others</td>
<td>me:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khawo</td>
<td>left, is</td>
<td>kha:</td>
<td>awo</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewo</td>
<td>god</td>
<td>dya:</td>
<td>chawo</td>
<td>hard</td>
<td>cha:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yawo</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>ya:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 Stem Alternation in Newari Morphological Cases

4.3.1 The lost consonants in Newari nouns are not as good as lost; they show up in certain morphological cases, creating a phenomenon known as "stem alternation", i.e., alternation between two stems -- the oblique form (with the lost syllable intact) and the upright form (without the syllable). Where Newari nouns have lost final consonant or consonant-initial syllables, the noun morphology for case shows alternation between the two stems.

4.3.2 The two forms of the stem participate in different morphological cases. For example, take the stem dho(la), a line:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Upright Form</th>
<th>Oblique Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>dho:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>dho:yā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>dho:yāta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>dholā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>dholā-e:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4 Morphophonology of Case-markers

4.4.1 The case marker for agentive, instrumental and ablative is the same. However, if the stem ends in a vowel the case-marker is simply a long nasalized vowel. If the stem or its oblique form ends in a consonant (e.g., pasal, shop), the case-marker is a short nasalized vowel.

4.4.2 For locative case-marker the following rules hold:

a. If the nucleus of the final syllable of the upright form (e.g., mi, fire) is a high vowel /i/ or /u/, the locative case marker is -i:.

b. If the nucleus of the final syllable of the upright form is /a/ or /ā/ (e.g., tha-la, pot; simā, tree) the nucleus is diphthongized as /ae:/ or /āe:/.

c. If the nucleus of the final syllable of the upright form is any other vowel (other than /i/, /u/, /a/ and /ā/) the locative case marker is simply -e:, e.g., me, tongue, me:, in the tongue.
CHAPTER 5

MORPHOSYNTAX
5.1 Morphosyntax

Newari stems can be classified into the following word classes on the basis of their syntactic functions:

1. a. Nouns
   b. Pronouns
   c. Adjectives
   d. Classifiers
2. Verbs
3. Particles

5.2 Noun Classification

Newari nouns can be classified into two groups:

a. Animate Nouns
b. Inanimate Nouns

5.2.1 Animate nouns are pluralizable; inanimates, normally, are not. When an inanimate noun is pluralized it expresses the notion of variety such as different kinds of or varieties of the stem noun, rather than the notion of number.

5.2.2 Animate nouns take -mha as a classifier; inanimate nouns take -gu or one of the several other classifiers depending upon the semantic content of the noun.

5.2.3 Animate nouns which are human take su as an interrogative pronoun; non-human animate nouns take chu as an interrogative pronoun.

5.3 Pronoun Classification

On the basis of their functions in larger constructions, pronouns in Newari can be divided into five sub-classes:

a. Personal Pronouns
b. Demonstrative Pronouns
c. Interrogative Pronouns
d. Reflexive Pronouns
e. Indefinite Pronouns

5.3.1 Personal pronouns have three sub-classes in Newari:

a. First Person
b. Second Person
c. Third Person
5.3.2 Second and third person pronouns have respect and ordinary distinction in both singular and plural numbers. First person plural has inclusive and exclusive forms. For example:

Person                  Singul ar       Plural
First                   ji            jhi:(pI:)       Inclusive of the listener
                       jipi:          jipi:          Exclusive of the listener
Second                  +Respect  chi          chikpi:        +Respect
                       Ordinary  cha          chipi:        Ordinary
Third                   +Respect  waeka:       waeka:pi:       +Respect
                       Ordinary  wo         ipi/api:       Ordinary

5.3.3 Demonstrative pronouns can be subdivided into four sub-classes on the basis of the categories of speaker versus addressee and proximate versus non-proximate:

Singul ar                Plural
Addressee Proximate      ama           amapi:        Addressee Proximate
Speaker Proximate        tho           tho-/thipi:    Speaker Proximate
Non-Proximate            wo            ipi:          Non-Proximate
(Speaker)                wo            ipi:          Non-Proximate
Non-Proximate            hū            hūpi:        (Addressee)

5.3.4 Interrogative pronouns in Newari are of two types:

a. General
b. Specific, i.e., with a classifier

General interrogative pronouns are subdivided into

a. Human
b. Non-Human

Specific interrogative pronouns are subdivided into

a. Animate
b. Inanimate

General

Singular     Plural
Human        su           su-su
Non-Human    chu          chu-chu

50
Specific

Animate | gu-mha | gu-mha | gu-mha
Inanimate | gu-gu | gu-gu | gu-gu

5.3.5 There is no person distinction in Reflexive Pronouns in Newari. They belong to the same person as their antecedents. They have only two forms:

Singular | Plural
tha: | tha:-tha:

5.3.6 The main Indefinite Pronouns in Newari are

a. chu (non-human)
b. su (human)

When used with emphatic particle he, these pronouns are nasalized and take on a negative sense requiring a negative verb, e.g.:

thama său he mawo:
here no one emphasis neg+come
No one came here.

Other indefinite pronouns are:

Singular | Plural
me: + mha/gu | me:-me: + pl:/gu
nhyā + mha/gu

5.4 Adjective Classification

5.4.1 Adjectives in Newari can be used

a. attributively, before the noun head
b. predicatively, after the noun phrase

5.4.2 In attributive use, Newari adjectives co-occur with nominalizing suffixes which agree in number and gender with the head noun, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animate</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>bā:łamha manu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>bā:łampl: manut:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td></td>
<td>bā:łągu saphu:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.3 In predicative use, Newari adjectives do not take any nominalizing suffixes.

51
5.4.4 Newari adjectives fall into three major groups:

a. Adjectives of Quality
b. Adjectives of Quantity (mainly cardinal numbers)
c. Adjectives of Identity (mainly ordinal numbers)

5.4.5 The major bulk of Newari adjectives belong to the group of Adjectives of Quality. Most native adjectives of quality are verbal adjectives. For all intents and purposes they behave like verbs. When used as attributive adjectives they take nominalizing suffixes. Given below are some adjectives of quality:

kwā (younger), casicā (slim), pulē (old), bāsi (stale), thike (dear), suku: (dry), nhu: (new), kaci (raw), taːmi (rich)

The above Adjectives of Quality do not behave like verbs whereas the following ones are almost like verbs in their predicative use:

kyātu (soft), khwātu (thick), khwāū (cold), cāsu (itchy), chwāsu (loose), nhyāipu (pleasant), tyānu (tired), yāū (easy), sālu (think), hwālu (loose), gyanāpu (fearful), ciku (cold), tāku (thick, of liquid), pālu (hot, of foods), mhasū (yellow), wācu (blue), hāku (black), cāku (sweet), culu (slippery), jhyātu (heavy), tuyu (white), pāū (sour), yacu (clean), hyāū (red), etc.

Note that most Adjectives of Quality have characteristic morpheme-finals of the following types:

-tu, -su, -pu, -lu, -ku, -yu, -āu, and -cu

Some Adjectives of Quality are grammatically homonymous with nouns, and they can be used as nouns, e.g.:

kā, mijā, misā, matikurā, gwājya:, hwājya:, pāka:, lyāemha, lyāse, nhyathu, bhyā:, gyāphar, bāga, bhutu, lithu, hyāmi

5.4.6 Adjectives of Quantity

Cardinal numbers and a few other native Newari adjectives comprise the Adjectives of Quantity. Except the loan cardinal numbers, all native numerals take classifiers.

The native cardinal numbers up to ten (ones and tens) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ones</th>
<th></th>
<th>Tens</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cha/chi</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>khu</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nī</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>nhae</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sō</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>cyā</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl/pē</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>gu/gū</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyā</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>jhi/sānha</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52
A small sub-class of numeral adjectives is used in Newari to indicate 'portion' such as half, quarter, three-quarters, double, twice, etc., e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ba-/bā-</th>
<th>Half</th>
<th>as in bachi, bāgu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jala</td>
<td>three-quarters</td>
<td>as in jalachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cakan</td>
<td>one-fourth</td>
<td>as in cakančhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dugan</td>
<td>double</td>
<td>as in duganchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyā</td>
<td>half</td>
<td>as in satyā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indefinite quantity is indicated by adjectives such as:

āpā: (much), bhatīcā (a little), phuka (all), yako (a lot), mēko (enough), mho (less)

5.4.7 Adjectives of Identity

Adjectives of Identity consist of native ordinal numbers and a few other adjectives. The native ordinal numbers are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nhāpā</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Dhokamha</th>
<th>First/one (human only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nhāpāyālyu</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Dātimha</td>
<td>Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Līpā</td>
<td>Third</td>
<td>Milamha</td>
<td>Third</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Līpāyālyu</td>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>Milu:mha</td>
<td>Fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cirimha</td>
<td>Last</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5 Proadjectives

Proadjectives are a small closed sub-class of Newari nominals which function as adjectives. They are of three kinds; each has a separate form for Adjectives of Quality, Adjectives of Quantity, and Adjectives of Identity. They are:

a. Demonstrative
b. Interrogative
c. Indefinite

5.5.1 Demonstrative Proadjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Remote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaker</td>
<td>Addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>thanyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>tho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>thuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Count</td>
<td>thu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Specific</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53
5.5.2 Interrogative Proadjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>gana/ganyā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>guli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>su (human), chu (non-human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific</td>
<td>gu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.3 Indefinite Proadjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>nhyātheyā whatever kind</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>nhyāko whatever quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>su whoever, any, some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Human</td>
<td>chu whatever, any, some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific</td>
<td>nhyā whichever</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6 Classifiers

5.6.1 Nouns in Newari may be divided into two classes with respect to their countability:

a. Countable Nouns, e.g., saphu: (book), chē (house)
b. Non-Countable Nouns, e.g., la: (water), cā (clay)

Countable nouns alone are counted with true classifiers.

5.6.2 For all animate nouns the classifier is -mha, for inanimate nouns it is either -gu or one of the several other classifiers. Most classifiers are preceded by numerals; a few are also followed by numerals.

5.6.3 True classifiers are overt expressions of unit counting; they are used with reference to structured units which are normally counted as individuals. They impose a semantic classification upon the head noun. They function as individualizers of a head which is indeterminate for number. They have no reality outside of the numerical expression.

