Title

Classical Newar verbal morphology and grammaticalization in Classical and modern Newar

Permalink

Journal

Author

Kansākār, Tej Ratna

Publication Date

2005

DOI

Copyright Information

Peer reviewed

Classical Newar verbal morphology and grammaticalization in Classical and modern Newar

Tej Ratna Kansākār
Tribhuvan University at Kirtipur

The label "Classical Newari" was first used by the Danish scholar Hans Jørgensen to refer to a collection of late XVIIth century manuscripts consisting mainly of narrative texts. Jørgensen made a thorough study and analysis of these manuscripts, resulting in two pioneering publications in the field, *A Dictionary of the Classical Newari* (1936) and *A Grammar of the Classical Newari* (1941). For our present purposes, Classical Newar can be defined as the language which appears in inscriptions, manuscripts, and in legal documents and land grants known as *tamsuk*, usually written on palm leaves, in the roughly 600-year period from 1114 and 1770 AD. The ongoing Classical Newar Dictionary project, now in its final stages of editing, has led to the compilation of a large database using 38 different manuscripts and written texts as source materials. Here I shall provide a preliminary analysis of Classical Newar verbal morphology based on the lexical and syntactic data drawn from these historical texts and documents. The source materials obviously represent various stages in the evolution of the language, so that this analysis attempts to trace the morphophonemic developments in Classical Newar verb roots and flexional and derivational morphology over six centuries of attested data.

In the following, I shall first present my views on the historical development of the Classical Newar verbal system. Against this historical backdrop, I shall subsequently examine various grammaticalized uses of certain verb forms in both Classical and modern Newar. Grammaticalization as a historical process in Newar manifests itself in the form of verb serialization, auxiliarization and morphologization. Lexical and syntactic data are drawn from Classical Newar texts dating back as far as the early 12th century and from modern usage.[1]

1. The evolution of the Classical Newar verbal system

Classical Newar as recorded in the old chronicles and various documents differs from modern Newar in syllable structure, morphology and syntax. The study of Classical Newar has not received much attention, although Classical Newar holds the key to understanding the earliest Newar forms and stages of evolution and is of great importance to Nepalese studies. Classical Newar morphological and syntactic data have remained largely inaccessible to most scholars, both native or foreign, and major grammatical features of this important Himalayan language remain inadequately described. The in-depth diachronic studies of Classical Newar to date are but few, i.e. Jørgensen (1936, 1941), Kölver and Kölver (1978), Genetti (1990), Tamot (1990) and Kansākār (1992). It is still difficult to

---

decide, for instance, on the structure of verb roots or verb classes, and yet little is known about the phonological and morphological changes which have taken place in the language.

Since we are dealing with a historically documented form of the language, the identification of the morphological structure of words is often uncertain and arbitrary, as the morphological structure is by no means transparent in the original script. The first problem is the tightly packed writing system without word breaks. Secondly, there is a large number of orthographic inconsistencies, whereby the many variants used may not adequately have reflected the phonological or morphological realities of the language. In our present total corpus of over 30,000 words, we have so far recorded several thousand verb forms but identified less than 500 native verb roots. We have reconstructed some 150 infinitives on the basis of inflected and derived verb forms attested in the various manuscripts. Among the several thousand verb forms, there are approximately 180 Sanskrit loan roots attached to Newar flexional suffixes. The verb data thus are of great importance to the study of Classical Newar diachronic morphology and also provide evidence of the history of Indic influences on the language.

In an earlier paper on verb citation in the Classical Newar Dictionary (Kansākār 1992), I identified the following three fundamental problems of representation for the lexical entries of verbs: (1) the morphological composition of verb roots, (2) the development in infinitive verbs, and (3) a need for a diachronic perspective in formulating a system of verb classes. The system of verb classes proposed by Jørgensen (1941) is still problematic in some respects, although it may well continue to function as a frame of reference until all the facets of diachronic phonology and morphology of Newar are fully explored. Classical Newar exhibits a multitude of infinitival forms when compared with modern Newar (Table 1).

