Reduplication is a syntactic process which is quite common in both spoken and written Newari. 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 conjunct. These four forms are illustrated for Class I verbs (verbs with stem-final n) in Figure 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disjunct</td>
<td>wa wana</td>
<td>wa wani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He went</td>
<td>He will go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunct</td>
<td>ji wana</td>
<td>ji wane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I went</td>
<td>I shall go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disjunct</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa sita</td>
<td>wa sii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He died</td>
<td>He will die</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunct</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ji sinä</td>
<td>ji sii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I died</td>
<td>I shall die</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disjunct</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa wala</td>
<td>wa wai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He came</td>
<td>He will come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunct</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ji wayä</td>
<td>ji wae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I came</td>
<td>I shall come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disjunct</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa cila</td>
<td>wa cili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He moved aside</td>
<td>He will move aside</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunct</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ji cilä</td>
<td>ji cile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I moved aside</td>
<td>I shall move aside</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disjunct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wā chanta saatala</td>
<td>waa chanta saatī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He called you</td>
<td>He will call you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiṭi chanta saatā</td>
<td>jiṭi chanta saate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I called you</td>
<td>I shall call you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Final</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>Disjunct</td>
<td>Conjunct</td>
<td>Disjunct</td>
<td>Conjunct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Final</th>
<th>Citation Infinitive</th>
<th>Past Disjunct</th>
<th>Past Conjunct</th>
<th>Non-Past Disjunct</th>
<th>Non-Past Conjunct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>l-e</td>
<td>1a</td>
<td>lā</td>
<td>1i</td>
<td>1e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p-e</td>
<td>pala</td>
<td>pā</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t-e</td>
<td>tala</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>tī</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k-e</td>
<td>kala</td>
<td>kā</td>
<td>kī</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 wā. 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 sīl-e, 'to rinse', has the short stem, sī. 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. wā jītāa thwāta He kicked me.
2. wā jītāa thwāta thwāta He kicked me hard, again and again.

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

3. waita thwāna thwāna I kicked him hard again and again.
4. jītāa 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 verbs.

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. waŋ chanta thwā-ŋtu thwāta. He kicked you again and again.
7. waŋ jitaa sā-ŋtu 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-ŋtu matu kāta. He was pressed hard again and again in the crowd.

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

9. waŋ na jaka nala, jyā ma-yāa. He only ate. He did not work.

Jaka also occurs in the temporal sense, 'just as'.

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

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

28. na nįį nae ale jyā yāe. First I will eat, then I will work.
29. kā nįį 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 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 -uyu, as may be seen from the examples in Figure 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class I

to tie cin-e cyuu

to go wan-e wgg

Class II

to pursue li-ye lyuu

to do yā-ye yāa

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class III

to give bi-ye byuu

to take kā-ye kāa

Class IV

to exchange hil-e hyuu

to pull sāl-e sāa

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. dhwā-cā wā wāq wā wāq chagu wā lāta

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

The reference contained in the reduplicated pairs, wā wāq wā wāq '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. nimhaesi yā bice the jyaaagu kisimq a jyj a jyj a...

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 He was there telling stories and wana. 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. wāq thwāne 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.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
i \\
a \\
\text{short vowels and} \\
\text{long vowels other than ii,} \\
ae \text{ and } \ddot{ae} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
i \\
ae \\
\ddot{ae} \\
\text{long vowels ii, ae and } \ddot{ae} \\
\end{array}
\]

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. wāg 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.
Reduplication in the Newari Verb Phrase 125

22. dyaa lwi the lwi the jula. The sun is about to rise.

23. jyā sa saa wa sii the sii the jula Working and working, he was about to die.

24. waaq 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. waqq jitaa dāe the dāe the yāta. He was about to hit me (or, He pretended to beat me).

27. nyan la kuca 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-gaa 'not enough'. The whole construction carries something of a consensive force: 'Though he X-ed more and more, it was not enough'.

28. gulī jaka baαlāαgu What a beautiful face! Though he looks at it more and more it is not enough.
   khwaal wa
   swa swa kiki swae ma-gaa.

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. maa maα pii those in need

30. syuu syuu pii 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. pāyla It became sour.
32. pā pā ḏala (or pā ḏala) It became somewhat sour.
33. pā pā ma-pā ḏala It became slightly sour.
34. cikula It became cold.
35. ciku ciku ḏala (or cī cī ḏala) It became somewhat cold.
36. cī cī ma-cī ḏala It became slightly cool.

A second kind of meaning associated with the reduplication of preverbal elements is illustrated by a certain set of preverbs 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. cī hāla It became shorter
40. cī cī 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-pāe tha-pāe jala Each became this high.

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

42. tha tha-pāe jāla
   tha-pāe pāe jāla
   tha-pāe tha-pāe jāa jula
   tha-pāe jāa jāa jula

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

43. pasalyā jita la thyāta The shopkeeper cheated me.
44. pasalyā jita la la thyāta The shopkeeper cheated me badly.
Reduplication in the Newari Verb Phrase

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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Sresthacharya, I., J. N. Maskey, and A. Hale.