5.6.4 True classifiers in Newari can be grouped into two:

a. Syntactic (imposes semantic classification)

1. Animate
   -mha
2. Inanimate
   -gu(li)
   -ga(l)
   -go(l)
   -pā
   -pā(t)
   -pu
   -pho(l)
   -cā(l)
b. Idiomatic (does not impose semantic classification)

i. Unique
-khā
-duwā(1)
-ku(tī)
-pwā(1)
-tā
-thā

ii. Reduplicative
-bāli
-dho(l)
-ha(l)
-khala(k)
-kho(l)
-khwāe
-kica(l)
-ki(l)
-ki(n)
-ku(n)
-mā
-mo(l)
-palā(kh)

5.6.5 Apart from these trues classifiers, Newari has also quasi-classifiers and measure classifiers. Quasi-classifiers are often nouns in their own right. They differ from true classifiers in that the unit of quantification is not a structured unit which has no reality outside the numeral expression. Measure classifiers differ from true classifiers in that the unit of quantification is a unit of measure. For example:

Quasi-Classifiers

lā cha-ku: a piece of meat
bhō cha pā: a sheet of paper
cā cha dhi: a lump of clay
jā cha khā: a serving of rice
jā cha pe: a mouthful of rice

Measure Classifiers

pālu aetā-chi a quarter pāu of ginger
ālu cha-dhāni a dhārni of potatoes
bū cha-pi: one ropani of land
cikā nǐ-manā two mānās of oil

Most measure classifiers are quantified by a unit of measure (area, distance, volume, weight, and time). There is also a sub-class of measure classifiers in which the unit is not one of standard measurement, but of the container, e.g.:

cha dhaga lā one ladleful of meat
cha tyāpa wā one earthen containerful of paddy
cha tāpha la: one brass containerful of water
cha kholā kē one cupful of pulses
5.6.6 Native numerals are used before native measure classifiers, e.g.:

\[ \text{ni pi: bū} \quad \text{two ropanis of land} \]

or

\[ \text{nigu ropani bū} \quad \text{two ropanis of land} \]

Before borrowed units of measurement either loan numerals or native numerals with \text{-gu} are used.

5.6.7 A number of nouns are quantified by reduplication of the noun, or of a portion of it. The reduplicated portion then functions as a "true classifier", e.g.:

\[ \text{wābāli cha bāli} \quad \text{one harvest of paddy} \]

\[ \text{ha: cha ha:} \quad \text{one leaf} \]

\[ \text{dho: cha dho:} \quad \text{one line} \]

All the classifiers listed in 5.6.4 a.ii (p. 54) are of this type.

5.6.8 All reduplicated quantifiers are also potentially direct quantifiers, i.e., they can be quantified without reduplication, e.g.:

\[ \text{cha ha:} \quad \text{one leaf} \]

\[ \text{cha dho:} \quad \text{one line} \]

\[ \text{cha bāli} \quad \text{one harvest} \]

5.6.9 The unique classifiers (cf. 5.6.4 b.i, p. 55) collocate with only one noun, e.g.:

\[ \text{chē cha khā} \quad \text{one house} \]

\[ \text{mata cha pwā} \quad \text{one lamp} \]

\[ \text{marī cha tā} \quad \text{one pastry} \]

\[ \text{pujā cha thā} \quad \text{one pujā sitting} \]

\[ \text{balā cha ti} \quad \text{one arrow} \]

\[ \text{suṣā cha ti} \quad \text{one stitch} \]

\[ \text{lukhā cha duwā:} \quad \text{one gate} \]

(N.B. This may be a loan. See Sauskrit \text{dwāra} = gate.)

5.6.10 As for the rest of the true classifiers, they impose the following semantic features on the noun head:

- \text{-mha} animate nouns
- \text{-gu(li)} miscellaneous features, states, and activities
- \text{-ga(1)} round objects, containers, and house parts
- \text{-go(1)}
- \text{-pā flat and paired objects}
- \text{-pā(t)} long, thin objects and literary compositions
- \text{-pu flowers and flower-shaped objects}
- \text{-pho(1)} circular objects
- \text{-cā(1)}
Examples

a. Noun heads with -mha

cha-mha: one person
macā cha-mha: one child
khicā cha-mha: one dog

b. Noun heads with -gu(li)

dē: one settlement
gā: one village
gū: one forest
khā: one matter: one topic
jyā: one task
saphu: one book
kacā: one branch

Semantic Feature

animate

inanimate

geographic feature/
locations

abstract states

activities

miscellaneous inanimate

items

c. Noun heads with -ga(l) and -go(l)

ālu: one potato
thala: one container
thā: one pillar
jākī: one grain of rice

round objects

containers

house parts

grains/granules

d. Noun heads with -pā and -pā(t)

lā: one upper garment
demā: one dish
mhicā: one pocket
marī: one pastry
khē:-wo: one fried egg
papū: one wing
lākā: one shoe

flat objects

paired objects

e. Noun heads with -pu

lā: one road
gā: one shawl
me: one song
su: one piece of straw

long/thin objects

literary products

non-count nouns

f. Noun heads with -pho(l)

swā: one flower
tuki: one earring

flower/flower-shaped

objects

g. Noun heads with -cā(l)

gha: one mill stone

circular objects

(See Hale and Shresthacarya, 1973 for further details on Newari classifiers.)
Verb Classification

Newari verbs can be classified into two broad groups:

a. Principal Verbs
b. Auxiliary Verbs

5.7.1 Principal Verbs can function as predicators on their own. Syntactically, it is the auxiliary verbs which help the principal verbs in their modal and temporal functions. Auxiliary verbs can also function as finite lexical verbs.

5.7.2 Auxiliary Verbs

As there are only a few inflected forms of the principal verb, temporal and modal meanings are expressed by the principal verb either in combination with auxiliary verbs or through modification by non-finite verb forms or by one of the several post-verbal particles. Some of the more important grammaticalized Newari auxiliary verbs are:

- da-ye (to be);
- kha-ye (to be true);
- pha-ye (to be able);
- ju-ye (to happen);
- ten-e (to begin);
- ta-ye (to put);
- con-e (to continue);
- bi-ye (to allow, permit, let, give);
- ha-ye (to start, to bring);
- wo-ye (to come);
- won-e (to go);
- māl-e (to need);
- gā-ye (to be enough);
- lā-ye (to do something by mistake);
- so-ye (to try);
- ji-ye (to be permitted);
- san-e (to try); and
- khan-e (to see).

These verbs have different meanings, depending upon whether they are used as auxiliary verbs or as main verbs.

5.7.3 Principal Verbs

At the clause level, as far as the verbs are concerned the syntactic relations which are involved are those which obtain between an argument (either a noun or a noun phrase) and its predicate (a verb, a verb phrase, or a copula, or a predicate adjective, or a predicate noun, or a predicate adverb construction). On the basis of their predicate functions, Principal verbs in Newari can be subdivided into the following groups:

1. Copula Verbs
2. Attributive Verbs
3. Impersonal Verbs
4. Intransitive Verbs
5. Transitive Verbs

5.7.4 Copula Verbs

Copula verbs describe or identify the argument (a noun or noun phrase in unmarked nominative case frame). There are three types of copula verbs in Newari. They are:
1. **Identificational Copula** \textit{kha-ye/kha:/khata/khai}

\begin{center}
tho jigu cosā kha: 
this my pen is 
This is my pen.
\end{center}

2. **Adjectival Copula** \textit{ju-ye/ju:/jula/jwi:}

\begin{center}
jigu lā thike ju: 
my grament expensive is 
My garment is expensive.
\end{center}

3. **Existential/Possessive/Locative Copula** \textit{da-ye/du:/dai}

\begin{center}
jike dhebā du 
I-with money is 
I have money.
\end{center}

5.7.5 **Attributive Verbs**

Attributive verbs are adjectival verbs. They are states, not events like transitive or intransitive or impersonal verbs. But like impersonal verbs, they do not inflect for the category of person. They predicate "attributes" of the argument. They do not have imperative form. Nearly all Newari Adjectives of Quality are attributive verbs in syntactic function.

5.7.6 **Impersonal Verbs**

Unlike Attributive Verbs, Impersonal Verbs are events. Their subjects are not actor as in Transitive or Intransitive Verbs. They do not inflect for the category of person and they do not have imperative form. Some examples of Impersonal Verbs are:

\begin{center}
dun-e (collapse) si-ye (know) ya-ye (like) 
kyan-e (trap) sa-ye (learn) tyā-ye (win) 
mhan-e (dream) thyan-e (reach) thu-ye (understand)
\end{center}

5.7.7 **Intransitive Verbs**

Intransitive verbs have actors and are events, but they do not have objects or goals. Their subjects can be either genitive or unmarked nominative but not agentive in case form, e.g.:

\begin{center}
bhau sana 
The cat moved.

wo dena/dana 
He slept/woke up.

macā khola 
The child cried.
\end{center}
5.7.8 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs are events; they have both actor and goal, or subject and object. Some transitive verbs have two objects -- direct and indirect. They can be called bitransitive verbs. For example:

Mīrā jīta: kalam bila
Mīrā+agent I+dative pen give+past
Mīrā gave me a pen

The subject of a Newari transitive verb can be a noun or noun phrase in agentive or genitive case frame, e.g.:

Mīrāyā tho khā lomana
Mīrā+gen. this fact forget+past
Mīrā forgot this fact.

Some transitive verbs have, on the other hand, only location objects. They can be considered semi-transitive, e.g.:

Mīrā tha:chē wona
Mīrā to her house go+past
Mīrā went to her house

Āshā lāē: lātā
Āshā on the road leave+past
Āshā was left on the road.

5.8 Particles

A number of small closed sets of words comprise Newari particles. They stand as free morphemes. Most of them are free forms but they do not inflect. The following particles are found in contemporary Newari.