	Classical Newar	modern Newar	
(a)	khaŋ-da	khan-e	open
	puŋ-da ~ pum-da	pun-e	dress
		bhun-e	wrap round
	syan-da	sen-e	destroy
		sen-ke	cause to destroy
(b)	cin-ja	cin-e	tie, compose
	tā-ja	tā-ye	feel
	dam-jo	dan-e	erect, build
	byam-jo	byan-e	ritually purify
(c)	di-ca	di-ye	stop
	lhā-ca	lhā-ye	speak
	syā-ca	syā-ye	kill
	hva-ca	hon-e	unite, agree
	gā-ca-kam	gā-ye	suffice
	dumbi-ca	dubi-ye	enter

(d)	kā-sana	kā-ye	take
	dhā-sana	dhā-ye	say, tell
	ha-sana	ha-ye	bring
(e)	kāta-ke	kā-ke	cause to be pressed
	cita-ke	ci-ke	cause to bind
	hāta-ke ~ hāra-ke	hā-ye-ke	cause to announce
	tyā-ca-ke	tyā-ke	gain victory, be victorious
	si-ca-ke ~ si-ta-ke	si-ke	cause to wash
	yā-sa-ke	yā-ke	cause to do

Table 1. Classical Newar and modern Newar Infinitive forms

Amongst the verbs in Table 1, the evolution of the verb *hva-ca* 'unite, agree' to a Class I form *hon-e* is irregular and cannot be explained in terms of the present verb class system, where the suffix <-ca> is not associated with Class 1 verbs. Historically, it seems unlikely that /c-/ changed to /n-/, so that this case remains an anomaly in the attested data. In the verbs listed in group (d), the suffix <-sana> is actually a polite imperative form with an infinitival meaning, so that forms such as *kā-sana* 'take' can literally be glossed as 'may you be pleased to take'.

It is difficult to account the great variety of infinitival endings, e.g. <-da>, <-ja>, <-ca>, <-sa>, <-ke>, and to ascertain whether these forms were just in free variation at a particular point in history or whether the attested variety evolved from an original unitary process. A plausible explanation for the variety observed may be the hypothetical development in verbal morphology outlined in Table 2.

	developments in Classical Newar				modern Newar	
					infinitive	simple past
Class 1	<phoṇda> 'beg'	> *phom-ja*	> *phoŋ-ya*		phon-ye	phon-a
Class 2	<syāta> 'kill'	> *syā-ca*	> *syā-ya*		syā-ye	syāt-a
Class 3	<thvale> 'cook'	> *thul-e*	> *thu-ya*		thu-ye	thu-la
Class 4	*<?-ta> 'wash'	> *si-ca*	> *si-sa ~ *si-ra*		sil-ye	sil-a

Table 2. Developments in Classical Newar verbal morphology
and the resultant modern Newar forms

The earliest attested forms in the four classes of verbs such as *phom-ja* and *syā-ca* have the roots <phom-> and <syā-> and the elements <-ja> and <-ca> can be interpreted as infinitival suffixes which later developed into *-n-ya ~ -n-ye* (from <-ja>) and *-ya ~ -ye ~ -e* (from <-ca>). Seen in this light, the ancient infinitival forms can be interpreted as having roots with the structure CV which later acquired final consonants as a result of a process by a sandhi rule (viz. *j > ŋ > m > n*) and a rhotacism rule (viz. *c ~ s > r > l ~ y*). The rules indicate a common historical origin for Classes 3 and 4, which probably split into two classes at a later stage. The earlier *<-ta> postulated in Table 2 is hypothethical and not attested in our corpus. The simple past forms in Table 2 show that the earlier finals /-n/, /-t/

and /-l/ reappear as regular stem-final consonants in certain inflected forms. The developments outlined in Table 2 show a historical phonological change of the ending <-ca> to <-ya ~ -ye ~ -e> and of the ending *<-sa> to *<-ra> and then to *-la*. Indeed, the development of the ending <-ca> to <-la>, observed in *si-ca > sil-e*, remains problematic, as the two consonants differ in place and manner of articulation as well as in voicing. Obviously, there is a gap in our data, and we need more evidence before we can establish a possible line of development such as *-ca > -sa > -ra > -la*.

