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THE NEWARI LANGUAGE : A WORKING OUTLINE

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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, Ramapati 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.

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CHAPTER 1

PHONOLOGY

1.1 The Inventory of Newari Phonemes

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

1.1.1 Consonants

	Bilabial	Apico-Alveolar	Palatal	Dorso-Velar	Glottal
Stop	p ph b bh	t th d dh		k kh g gh	
Affricate		c ch j jh			
Fricative		s			h
Nasal	m mh	n nh		(ŋ)	
Liquid		l lh			
Flap		(r) (rh)			

1.1.2 Glides

w y

1.1.3 Vowels

	<u>Simple</u>			<u>Complex</u>	
	Front	Mid	Back		
High	i e	a	u o	ei ai āi	eu au āu
Low	ā			(ui)	

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/	/jā:/	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/	<u>karā</u> , <u>kadā</u> , hard
/rh/	/rhā/	<u>bārā</u> , 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/	/tɪ/	broth; liquid *
	/tī/	reed
	/ti:/	mole; in the broth
	/tī:/	from the broth; brass pot
/e/	/ke/	<u>keba</u> , garden
	/kē/	pulses
	/ke:/	<u>ke:tula</u> , to become slanted
	/kē:/	in the pulses
	/gei/	will barter
	/gēu/	equivalent to the value of
/ae/	/kae:/	<u>kaeke</u> , to throw
	/kāe:/	bell metal; alloy
/āe/	/kāe:/	son; (I) will take
	/kāē:/	lump of earth; a quantifier for rolls of thread
/ā/	/kā/	thread; take it
	/kā:/	takes (habitual); long trumpet
	/kā̃:/	blind man
	/kāi/	(He) will take
	/kāu/	<u>kaule</u> , cauliflower
	/kāī/	<u>kāī mine</u> , to feel worried
/a/	/ka/	exclamation, expressive of surprise as well as helplessness
	/kā/	tell
	/ka:/	sediment; residue
	/kā:/	thorn
	/kai/	pimple
	/kau/	blacksmith
/o/	/ko/	younger in age
	/ko:/	crow
	/kō:/	rice powder used for toilet
/u/	/ku/	load
	/kū/	smoke
	/ku:/	spade
	/kū:/	corner
	/kui:/	in the load
	/kūi:/	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., tí, 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., dí:, 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; gucā, marble

- /ph/ [ph] voiceless aspirated bilabial stop
- Variations:
 a. With aspirated fricative release, before /u/
 e.g., saphu:, book
- /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

- /j/ [dz] voiced apico-alveolar affricate
- Variation:
a. Grooved, before /i/ and /u/
e.g., ji, I; jula, (has) happened
- /ch/ [tʃ^h] voiceless aspirated apico-alveolar affricate
- Variation:
a. With palatalization, before /y/
e.g., chyla, (is) put to use
- /jh/ [dʒ^h] voiced apico-alveolar affricate
- Variation:
a. Grooved, before /i/ and /u/
e.g., jhi:, we; jhumi, gnome

Fricatives

- /s/ [s] voiceless alveolar fricative
- Variation:
a. Grooved, before /i/ and /u/
e.g., situ, grass, sukā, thread
- /h/ [h] voiceless glottal fricative
- Variations:
a. Voiced, word-initially
b. Fronted, before /i/
e.g., hirā, diamond; hī:, asafoetida

Nasals

- /n/ [n] voiced alveolar nasal
- Variation:
a. Velar, before velar stops
e.g., pyeñki, kick (it); jañko, 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; lū, gold; sā:l, fertilizer

1.3.7 Flap

/r/ [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:

Lip Position	Tongue Height	Unrounded	Unrounded	kounded
		Front	Central	Back
Close	High	[i] /i/		[u] /u/
Half-close	Higher-mid	[e] /e/		[o] /o/
	Mean mid		[ə] /a/	
Half-open	Lower mid	[ɛ:] /ae:/		
	Higher-low	[æ:] /āe:/		
Open	Low	[a] /ā/		

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)

Newari Vowels and Their Variants

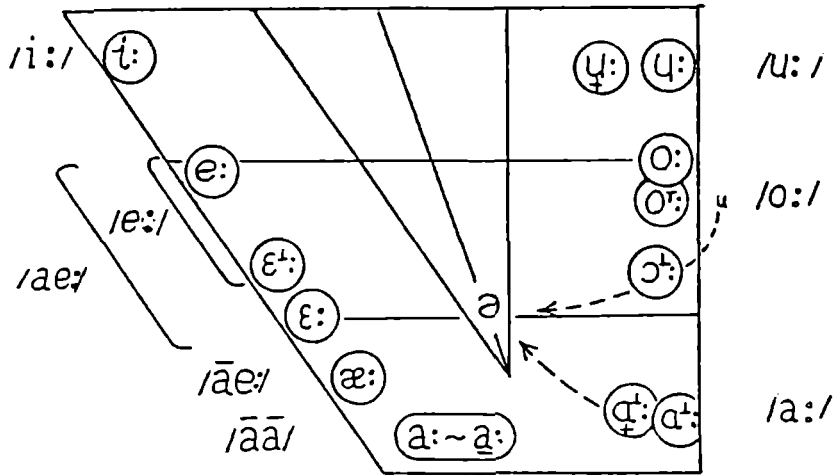


Figure 1. Variants of Newari long vowels

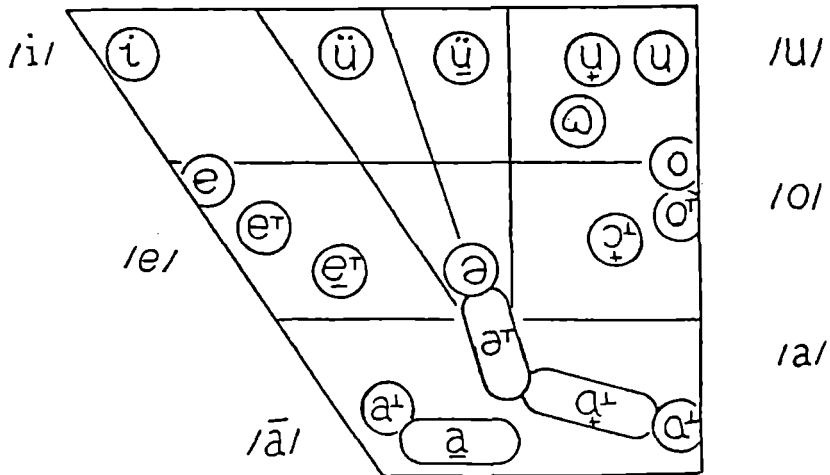


Figure 2. Variants of Newari short vowels

[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: [ɾ] 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 [ɔ]. The use of [a+] and [ā+] 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 [ā+] 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 [a]. 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:
- *wy, *yw, *yy, *ww, *wr, *yr, *yi, *wu
- 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/.