1. Adverbs
2. Postpositions
3. Conjunctions
4. Intensifiers
5. Prosententials
6. Sentence Modifiers
7. Emphatic Particles
8. Negative Particles
9. Question Particles
10. Quotative Particles
11. Expletive Particles
12. Hortatory Particles

5.8.1 Adverbs

Newari has only a few native adverbs of place and adverbs of time. There are some adverbs of quantity, but numerous adverbs of manner.
5.8.1.1 Adverbs of Place

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>English ( pastors )</th>
<th>English ( pastors )</th>
<th>English ( pastors )</th>
<th>English ( pastors )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>ukhe</td>
<td>thither</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thana</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>thukhe</td>
<td>hither</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gana</td>
<td>where</td>
<td>gukhe</td>
<td>whither</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dune</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>duha</td>
<td>in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pine</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>piha</td>
<td>out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhya:ne</td>
<td>in front</td>
<td>thaha</td>
<td>up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liune</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>kwaha</td>
<td>down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da:y:ne</td>
<td>above</td>
<td>nthahaha</td>
<td>before</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta:le</td>
<td>below</td>
<td>liha</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kune</td>
<td>downstairs</td>
<td>nthapha</td>
<td>ahead</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tale</td>
<td>upstairs</td>
<td>lipha</td>
<td>back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8.1.2 Adverbs of Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>English ( pastors )</th>
<th>English ( pastors )</th>
<th>English ( pastors )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>nhapa</td>
<td>quite early</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhapa</td>
<td>early</td>
<td>libakka</td>
<td>quite late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lipa</td>
<td>late</td>
<td>hana</td>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gubale</td>
<td>never</td>
<td>nthabale</td>
<td>always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thugas1</td>
<td>this year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akiwopol</td>
<td>next year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iw6</td>
<td>year after the next</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaeune</td>
<td>last year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naune</td>
<td>year before the last year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thau</td>
<td>today</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhiga:</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhi:ga</td>
<td>day before yesterday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanhe</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhinh</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasa</td>
<td>day after tomorrow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8.1.3 The adverbial notions of place and time are also expressed in contemporary Newari by locative and ablative case frames. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>pasa: shop</th>
<th>pasalae: in the shop</th>
<th>pasalā from the shop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>kanhe tomorrow</td>
<td>kanhae:</td>
<td>kanhesā from tomorrow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8.1.4 Adverbs of Manner

Newari has intrinsic adverbs of manner as well as derived ones. The intrinsic ones can be subdivided into three major groups:

a. Transient (just once), e.g., sutukka, putukka, pulukka, sutta, phyatta, etc.

b. Continuous, e.g., sutuhū, puluhū, musuhū, ātāhā, jhwätāhā, twālāhā, jāhā, etc.

c. Durative, e.g., musumusu, sutusutu, pulupulu, sulusulu, tulutulu, phiriphiri, sirisiri, kirikiri, kurukuru, etc.
Newari lexicon is rich in such onomatopoetic or phonesthetic adverbs of manner. It should be noted that not all the phonesthetic adverbs of manner have all three forms.

As for the derived adverbs of manner, there are three main sources of derivation:

i. Pronominal
ii. Verbal
iii. Adjectival

Pronominally derived adverbs of manner are

thathe (in this manner), athe (in that manner), amthe (in that manner, addressee proximate) hūthē (in that manner, remote), woṭhe (in the same manner)

Verbally derived adverbs of manner are illustrated by the following sentences:

jita: wō tāyeka saːtala
to me he+agent audibly call+past (from verb tā-ye, to hear)
He called me audibly.

Ashā sakasiyā khaṅka wola
Ashā by all visible came+past (from verb khan-e, to see)
Ashā came easily seen by all.

Adverbs of manner are also derived from Adjectives by adding the suffix -ka/-kka to the adjective stem. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bāːlāː (beautiful)</td>
<td>bāːlāːka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāː (tasty)</td>
<td>sākka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8.1.5 Adverbs of Quantity

Contemporary Newari has some adverbs of quantity such as the following:

āpā (much), apo (more), bhaticā (a little), yeko (many), uli (that much), thulī (this much), guli (how much), phacīpahako (as much as possible).

5.8.2 Postpositions

There are only a few native postpositions in Newari. Positional notions are expressed by nouns. Postpositions follow nouns, pronouns, adverbs, non-finite verb forms, and other postpositions. Postpositions are also used to express case-like relations of nouns. Some of the native postpositions are:

nhyaː (before), bele (at, on time), pākhe; rikhe (towards), nāpā (near), lise (with), lisē (together with), the (as), likka (near), nisē (from, since), takka (up to), dhuṅkā (after).
Some of the common loan postpositions are:

bāre (about, on), sattā (instead), lāgi (for), nimitta (for).

5.8.3 Conjunctions

Two types of conjunctions are in use in Newari:

a. Coordinating
b. Subordinating

Coordinating conjunctions join two or more words, phrases, or clauses. Some examples of Newari coordinating conjunctions are:

wo (and), na...na (neither...nor), nā...nā (as well as/both),
ki/lāki (or), ale (then), ki...ki (either...or), ju:sā...ju:sā (either...of), makhusā (if not), tabī (even then), baru (rather),
tale (until).

Some examples of Newari subordinating conjunctions are:

chāedhāsā (literally, why say, i.e., because), sā/dhā:sā (if), li (because), sā (though, even though), aessā (if so), aeju:gulī (therefore), aeju:sā (although), aeju:sā (if so, then).

Some of the most common loan subordinating conjunctions are:

tara (but), yadi (if), yadyapi (though).

5.8.4 Intensifiers

Newari has a small number of intensifiers such as sikka (very much, mostly used in colloquial speech), tassakā (with great force or intensity), sāpa (superlative), jaka (only), nā (also), he (emphasis), etc.

5.8.5 Prosententials

Prosententials are words and phrases which function as sentences. Some of the typical Newari prosententials are:

a. Responsive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Respect (loan)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hā/jyau (response to a call)</td>
<td>hajur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha: (positive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makhu (negative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da/de/jyu: (consent)</td>
<td>hawas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhā: (negative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā (neutral)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ale (request to continue)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka (surprise; dismay)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Question Tags:

kha:lā
hā
nhā
nhi

c. Hortative:

nā
d. Vocative:

ae, ye, yo (human)
ā (non-human), le (to ward off animals)
syu (to ward off birds)
e. Exclamatory

ahā (appreciation), ayyā (pain), appā (inflammation), āppu (inflammation), chī, chichi (disapproval), dhikkār (condemnation), yomā (surprise), ayāmā (fatigue), syābās (benediction), dhatteri (annoyance), hare siba (lament), dhanye (blessing)
satye (swear), sāsyānā hathyā (literally by the crime of killing a cow), dharodharma (holding the truth of religion).

5.8.6 Sentence Modifiers

The sentence as a whole is modified by sentence modifiers. Newari sentence modifiers come at the beginning of the sentence. Some examples are:

khatu/khajā/khalā/khayā (though, although)
aeju:sā/aesā (if so, then)
kā chu dhā:sā (the fact is)
jyu:sā (if possible)
lā:sā (probably)
dhāthē/dhāthē dhāegu kha:sā (actually, as a matter of fact)

5.8.7 Emphatic Particles

These particles occur following a stem which is emphasized. They also occur between two elements of a reduplicated stem. Given below are some of the Newari emphatic particles:

he (emphasis)
yā                   ipī phukka khūyā khū (Every one of them is a cheat.)
jaka (only)
nā (also)
lā (particularly) wo lā wona (He is gone; As for him, he is gone)
nāpa (even)
tu (self) wōtū tho saphu: jīta: bīla
(He himself gave this book to me.)

thetu (like)
jaka (just) wō khājaka sayekala
(He did not do anything other than talk.)
He just talked.

5.8.8 **Negative Particle**

ma is the Newari negative particle. Its use is discussed in the chapter on Syntax.

5.8.9 **Question Particles**

lā is a simple question particle; lāki is a question particle where there are two options. With content questions the question particle is le. Given below are some examples:

wo chē wona lā?
he home go+past question
Did he go home?

wo chē wona lāki bwī: wona?
he home go+past question farm go+past
Did he go to the farm or home?

wo gana wona le?
he where go+past question
Where did he go?

5.8.10 **Quotative Particle**

A quotative particle occurs at the end of a sentence which is quoted; it is a surface marker of hearsay evidential e.g.:

wo wōla hā
he came+quotative
It is said that he came.

5.8.11 **Persuasive Particle**

At the end of requests, polite proposals and also commands, often a persuasive particle occurs, e.g.:

thana wā re
here come + per. part.
Come here / will you come here?

thana disā re
here sit+respect + per. part.
Please sit down here / will you please sit down here?
5.8.12 **Expletive Particles**

Some educated Newari-speakers of Kathmandu tend to have the habit of inserting "fillers" in their running speech. They are semantically vacuous and syntactically functionless except as pauses in a running discourse. Most of these expletive particles in educated speech are loans from Nepali or Hindi, e.g.:

- arthāt (that is to say), yāne (that is), māne (meaning), cāine (that which is necessary)

In uneducated Newari speech, native expletive particles are more common. They vocalize hesitation in running speech. The common ones are ā, chu, ji, jhipiː, ni, duni, achī, etc.

5.8.13 **Hortatory Particles**

In proposal constructions such as "Let us go" etc. which are inclusive of the speaker, the particle nu is used at the end of the sentence, e.g.:

- pyākhā so: wone nu
dance see go (let us)
Let us go to see the dance.

When the proposal is exclusive of the speaker, the sentence automatically becomes a command, and it takes the particle hū (imperative form of won-e, to go), e.g.:

- woyāta saːtā hī hū
to-him call bring go
(Go to) call him.
CHAPTER 6

SYNTAX
6.1 **Phrase Types**

There are five main types of phrase level construction in contemporary Newari:

a. The Noun Phrase  
b. The Verb Phrase  
c. The Adjective Phrase  
d. The Adverb Phrase  
e. The Postposition Phrase

6.2 **The Noun Phrase**

The noun phrase consists of an obligatory head which is either a noun or a pronoun or a gerundive or infinitive verb. All modifiers are optional, and they precede the head, giving us a modifiers(s)-modified phrase type. When the head noun is counted the numeral-classifier alone follows the head noun.

6.2.1 Among the major classes of nominal modifiers, the following should be mentioned:

1. Demonstratives  
2. Possessives  
3. Adjectives

6.2.2 As Newari does not have the Articles an indefinite article of a sort is formed by the numeral cha (one) followed by an appropriate classifier. The distinction between definite and indefinite use of a noun, however, does not depend on the actual occurrence of an indefinite article.

6.2.3 The demonstratives tho (this), wo (that), āma (addressee proximate), and hū (far) distinguish between near and far deixis.

6.2.4 Newari does not have separate possessive pronouns; genitives of personal pronouns serve as possessive pronouns. Possessives are formed by one of the three nominalizing suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix Type</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animate possessor + animate head</td>
<td>-yā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animate possessor + inanimate head</td>
<td>-yāgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate possessor + animate head</td>
<td>-yāmha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.5 The following nominalizing affixes convert stative verbs or verb phrases into attributive adjectives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animate</td>
<td>-mha</td>
<td>-pī:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Demonstratives, possessives, and adjectives are combined with their head nouns in a noun phrase in two different ways:

a. With a nominalizing affix
b. Without a nominalizing affix

The nominalizing affixes are obligatory with adjectives or adjective phrases or clauses; whereas they are optional in the case of possessives and demonstrative modifiers in the noun phrase.

