

some types of reduplication in the newari verb phrase

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Reduplication is a syntactic process which is quite common in both spoken and written Newari¹. There is no single meaning that all instances of reduplication hold in common, rather, the semantic force of the reduplication can be determined only in relation to the specific construction involved. There are a number of positions in which reduplication occurs. This paper does not attempt to exhaust the senses or uses of the various types of reduplication, but aims rather to provide a brief survey of the uses of reduplication in certain constructions closely associated with the Newari verb. No attempt has been made to give an account of reduplication in the noun-centered constructions of Newari. Such a study would have to account for a wide range of reduplicative types not touched upon here.

For the purposes of this paper, the following varieties of reduplication are distinguished: 1. Reduplication of the finite forms of the verb, 2. Reduplication of non-finite form of the verb, and 3. Reduplication of preverbal elements.

1. Reduplication of the finite forms of the verb.

1.1. Morphology of the forms.

There are four forms which will be referred to as 'finite' in this presentation: the past disjunct, the past conjunct, the non-past disjunct, and the non-past conjunct². These four forms are illustrated for Class I verbs (verbs with stem-final n) in Figure 1.

	Past	Non-Past
Disjunct	wa wana He went	wa wani He will go
Conjunct	ji wanā I went	ji wane I shall go

Figure 1. Finite forms of the Class I verb, wan-e, 'to go'.

The finite forms of verbs in Class II differ from those in Class I as illustrated in Figure 2.

	Past	Non-Past
Disjunct	wa sita He died	wa sii He will die
Conjunct	ji sinā I died	ji sii I shall die

Figure 2. Finite forms of the Class II verb. si-ve. 'to die'.

Class III verbs, like Class II verbs have stems which end in vowels. Class III verbs, however, differ in their finite forms, as can be seen from Figure 3.

	Past	Non-past
Disjunct	wa wala He came	wa wai He will come
Conjunct	ji wayā I came	ji wae I shall come

Figure 3. Finite forms of the Class III verb, wa-ye 'to come'.

Class IV verbs have stems ending in l but otherwise verbs in Class IV form their finite forms in much the same way as do Class I verbs.

	Past	Non-Past
Disjunct	wa cila He moved aside	wa cili He will move aside
Conjunct	ji cilā I moved aside	ji cile I shall move aside

Figure 4. Finite forms of the Class IV verb, cil-e, 'to move aside'

Class V verbs have stems which end in stops. These verbs have a past disjunct form which is quite distinct from those of the other verb classes as may be seen from Figure 5.

	Past	Non-Past
Disjunct	wəṣ chanta saatala He called you	waa chanta saati He will call you
Conjunct	jii chanta saatā I called you	jii chanta saate I shall call you

Figure 5. Finite forms of the Class V verb, saat-e, 'to call'.

The regular finite forms for verbs of classes II and III can be predicted if the final vowel of the verb stem is known. The finite forms of the remaining classes can be predicted in terms of the final consonants. The part of the stem which must be known to predict the finite forms of the verb will be referred to as the 'stem final'. These finite forms are summarized in Figure 6.

	Stem Final	Citation Infinitive	Past Disjunct	Past Conjunct	Non-Past Disjunct	Non-Past Conjunct
Class I	n	n-e	na	nā	ni	ne
Class II	i	i-ye	ita	inā	ii	ii
	ā	ā-ye	āta	ānā	āi	āe
	a	a-ye	ata	ayā	ai	ae
	wa	wa-ye	wata	wayā	wai	wae
	u	u-ye	uta	unā	wi	wi
Class III	i	i-ye	ila	iyā	ii	ii
	e	e-ye	ela	eyā	ei	ee
	ā	ā-ye	ālā	āyā	āi	āe
	a	a-ye	ala	ayā	ai	ae
	wa	wa-ye	wala	wayā	wai	wae
	u	u-ye	ula	uyā	wi	wi

	Stem	Citation	Past	Past	Non-Past	Non-Past
	Final	Infinitive	Disjunct	Conjunct	Disjunct	Conjunct
Class IV						
	l	l-e	la	lā	li	le
Class V						
	p	p-e	pala	pā	pi	pe
	t	t-e	tala	tā	ti	te
	k	k-e	kala	kā	ki	ke

Figure 6. Summary of finite inflections for regular verbs.