Palatalization

nene to ask
 tiye to wear
 sati near

Labialization

dona is mistaken
 bhutu: kitchen
 saphu: book

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 /āe:/ 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 puwoŋka, 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 intervocalically, 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., būi, 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 thac:
- 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.,

bū būi > 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 of 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.,

Nominative Case	Locative Case
Upright Form	Oblique Form
lākā	lāk.mae

Phonesthetic words: sulla
 swātta
 twākka
 sirra

1.8.6 The following are the possible syllable structures in Newari:

	Initial V	Initial C	Initial CC
a.	V	CV	CCV
b.	VC	CVC	CCVV
c.	VV	CVV	CCVC

1.8.7 Contrast and Variation in Syllable Structure

<u>V-pattern:</u>	ā:	now
	ã:	mango
	icā	sickle
	uye	to bark
<u>VC-pattern:</u>	appā	brick
	ultā	opposite
<u>VV-pattern:</u>	ūi	mad woman
	āū	dysentery
	aelā	wine
	āepā	tile
<u>CV-pattern:</u>	ji	I
	jipi:	we, us
	jā	rice
	je:	light
	juju	king
<u>CVC-pattern:</u>	cirmā	step-mother
	bhamcā	bride
	timlā	moon
<u>CVV-pattern:</u>	kai	pimple
	kau	blacksmith
	kāe	son, (I will) take
	kāe:	bell metal; alloy
<u>CVV-pattern:</u>	gwā:	betel leaf
	gyā:	afraid
	jhyā:	window
	lyā:	accounts
<u>CCVV-pattern:</u>	lhei	will carry
	lwāi	will fight
	chāi	will burn
<u>CCVC-pattern:</u>	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

Voiceless Unaspirated	Voiced Aspirated	Voiced	Breathy
k	kh	g	gh
c	ch	j	jh
t	th	d	dh
p	ph	b	bh
s			h
		m	mh
		n	nh
		(r)*	(rh)*
		l	lh

Syllable Medial Glides

Labial Glide	Palatal Glide	Flap
w	y	(r)

Syllable Final Consonants

Voiceless Unaspirated	Voiced Aspirated	Voiced	Breathy
k	kh	g	gh*
c	ch*	j	jh*
t	th	d	dh*
p	ph	b	bh*
s			h**
		m	mh*
		n	nh*
		r	rh*
		l	lh*

- 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).

CHAPTER 2
MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Roots

Most, though not all, of Newari roots are monosyllabic. They consist of one single free monosyllabic morpheme such as tī, 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', añ-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>ku: '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

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

2.2.2 Endocentric Compounds: Coordinating Type

Noun+Noun Complementary	kalā+bhāta (husband+wife) = couple dāju+kijā (elder brother+younger brother) cā+nhī (night+day) daily chē+bū (home+field) property
Noun+Noun Contrastive	la:+mi (water+fire) dune+pine (inside+outside) nhāpā+lipā (before+after)
Noun+Noun Appositive	bhau+macā (daughter+child) daughter-in-law me:+mikhā (buffalo+eye) big eye bhattu+nhāe: (parrot+nose) hooked nose

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.

Noun+Noun	khicā+khi (dog+shit) someone who is difficult to handle phae+gā (wind+bell) liar moti+māicā (pearl+girl) alcohol dega+bakhū (temple+pigeon) idler
Adjective+Noun	tāpā+khwā: (far+face) rarely seen hāku+nuga: (dark+mind) mean kuti+phai (Tibetan+sheep) obstinate tago+chyō (big+head) important man

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.

nhya (front)	nhyane (in front of)	nhya-kāye (to bring forward)
li (behind)	liune (behind)	li-phyāye (to leave behind)
du (inside)	dune (inside)	du-kāe (to bring in)
pi (outside)	pine (outside)	pi-kāye (to bring out)
ko (down)	kone (downstairs)	ko-kāye (to bring down)
tha (up)	thane (upper zone)	tha-kāye (to bring up)

u (there)	ukhe (thither)	umha (that)	uli (that much)
thu (here)	thukhe (hither)	thumha (this)	thuli (this much)
gu (what)	gukhe (whither)	gumha (who)	guli (how much)

A more productive system of prefixes in Newari are the "pre-verbals", 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:

bu-lhāye	to teach thoroughly
cā-lhāye	to gather, to make something round in shape
la-lhāye	to submit
twā-lhāye	to cut
de-lhāye	to dedicate
tu-lhāye	to wind up
ti-lhāye	to straighten
lu-lhāye	to stop
li-lhāye	to add
ko-lhāye	to cook/take out
du-lhāye	to dip

2.3.2 Suffixes

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

a. Verb + <u>-sā</u>	na-ye	to eat	nasā	food
	ti-ye	to wear	tisā	ornament
	co-ye	to write	cosā	pen
	thā-ye	to cast	thāsā	mould

b. Verb + <u>-si</u>	dā-ye	to boil	dāsi	boiling
	pyā-ye	to be wet	pyāsi	one who remains attached (soaked?)
	da-ye	to exist	dasi	evidence
c. Verb + <u>-pu</u>	so-ye	to look	so-pu	good-looking, health
	lwā-ye	to quarrel	lwā-pu	quarrel
	swā-ye	to join	swā-pu	joint
	lyan-e	to remain	lyā-pu	remains
d. Verb + <u>-pu:</u>	dhā-ye	to speak	dhā-pu:	statement; view
	gyā-ye	to fear	gyā-pu:	fear
e. Verb + <u>-ka</u>	lhā-ye	to speak	lhāka	speaker
	dhā-ye	to say	dhāka	sayer
	yā-ye	to do	yā-ka	doer

Abstract nouns in Newari are formed mainly by three suffixes:

-sū: -chū: -hū:

Given below are some examples of these suffixes:

-su:	nhil-e	to laugh	nhī-su:	propensity to laugh
	kho-ye	to weep	kho-su:	propensity to weep
	macā	child	macā-su:	childishness
	wē	madman	wē-su:	symptoms of madness
-chu:	ta:dhā	big	tadhā-chu:	snobbery
	sa:	knowledgeable	sa:-chu:	affectation of learning
	matā:	unheard	matā:-chu	indifference
-hu	wē	madman	wē-hu:	madness; spell of madness
	lyāemha	young	iyāemha-hu:	youth; spell of youth
f. Verb + <u>-pā</u>	su-ye	to dry up	su-pā	the proportion of dryness
	ha-ye	to bring	ha-pā	effort
	di-ye	to stop	di-pā	interval
	kā-ye	to take	kā-pā	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	jyā	work	jyā-mi	worker
	la	way	la-mi	match-maker
	Sako	a place-name	Sako-mi	inhabitant of Sako, i.e., Sākhū
	Kipu:	a place-name	Kipu:-mi	inhabitant of Kipu:, i.e., Kirtipur

-c	Yala Khopa Bode	Yalae: Khopae: Bode:	inhabitant of Yala, i.e. Pātan inhabitant of Khopa, i.e. Bhaktapur inhabitant of Bode	
-gulu	gaji thō aelā: khā	hashish rice beer wine talk	gaji-gulu thō-gulu aelā:-gulu khā-gulu	addicted to hashish-smoking addicted to drinking beer addicted to drinking wine talkative
-mhulu/-culu (exclusively limited to):				
	khi co	stool urine	khi-mhulu co-mhulu	coward 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:

<u>proximate</u>	<u>non-proximate</u>	<u>interrogative</u>	
tho/thu-/th-	u-/a-	go/gu-/ga-	
thuli	uli	guli	(quantity)
thukhe	ukhe	gukhe	(direction)
thana	ana	gana	(place)
thathe	athe	gathe	(manner)
thukathā	ukathā	gukathā	(mode)
thubale	ubale	gubale	(time)
thubeata	ubeata	gubeata	(duration)
thumha	umha	gumha	(identity)
			(animate)
thugu	ugu	gugu	(identity)
			(inanimate)
thupāeco	upāeco	gapāeco	(intensity)
thujo:gu	ujo:gu	gujo:gu	(similarity)

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
	bi-ye	to give	bi-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)
la:	(water)	la:li:	(water and similar other things)
ho:	(hole)	ho:hi:	(hole and similar other things)
mu:	(price)	mu:mā:	(price and similar other things)
mikhā	(eye)	mikhāmākhā	(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:

hilā	(change)	hilābalā	(plural sense)
nakha:	(festival)	nakha:cakha:	
dhuku:	(store)	dhuku:piku:	
wāsa:	(medicine)	wāsa:tāsa:	
sisā	(fruit)	sisābasā	
phuki:	(kin)	phuki:bāki:	
jhyātu	(heavy)	jhyātukyātu	
thala	(utensil)	thalabala	
jolā	(neighbour)	jolākhalā	
halā	(requisites for worship)	halājolā	

- 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:

Adjective	Adjectival Verb	Reduplication
mhāsu (yellow)	mhāsu-ye	mhāsumhāsu-dhāye
yecu (clean)	yecu-ye	yecuyacu-dhāye
hāku (black)	hāku-ye	hākuhāku-dhāye
bulu (dim)	bulu-ye	bulubulu-dhāye

- 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 jita: thwāta (He kicked me)
 wō jita: thwāttu thwāta (He kicked me hard)
 wō jita: 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:

Citation Form	Stative	Nasalized
bi-ye to give	byu:	byū
sil-e to wash	syu:	syū
yā-ye to do	yā:	yā̃
lak-e to snatch	lāku:	lākū
sa:t-e to call	sa:tu:	sa:tū

The reduplicated pairs, byu:byū, syusyū, yāyā̃, lākulākū, sa:tuss:tū, 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:

Citation Form	Reduplicated Form
na-ye to eat	naeni
kā-ye to take	kāeki
ton-e to drink	tonetine

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.:

Citation Form	Reduplicated Form
pha-so-ye to look back	phaphasoye
li-cil-e to retreat	lilicile
de-tan-e to pile/add	dedetane
la-thyā-ye to fold	lalathyāye
dhe-cul-e to lean/stagger	dhedhecule

2.4.8 A further intensification or modification in degree takes place by inserting the negative particle -ma between the reduplicated elements, e.g.:

dhe-cul-e	dhe-dhe-cule	dhe-dhe-ma-dhe-cule
de-tan-e	de-de-tane	de-de-ma-de-tane

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

Singular		Plural
su	who (animate)	susu
chu	who (inanimate)	chuchu
gu	which (which)	gugugugu (inanimate)
		gunhagumha (animate)

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

su (anyone/someone)	susu (none)
chu (anything/something)	chuchu (nothing)

(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.:

sulu (flow, liquid)	siri (air flow)	sutu (thick flow)
sulusulu (slow)	sirisiri (gently)	sutusutu (slow thick flow)
sulululu (fast)	siririri (intensely)	sutututu (fast but in small thick flow)

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).

CHAPTER 3
INFLECTION

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. Numeral 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: -pī: and -ta; -pī: is used for nouns which are respect or kinship terms. For all other animate nouns the plural marker is -ta. Thus:

misā	misāta	kijā	kijāpī:
woman	women	brother	brothers
sā	sāta	juju	jujupī:
cow	cows	king	kings
khicā	khicāta	bhāju	bhājupī:
dog	dogs	gentleman	gentlemen

3.3 Case

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

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

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	cha:pī:	second person, honour
tho	this, inanimate		
hū	that, far, inanimate		
āma	this, near, animate		
gugu	which?		

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

	1st Person Exclusive		1st Person Inclusive
	sg.	pl.	pl.
nom	ji	jipī:	jhi:/jhi:pī:
agt.	jī:	jimisā:	jhi:sā:
com.	jike	jimike	jhi:ke
dat.	jita	jimita	jhi:ta
gen.	ji/jigu	jimi/jimigu	jhi:/jhi:gu

	<u>cha</u> 2nd Person Familiar		<u>chi</u> 2nd Person Respect	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	cha	chipī:	chi	chikpī:
agt.	chā:	chimisā:	chī:	chikpīsā:
com.	chāke	chimike	chike	chikpinke
dat.	chāta	chimita	chita	chikpīnta
gen.	cha/chāgu	chimi/chimigu	chi/chigu	chikpīni/chikpinigu

cha:pī: 2nd Person Honour

Singular

nom.	cha:pī:
agt.	cha:pīsā:
com.	cha:pinke
dat.	cha:pīnta
gen.	cha:pīni/cha:pinigu

wo that, animate

	sg.	pl.
nom.	wo	ipī:
agt.	wō:	imisā:
com.	woike	imike
dat.	woita	imita
gen.	woyā	imi/imigu

tho this, animate

	sg.	pl.
nom.	tho	thupī:
agt.	thō:	thumisā:
com.	thoike	thumike
dat.	thoita	thumita
gen.	thoyā	thumi/thumigu

waeka: 3rd person, far respect

	sg.	pl.
nom.	waeka:	waeka:pī:
agt.	waekalā:	waeka:pīsā:
com.	waeka:yāke	waeka:pinke
dat.	waeka:yāta	waek:pīnta
gen.	waeka:yā	waeka:pīni/-gu

thoeka: 3rd person, near respect

	sg.	pl.
nom.	thoeka:	thoeka:pī:
agt.	thoeka:lā:	thoeka:pīsā:
com.	thoeka:yāke	thoeka:pinke
dat.	thoeka:yāta	thoeka:pīnta
gen.	thoeka:yā	thoeka:pīni/-gu

hū: that, far animate

	sg.	pl.
nom.	hū:	hūpī:
agt.	hūnā:	hū:pīsā:
com.	hū:yāke	hū:pīke
dat.	hū:yāta	hū:pīta
gen.	hū:yā	hū:pīni/-gu

āma this, near, animate

	sg.	pl.
nom.	āma	āmapī:
agt.	āmā:	āmapīsā:
com.	āmaike	āmapīke
dat.	āmaita	āmapīta
gen.	āmāyā	āmapīni/-gu