Since Newari is a classifier language, all of its count nouns are counted by numerals in combination with a specific classifier. Such classifiers follow the head noun whereas all modifiers precede the head noun.

Given below are some typical Newari noun phrases:

tho saphu:
this book
demonstrative + head noun

tho jigu saphu:
this my book
demon. + possessive+affix + head

tho jigu nhu:gu saphu:
this my new book
demon. + poss.+affix + adjective+affix + head

tho jigu nhu:gu saphu: nigu:
this my new book two+classifier
demon. + poss.+affix + adj.+affix + head + numeral+classifier

chamha ta:mimha manu:
one+classifier + rich+affix + man

tho jigu nhu:gu mhiga: chā nyānā byu:gu nigu: saphu:
this my new yesterday you buy+past give+affix + numeral+
classifier + head
demon. + poss.+ adj.+affix + a nominalized clause+affix +
numeral+classifier + head

In the normal unmarked noun phrase demonstratives and possessives precede adjectives. Demonstratives can occur in practically any pre-head position. Possessives, however, come either before adjectives or after adjectives but never between two or more adjectives.

The word order in a Newari noun phrase between or among a sequence of adjectives is merely stylistic and semantically non-contrastive. But among demonstratives, possessives, and adjectives, an element that is closest to the head noun gets semantically focussed.
6.2.11 In brief, given below are the constituents and structure of the Newari noun phrase:

(demonstratives) + (possessives + nominalizing affixes) + (adjectives + nominalizing affixes) + Head Noun + (numeral + classifier)

6.2.12 As a group- or phrase- inflecting language, the entire Noun Phrase can inflect for case -- the case-marker appearing on the last major element of a Noun Phrase.

6.3 The Verb Phrase

There are two types of finite verb phrases in Newari:

a. Simple Verb Phrase
b. Complex Verb Phrase

The simple verb phrase consists of a simple finite principal verb (past conjunct/past disjunct/non-past conjunct/non-past disjunct in form) or a copula verb, or a stative/attributional/impersonal verb.

The complex verb phrase consists of an obligatory principal verb preceded and/or followed by non-finite verb forms such as Gerundives, Participles, Infinitives, Quotatives, Auxiliaries and Modal Auxiliaries which are often finite in form.

6.3.1 Simple Verb Phrases

Newari verbs are mostly monosyllabic roots such as dan-e (to stand), kā-ye (to take); or they are compound verbs prefixed with pre-verbal elements of various origins such as du-so-ye (to enter), lihā-won-e (to return), nuga:-syā-ye (to be miserly, to be hurt in one's feelings). A simple verb phrase consists of a principal verb (simple or compound) in one of the four possible finite forms, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunct</th>
<th>Disjunct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>ji wonā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Past</td>
<td>ji wonè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2 Complex Verb Phrases

A number of elements other than a root verb or a verb in finite form participate in a complex Newari verb phrase. Before going into the structure of these complex verb phrases a brief note on each of these participating elements may be relevant. Given below are the three main non-finite verb forms which participate in complex verb phrases:
a. Gerundive: The Gerundive form of a Newari verb is the same as its finite counterpart in Past Conjunct form. For example, the verb *na-ye* (to eat) has *nayā* in Past Conjunct; the non-finite Gerundive form of the verb is also the same, i.e., *nayā*.

b. Participle: The Participle form of a Newari verb is also the same as Past Conjunct or Gerundive, except that the stem-final vowel is always long in the participial form of the verb. Thus for the verb *na-ye*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Past Conjunct</th>
<th>Gerundive</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>na-ye</em></td>
<td><em>nayā</em></td>
<td><em>nayā</em></td>
<td><em>nayā</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Infinitive: A Newari verb has three infinitive forms other than the citation form. These are:

i. -ta form (infinitive of purpose)
ii. -V: form (complement of a verb)
iii. -gu form (nominalized form)

Given below are examples of the three infinitive forms:

i. *apā nayegu mani*
   much to eat not good (for health)
   To eat too much is not good for health.

ii. *ji saphu: ta: wanā*
   I book to leave went
   I went to leave the book.

iii. *ji woneta danā*
   I to go stood up
   I stood up to go.

Other than these Infinitive, Gerundive, and Participial forms of the verb, three other elements can participate in a complex Newari verb phrase. These are:

a. Copula Verbs (with or without emphasis) (Listed in 5.7.4)
b. Quotative *dhakāː*, and
c. Auxiliary and Modal Verbs (Listed in 5.7.2)

Given below are some examples of complex Newari verb phrases. Nearly all of these samples are compiled from Hale (1970c). As the texts are narrative the finite forms are almost entirely past disjunct in form. It does not, however, make any difference to the fact that there is an evident scarcity of finite inflected forms and "a preponderance of nominal forms" (Jørgensen, 1941:50).

1. Gerundive + Auxiliary Verb
   wonā cona
   go remain
   was going
2. Infinitive + Aux.
nene māla
listen necessary
became necessary to listen

wonegu sola
go try
tried to go

4. Inf. of Purpose + Aux.
biyeta wola
give come
came to give

5. Inf. of Purpose + Nominalized Inf.
woneta sogu
go see/try
tried to go

6. Reduplicative + Aux.
sāsā wola
move+move come
came moving all the way

dhasaeyānā syānā bila
sting kill give
was killed by stinging

hayā biyā disā
bring give stay
please bring

hālā cōgu jula
cry remain is
happened to be crying

wone tēgu jula
go begin is
happened to be ready to go

mīyā wonā cona
sell go remain
went on selling

syāyēgu yāgu
kill do
used to kill
   wonegu juyā cona  
   go happen remain  
   happened/used to be to go(?)

   conā naţgu juyā cona  
   remain eat happen remain  
   happened/used to eat

   chunā biyā chogu juyā cona  
   cook give send happen remain  
   used to send giving cooked (bread)

   jonā dāyā kakutinā huttyayānā chota  
   catch beat push by neck push/throw send  
   was thrown away held by (his) neck, caught and beaten(?)

   dāyā sā jonā luyā sālā ha:gu juyā cona  
   beat hold by hair drag pull bring happen remain  
   happened to be dragged by (her) hair, pulled and beaten(?)

18. Inf. + Auxiliary + Quotative + Auxiliary  
   yāye māla dhakā sallā yāta  
   do need say consult do  
   decided (that) something was necessary to do

19. Gerundive + Imperative + Quotative + Gerundive + Auxiliary  
   mikhāţisinā byu dhakā dhayā chota  
   close (eyes) give say say send  
   was sent being advised to close (his) eyes

20. Gerundive + Honorific + Quotative + Finite Verb Principal  
   bobiyā disā dhakā: dhāla  
   chide request say say  
   requested to chide

   bobiyā disā dhakā: dhayā congu juyā cona  
   chide request say say stay happen remain  
   happened to be requesting to chide

22. Copula + Copula  
   du jwi:  
   is be+future  
   e.g., wo chē: du jwi:  
   He may be at home.

23. du kha:  
   e.g., wo chē: du kha:  
   He is at home / It is true that he is at home.
24. Copula + Copula + Emphasis
du kha ni
e.g., wo chē: du kha ni
It so happens that he is at home.

du kha ni sā
e.g., wo chē: du kha ni sā
It really happens to be that he is at home.

wone tenagu kha:
go begin is
It is true that (he) is about to go.

27. Inf. + Neg. + Copula + Quotative + Gerundive + Auxiliary
taye ma+khu dhakā: litachoyā bila
keep not is say send back give
sent back unpermitted to stay

6.3.2.1 Although the constituent structures of the above samples of complex Newari verb phrases may appear diverse and unrestricted, the constituents as such are limited, both in number and their possible forms.

6.3.2.2 The constituents of a complex Newari verb phrase such as Gerundives, Participles, Infinitives, Copulas, and above all the Auxiliaries have each

a. Lexical (or semantic) meaning, as well as
b. Grammatical (or functional) meaning, such as temporal, modal, aspectual, and evidential meaning.

6.3.2.3 The temporal meaning carried by all the Gerundives is always co-temporal with the action of the main verb.

6.3.2.4 The temporal meaning carried by Participles, on the other hand, is always complete before the action of the main verb.

6.3.2.5 As "hearsay evidentials" the Quotative subordinates all the verbs to its left to the verbs to its right, i.e., the main action.

6.3.2.6 In a complex verb phrase the copula tends to function as an auxiliary; and when it does so it presents "(presumptive) evidential" to which the entire preceding verb phrase is subordinated.

6.3.2.7 Infinitives participate as verb complements or nominalized infinitives.

6.3.2.8 Each of these verbs, other than the auxiliaries, can also be analyzed as a finite or principal verb "embedded in" or subordinated to the main verb of the complex verb phrase.
6.3.2.9 Auxiliary verbs carry aspectual meanings which can be summed up in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional</th>
<th>Non-Directional</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Iterative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>con-e</td>
<td>thak-e</td>
<td>Reduplicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo-ye</td>
<td>(to come)</td>
<td>(to remain)</td>
<td>(to leave)</td>
<td>sāsā, nanā, etc. + auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>won-e</td>
<td>(to go)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-ye</td>
<td>(to give)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kā-ye</td>
<td>(to take)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cho-ye</td>
<td>(to send)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2.10 Directional auxiliaries are normally used to express perfective meaning. The choice between perfective and imperfective, particularly inchoative, interpretation depends upon the nature of the principal verb. For example, in pwā syānā wola (the stomach ache began) wola is incipient in aspectual meaning, whereas in wo chē wonā wola (he had come from home) wola is perfective in sense.