In addition to the regular finite forms there is one non-finite form that is involved in the reduplication of the finite forms. This form will be referred to as the short stem of the verb. In Class I, the short stem is obtained by nasalizing the stem vowel and deleting the stem-final *n* (without lengthening the stem vowel). Thus the verb wan-e 'to go' has the short stem wa. In Classes II and III, the short stem is found simply by deleting the -ye of the citation infinitive. Thus the Class II verb, yā-ye 'to do', has the short, yā, and the Class III verb, bi-ye 'to give', has the short stem, bi. In Class IV the short stem is obtained by deleting the stem-final l. Thus sil-e, 'to rinse', has the short stem, si. In Class V the short stem is obtained by suffixing u to the stem. Thus the verb, saat-e 'to call', has the short stem, saatu.

1.2. Reduplicative Constructions.

There are several ways in which a finite verb may be reduplicated. It is possible to reduplicate simply by repeating the finite form of the main verb. The element of meaning carried by this kind of reduplication is that of repeated action performed with intensity.

1. waḡa jitaā thwāta He kicked me.
2. waḡa jitaā thwāta thwāta He kicked me hard, again and again.

Any finite form of the verb can be reduplicated in this way.

3. waita thwānā thwānā I kicked him hard again and again.
4. jitaā thwāi thwāi He will kick me hard again and again.
5. waita thwāe thwāe I will kick him hard again and again.

This type of reduplication is possible with a wide range of action verbs and is limited to the finite forms of these verbs³.

Another important type of reduplication involves various kinds of emphatic elements which are inserted between the members of the reduplicated verb. The first member of such a reduplication consists of the short stem of the verb. The second member is the inflected form of the verb. There are several different emphatic elements which occur in this type of reduplication. One such element is the emphatic, -ttu, which indicates continuous or repeated action.

6. wəꞥ chanta thwā-ttu thwāta. He kicked you again and again.
 7. wəꞥ jitaā sā-ttu sāla. He pulled me again and again.

An expansion of this element, -ttu matu, is used to indicate repeated action which is particularly intensive and frequent.

8. wa huulae kā-ttu matu kāta. He was pressed hard again and again in the crowd.

In the same position jaka occurs in the sense of 'only'.

9. wəꞥ na jaka nala, jyā ma-yāā. He only ate. He did not work.
Jaka also occurs in the temporal sense, 'just as'.

10. wəꞥ kā jaka, kalam sena. Just as he took the pen it was ruined.

Another finite set of reduplications occurs with the particle, nij 'first'.

28. na nij nae ale jyā yāe. First I will eat, then I will work.
 29. kā nij kāla ale wana. First he took, then he went.

2. Reduplication of non-finite forms of the verb.

2.1 Morphology of the forms.

There are three forms to which we shall refer as non-finite in this presentation, the Stative (or Long) form, the Gerundive (or Absolutive, or \bar{A}) form and the Infinitival form. In some dialects the Gerundive is phonologically equivalent to the Past Conjunct finite form, while in other dialects the Gerundive is distinguished by a lengthening of the final vowel. The infinitive is in general phonologically equivalent to the Non-Past Conjunct form as shown in Figure 6.

The Stative (or Long) form is constructed in one of two ways depending upon the final vowel of the verb stem. Where this vowel is i, the stative form will end with -yuu, as may be seen from the examples in Figure 7.

	Citation Infinitive	Stative
Class I		
to tie	cin-e	cyuu
to go	wan-e	waa
Class II		
to pursue	li-ye	lyuu
to do	yā-ye	yāā

Figure 7. Two patterns of Stative formation for verbs of Class I and II.

	Citation Infinitive	Stative
Class III		
to give	bi-ye	byuu
to take	kā-ye	kāā
Class IV		
to exchange	hil-e	hyuu
to pull	sāl-e	sāā

Figure 8. Two patterns of Stative formation for verbs of Class III and IV.

The Stative formation with verbs of Class V (stop-final stems) depends upon the final consonant rather than upon the stem-final vowel.