<u>wo</u> that, inanimate		<u>tho</u> this, animate	
nom. wo		tho	
abl. ukī:		thukī:	
loc. uki:		thuki:	
obj. uke:yāta		thuke:yāta	
gen. uke:yā		thuke:yā	
<u>hū:</u> that, far, inanimate		<u>āma</u> this, near, inanimate	
nom. hū:		āma	
abl. hū:kī:		āmakī:	
loc. hū:ki:		āmaki:	
obj. hū:kiyāta		āmkiyāta	
gen. hū:kiyā		āmkiyā	
<u>su</u> who		<u>chu</u> what	
	sg. pl.		sg. pl.
nom. su	su su	chu	chu chu
agt. sunā:	sunā sunā:	chukī:	chukī chukī: abl.
com. soike	soike soike	chuki:	chuki chuki: loc.
dat. soita	soita soita	chukiyāta	chuki chukiyāta obj.
gen. soyā	soyā soyā	chukiyā	chuki chukiyā
<u>gu</u> which			
nom. gugu			
abl. gukī:			
loc. guki:			
obj. gukiyāta			
gen. gukiyā			

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 -pī: for plural number. The adjective, together with its classifier, inflects for case and number, e.g.:

	Adjective + classifier/		Singular	Plural
	bā:lā	-mha (animate)		-pī:
		-gu (inanimate)		x
	Singular	Plural	Inanimate	
nom.	bā:lāmha	bā:lāpī:	bā:lāgu	
agt.	bā:lāmhayā:	bā:lāpīsā:	bā:lāgulī:	abl.
com.	bā:lāmhayāke	bā:lāpīke	bā:lāguli:	loc.
dat.	bā:lāmhayāta	bā:lāpīta	bā:lāguyāta	obj.
gen.	bā:lāmhayā	bā:lāpīnigu	bā:lāguyā	

3.5.1 Bound numerals with appropriate classifiers inflect for case but not for number, e.g.:

Bound Numeral + Classifier

	cha	-pu (classifier for round and long objects)
nom.	chapu	
abl.	chapū:	
loc.	chapwī:	
obj.	chapuyāta	
gen.	chapuyā	

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:

			Past Conj.	Disj.
Class I	Verb Stem-final	-n		
Class II	Verb Stem-final Vowels	-e	-nā	-ta
Class III	Verb Stem-final Vowels	-e	-yā	-la
Class IV	Verb Stem-final	-l		
Class V	Verb Stem-final	-p/-t/-k		

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 is 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

Infinitive	in-e
Past Disjunct	in-a
Past Conjunct	in-ā
Non-Past Disj.	in-i
Non-Past Conj.	in-e
Stative	yū:
Imperative	yū
Causative	ink-e
Short Stem	yu

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

Infinitive	ci-ye
Past Disjunct	ci-ta
Past Conjunct	ci-nā
Non-Past Disj.	ci-i
Non-Past Conj.	ci-i
Stative	cyu:
Imperative	cyu
Causative	cik-e
Short Stem	ci

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

Infinitive	bi-ye
Past Disjunct	bi-la
Past Conjunct	bi-yā
Non-Past Disj.	bi-i
Non-Past Conj.	bi-i
Stative	byu:
Imperative	byu
Causative	bi:ke
Short Stem	bi

Class IV Stem-final -l, e.g., hil-e, to change

Infinitive	hil-e
Past Disjunct	hil-a
Past Conjunct	hil-ā
Non-Past Disj.	hil-i
Non-Past Conj.	hil-e
Stative	hyu:
Imperative	hyu
Causative	hi:ke
Short Stem	hi

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

	<u>kop-e</u> , to assist	<u>sa:t-e</u> , to call	<u>lāk-e</u> , to snatch
Infinitive	kop-e	sa:t-c	lāk-e
Past Disjunct	kop-ala	sa:t-ala	lāk-ala
Past Conjunct	kop-ā	sa:t-ā	lāk-ā
Non-Past Disj.	kop-i:	sa:t-i:	lāk-i:
Non-Past Conj.	kop-e	sa:t-e	lāk-c
Stative	kopyu:	sa:t-u:	lāk-u:
Imperative	kopyu	sa:t-i	lāk-i
Causative	kopke	sa:tke	lākake
Short Stem	kopyu	sa:tu	lāku

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:

Person	Non-Past	Past
Conjunct	-e/i (following i/u stem vowels)	-ā
Disjunct	-i/i:	-a

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:

	Non-Past	Past
Conjunct	-e/i	-ā
Disjunct	-i/i:	-a

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

	<u>Statement</u>	<u>Question</u>
First	Conjunct	Disjunct
Second	Disjunct	Conjunct
Third	Disjunct	Disjunct

Examples

jī: saphu: khanā
I saw the book.

jī: saphu: khana lā?
Did I see the book?

chā: saphu: khana
You saw the book.

chā: saphu:khana lā?
Did you see the book?

wō: saphu: khana
He saw the book.

wō: saphu: khana lā?
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

Stem Vowel	Citation Form	Stative	Imperative	Causative
i	in-e (to distribute)	yū:	yū	in̄k-e
e	nen-e (to listen)	nyā:	nyā	neñk-e
a	kan-e (to tell)	kā:	kā	kañk-e
o	lhon-e (to lift)	lhō:	lhō	lhoñk-e
o	won-e (to go)	wō:	hū	--
u	dun-e (to collapse)	dū:	--	--
u	thun-e (to pull down)	thū:	thū	thuñk-e

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:

kha-ye (to be true)	kha-yā
so-ye (too see)	so-yā
gā-ye (to be enough)	gā-nā
ci-ye (to bind)	ci-nā

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

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

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:

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

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

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

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.:

Stem Vowel	Citation Form	Stative	Imperative	Causative
p	dohalap-e (to offer)	dohalapyu:	dohalapyu	dohalapake
t	sa:t-e (to call)	sa:tu:	sa:ti	sa:take
k	lāk-e (to snatch)	lāku:	lāki	lākake

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	garment	lā
pona	hail	pō
puthana	thorn	puthā
nakina	nail	nakī
tutāma	walking stick	tutā
tama	anger	tā

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

dhalaka	list	dhala:
khokha	crow	ko:
akhata	opposite	akha:
twātha	bill	twā:
phukija	kinsmen	phuki:
kila	insect	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 /thi/.

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	spade	ku:
tāpu-ti	bridge	tāpu:
dabu-li	stage	dabu:
saphu-li	book	saphu:

Initial syllable with /a/

bha-ti	cat	bhau
pa-ti	roof	pau
dha-li	curds	dhau

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	place	thāe:
nhāsa	nose	nhāe:
gwāca	mustache	gwāe:
phasa	wind	phae:

4.2.7 A few Newari words have lost the final -wo, giving compensatory length to the preceding vowel:

nhyawo	sleep	nhya:	nhuwo	new	nhu:
thawo	oneself	tha:	mewo	others	me:
khawo	left, is	kha:	āwo	now	ā:
dewo	god	dya:	chāwo	hard	chā:
			yawo	like	ya:

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:

Upright Form		Oblique Form	
Nominative	dho:	Ergative	dholā
Genitive	dho:yā	Locative	dhola-e:
Dative	dho:yāta		

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:

- 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:.
- 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:/.
- 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	Singular	Plural	
First	ji	jhi:(pī:) jipī:	Inclusive Exclusive of the listener
Second			
+Respect	chi	chikpī:	
Ordinary	cha	chipī:	
Third			
+Respect	waeka:	waeka:pī:	
Ordinary	wo	ipī/apī:	

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:

	Singular	Plural
Addressee Proximate	āma	āmapī:
Speaker Proximate	tho	tho-/thipī:
Non-Proximate (Speaker)	wo	ipī:
Non-Proximate (Addressee)	hū	hūpī:

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

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.:

thana sū he mawo:
here no one emphasis neg+come
No one came here.