6.3.2.11 As a verb-final language, Newari auxiliary verbs carry temporal and aspectual meanings. Tense and aspect are often combined in one and the same auxiliary. Tense and modality are also generally combined in one and the same auxiliary verb. There are only a few modal auxiliaries in Newari. They are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pha-ye</td>
<td>(to be able)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji-ye</td>
<td>(to be permitted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-ye</td>
<td>(to be possible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kā-ye</td>
<td>(to take)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-ye</td>
<td>(to give)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cho-ye</td>
<td>(to send)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>won-e</td>
<td>(to go)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo-ye</td>
<td>(to come)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lā-ye</td>
<td>(to do something by mistake)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so-ye</td>
<td>(to try, to see)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māl-c</td>
<td>(to be necessary)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2.12 The examples of the complex verb phrases, cited on pp. 72-75, clearly show that there are some major co-occurrence restrictions between the non-finite forms of the verb (Gerundive and Infinitive) and the auxiliary verbs. These restrictions can be stated in the following way:
i. Gerundive -ā forms can come only before the following auxiliaries:

Set A   ha-ye, cho-ye, kā-ye, bi-ye, con-e, wo-ye, won-e, yen-e, sau-e, so-ye

but not before the following auxiliaries:

Set B   māl-e, pha-ye, ji-ye, dhun-e, ten-ye, da-ye

ii. Infinitives (-e/-ye forms) can come only before the following auxiliaries:

Set B   māl-e, pha-ye, ji-ye, dhun-e, ten-e, da-ye

but not before the following auxiliaries:

Set A   ha-ye, cho-ye, kā-ye, bi-ye, con-e, wo-ye, won-ye, yen-e, san-e, so-ye

iii. Infinitive -ta form can come only before the following auxiliaries:

Set A   ha-ye, cho-ye, ka-ye, con-e, bi-ye, wo-ye, won-ye, yen-e, san-e, so-ye

but not before

Set B   māl-e, pha-ye, ji-ye, dhun-e, ten-e, da-ye

iv. Infinitive -gu form is restricted to the following auxiliaries:

so-ye, san-e, ju-ye, khan-e

6.3.2.13 Matisoff (1978:76) mentions "complex verb phrases where the meaning of the head verb is modified by up to four auxiliary verbs, sometimes with no intervening markers of this subordination" as a Southeast Asian areal grammatical feature. Both finite and non-finite Newari verb phrases have a high propensity to concatenate. A sequence of three to four verbs is usual in both colloquial and written Newari. Up to nine verbs can be "stacked" in a Newari verb sequence, with no other grammatical categories intervening in between (Malla, 1982).

6.3.2.14 Since Newari is a subject-object-verb language the general tendency of all adverbial modifiers is to come before the head verb. Whereas there is no constraint on adverbial modification at the beginning of a complex verb phrase, such modifiers cannot be inserted at all places in the verb phrase. For example, the adverbial makhaṅka (stealthily) can be inserted in the initial position of the verb phrase:

makhaṅka lākā hayā coṅgu juyā cona
happened to have been brought stealthily snatched

77
We can also have:

a. lākā: makhaṅka hayā coṅgu juyā cona
b. lākā: hayā: makhaṅka coṅgu juyā cona
*c. lākā: hayā coṅgu makhaṅka juyā cona
*d. lākā: hayā coṅgu juyā makhaṅka cona

Whereas in sentences a, and b, different verbs are modified by the adverbial, *c and *d are obviously unacceptable.

6.3.2.15 In addition to the non-finite verb forms and auxiliary verbs, the head verb can be modified by a number of particles, resulting in forms which are adverbial in sense. For example, given below are some of the oblique forms of the verb kane (to tell):

kanī: na is going to tell
kā sā if told
kā sā nā even if told
kanā li after having told
kanā kathā immediately after telling
kanā bele at the time of telling
kane wo after telling
kā tale as long as being told
kā selī after having told

6.3.3 Non-Finite Verb Phrase

Given below are some types of non-finite verb phrase in Newari. Most of these are adverbial in meaning and function. Infinitives and nominalized infinitives also function as subject of a verb or complement of a verb:

1. wonā woye dhuṅkā:
   go come finish
   Gerundive + Infinitive + participle
   after having gone

2. sidhayā wona dhāla dhāyewo
   finish go say say
   Gerundive + past disjunct + past disjunct + oblique form
   as/when (it) came to be finished

3. lākā hayā coṅgu juyā cōsā
   snatch bring remain happen remain (oblique form)
   if (he) happens to have brought (something) by snatching

6.4 The Adjective Phrase

Newari adjective phrase consists of an adjective head and a nominalizing affix both of which are obligatory and some of the following constituents all of which are optional:
gāsimha  adjective + nom.+affix
the lean one

taskā gāsimha  intensifier + adj.+ affix
the very lean one

hēgwā thē gāsimha  postpositional phrase + adj.+ aff.
coil like lean

Ritā sikā sāp he gāsimha  postpositional phrase + intensifier
Ritā than very emphasis

nimha-mha pāsā  numeral+classifier + affix + adj.
the second friend

thanyāgu bhīgu lākā  proadjective+affix + adj.+ affix
such good shoe

Ritāyāgu/-mha  possessive+affix
Rita's

samsār phukka cāhilā woye dhuāku:mha
world all travel+past disjunct + to come + finish + state +
nominalizing animate affix + adjective clause+affix
one who has travelled the world

6.4.1 Some non-finite verb phrases can function as attributives to noun head.
Like adjectives they, too, are followed by a nominalizing affix, e.g.:

woyā aelā tonegu bāni madu
he+genitive + non-finite VP+nominalizing affix + habit +
negative+is
He does not have drinking habits.

6.5 The Adverb Phrase

Newari adverb phrase consists of an obligatory adverb head, often
preceded by modifiers. For example:

buluhū  adverb
slowly

bhacā buluhū  modifier + adverb
a little slowly

buluhū buluhū  reduplicated adverb
slowly but steadily

athē/athe taskā bāːlāka  adverb of manner + intensifier + adverb
that very finely
Often Newari adverb phrases are formed by periphrastic verb phrase of a non-finite nature which precedes and modifies the main verb. For example:

\[
\text{wō dhaigu khā nyanā man tayā: jyā yāta} \\
\text{he + to say+affix + talk + to listen+past} \\
\text{conjunct + mind + give+participle + work + past disjunct} \\
\text{He worked obediently with interest.}
\]

Some Newari adverb phrases of place, manner, or time are constituted by postpositions preceded either by a noun, a verb, or by an adjective. For example:

- **chē likka**
  - noun + postposition
  - house near
  - near the house

- **wone nhya:**
  - verb + postposition
  - to go before
  - before going

- **sala thē**
  - noun + postposition
  - horse like
  - like a horse

### The Postposition Phrase

Newari postposition phrase consists of one or more obligatory postpositions preceded by one of the following:

- Noun/noun phrase
- Adjective Phrase + nominalizer
- Adverb Phrase
- Non-Finite Verb Phrase

Given below are some examples of each type:

- **Ritā nāpa**
  - noun + postposition
  - Ritā with
  - with Ritā

- **thakāli thē**
  - adjective + postposition
  - elder as

- **pyamha lipā**
  - adjective + classifier + postposition
  - fourth after
  - after the fourth one

- **chacā lipā**
  - adverb + postposition
  - night after
  - after night
Newari postposition phrases can take more than one postposition in a phrase. For example:

Sonti nhya: nisē
Sonti festival + before + from
before the festival of Sonti

bahani lipā nisē tini
night + after + from + only
only since the end of the night

6.6 Basic Clause Types

Clause types in Newari can be analyzed either in terms of observable morphological cases of the constituents of a clause or in terms of their logical relationships. The former is based on case-marker signals, the latter on "case-like relations such as actor, undergoer and site" which are logical or semantic role complexes. However, "any analysis of clause structure in Newari must deal in one way or another with six morphological cases." (Hale and Manandhar, 1980:79)

6.6.1 Clause Types: Morphological Approach

Newari clause types can be analyzed by grouping them on the basis of their observable or surface organization. Given below are the clause types Kölver (1976) has identified in contemporary Newari on the basis of case-markers in Noun Phrases:

Clause Type 1

Gopāl guru
Gopāl teacher
unmarked animate + unmarked animate

Clause Type 2

Gopāl guru jula
Gopāl teacher became.
unmarked animate + umkd. an. + predicate

Clause Type 3

wo khola
He cried.
umkd. an. + Pred.

Clause Type 4

Rām Gopālyāta mabhī
Rām is not good for Gopal.
umkd. an. + dative + pred.
Clause Type 5  Gopāl lohāntae: dala
Gopāl slipped on a stone.
umkd. an. + locative + pred.

Clause Type 6  Gopāl lāsā dana
Gopāl got up from the bed.
unmkd. an. + ablative + pred.

Clause Type 7  jīmi kalāyāke bogsi wola
My wife is possessed.
(lit. spirit comes to/with my wife)
locative an. + umkd. + pred.

Clause Type 8  ipī: me hāla
They sang a song.
agent + umkd. inanimate + pred.

Clause Type 9  cwāpu gā:
Snow fell.
umkd. inanimate + pred.

Clause Type 10  jīta: puthā kala
A thorn pierced me.
dative + umkd. inanimate + pred.

Clause Type 11  jāki: wā du
in rice + paddy + is
There is some paddy in the rice.
locative inanimate + umkd. inanimate + pred.

Clause Type 12  jīke dhebā madu
I have no money.
locative animate + umkd. inanimate + pred.

Clause Type 13  wo thōgulū lhota
The drunkard vomited.
agentive + pred.

Clause Type 14  Rāmā dhebā nita
Rām counted money.
agentive + umkd. inanimate + pred.

Clause Type 15  jī chanta bākhā kane
I will tell a story to you.
agentive + dative + umkd. inanim. + pred.

Clause Type 16  jī masi: kalam thunā
I dipped the pen in ink.
agentive + dative + umkd. inanim. + pred.

Clause Type 17  māmā macāyāta dāla
The mother beat the child.
agentive + dative + pred.
6.6.2 The list of clause types reveals two crucial features of clause structure in Newari:

a. Not only agentive but also dative, locative, genitive, and unmarked nominative case can occupy the position of theme, topic, argument, or "subject" in a Newari clause.

b. The unmarked nominative case can occupy both the subject and the object or complement positions.