	Citation Infinitive	Stative
Class V		
to help	twap-e	twapyuu
to call	saat-e	saatuu
to snatch	lāk-e	kākuu

Figure 9. Two patterns of Stative formation for verbs of Class V.

2.2 Reduplicative Constructions.

There are several ways in which a non-finite form may be reduplicated. One important kind of reduplication consists of the short stem of the verb followed by the stative form of the verb in which the final vowel has been nasalized. This form of reduplication carries with it the sense of continuing activity, often as part of the background or cohesive linkage of a narrative discourse. These forms often provide a kind of linkage between paragraphs, with the reduplicated form being used to open a new paragraph by referring to action which was in progress at the close of the preceding paragraph. The following sentence, for example, occurs at the point in a story just after a jackal had completed his escape from the body of a dead elephant.

11. dhwa-cā wā wā wā wā wā chaguu gwī lāta

As the jackal was going along, he found himself in a forest.

The reference contained in the reduplicated pairs, wā wā wā wā wā 'going along going along' is to action that was initiated at the end of the preceding paragraph. The reduplicated form thus provides continuity with the preceding paragraph, while a transition is made to a new setting. Strings of reduplicated pairs of this kind are at least as common as single reduplicated pairs.

12. nimhaesiyā bice the jyaaagu kisimā ju jū ju jū...

The two of them, continuing to be in the middle in that way...

Certain non-finite forms may be reduplicated when they occur as the complements of certain verbs. One variety of reduplication in this position involves a replacement of the stem vowel in the second member of the reduplicative pair. Gerundive forms which occur as complements of the verbs, wa-ye 'to come', and wan-e 'to go', undergo such reduplication.

13. wa thwānā thinā wana. He went kicking and doing other such things.

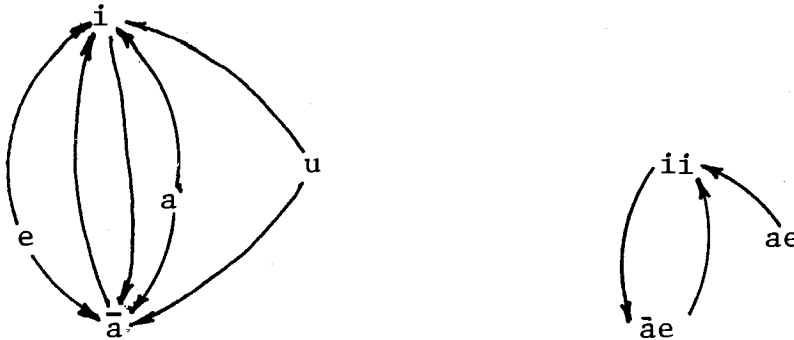
14. wa ana bākhaa kanā kinā wana. He was there telling stories and the like.

This kind of reduplication has an interesting element of meaning. It indicates that the action of the complement verb is accompanied by other similar or similarly appropriate actions. This kind of reduplication also occurs in the infinitival forms which complement the verb, yā-ye 'to do'.

15. nyāe nii yāta He used to do the buying and other similar tasks.

16. wā thwāe thii yāta. He used to kick and do other such things.

The patterns of vowel replacement which characterize the second member of this kind of reduplicative pair is summarized in Figure 10.



short vowels and
long vowels other than ii,
ae and āe.

long vowels ii, ae and āe

Figure 10. Patterns of vowel replacement in associated action complement reduplication.

Prevocalic glides are deleted before shifted vowels in the second member of such reduplicative pairs, as may be seen from the following examples.

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| 17. bwayā biyā | exhibiting and other like activities. |
| 18. swānā sinā | joining and the like. |

As was true in the case of finite reduplication, various kinds of emphatic and subordinating particles play an important role in the reduplication of non-finite forms. Jaka and hee, for example, occur in both kinds of reduplication.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 19. ji gwārā jaka tulā,
nhyaa wala. | Just as I lay down I went to sleep. |
| 20. wāḡ si hee syuu. | He certainly knows. |
| 21. kha hee khaa lā? | Is it certain? |

There is another set of reduplicative constructions with the particle, the 'like, as if' which occur with the complements of three verbs, ju-ye 'to become', cwan-e 'to seem', and yā-ye 'to do'. The data are not altogether clear at this point, but it would appear that the verb forms with cwan-e are finite and that the verb forms with the other two verbs are non-finite.