Other indefinite pronouns are:

Singular	Plural
me: + mha/gu	me:-me: + pi:/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.:

Gender	Number		Suffix
animate	singular	bā:lāmha manu:	- <u>mha</u>
	plural	bā:lāpī: manu:ta	-pī:
inanimate		bā:lāgu saphu:	-gu

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

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), pulā̃ (old), bāsi (stale), thike (dear), suku: (dry), nhu: (new), kaci (raw), ta:mi (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), gyānāpu (fearful), ciku (cold), tāku (thick, of liquid), pālu (hot, of foods), mhāsu (yellow), wācu (blue), hāku (black), cāku (sweet), culu (slippery), jhyātu (heavy), tuyu (white), pāu (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.:

kā̃, 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:

	<u>Ones</u>			<u>Tens</u>		
cha/chī	one	khu	six	ni:	twenty	nhae: seventy
ni	two	nhae	seven	swi:	thirty	cae: eighty
sō	three	cyā	eight	pi:	forty	gwi: ninety
pi/pē	four	gu/gū	nine	nyae:	fifty	sachi 100
nyā	five	jhi/sānha	ten	khwi:	sixty	

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.:

ba-/bā-	half	as in bachi, bāgu
jala	three-quarters	as in jalachi
cakan	one-fourth	as in cakanchi
dugan	double	as in duganchi
tyā	half	as in satyā

Indefinite quantity is indicated by adjectives such as:

āpā: (much), bhaticā (a little), phuka (all), yako (a lot), māko (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:

nhāpā	first	dhokamha	first/one (human only)
nhāpāyālyu	second	dātimha	second
lipā	third	milamha	third
lipāyālyu	fourth	milu:mha	fourth
		cirimha	last

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

	Proximate		Remote
	Speaker	Addressee	
Quality	thanyā	āmanyā	anyā
Quantity			
Count	tho	āma	wo-
Non-Count	thuli	āmali	uli
Identity			
General	tho	āma	wo-
Specific	thu	āma	u-

5.5.2 Interrogative Proadjectives

Quality	gana/ganyā
Quantity	
Count	go
Non-Count	guli
Identity	
General	su (human), chu (non-human)
Specific	gu

5.5.3 Indefinite Proadjectives

Quality	nhyātheyā	whatever kind
Quantity	nhyāko	whatever quantity
Identity		
General		
Human	su	whoever, any, some
Non-Human	chu	whatever, any, some
Specific	nhyā	whichever

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)

i. Animate	-mha
ii. Inanimate	-gu(1)
	-ga(1)
	-go(1)
	-pā
	-pā(t)
	-pu
	-pho(1)
	-cā(1)

b. Idiomatic (does not impose semantic classification)

i. Unique	-khā	
	-duwā(1)	
	-ku(t1)	
	-pwā(1)	
	-tā	
	-thā	
	-ti	
ii. Reduplicative	-bāli	-pati
	-dho(1)	-pau/-pati
	-ha(1)	-pā
	-khala(k)	-pā(1)
	-kho(1)	-pha(1)
	-khwāe	-pi(t)
	-kica(1)	-pu
	-ki(1)	-putu
	-ki(n)	-po(1)
	-ku(n)	-pwā(1)
	-mā	-tau
	-mo(1)	-tā(1)
	-palā(kh)	

5.6.5 Apart from these true 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 dhāni of potatoes
bū cha-pi:	one ropani of land
cikā ni-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 tyapa 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.:

ni pi: bū two ropanis of land
or
nigu ropani bū two ropanis of land

Before borrowed units of measurement either loan numerals or native numerals with -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.:

wābāli cha bāli one harvest of paddy
ha: cha ha: one leaf
dho: cha dho: 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.:

cha ha: one leaf
cha dho: one line
cha bāli one harvest

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

chē cha khā one house
mata cha pwā one lamp
mari cha tā one pastry
pujā cha thā one pujā sitting
balā cha ti one arrow
sukā cha ti one stitch
lukhā cha duwā: one gate
(N.B. This may be a loan. See Sanskrit dwāra = gate.)

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

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

Examples

<u>a.</u> Noun heads with <u>-mha</u>	<u>Semantic Feature</u>
manu: cha-mha one person	animate
macā cha-mha one child	
khicā cha-mha one dog	
<u>b.</u> Noun heads with <u>-gu(1)</u>	inanimate
de: cha-gu: one settlement	geographic feature/
gā: cha-gu: one village	locations
gū cha-gu: one forest	
khā cha-gu: one matter: one topic	abstract states
jyā cha-gu: one task	activities
saphu: cha-gu: one book	miscellaneous inanimate
kacā cha-gu: one branch	items
<u>c.</u> Noun heads with <u>-ga(1)</u> and <u>-go(1)</u>	round objects
ālu cha-ga: one potato	
thala cha-ga: one container	containers
thā: cha-ga: one pillar	house parts
jāki cha-ga: one grain of rice	grains/granules
<u>d.</u> Noun heads with <u>-pā</u> and <u>-pā(t)</u>	
lā: cha-pā one upper garment	flat objects
demā cha-pā: one dish	
mhicā cha-pā one pocket	
mari cha-pā one pastry	
khē:-wo: cha-pā one fried egg	
papu: cha-pā one wing	paired objects
lākā cha-pā one shoe	
<u>e.</u> Noun heads with <u>-pu</u>	
lā cha-pu one road	long/thin objects
gā cha-pu one shawl	
me cha-pu one song	literary products
su cha-pu one piece of straw	non-count nouns
<u>f.</u> Noun heads with <u>-pho(1)</u>	
swā: cha-pho: one flower	flower/flower-shaped
tuki cha pho: one earring	objects
<u>g.</u> Noun heads with <u>-cā(1)</u>	
gha: cha-cā one mill stone	circular objects

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

5.7 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. Coupla 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 kha-ye/kha:/khata/khai

tho jigu cosā kha:
this my pen is
This is my pen.

2. Adjectival Copula ju-ye/ju:/jula/jwi:

jigu lā thike ju:
my grament expensive is
My garment is expensive.

3. Existential/Possessive/Locative Copula da-ye/du:/dai

jike dhebā du
I-with money is
I have money.

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:

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)

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.:

bhau sana
The cat moved.

wo dena/dana
He slept/woke up.

macā khola
The child cried.