Analysts have, therefore, commented that "in Newari, sememic function is much easier to work with than grammatical function at early stages of the analysis." (Hale and Manandhar, 1980:93)

6.6.3 Clause Types: Logical Approach

An alternative to the morphological case approach is the logical or sememic function approach to the analysis of clause types. This approach is based on
a. Three role complexes for the Noun Phrases in a clause: such as, actor, undergoer, and site

b. Two predicate categories for verbs: state and event

6.6.3.1 Given below is a list of Newari clause types identified on the basis of these criteria. The list is adapted from Hale and Manandhar’s work (1971):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eventive Predication</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Undergoer</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Transitive Set</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitransitive</td>
<td>wō</td>
<td>saphu:</td>
<td>jita:</td>
<td>bila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>wō</td>
<td>lāsā</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>dāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semitrans.</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>chē</td>
<td>wona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>dana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| B. Receptive Set     |       |           |      |             |
| Disreceptive         | x      | wo lākā   | jita:| jila        |
| Receptive            | x      | Rām       |      | khwāē jula  |
| Semireceptive        | x      | x         | Mirāyā| tyānula    |
| Eventive             | x      | x         | x    |             |

| Stative Predication  |       |           |      |             |
| C. Stative Set       |       |           |      |             |
| Distative            | woyā  | jhi:ta    | kothāe:| khyūkābyu: |
| Stative              | wō    | x         | wo kothāe:| khyūku:   |
| Semistative          | cha   | x         | skula | wō:        |
| Descriptive          | x     | x         | x    | x           |

| D. Attributive Set   |       |           |      |             |
| Diattributive        | x      | tho gā    | jita:| pyadā tu:   |
| Attributive          | x      | tho gā    | x    | lumu:       |
| Semiaattributive     | x      | x         | wo kothāe:| khyū:      |
| Circumstantial       | x      | x         | x    | x           |

6.6.3.2 The receptive and attributive sets do not have actors. In the transitive set also only bitransitive and transitive clauses have actors marked for agent.

6.6.3.3 A closer look at the semantic role complexes shows that they have no one-to-one correspondence with morphological cases nor with grammatical functions. For example:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Grammatical Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Unmarked Nominative</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergoer</td>
<td>Unmarked Nominative</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergoer</td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>Indirect Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergoer</td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>Subject in Direceptive, Receptive, Distative, Attributive, and Diattributive Clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Unmarked Nominative</td>
<td>Indirect Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>Bound Locatives of Source, Goal, and Place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.6.3.4 As semantic roles, morphological cases and grammatical functions do not correspond in one to one terms it is also possible to analyze the clause types in terms of the grammatical functions of noun phrases and other constituent. This is what Shresthacarya 1964, Sthapit 1979 and Hashimoto, (1977: 278-285) have done in their analyses. Hashimoto in particular lists 132 "sample sentence types."

6.7 Word Order and Focus

6.7.1 Word Order at the Phrase Level

6.7.1.1 The Noun Phrase

The unmarked word order in a Newari noun phrase is:

(demonstratives)+(possessives)+(adjectives) + noun + (numeral+classifier)

tho jigu nhu:gu saphu: nigu:
this my new book two+classifier

It is possible to change this order into a marked one where demonstratives or possessives can be put in focus. Whatever is placed immediately before the noun head is in focus. Thus numeral+classifier too can be focussed by placing it just before the noun head.

The only constraint in changing the word order in an NP is that demonstratives or possessives or both must either precede or follow the adjectives if there are more than one adjective in an NP, so that

tho jigu nhu:gu thikegu saphu: nigu:
this my new expensive book two+classifier

can be reordered
tho nhu:gu thikegu jigu saphu: nigu:  (possessive focus)
nhu:gu thikegu jigu tho saphu: nigu:  (demonstrative focus)
nhu:gu thikegu jigu tho nigu: saphu:  (numeral focus)

but not

*tho nhu:gu jigu thikegu saphu: nigu:
*jigu nhu:gu tho thikegu saphu: nigu:

That is to say, demonstratives or possessives have either to precede the adjectives or to follow them; they cannot come between two adjectives.

6.7.1.2 The Verb Phrase

The word order in a simple Newari verb phrase is:

(preverbal element)+verb+(auxiliary)+(honorific)+(post-verbal modifiers)

lihā+wonā+conā+disā+(modifiers in non-finite VPs)

Newari being a subject-object-verb language adverbial modifiers come before the finite verb or verb phrase.

6.7.2 Word Order at the Clause Level

6.7.2.1 Newari is a subject-object-verb language, and as such the verb phrase invariably occurs at the clause-final position, terminating in an auxiliary verb, whenever it is present.

6.7.2.2 In an unmarked clause the theme is its subject. Other elements of the clause can be "thematized" by bringing them to the clause initial position, e.g.:

wō jita: saphu: bila
he me book give+past disjunct

jita:wō saphu: bila  (indirect object thematized)

saphu: wō jita: bila  (direct object thematized)

6.7.2.3 Adjuncts and modifiers such as adverbs, adverb phrases, post-positional phrases can come in any pre-final position, and they can be thematized too.

6.7.2.4 For adverbs and adverb phrases the unmarked position is immediately before the verb or verb phrase. Any other position for them is "marked" though only in the clause-initial position they are "thematized".
6.8. Concord

6.8.1 A major concord pattern at the phrase level is the agreement between the noun head and other elements of an NP. The demonstratives are indifferent as to number or gender of the head noun. The possessives agree in gender (animate/inanimate) with the head noun. Adjectives agree with the head noun both in number and gender. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animate</td>
<td>jimha nhu:mha khicā</td>
<td>jimha nhu:pf: khicāta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td>jigu nhu:gu saphu:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.8.2 At the clause level, in statements Newari verbs agree with first person, taking the conjunct or -ā form; with non-first person, Newari verbs take the disjunct form or -ā form. In questions, however, with a first person and third person the verb is in the disjunct or -ā form. The conjunct form or -ā form comes only with a second person. For example, khan-e, to see

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Conjunct khanā</td>
<td>Disjunct khana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Disjunct khana</td>
<td>Conjunct khanā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Disjunct khana</td>
<td>Disjunct khana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>jī: saphu: khana</td>
<td>jī: saphu: khana lā?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>chā: saphu: khana</td>
<td>chā: saphu: khana lā?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>wō: saphu: khana</td>
<td>wō: saphu: khana lā?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.9. Negation

Affirmative constructions are converted into negative ones by means of the negative particle -ma and its variants mate (imperative), makhu (identitive), madu (existential), maju: (attributive), maphu (ablative), majyu: (permissive/concessive), matyo (permissive), mwāla (obligative), and mhā: (willingness).

6.9.1 The verb phrase alone participates in the negativization process. In compound verbs the negative particle is always inserted before the base, never before the pre-verbal prefix, e.g.: bā:-lā-ye>bā:-ma-lāye, never *ma-bā:-lā-ye. The negative particle comes between the prefix and the base.

6.9.2 Given below are some examples of how Newari verb phrases -- simple as well as complex ones -- undergo negativization in Newari:

Past Conjunct | ji wonā | ji mawonā
(I went)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Base Verb</th>
<th>Stative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past Disjunct</td>
<td>wo/cha wona</td>
<td>wo/cha mawona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Conjunct</td>
<td>ji wona</td>
<td>ji wona makhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Disjunct</td>
<td>wo/cha woni</td>
<td>wo/cha woni makhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>cha wā</td>
<td>cha wo-ye mate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>macāyāta nyāsiki</td>
<td>macāyāata nyāsike mate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>wo thana wo</td>
<td>wo thana wo-ye-gu mayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential Copula</td>
<td>wo chē du</td>
<td>wo chē madu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identitive Copula</td>
<td>tho saphu: kha:</td>
<td>tho saphu: makhu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive Copula</td>
<td>tho làkā bā:lā ju:</td>
<td>tho làkā bā:lā maju:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative+ Honorific Suff.</td>
<td>tho saphu: kayā disā</td>
<td>tho saphu: kayā dimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finite Verb+Aux.</td>
<td>wo denā cona</td>
<td>wo denā macō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abilitive</td>
<td>wo dene phu</td>
<td>wo dene maphu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permissive</td>
<td>wo dene jyu:</td>
<td>wo dene majyu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligative</td>
<td>wo dene tyo</td>
<td>wo dene matyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willingness</td>
<td>ji dene nhyā:</td>
<td>ji dene mha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88
6.10 Questions

Questions can be asked in Newari in three different ways:

a. By using interrogative pronouns
b. By adding interrogative particles to statements,
c. By changing the intonation pattern of statements

6.10.1 There are three types of questions:

a. Content-questions, asked by using interrogative pronouns
b. Yes/no-questions, asked by using interrogative particles, and
c. Tag questions, following a statement

The following are the examples of each type:

a. Rita gana wona
   Rita where go+past disjunct
   Where did Rita go?

b. Rita thana du lā
   Rita here is + interrogative particle
   Is Rita here?

c. kha (lā)
   is (int. particle)
   Is that so?

   khai (lā)
   Is that true/possible?

6.10.2 There are some interrogative pronouns which participate in forming content-questions in Newari. Some of these are:

   su (who), chu (what), gu- (which); gana (where), gabale (when),
   gathe (how), gukhe (where+direction), go- (how many times)
6.10.3 The following are the interrogative particles which, when added to statements, make questions:

lā, kha lā, lāki + negative verb, kha: lā (only with the quotative particle hā), kha: lā sā

Examples:

wo thana wola lā Did he come here?
wo thana mhiga: wola khalā Did he come here yesterday?
wo thana mhiga: wola kha lāki Did he come here yesterday or not?

(confirmation of a doubt)
wo mhiga: thana wola kha: lā sā Did he come here yesterday?
(confirmation of a suspicion)

6.10.4 Tag questions generally follow statements. Mostly, they are a phrase or a word. e.g.:

khai lā (Is that so?), kha: lā (Is that true?)

Interrogative pronouns in isolation also function as tag question particles.

6.10.5 Questions can be formed by changing the intonation pattern of statements. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Tag Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ritā buta</td>
<td>Ritā lost (the game)</td>
<td>Did Ritā lose the game?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.11 Nominalization

Newari has three nominalizing affixes which turn verbal forms, verbal phrases, clauses and sentences into nouns. They both nominalize and lexicalize non-nominal units and structures into nominals. These nominalizing affixes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>animate suffixes</th>
<th>inanimate suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-mha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-pI:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 6.11.1 Nominalization of Verb Phrase

- **-mha**
  - thana hala
    - here bring+past disjunct
    - brought here
  - thana ha:mha
    - the one who was brought here

- **-pī**
  - maphu
    - is not able
  - maphupī:
    - those who are not able

- **-gu**
  - jī dayakā
    - I prepare+past conjunct
  - jī dayakāgu
    - that which I prepared

### 6.11.2 Nominalization of Clause

The affix **-gu** nominalizes entire clauses, e.g.:

- sala hālā ha:
  - The horse neighs (habitual)

- sala hālā ha:gu tāye du
  - The neighing of horse can be heard.