22. dyaa lwi the lwi the
jula. The sun is about to rise.
23. jyā sṣ sṣ wa sii the
sii the jula Working and working, he was about
to die.
24. wṣṣ nhyaa waekii the
waekii the cwana. He was about to go to sleep.
25. wa nhilii the nhilii
the cwana. He was about to smile.
26. wṣṣ jitaa dāe the dāe
the yāta. He was about to hit me
(or, He pretended to beat me).
27. nyāā lā kucā nune the
nune the yāta. The fish was about to swallow a
piece of meat.

Another non-finite reduplicative construction makes use of the short form of the verb, the particle kiki, the infinitival form of the verb followed by the verb ma-gāa 'not enough'. The whole construction carries something of a concessive force: 'Though he X-ed more and more, it was not enough'.

28. guli jaka bāālaāgu What a beautiful face! Though he
khwāā! wa looks at it more and more it
swa swa kiki swae is not enough.
ma-gāā.

Non-finite reduplication occurs also in the nominalization of verbs. Reduplication is a normal feature of plural nominals constructed from the stative form of the verb.

29. māā māā pṣṣ those in need
30. syuu syuu pṣṣ those who know

3. Reduplication of preverbal elements.

Reduplication occurs with elements other than verbal stems. There are preverbal elements which are closely associated with verbal stems which also undergo reduplication. It will not be possible to exhaust the variety of reduplication in this position within this paper. For the purposes of this paper it will be sufficient to point out that in this position also, various kinds of reduplication can be distinguished on the basis of the element of meaning carried by the reduplication.

There is a certain set of preverbal elements derived from adjectivals for which reduplication carries the sense of a reduc-

tion of intensity and for which an additional negative reduplication signifies an even further softening of intensity.

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 31. p̄əȳla | It became sour. |
| 32. p̄əȳ p̄əȳ dhāla (or
p̄ə p̄ə dhāla) | It became somewhat sour. |
| 33. p̄ə p̄ə ma-p̄ə dhāla | It became slightly sour. |
| 34. cikula | It became cold. |
| 35. ciku ciku dhāla (or
ci ci dhāla) | It became somewhat cold. |
| 36. ci ci ma-ci dhāla | It became slightly cool. |

A second kind of meaning associated with the reduplication of preverbal elements is illustrated by a certain set of preverbals derived from the quantifier system. The meaning of reduplication in this instance is that of a progressive augmentation of degree.

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------|
| 37. ta jāla | It became taller. |
| 38. ta ta jāla | It became taller and taller |
| 39. ci hāla | It became shorter |
| 40. ci ci hāla | It became shorter and shorter. |

A third kind of meaning associated with the reduplication of preverbal elements is a distributive meaning. This kind of semantic element is found in reduplicated quantifier phrases in preverbal position.

41. the-p̄əe tha-p̄əe jāla Each became this high.

The same meaning is conveyed by various reductions and variations of this reduplicated structure.

42. tha tha-p̄əe jāla
tha-p̄əe p̄əe jāla
tha-p̄əe tha-p̄əe jāā jula
tha-p̄əe jāā jāā jula

A fourth kind of meaning associated with the reduplication of verbal prefixes is that of augmentation or intensification.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 43. pasalyāā jītaa la
thyāta | The shopkeeper cheated me. |
| 44. pasalyāā jītaa la la
thyāta | The shopkeeper cheated me badly. |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 45. pasalyāā jitaa la la
ma-la thyāta | The shopkeeper cheated
me very badly. |
| 46. wa dhe cula | He staggered. |
| 47. wa dhe dhe cula | He staggered a great deal. |
| 48. wa dhe dhe ma-dhe
cula | He staggered a very great deal. |

FOOTNOTES

1/ The author wishes to express appreciation to Mrs. L.K. Friedman for helpful comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of this paper and to Dr. A. Hale for composing the final draft.

2/ The analysis of the verb presented here is not original with this paper. For a fuller discussion of the forms and their meanings see Hale 1971a, 1971b, 1973, and Sresthacharya, Maskey, and Hale, 1971, pp. 79, ff.

3/ It appears that certain stative verbs fail to appear with this form of reduplication.

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