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:

Mīrā̃ 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

Ashā lāe: lātā
Ashā on the road leave+past
Ashā 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

ana	there	ukhe	thither
thana	here	thukhe	hither
gana	where	gukhe	whither
dune	inside	duhā [~]	in
pine	outside	pihā [~]	out
nhya:ne	in front	thāhā [~]	up
liune	behind	kwāhā [~]	down
dya:ne	above	nhyahā [~]	before
ta:le	below	lihā [~]	behind
kune	downstairs	nhyapha:	ahead
tale	upstairs	lipha:	back

5.8.1.2 Adverbs of Time

ā:	now	nhāpā	quite early
nhāpā	early	libākka	quite late
lipā	late	hānā	again
gubalē	never	nhyābalē	always
thugasī	this year		
ākiwō	next year		
iwō	year after the next		
thāune	last year		
naune	year before the last year		
thāū	today		
mhiga:	yesterday		
mhi:ga	day before yesterday		
kanhe	tomorrow		
nhīnhī	daily		
kāsa	day after tomorrow		

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:

<u>Place</u>	pasa: shop	pasalae: in the shop	pasalā from the shop
<u>Time</u>	kanhe tomorrow	kanhae: tomorrow	kanhesā from tomorrow

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:

- Transient (just once), e.g., sutukka, putukka, pulukka, sutta, phyātta, etc.
- Continuous, e.g., sutuhū, puluhū, musuhū, ātāhā[~], jhwātāhā[~], twālāhā[~], jāhā[~], etc.
- Durative, e.g., musumusu, sutusutu, pulupulu, sulusulu, tulutulu, phiriphiri, sirisiri, kirikiri, kurukuru, etc.

Newari lexicon is rich in such onomatopoeic 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), wothē (in the same manner)

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

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

Āshā sakasiyā khañka wola
Āshā by all visible came+past (from verb khan-e, to see)
Āshā 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:

Adjective	Adverb
bā:lā: (beautiful)	bā:lāka
sā: (tasty)	sākka

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), thuli (this much), guli (how much), phacīphako (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:

nhya: (before), bele (at, on time), pākhe; rikhe (towards), nāpa (near), lise (with), lisē (together with), thē (as), likka (near), nisē (from, since), takka (up to), dhuñkā (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), makhūsā (if not), tabi (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), aesā (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:

Unmarked	Respect (loan)
hā/jyau (response to a call)	hajur
kha: (positive)	
makhu (negative)	
da/de/jyu: (consent)	hawas
mhā: (negative)	
ā (neutral)	
ale (request to continue)	
ka (surprise; dismay)	

b. Question Tags:

kha:lā
hā
nhā
nhí

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), chí, chíchi (disapproval), dhikkār (condemnation), yomā (surprise), ayāmā (fatigue), syābās (benediction), dhatteṛi (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)
khā 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)

tū (self) wōtū tho saphu: jita: bila
 (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 wola 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, jhipī:, 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 sa:tā 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:

animate possessor + animate head	-yā
animate possessor + inanimate head	-yāgu
inanimate possessor + animate head	-yāmha

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

	Singular	Plural
animate	-mha	-pī:
inanimate	-gu	x

6.2.6 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.

6.2.7 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.

6.2.8 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

6.2.9 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.

6.2.10 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/attributive/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.:

	Conjunct	Disjunct
Past	ji wonā	cha/wo wona
Non-Past	ji wone	cha/wo woni

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:

Infinitive	Past Conjunct	Gerundive	Participle
na-ye	nayā	nayā	nayā:

- 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 manī
 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:

- Copula Verbs (with or without emphasis) (Listed in 5.7.4)
- Quotative dhakā:, and
- 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).

- Gerundive + Auxiliary Verb

wonā	cona
go	remain
was going	

2. Infinitive + Aux.
 nene māla
 listen necessary
 became necessary to listen
3. Nominalized Inf. + Aux.
 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
7. Gerundive + Gerundive + Aux.
 dhasaeyānā syānā bila
 sting kill give
 was killed by stinging
8. Gerundive + Gerundive + Honorific Aux.
 hayā biyā disā
 bring give stay
 please bring
9. Gerundive + Nominalized Inf. + Aux.
 hālā cōgu jula
 cry remain is
 happened to be crying
10. Inf. + Nom. Inf. + Aux.
 wone tēgu jula
 go begin is
 happened to be ready to go
11. Gerundive + Gerundive + Aux.
 miyā wonā cona
 sell go remain
 went on selling
12. Nom. Inf. + Nom. Inf.
 syāyegu yāgu
 kill do
 used to kill

13. Nom. Inf. + Gerundive + Aux.
wonegu juyā cona
go happen remain
happened/used to be to go(?)
14. Gerundive + Nom. Inf. + Gerundive + Auxiliary
conā naigu juyā cona
remain eat happen remain
happened/used to eat
15. Gerundive + Gerundive + Nom. Inf. + Gerundive + Auxiliary
chunā biyā chogu juyā cona
cook give send happen remain
used to send giving cooked (bread)
16. Gerundive + Gerundive + Gerundive + Gerundive + Auxiliary
jonā dāyā kakutinā huttyayānā chota
catch beat push by neck push/throw send
was thrown away held by (his) neck, caught and beaten(?)
17. Gerundive+Gerundive+Gerundive+Gerundive+Inf.Nom.+Ger.+Aux.
dāyā sā jonā luyā sālā ha:gu juṃyā 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
mikhātisinā 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
bobiṃyā disā dhakā: dhāla
chide request say say
requested to chide
21. Gerundive+Honorific+Quotative+Gerundive+Infinitive.Nom.+Ger.+Aux.
bobiṃyā disā dhakā: dhayā conṃgu 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.
25. Copula + Copula + Emp. + Emp.
 du kha ni sā
 e.g., wo chē: du kha ni sā
 It really happens to be that he is at home.
26. Inf. + Inf. Nom. + Copula
 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:

Perfective		Imperfective	Iterative
Directional	Non-Directional	con-e (to remain) Progressive	Reduplicated
wo-ye (to come)	thak-e (to leave)		sāsā, nanā, etc. + auxiliary
won-e (to go)		ten-e (to begin) -Incipient	
bi-ye (to give)			
kā-ye (to take)		ha-ye (to bring) -Inchoative	
cho-ye (to send)		yen-e (to carry) Durative	

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:

pha-ye	(to be able)	ability
ji-ye	(to be permitted)	permission
da-ye	(to be possible)	possibility
kā-ye	(to take)	
bi-ye	(to give)	
cho-ye	(to send)	volition
won-e	(to go)	
wo-ye	(to come)	
lā-ye	(to do something by mistake)	
so-ye	(to try, to see)	effort
māl-e	(to be necessary)	necessity

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 (1978:78) 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 makhañka (stealthily) can be inserted in the initial position of the verb phrase:

makhañka lākā hayā congu juyā cona
happened to have been brought stealthily snatched

We can also have:

- a. lākā: makhañka hayā coṅgu juyā cona
- b. lākā: hayā: makhañka coṅgu juyā cona
- *c. lākā: hayā coṅgu makhañka juyā cona
- *d. lākā: hayā coṅgu juyā makhañka 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):

kani: 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 seli	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 dhuñkā:
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)
Ger. + Ger. + Nom. Inf. + Ger. + 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:

gāsīmha the lean one	adjective + nom.+affix
taskā gāsīmha the very lean one	intensifier + adj.+ affix
hēgwā thē gāsīmha coal like lean	postpositional phrase + adj.+ aff.
Ritā sikā sāp he gāsīmha Ritā than very emphasis	postpositional phrase + intensifier + adj.+affix
nīmha-mha pāsā the second friend	numeral+classifier + affix + adj.
thanyāgu bhīgu lākā such good shoe	proadjective+affix + adj.+ affix + noun
Ritāyāgu/-mha Rita's	possessive+affix
samsār phukka cāhilā woye dhuñku: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 slowly	adverb
bhacā buluhū a little slowly	modifier + adverb
buluhū buluhū slowly but steadily	reduplicated adverb
athe/athe taskā bā:lāka that very finely	adverb of manner + intensifier + adverb