- jītā: lākā nyāye mā:
  - I have to buy shoes.

- jītā: lākā nyāye mā:gu au.
  - I have to buy shoes.

- jītā: lākā nyāye mā:gu madu
  - It is not the fact that I have to buy shoes.

### 6.11.3 Nominalization of Adjectives

Newari has no distinct class of adjectives. By and large, the function of predicative attribution is performed by verbs in stative form. These predicative attributes or stative verbs can be converted into attributive adjectives participating in an NP by means of the nominalizing affixes, e.g.:

- tho lā tuyu
  - This garment is white

- tho tuyugu lā
  - This white garment
tho manu: hāku
This man is black

tho hākumha manu:
This black man

tho misāta bā:lā:
There women are attractive

tho bā:lāpI: misāta
These attractive women

6.11.4 The nominalizing affixes convert various non-nominal structures into units that to morphology and syntax can be treated as nouns because these nominalized structures have all the six morphological cases just as any other noun. That is to say, as a group inflecting language Newari nominalized constructions enter into full morphological paradigms and syntactic relations just like any other noun. (See Kölver, 1977 for further details.)

6.12 Sentence Combination: Subordination and Coordination

Newari sentences are combined in two ways:

a. Subordination: Clause or clauses or phrase or phrases embedded in a sentence
b. Coordination: two or more clauses joined with one another

6.12.1 There are two sentence subordination types:

a. Sentence embedded as a relative clause
b. Sentence embedded as a phrase

6.12.2 Sentence Embedded as a Noun Phrase

When a clause is embedded as a Noun Phrase the matrix sentence verb takes dhakā: (in free variation with dhaigu) as the embedding marker. The embedded clause may be a statement, a question, a request/order, a wish, or a proposal, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Hirā jita: (Mīrā kanhe woni lā) dhakā: nyana Hīrā asked me if Mīrā would go tomorrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>Hirā jita: (Mīrā kanhe woni) dhakā: dhāla Hīrā said that Mīrā would go tomorrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wish</td>
<td>Hirā jita: (Mīrā mawoye mā) dhakā: dhāla Hīrā said to me that Mīrā might as well not come.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Request</td>
<td>Hirā jita: (lihā woni nu) dhakā: dhāla Hīrā proposed me to return.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The clause embedded as an NP can occupy any position in the matrix sentence that an NP normally occupies. However, it cannot take case markers nor can it take postpositions following it. End-position of such NPs is also rare.

Sentence Embedded as an Adjective Phrase

The nominalizers -mha, -pf:, and -gu function as embedding markers in clauses embedded as adjective phrases, e.g.:

mhiga: phināgu lā
the garment worn yesterday

mhiga: hayāmha khicā
the dog brought yesterday

mhiga: jōpī: khūta
the thieves caught yesterday

6.12.4.1 Embedded adjective phrases do not occur predicatively.

Sentence Embedded as an Adverb Phrase

Clauses embedded as Adverb Phrase are connected by various embedding markers which are either directly suffixed to the verb as post-verbal particles or simply follow the verb. Some of these markers are:

jimi kalā wola dhā:sā ji woye makhu
If my wife came I will not come.

jimi kalā wo:gulī ji woye maphuta
As my wife came I could not come.

jimi kalā wosā ji woye
I will come even if my wife comes.

jimi kalā woibale ji woye
I will come when my wife comes.

jimi kalā woikhunhu ji woye
I will come on the day my wife comes.

jimi kalā wola ki ji woye
I will come as soon as my wife comes.

These adverbial phrases cannot occur at the end-position of the matrix sentence.

Sentence Embedded as Relative Clause

The embedded relative clause contains a phrase corresponding to the phrase in which it is embedded. The former begins with interrogatives chu or gu- and the latter begins with its demonstrative counterpart u-, w-, e.g.:
Mīrayāke (kitāyāta chu cija mā:) wo cija du
Mīrā has that thing which Rita needs.

Mīrayāke (Ritāyāta guli dhebā mā:) uli dhebā du
Mīrā has as much money as Rita needs.

6.12.6.1 When the matrix phrase consists of a single interrogative word/phrase
chu-/gu- the relative clause may consist of a single word demonstrative
counterpart, e.g.:

Mīrayāke Rita yāta chu mā: wo du
Rita has what Mīrā needs.

Mīrayāke Rita yāta guli mā: uli du
Mīrā has as much as Rita needs.

6.12.6.2 Relative clauses may be further "down graded" or subordinated as
postpositional phrases. Such phrases end in

-tī if the relativization is quantitative
-thē if the relativization is qualitative
-mha if the relativization is identificatory
-gu

Examples:

Mīrayāke Rita yāke ti dhebā madu
Mīrā does not have as much money as Rita has.

Mīrā Ritāthē bā:lāka wosa: pune masa:
Mīrā does not know dressing as well as Rita does.

Mīrayāke Rita yāta mā:mha cyo madu
Mīrā does not have the kind of servant Rita needs.

Mīrayāke Rita yāta mā:gu saphu: madu
Mīrā does not have the book Rita needs.

6.12.6.3 Relative clauses can be extraposed to the initial position of the
matrix sentence, e.g.:

Mīrayāta chu saphu: mā: Rita yāke du
The book which is needed by Mīrā is with Rita.

Mīrayāta mā:gu saphu: Rita yāke du
The book which is needed by Mīrā is with Rita.

6.12.6.4 Relative clauses can also be transposed to the end of the matrix
sentence provided that they begin with interrogative pronoun/
adjective/adverb, e.g.:
Ritāyāke wo saphu: du gugu Mīrāyāta mā: Ritā has that book which Mīrā needs.

wo saphu: Ritāyāke du gugu Mīrāyāta mā:

Ritā ulī bā:lā maju: gulī Mīrā bā:la
Ritā is not as beautiful as Mīrā is.

uli ta:mi Ritā maju: gulī Mīrā ju:
Ritā is not as rich as Mīrā is.

6.13 Clause Coordination

Two or more clauses in Newari can be joined by the following coordinating conjunctions:

wo (and), ki...ki (either...or), na...na (neither...nor), ki (or),
ki (if), sā (if), jaka (only if), sā (even if), li (for), nā (also: even),
tale (as long as), baru (rather), ale (then), aesa (then),
aesa (even then)

Examples:

a. Rām banae: wona
Rām went to forest.

Lākṣman banae: wona
Lākṣman went to forest.

Rām wo Lākṣman banae: wona
Rām and Lākṣman went to forest.

b. Ritā thāũ woi
Ritā will come today.

Ritā kanhe woi
Ritā will come tomorrow.

Ritā ki thāũ ki kanhe woi
Ritā will come today or tomorrow.

c. Ritā woita naki:
Ritā will feed him.

Ritā woita toũki:
Ritā will give him to drink.

Ritā woita na naki: na toũki:
Ritā will neither feed him nor give him a drink.
d. Ritā thāù woi
Ritā kanhe woi
Ritā thāù kí kanhe woi
Ritā will come today or tomorrow.

e. Ritā: jyā yāta
Ritā maphuta
Ritā jyā yāta kí maphuta
If Ritā worked she becomes unwell.

f. Ritā: jyā mayā:
Ritā does not work.
Ritā ta:mi jula
Ritā became rich.

Ritā jyā ma yāsā ta:mi jula
Ritā became rich even though she does not work.

g. Ritā: jyā mayā:

Ritāyā naye madu
Ritā: jyā mayāsā naye madu
If Ritā does not work she cannot eat.

h. Ritā jyā yā:

Ritāyā naye du
Ritāyā jyā yā:sā jaka naye du
Ritā has (something) to eat only if she works.

i. Ritā: bā:lāka jyā yā:

Ritāyāta āpāsiyā ya:
Ritā bā:lāka jyā yāguli āpāsiyā ya:
Ritā is liked by many because she works well.

k. Ritā dena

Mīrā dena

Ritā dyā: tale Mīrā dena (verb is stativized in the first clause)
Mīrā slept as long as Ritā did.
1. Mirä: nala
   wō: mana:
   Mirä: nala baru wō: mana:
   Mirä eat but/rather he did not.

m. Ritä wola
   wo wola
   Ritä wola ale wo wola
   Ritä came then he came.

n. Ritä wola
   wo mawo:
   Ritä wola aesä wo mawo:

o. wä wola
   jäki dani:
   wä wola dhä: sā jäki dani:
   If it rains the rice will be cheap.

6.13.1 Coordination is mostly of two clauses although with some conjunctions such as ki...ki, na...na, ki, more clauses can be combined by repeating the conjunctions as many times.

6.13.2 In educated speech, native coordinating conjunctions such as aesä are frequently substituted by loans such as tara, yadi, yadyapi.

6.13.3 Clauses in succession with no overt conjunction where all but the last one have an inconclusive tone can be cited as examples of "minimal conjoining".

   Ritä dena Mirä dana
   Ritä slept Mirä got up.

   dewä bila dewä kāla
   God gave God took.

6.14 Causativization

6.14.1 In the Newari language the causative form of a root/compound verb is nearly regularly predictable on the basis of

   i. morphological class of the verb
   ii. the vowel of the final syllable of the root/stem
6.14.2 The causative form for each of the five classes of Newari verb is predictable from the vowel of the final syllable of the root/stem.

Class I  
| i | i:k |
---|---|
| e | e:k |
| a | a:k |
| o | o:k |
| u | u:k |

Class II  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>ik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>āk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>uk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class III  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>i:k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e:k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>āek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class IV  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>aek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>oek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>uik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class V  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>pak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.14.3 Historically, these forms have developed from the causative suffix ca-ke, ta-ke>ke/ye-ke/i:-ke

6.14.4 What is of more significance for a Tibeto-Burman comparativist is the survival in the Newari verbs of a different, and perhaps a far primitive device, of constructing causative. This device has been called suppletive causative by most students of the language.

6.14.5 Newari has preserved some pairs of verbs in which the devoicing and aspiration of the voiced unaspirated simple verb form gives its causative counterpart. (See the list on the next page)

6.14.6 The list is, not only an example of coexistent devices for forming causatives in Newari, but also an evidence of different layers of grammatical apparatus from different historical stages of the language.

6.14.7 Shafer (1966), Benedict (1972), and Matisoff (1976) posited a Proto-TB sibilant prefix *s-. Benedict (1972:105-8), and Matisoff (1976: 415ff) suggest that "proto-prefixing affects voicing, aspiration, and/or tone."