On the other hand, the Classical Newar data show that the final /-n/ of Class 1, the final /-t ~ -d/ of Class 2, and the sometimes unstable final /-l/ of Classes 3 and 4 are all regular and have cognates in other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Tibetan, Burmese and Bahing (Table 3).

	Newar		Tibetan	Burmese	Bahing
1	won-	go	hong-ba	wang	
	ŋan-	be alike	mñam-pa		
	twon-	drink	hthung-ba		tu:ŋo
	khan-	see		krẫ	
	phon-	beg	hphongs-ba	pan	punno
	hlam-	stretch out, raise	slong-ba	hlam'	
2	pyāt-	be wet			
	mvāt-	live	mod-pa		
	sit-	die	si-ba	se	
	syāt-	kill	gsod-pa	sat	
3 & 4	khu(l-)	steal	rku-ba	hkui'	
	ŋa(l-)	bite	dmyal-ba		
	bi(l-)	give	hbul-ba	pe'	
	bul-	rub	hphur-ba		
	sil-	wash	sel-ba		
	sel-	know	ses-pa	sî	

Table 3. Newar verb class distinctions as compared
with cognate forms in related languages.

In light of this analysis and the comparative data, it is logical to pose the following controversial question for Classical Newar studies: Can we establish a chronological stratification of Classical Newar data into an earlier and a later period of morphological development? Tamot (1990) believes that such a classification is possible on the basis of attested data, whereas Malla (1990) has argued that too many variant roots and suffixes are to be found within a single text, within a single folio and even on a single page. Therefore, Malla holds to be untenable the etymological claim that the modern segments *-ya ~ -ye ~ -e* and *-ne, -le*, etc. can all be derived from the older ending <-ca ~ -ja>. Malla also argues that the labels "Early Classical Newar" or "Late Classical Newar" are not meaningful unless supported by phonological laws and described morphosyntactic changes based on an

analysis of the data. While Malla's observations are valid, I believe that the data adduced in Table 4 constitute adequate evidence to allow us to tentatively distinguish stages in the evolution of Classical Newar. Most source manuscripts have been authentically dated, and if the attested lexical data which these documents contain can thus be dated, this may allow us to identify the historical stages in the development of the Classical Newar verbal system.

	Type	Early Classical Newar	Late Classical Newar
1	stable /-n/, e.g. 'beg'		
	root	phoŋ- ~ phom-	phoŋ- ~ phoñ-
	infinitive	phoŋ-da ~ phom-ja	phoŋ-ya ~ phoñ-ya
2	unstable /-t/, e.g. 'kill'		
	root	syāt- ~ syā-	syā-
	infinitive	syāt-a ~ syā-ca	syā-ya
3	unstable /-l/, e.g. 'give'		
	root	bil- ~ bi-	bi-
	infinitive	bil-a ~ bi-ca	bi-ya
4	stable /-l/, e.g. 'wash'		
	root	sil- ~ si-	sil-
	infinitive	sil-a ~ si-ca	sil-ya
5	unstable /-l/, e.g. 'feed'		
	root	nakal-	naka-
	infinitive	nakal-a	naka-ya

Table 4. Early and Late Classical Newar verb classes
(after Tamot 1990)

The data in Table 4 illustrate a historical development in the form of the verb roots and infinitival suffixes in the five Newar verb classes. The transition from the Early to the Late Classical Newar period is distinguished by the change of the earlier infinitival suffixes <-ja> and <-ca> into final consonants, viz. stable final /-n/ and /-l/ in Classes 1 and 4 and unstable final /-t/ and /-l/ in Classes 2, 3 and 5. It is easy to see how the verbal roots <syā-> 'kill' could be derived from <syāt->, <bi-> 'give' from <bil->, and <naka-> 'feed' from <nakal->. These changes have obvious consequences for the segmentation of morpheme boundaries and the development of verb classes, two issues upon which I shall not elaborate here other than to point out is that the developments shown in Table 4 most probably did not take place in discrete stages. On the basis of the data which I have studied thus far, I believe that there were probably overlaps in the concurrent uses of variant forms at any one time, as illustrated in Table 5.