Often Newari adverb phrases are formed by periphrastic verb phrase of a non-finite nature which precedes and modifies the main verb. For example:

wō dhaigu khā nyanā man tayā: jyā yāta
 he + to say+affix + talk + to listen+past
 conjunct + mind + give+participle + work + past disjunct
 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 house near near the house	noun + postposition
wone nhya: to go before before going	verb + postposition
sala thē horse like like a horse	noun + postposition

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 Ritā with with Ritā	noun + postposition
thakāli thē elder as	adjective + postposition
pyamha lipā fourth after after the fourth one	adjective + classifier + postposition
chacā lipā night after after night	adverb + postposition

soka: tɪ adverb + postposition
three + times + for
for three times

hālā conā bele non-finite VP + postposition
cry+gerundive + remain+gerundive + at the time
while crying/ at the time of crying

- 6.5.4 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 lāsā̃ dana
Gopāl got up from the bed.
unmkd. an. + ablative + pred.
- Clause Type 7 jimi 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 jike 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.

- Clause Type 18 pulisā khū jona
The police caught the thief.
agentive + umkd. animate + pred.
- Clause Type 19 imisā dya:yāta me syāta
They sacrificed the buffalo to the God.
agentive + dative + umkd. animate + pred.
- Clause Type 20 khicā[~] puli: nyāta
The dog bit on the knee.
agentive + locative + pred.
- Clause Type 21 jī jimi kalāyāta aspitāla choye
I will send my wife to the hospital.
agentive + dative + locative + pred.
- Clause Type 22 rāmyāta cikula
(lit. to Rām + became cold)
Rām is feeling cold.
dative + pred.
- Clause Type 23 kothae: khyūla[~]
(lit. in the room + became dark)
It became dark in the room.
locative + pred.
- Clause Type 24 rāmyā chikula
(lit. Rām's + became cold)
Rām is feeling cold.
genitive + pred.
- Clause Type 25 rāmyā macā lomana
Rām forgot the child.
genitive + umkd. animate + 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):

Eventive Predication				
	Actor	Undergoer	Site	Event
A. Transitive Set				
Bitransitive	wō	saphu:	jita:	bila
Transitive	wō	lāsā	x	dāla
Semitrans.	wo	x	chē	wona
Intransitive	wo	x	x	dana
B. Receptive Set				
Disreceptive	x	wo lākā̃	jita:	jila
Receptive	x	Rām		khwāē jula
Semireceptive	x	x	Mirāyā	tyānula
Eventive	x	x	x	x
Stative Predication				
	Actor	Undergoer	Site	State
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:
Semiattributive	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:

<u>Role</u>	<u>Case</u>	<u>Grammatical Function</u>
Actor	Unmarked Nominative	Subject
Actor	Agentive	Subject
Actor	Genitive	Subject
Undergoer	Unmarked Nominative	Object
Undergoer	Dative	Indirect Object
Undergoer	Dative	Subject in Direceptive, Receptive, Distative, Attributive, and Diattributive Clauses
Site	Unmarked Nominative	Indirect Object
Site	Dative	Subject ?
Site	Genitive	Bound Locatives of Source, Goal, and Place

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 thikeygu saphu: nigu:
 this my new expensive book two+classifier

can be reordered

tho nhu:gu thikeyu jigu saphu: nigu:	(possessive focus)
nhu:gu thikeyu jigu tho saphu: nigu:	(demonstrative focus)
nhu:gu thikeyu jigu tho nigu: saphu:	(numeral focus)

but not

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

	Singular	Plural
animate	ji <u>m</u> ha nhu: <u>m</u> ha khicā	ji <u>m</u> ha nhu: <u>p</u> i: khicā <u>t</u> a
inanimate	ji <u>g</u> u nhu: <u>g</u> u saphu:	

- 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 -a form. In questions, however, with a first person and third person the verb is in the disjunct or -a form. The conjunct form or -ā form comes only with a second person. For example, khan-e, to see

<u>Person</u>	<u>Statement</u>	<u>Question</u>
1st	Conjunct khanā	Disjunct khana
2nd	Disjunct khana	Conjunct khanā
3rd	Disjunct khana	Disjunct khana
1st	ji: saphu: khanā	ji: saphu: khana lā?
2nd	chā: saphu: khana	chā: saphu: khanā lā?
3rd	wō: saphu: khana	wō: saphu: khana lā?

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 (abilitive), 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^α:-lā-ye>bā^α:ma-lāye, never *ma-bā^α:-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 (I went)	ji <u>mawonā</u>
---------------	---------------------	------------------

Past Disjunct	wo/cha wona (He/you went)	wo/cha <u>mawona</u>
Future Conjunct	ji wone (I will go)	ji wone <u>makhu</u>
Future Disjunct	wo/cha woni (He/you will go)	wo/cha woni <u>makhu</u>
Imperative	cha wā (you come)	cha wo-ye <u>mate</u>
Causative	macāyāta nyāsiki (Cause the child walk) (Make the child walk)	macāyāata nyāsike <u>mate</u>
Stative	wo thana wo: (He used to come here) (He comes here)	wo thana wo-ye-gu <u>mayā</u>
Existential Copula	wo chē du (He is at home)	wo chē <u>madu</u>
Identitive Copula	tho saphu: kha: (This is a book)	tho saphu: <u>makhu:</u>
Attributive Copula	tho lākā̃ bā:lā ju: (This shoe is lovely)	tho lākā̃ bā:lā <u>maju:</u>
Imperative+ Honorific Suff.	tho saphu: kayā disā (Take this book)	tho saphu: kayā <u>dimate</u>
Finite Verb+Aux.	wo denā cona (He is sleeping)	wo denā <u>macō</u>
Abilitive	wo dene phu (He can sleep)	wo dene <u>maphu</u>
Permissive	wo dene jyu: (He may sleep)	wo dene <u>majyu:</u>
Obligative	wo dene tyo (He is allowed to sleep)	wo dene <u>matyo</u>
Willingness	ji dene nhyā: (I like to sleep)	ji dene <u>mhā</u>

Anticipative	wo sani:na (He is goint to move)	wo <u>masana</u>
Anticipative	wo sani tini (He will move)	wo sani <u>makhuta</u>
Optative	wo sane mā: (May he move)	wo <u>masane</u> mā:
Gerundive	wo sanā wona (He went moving)	wo <u>masase</u> wona

6.10 Questions

Questions can be asked in Newari in three different ways:

- By using interrogative pronouns
- By adding interrogative particles to statements,
- By changing the intonation pattern of statements

6.10.1 There are three types of questions:

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

The following are the examples of each type:

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| a. Ritā gana wona
Ritā where go+past disjunct
Where did Ritā go? | Content-question |
| b. Ritā thana du lā
Ritā here is + interrogative particle
Is Ritā here? | Yes/no-question |
| c. kha (lā)
is (int. particle)
Is that so?

khai (lā)
Is that true/possible? | Tag Question |

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 <u>lā</u>	Did he come here?
wo thana mhiga: wola <u>khalā</u>	Did he come here yesterday?
wo thana mhiga: wola <u>kha lāki</u> (confirmation of a doubt)	Did he come here yesterday or not?
wo mhiga: thana wola <u>kha: lā sā</u> (confirmation of a suspicion)	Did he come here yesterday?