6.14.8 "There is convincing evidence for a Proto-TB sibilant prefix *s- that functioned along a broad spectrum in the causative domain as intensifier, directionalizer, transitivizer, causativizer of the verbal idea." (Matisoff, 1976: 416)

6.14.9 Although modern Newari has not preserved any trace of "prefixes" the following list of simplex and causative pair of verbs nearly conclusively proves that at one stage Newari was a language with prefixes. The loss of the Proto TB sibilant *s- is evident in the survival of Newari suppletive causatives.
### Simplex Form Gloss Causative Form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Voice</th>
<th>-Aspiration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>gu-ye</strong></td>
<td>to be torn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gyā-ye</strong></td>
<td>to be afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bā-ye</strong></td>
<td>to be separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dyā-ye</strong></td>
<td>to lose (money)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bol-e</strong></td>
<td>to peel off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dun-e</strong></td>
<td>to collapse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dan-e</strong></td>
<td>to stand up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jyal-e</strong></td>
<td>to erode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jo-ye</strong></td>
<td>to leak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ta-jyā-ye</strong></td>
<td>to be broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ko-ji-ye</strong></td>
<td>to be decided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lwāka-jyā-ye</strong></td>
<td>to be mixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ta-jā-ye</strong></td>
<td>to become tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ya-gā-ye</strong></td>
<td>to be hanged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ho-gan-e</strong></td>
<td>to be pierced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>to-du-ye</strong></td>
<td>to be broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>to-dul-e</strong></td>
<td>to be broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>byan-e</strong></td>
<td>to become loose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ca-bu-ye</strong></td>
<td>to be snapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ko-bā-ye</strong></td>
<td>to jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ciri-bā-ye</strong></td>
<td>to be split</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bāku-dal-e</strong></td>
<td>to be broken in two pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>li-jyā-ye</strong></td>
<td>to retreat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gwā-ye</strong></td>
<td>to glow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kucā-dal-e</strong></td>
<td>to be broken into small pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cu-dan-e</strong></td>
<td>to be pulverized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pi-dan-e</strong></td>
<td>to come out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>luku-bi-ye</strong></td>
<td>to disappear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>le-dan-e</strong></td>
<td>to float</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pwā-gan-e</strong></td>
<td>to have a hole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.15 **Eventivization and Stativization**

An eventive verb form in Newari is one that is used in narrating events whereas a stative verb is an adjective-like descriptive verb. Descriptive concepts such as 'big', 'cold' and 'heavy' are expressed as lexical verbs which can be used as attributive adjectives after suffixing the nominalizers -gu, -mha, or -pi: as the case may be. For example:

- **wo lākā bā:lā:**
  That shoe is lovely
  **Stative**

- **wo lākā bā:lāta**
  That shoe became lovely
  **Eventive**

- **wo bā:lāgu lākā**
  That lovely shoe
  **Nominalized Attributive**
When a stative verb is changed to its corresponding eventive form it results in the meaning "became X". Thus:

jā bu:  
The rice is cooked.  

jā buta  
The rice became cooked.

Mīrāyā jyā thāku  
Mīrā's work is difficult.  

Mīrāyā jyā thākula  
Mīrā's work became difficult.

6.15.1 It should, however, be noted that verbs differ in their derived meanings depending upon whether a verb is a state or an event set verb. The state form of a state set verb denotes a simple state, e.g.:

Mīrāyā jyā thāku  
The State form of a State Set Verb

The State form of an Event set verb denotes an habitual action, e.g.:

wō lā pā:  
He usually cuts meat.

State form of an Event Set Verb

The Event form of a State set verb denotes arrival in a state:

jā buta  
Mīrāyā jyā thākula  

Event form of a State Set Verb

The Event form of an Event set verb denotes a simple event in past time, e.g.:

wō jā thula  
He cooked rice.

wō lā pāla  
He cut the meat.

6.16 Zero Anaphora

Pronouns (other than the interrogative ones) can be optionally deleted if the grammatical or situational context makes the reference obvious to the listener, e.g.:

(cha) gabale woyā  
When did (you) come?

ji mawotale cha (jita:) piyā cō  
Wait (for me) as long as I do not come.

(ji) chu yāye (ji) abu jwigu (jīgu) karmae: madu  
What can (I) do since (I) cannot be a father by (my) Karma?

(chā) phusā (chā) (jita:) nitakā dā tyāye byu  
If (you) can, lend (me) two rupees.

(āma) chu (jī) chako soye  
What is (that) may (I) see once?
In colloquial Newari there are some sentence initiators. Normally, they lie outside the propositional core of the sentence. Some of these elements merely initiate a sentence as a kind of link in discourse chain whereas others are modifiers of the sentence in which they come, e.g.:

lā:sā (probably)
nhyāgusā (anyway, nevertheless)
ukē/akē (so, therefore)
ale (then)
phusā (if possible; if able)
jyu:sā (if possible/if permitted)
aeju:sā (in that case); aeju:sā (even though that is the case)
dhathē dhāyegu kha:sā (to tell the truth, in fact)
khā chu dhā:sā (the fact is)
khā lā (though)
kha tu (though)
kha jā (though)

Whenever the quotative particle hā is used at the end of a statement it expresses either a shared belief or a rumour, e.g.:

woyā kalā payena wona hā
It is said/rumoured that his wife has eloped.

pwāthae: dumha misā masteta hācāgāla dhāewo arhī chāi hā
It is believed that when a pregnant woman crosses over children they become unwell.

Native exclamatory expressions and particles are few. In colloquial Newari the more frequent ones are:

che (disapproval)
chi (disapproval)
yomā, yomāsā (surprise)
ahā (appreciation)
ayyā, āpu, āppu, āṭthā, āppā (pain, tiredness, inflammation)
ayyāmā

The following loan expressions are very common even in uneducated speech:

dhikkār (disapproval, curse), hare rāma/shiva/nārāyana/bhagawān (lamentation), shyābās (congratulations/compliment)
6.19.1 Each of these expressions, native as well as loans, can form a sentence on its own. Each of them can also initiate a sentence which may be declarative, question, command, request, a wish or simply an exclamation.

6.20 **Emphasis**

An element in a Newari sentence can be emphasized in five ways:

a. By adding an emphatic particle
b. By changing the verb from eventive to stative form
c. By adding affix -gu to a verb
d. By thematizing
e. By embedding and reordering

6.20.1 By adding the emphatic particle he:

chā: (he) jita: (he) pyākhā (he) kene (he) mā:/mā he mā:
You to me cinema to show necessary
You have to show me a cinema.

Rām kanhe mhiti
Rām will play tomorrow.

Rām kanhe mhi he mhiti
Rām will definitely play tomorrow.

Some other emphatic particles of native origins are:

nā (also), jaka (only), lā (additive), re (persuasive), kā (assertive), ni (sequential emphasis)

wo ni wona
he (sequential emphasis) go+past disjunct
He was the one to go.

wo nā wona
He too went.

wo jaka wona
He alone went.

ji wona kā
I will go.

6.20.2 By changing the event form of the verb into the state form:

Ritā mhiga: wola
Ritā came yesterday.

Ritā mhiga: wo:
Ritā did come yesterday.
6.20.3 By adding -gu to a verb:

Ritā tale du
Ritā is upstairs.

Ritā tale dugu
Ritā is upstairs.

Ritā mhiga: whitala
Ritā played yesterday.

Ritā mhiga: whitugu
Ritā did play yesterday.

6.20.4 By thematizing:

When the unmarked order of a sentence is changed the element occupying
the sentence initial position (theme) gets emphasized, e.g.:

Ritā tale du Ritā is upstairs -- 'Ritā' is the theme
tale Ritā du Ritā is upstairs -- 'upstairs' is the
theme

Ritā Mirāyata dhebā bila
Ritā gave money to Mirā.

Mirāyata Ritā dhebā bile (Indirect Object focus)
dhebā Ritā Mirāyata bila (Direct Object focus)

6.20.5 By Embedding and Reordering

An element in a sentence can be emphasized by putting the element
at the end of the sentence followed by an optional emphatic
particle he and an obligatory copula kha:, and by reducing the rest of
the sentence to an embedded sentence connected by the nominalizer -gu,
e.g.:

Ritā mhiga: Mirāyata dāla
Ritā beat Mirā yesterday.

Ritā mhiga: dā:gu Mirāyata kha: (Patient Emphasized)
Ritā Mirāyata dā:gu mhiga: he kha: (Site Emphasized)
mhiga: Mirāyata dā:gu Ritā he kha: (Agent Emphasized)
mhiga: Mirāyata dā:mha Ritā he kha: (Unmarked Agent Emphasized)

6.21 Ergativity and the Notion of 'Subject' in Newari

6.21.1 Newari has been characterized as an "actor-undergoer" language rather
than a "subject-object" language such as English (Hale and Watters,
1973: 192-194). Not all Newari clauses seem to require the presence of
a subject. A number of case frames other than marked agentive or
unmarked nominative occupy the sentence initial position -- the
position normally occupied by a 'subject'. These nouns or noun phrases
do not require concord with the verb. Only when actors or agents are
present there is verb concord. So the verb is 'governed', not by the
subject, but only by the agent or actor. In sentences with no actors
or agents, the verb is in 'impersonal form', occurring only in the
disjunct form (the -a form). Because the functions of a subject are
performed in Newari by a variety of case forms such as genitive and
locative which would not normally be called a subject in any language,
it has been suggested that "the notion of subject probably isn't needed
at all". (Hale and Watters, 1973: 194)

Newari has also been characterized as an ergative language (Kölver,
1976). In its restricted and original sense a language was called
ergative "if it possessed overt case markings on its NPs, such that the
object of a transitive verb was marked the same way as the subject of
an intransitive verb -- these being viewed as inactive or inefficacious
patients with respect to the verbal event -- while the subject of a
transitive verb was marked differently, as an active, efficacious
ergative (from Greek ergates 'worker') entity." (Matisoff, 1976:422).

Newari is an ergative language in the sense that the subject of a
Newari transitive, or bitransitive, or causative verb is overtly
marked. The object of such a verb may or may not be marked, depending
upon whether it is a direct or indirect object. Secondly, Newari
transitive object is often marked (or unmarked) in the same way as the
intransitive subject (for further discussion of Newari ergativity, see
Nagano, forthcoming).
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