Class 1	ŋ ~ m ~ ñ ~ n
Class 2	t ~ c ~ s ~ y
Classes 3 and 4	l ~ c ~ s ~ r ~ l

Table 5. Concurrent use of variant forms
in the development of stem-final consonants.

The phenomena illustrated in Table 5 can be supplemented by the following empirical observations: (1) There is evidence in the earliest manuscripts which attests that the Early Classical Newar forms ending in the stem finals /-ŋ/, /-t/ and /-l/ existed as independent forms. (2) In later documents, the stem final /-ŋ/ came to be used concurrently with the final /-m/, and the stem final /-t/ and /-l/ came to be used concurrently with forms in final /-c/. (3) The loss of the Early Classical Newar stem finals may have coincided with other changes in the Late Classical Newar period, i.e. stem final /-m/ and /-c/ being used concurrently with forms in final /-n/ and /-s/ respectively. (4) The latter alternate forms continued to co-exist until the older finals /-n/, /-s/ and /-s ~ -r/ finally became the modern segments /-n/, /-y/ and /-l/.

Finally, there are problems connected with the representation of inflected and derived forms. For example, the Classical Newar form *dhā-ya* can be glossed as 'will say', 'may say', 'something to be said' or 'is to be said', thus as a future, an optative, a relative participle or a verbal participle. It is the syntactic environment which determines the apparent change in function of the fundamental of this Newar grammatical category. It is therefore a sensible practice to summarize the flexional morphology of Classical Newar verbs in conjugation tables in the manner of Jørgensen (1941) or Kölver and Kölver (1978) for all classes of verbs. Following Jørgensen, Classical Newar verbs can be divided into three categories, i.e. the A, B and C forms, with allomorphic verbal suffixes. The conjugation of Class 1 verbs is given in Table 6. The A forms are what Jørgensen calls the short base or root. The B forms are derived from the longer base, and C forms are the compound verbs. In Table 6, the attested flexional suffixes have been listed within the three categories alongside their grammatical functions.

	kan- 'tell'	grammatical function
A	*kam-ja ~ kan-ya ~ -e*	infinitive
	kan-am ~ -o ~ -a	finite past
	-o ~ -wo	imperative
	-i ~ -yu ~ -nayu ~ -niwo	stative future
	-aŋ ~ -ā ~ -kwo	relative participle
	-an ~ -nd ~ -md	infinitive of purpose
	-ŋam ~ -lam	adverbial participle
	-syam ~-sem	adverbial participle
	-le ~ -len	conjunctive participle 'as, when'
	-kam ~ -nam	conjunctive participle 'after,whilst', reduplicative
B	*kana-sā*	conditional 'if'
	-sānwom ~ -sānam ~ -sām	concessive 'even if, even though'
	-ŋa-sem	adverbial 'when, at the time'
	-ŋā-sa ~ -ŋā-wo	conjunctive participle 'when, as, since, if only'
	-nā-ŋān	causal 'because'
C	*kana-hune ~ -hŋān ~ -ŋān*	imperative
	-sane	polite imperative
	-tole ~ -tale ~ -tolen ~ -talen	adverbial 'until, as long as, while'
	-tolem ~ -tolenom ~ -toleyā	
	~ -tunum ~ -tunam	adverbial 'as soon as, immediately after'
	-kāle	adverbial 'when, if'
	-wola ~ -vala	adverbial 'while, as long as'
	-tu ~ -tum	intensives