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:

<u>Ritā</u> \ buta Ritā lost (the game)	Statement
Ritā / buta Did Ritā lose the game?	Question
Ritā / buta Ritā lost the game?	Tag Question

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:

	animate suffixes	inanimate suffix
Singular	-mha	-gu
Plural	-pī:	x

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.

jita: lākā nyāye mā:
I have to buy shoes.

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

jita: 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:lāpī: 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 Kølver, 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.:

Question	Hirā [~] jita: (Mīrā kanhe woni lā) dhakā: nyana Hirā asked me if Mīrā would go tomorrow.
Statement	Hirā [~] jita: (Mīrā kanhe woni) dhakā: dhāla Hirā said that Mīrā would go tomorrow.
Wish	Hirā [~] jita: (Mīrā mawoye mā) dhakā: dhāla Hirā said to me that Mīrā might as well not come.
Request	Hirā [~] jita: (lihā [~] wone nu) dhakā: dhāla Hirā proposed me to return.

6.12.3 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.

6.12.4 Sentence Embedded as an Adjective Phrase

The nominalizers -mha, -pī:, 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.

6.12.5 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.

6.12.6 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.:

Mīrāyāke (Ritāyāta chu cija mā:) wo cija du
Mīrā has that thing which Ritā needs.

Mīrāyāke (Ritāyāta guli dhebā mā:) uli dhebā du
Mīrā has as much money as Ritā 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.:

Mīrāyāke Ritāyāta chu mā: wo du
Ritā has what Mīrā needs.

Mīrāyāke Ritāyāta guli mā: uli du
Mīrā has as much as Ritā needs.

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

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

Examples:

Mīrāyāke Ritāyāke ti dhebā madu
Mīrā does not have as much money as Ritā has.

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

Mīrāyāke Ritāyāta mā:mha cyo madu
Mīrā does not have the kind of servant Ritā needs.

Mīrāyāke Ritāyāta mā:gu saphu: madu
Mīrā does not have the book Ritā needs.

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

Mīrāyāta chu saphu: mā: Ritāyāke du
The book which is needed by Mīrā is with Ritā.

Mīrāyāta mā:gu saphu: Ritāyāke du
The book which is needed by Mīrā is with Ritā.

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 uli bā:lā maju: guli Mīrā bā:lā
Ritā is not as beautiful as Mīrā is.

uli ta:mi Ritā maju: guli 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), sā̃ (even if), li (for), nā (also:
even), tale (as long as), baru (rather), ale (then), aesā (then),
aesā̃ (even then)

Examples:

a. Rām banae: wona
Rām went to forest.

Lakṣman banae: wona
Lakṣman went to forest.

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

b. Ritā thāū woi
Ritā will come today.

Ritā kanhe woi
Ritā will come tomorrow.

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

c. Ritā̃ woita naki:
Ritā will feed him.

Ritā̃ woita toṅki:
Ritā will give him to drink.

Ritā̃ woita na naki: na toṅki:
Ritā will neither feed him nor give him a drink.

d. Ritā thāu woi

Ritā kanhe woi

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

e. Ritā[̃]: jyā yāta

Ritā maphuta

Ritā jyā yāta ki 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. Mīrā̃: nala

wō: mana:

Mīrā̃: nala baru wō: mana:
Mīrā̃ eat but/rather he did not.

m. Ritā wola

wo wola

Ritā wola ale wo wola
Ritā came then he came.

n. Ritā wola

wo mawo:

Ritā wola aesā̃ wo mawo:

o. wā wola

jāki dani:

wā wola dhā:sā̃ jāki 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 aesā̃ 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".

Ritā dena Mīrā̃ dana
Ritā slept Mīrā̃ got up.

dewā bila dewā 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

1. 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	Class II	i	ik
	e	e:k		ā	āk
	a	a:k		a	æk
	o	o:k		o	ok
	u	u:k		u	uk
Class III	i	i:k	Class V	p	pak
	e	e:k		t	tak
	ā	āk		k	kak
Class IV	a	æk			
	o	oek			
	u	uik			

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
+Voice		-Voice
-Aspiration		+Aspiration
gu-ye	to be torn	khu-ye
gyā-ye	to be afraid	khyā-ye
bā-ye	to be separate	phā-ye
dyā-ye	to lose (money)	thyā-ye
bol-e	to peel off	pol-e
dun-e	to collapse	tlun-e
dan-e	to stand up	than-e
jyal-e	to erode	chyal-e
jo-ye	to leak	cho-ye
ta-jyā-ye	to be broken	ta-chyā-ye
ko-ji-ye	to be decided	ko-chi-ye
lwāka-jyā-ye	to be mixed	lwāka-chyā-ye
ta-jā-ye	to become tall	ta-chā-ye
ya-gā-ye	to be hanged	ya-khā-ye
ho-gan-e	to be pierced	ho-khan-e
to-du-ye	to be broken	to-thu-ye
to-dul-e	to be broken	to-thul-e
byan-e	to become loose	phyan-e
ca-bu-ye	to be snapped	ca-phu-ye
ko-bā-ye	to jump	ko-phā-ye
ciri-bā-ye	to be split	ciri-phā-ye
bāku-dal-e	to be broken in two pieces	bāku-thal-e
li-jyā-ye	to retreat	li-chyā-ye
gwā-ye	to glow	khwā-ye
kucā-dal-e	to be broken into small pieces	kucā-thal-e
cu-dan-e	to be pulverized	cu-than-e
pi-dan-e	to come out	pi-than-e
luku-bi-ye	to disappear	luku-phi-ye
le-dan-e	to float	le-than-e
pwā-gan-e	to have a hole	pwā-khan-e

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:	Stative
That shoe is lovely	
wo lākā bā:lāta	Eventive
That shoe became lovely	
wo bā:lāgu lākā	Nominalized Attributive
That lovely shoe	

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 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 Event form of a State Set Verb
Mīrāyā jyā thākula

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 (jigu) karmae: madu
What can (I) do since (I) cannot be a father by (my) Karma?

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

(āma) chu (jī) chako soye
What is (that) may (I) see once?

6.17 Sentence Modifiers and Initiators

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)
kha lā (though)
kha tu (though)
kha jā (though)

6.18 Quotative Statement

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 mastaeta hācāgāla dhāewo arhī chāi hā
It is believed that when a pregnant woman crosses over children they become unwell.

6.19 Exclamation

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, āthā, 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 mhitī
Rām will play tomorrow.

Rām kanhe mhi he mhitī
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 wo lā wona
He too went. As for him, he went.

wo jaka wona wone nu re
He alone went. Let us go, please. (emphasis)

ji wone 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.

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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