Table 6. Flexional and derivational morphology of Classical Newar verbs

In conclusion, the line of inquiry pursued here has several implications of theoretical significance for research on the languages of Nepal. (1) Research on the diachronic morphology of Classical Newar can help to understand the history of the Newar language as recorded in ancient manuscripts, and this can throw light on several problem areas of Newar grammar, e.g. the subject agreement system assumed for early Classical Newar and the historical development of the conjunct-disjunct system. (2) Research on the historical morphology of Newar is highly relevant to the historical-comparative study of Tibeto-Burman languages in general. For this purpose, a proper understanding of the oldest available Newar material is essential. (3) A sound reconstruction of Proto-Newar morphosyntax may lead to a less ambiguous place for Newar within the genetic classification of Tibeto-Burman. (4) A model of morphological analysis can be developed which explains whether the morphological characteristics in Newar and other related languages of Nepal provide evidence for sub-grouping or whether these features are the products of Indo-spheric areal influences or of genetic inheritance. In this connexion, it is relevant to note that Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal share many features with Indo-Aryan and Dravidian families.

Finally, efforts should be increased towards the documentation and codification of Nepalese languages through adequate lexical and grammatical descriptions. Such descriptions can contribute to areal surveys such as Hansson's (1991) survey of the Rai languages of eastern Nepal or the "Sociolinguistic Survey of Nepal" which has been proposed by Hale (1993). Such studies will also help to define Nepal as an area in its own right within South Asian linguistics. The works of Emeneau (1956, 1974), Masica (1976), Southworth (1974) and Verma and Hill (1979) are already interesting steps in this direction, but more work is required in the diachronic phonology and morphology of Classical Newar and of other related languages in order to enable more conclusive statements on proto-forms of the Tibeto-Burman parent language.

2. Grammaticalization of verbs in Classical and modern Newar

Historically, Newar seems to have diverged considerably from the other Bodic languages, especially the complex pronominalized group of Kiranti languages in eastern Nepal. Newar has undergone significant changes in phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax ever since it came into contact with Indo-Aryan languages. The influx of Indian immigrants and exposure to Prakrit and Sanskrit have influenced the matrix of Newar society and the very structure of the Newar language since the first half of the first millennium AD. However, Newar exhibits some features also found in other Tibeto-Burman languages, such as limited grammatical marking of case in nouns and pronouns, limited verbal inflection for person and number, tense and mood, voice and aspect, and the lack of comparative forms of adjectives. Newar verbs distinguish just two simple finite tenses, a past and a non-past. The ergative case is a prominent feature of the nominal marking system. As in most languages of the region, the plural in Newar has a different and more complex grammatical meaning than the plural category found in Western languages, which is just the straightforward and obligatory marking of "more than one" of any countable noun. The syntactically unmarked word order in Newar is agent-patient-verb, whilst adjectives and adverbs precede the constituent which they modify.

A full verb or an auxiliary inflected for tense is a finite in Newar, and any verb which forms part of a clause-final string of verbs is considered to be a finite form. The two finite Newar tenses, which are usually called "past" and "non-past", may perhaps more appropriately be labelled "perfective" and "future", as illustrated by the following examples.[2]

---

2   Abbreviations used in interlinear morpheme glosses in example sentences:

AG	agentive	NPC	non-past conjunct
CAUS	causative	NPD	non-past disjunct
ERG	ergative	NUM	numeral classifier suffix
FUT	future	PC	past conjunct
HON	honorific	PD	past disjunct
INF	infinitive	PP	perfect participle
INST	instrumental	PRP	present participle
INT	intensifying particle	PT	past
LOC	locative	Q	question particle
NEG	negative		

8

(1)   huhū   simdhavo   nāpam   lāt-om (~ lāt-am).
        over.there lion   meet   happen-PT
        (I) happened to meet a lion over there.

(2)   avani   chi-ji   mvā-ya   ma-dat-o,   thva   kisi-na
        hence   you-I   live-INF   NEG-be-FUT   this   elephant-AG
            nho-yā   si-yu
            trample-PT   die-FUT
        From now on we shall not live, (we) shall die from being trampled by this elephant.

The following forms characterize the conjunct-disjunct person marking system which operates in Classical and modern Newar, exhibiting a four-vowel contrast with morphophonological alternations.

	conjunct	disjunct
past	-ā	-a ~ -am ~ -om
non-past	-e	-i ~ -u

Even this flexional system is a marginal type of marking, for it operates only in event verbs, i.e. transitive and intransitive verbs. Impersonal verbs inflect for tense, but not for the category of person known as conjunct-disjunct. In Classical Newar, stative and attributive verbs are marked by the future morpheme <-i> or <-u>, whilst in modern Newar these verbs do not inflect at all. In statements, conjunct forms normally occur with a first person, and disjunct forms occur with a non-first person. In questions and certain pragmatically marked types of statement, conjunct forms occur with second person, and disjunct forms with first and third persons. The following examples are taken from Hale (1980).

(3a)   ji-ī   khāpā   tin-ā.
        I-ERG   door   close-PC
        I closed the door.

(3b)   cha-ā   khāpā   tin-ā   lā?
        you-ERG   door   close-PC   Q@
        Did you close the door?

(4a)   ji-ī   khāpā   khan-e.
        I-ERG   door   open-NPC
        I will open the door.

(4b)   cha-ā   khāpā   khan-e   dhāl-a.
        you-ERG   door   open-NPC   say-PD
        You said you will open the door.

(5a)   wa-ã   khāpā   til-a (~ tit-a).
         he-ERG   door   close-PD
         He closed the door.

(5b)   ji-ĩ   khāpā   til-a (~ tit-a)   lā?
         I-ERG   door   close-PD   Q
         I closed the door (accidently)./ Did I close the door?

(6a)   wa-ã   thva   jyā   yā-i.
         he-ERG   this   work   do-NPD
         He will do this work.

(6b)   ji-ĩ   thva   jyā   yā-i   lā?
         I-ERG   this   work   do-NPD   Q
         Should I do this work?

Apart from this simple inflectional pattern, Classical Newar verbs distinguish three morphologically derived forms.

imperative	*kan-o ~ kan-wo* 'tell!', *yā-wo* 'do!', *bi-wo* 'give!'
stative future	*kan-i* 'will tell', *yāy-i* 'will do', *biy-i ~ biy-u* 'will give'
causative	*gāyak-al* 'cause to fan' < *gāl-* 'fan',
	cāyak-al 'cause to open' < *cāl-* 'open'

Newar verbs also distinguish several non-finite forms in verb sequences. They are the infinitives, concatenative gerundives, and the non-final participles. The infinitives occur in three different forms. The verbal complement form of the infinitive is found only in later manuscripts of later date.

citation form	*kam-ja* 'to tell', *lhā-ca* 'to speak', *bila-ya* 'to give'
infinitive of purpose	*kana-ŋāna* 'in order to tell', *yāta-ŋāna* 'in order to do',
	bila-ŋāna 'in order to give'
verbal complement	*yayayā-gu ~ yayayā-guli* 'that which was done'
	bilayā-gu ~ bilayā-guli 'that which was given'

The concatenative gerundive form of the infinitive is the formally identical with the past conjunct form of the verb ending in <-ā>, e.g. *khan-ā-wo* 'seeing', *bhālap-ā-wo* 'thinking'. The non-final participial form too resembles the past conjunct form but, instead of final short <-ā>, ends in long <-ā:>, e.g. *khva-yā: ~ khva-yā:wo* 'upon weeping', *syān-ā: ~ syān-ā:wo* 'upon killing'. In Classical texts, perfect participial forms ending in <-syam ~ -sem> and <-ana> are also well attested.

(7)   thva   svāna   todaphe-syam...
        this   flower   drop-PP
        Having dropped this flower...

(8)   ajhodit-om   snāna   bijyāŋ-ana...
         river-LOC   bathe   come(hon.)-PP
         After bathing in the river...

    Nominal and verbal prefixes and suffixes are widely used in process of lexical derivation but do not affect the inflectional morphology of the root words, at least not in the earlier texts. These affixes affect the lexical semantics of the verb and not so much its grammatical function.

(9a)   *dũ-cho*   'drop into', literally 'in-send'
          li-jo   'leak backward', literally 'back-leak'
          pi-kāl   'take out', literally 'out-take'
          li-phyā   'take in return', literally 'back-take'

(9b)   *co-gva*   'used to live', literally 'stay-[nominalizer]'
          mel-a-ko   'as much as needed', literally 'stay-[past]-[adverbial]'
          tāth-a-sā   'if left behind', literally 'leave-[past]-[conditional]'
          bil-a-sem   'when given', literally 'give-[past]-[adverbial]'

(9c)   *toka-dhul-*   'be broken', literally 'piece-break'
          monda-lhu-ya   'bathe', literally 'head-wash-[infinitive]'
          tama-cā-ya   'be angry', literally 'anger-feel-[infinitive]'
          thona-kā-ya   'be drunk', literally 'beer-take-[infinitive]'

    The adverbial prefixes <dũ-> 'in', <pi-> 'out' and <li-> 'back' in (9a) have independent lexical meanings and normally function as bound morphemes in phrases or compounds. The suffixes <-gva> [nominalizer], <-ko> [adverbial], <-sā> [conditional] and <-sem> [adverbial] in (9b) have specific grammatical functions and can be attached to any event verb, whereas the nominal prefixes <toka-> 'piece', <monda-> 'head', <tama-> 'anger' and <thona-> 'beer' in (9c) are what Jørgensen (1941:48) calls 'preverbs', as distinct from complements of the verb which act as full-fledged nominal actants in the syntagma.

3. Verbs and auxiliaries in grammaticalization

    The grammaticalization of independent verbs to yield auxiliaries and verbal suffixes is a well-known process in Tibeto-Burman languages. Discussions of this process include Matisoff (1969, 1979) for Lahu, DeLancey (1985a, 1991) for Lhasa Tibetan, and Genetti (1986a, 1986b) for Newar. The following deals with three types of aspectual verbs which have been fully or partially grammaticalized and are used in various senses in Classical Newar texts. I classify these verbs as (1) verbs of location, such as *da- ~ dva-* 'have', *com-* 'stay, sit', *tal-* 'put', *tāth-* 'leave behind', *then-* 'arrive', (2) verbs of motion or direction, such as *won-* 'go', *wal-* 'come', *jul-* 'be, become', *yen-* 'take away', *hal-* 'bring', *yāt-* 'do', *kāl-* 'take', *bil-* 'give', and (3) experiential perception verbs such as *cāl-* 'feel', *tāl-* 'hear', *khamn-* 'see'. Many of these verbs have finite lexical status with flexional suffixes of their own, and we shall assume that the auxiliary or auxiliary-like functions acquired by the three categories of verbs are fairly recent, as they are attested in these functions only in the later

texts from the late XVIIth century onwards. The development of auxiliaries is an important example of syntactic change in a language, and the change in status of lexical verbs such as *tal-* 'put', *kāl-* 'take', *cāl-* 'feel', *tāl-* 'hear', etc. to auxiliaries marks a significant stage of grammaticalization in later Classical and modern Newar. In the following, I shall trace the development of these three types of verbs on the basis of semantic and syntactic changes which are rapidly taking place in the language.

  The lexical meaning and the grammaticalized status of the verbs of location can be represented as follows:

(10)   verb   lexical meaning   grammaticalized function

        da- ~ dva-   'is, have'   existential
        com-   'sit, stay'   progressive
        tad-   'put'   durative, stative
        tāth-   'leave behind'   completive perfect

    The grammaticalized meanings which these verbs of location acquire in later Classical texts and in modern Newar are illustrated by the following examples.

(11a)   khamn-a   dvāt-am
         see-PT   be-PT
         'came into view'

(11b)   basa-rap-am   com-ga
         live-INF-PT   stay-NOM
         'used to live'

(11c)   raksa   tady-am
         protection   keep-PT
         'kept protected'

(11d)   khā-se   tāth-ā
         hang-PRP leave-PT
         'left hanging'

    In these verb phrases, the lexical meanings of the verbs and the grammaticalized function expressed by the same verbs when used as auxiliaries do not differ significantly. This perhaps indicates that the grammaticalization of these verbs is fairly recent and that semantic change is a necessary initiator of this process. In the phrase *khamn-a dvāt-am* 'came into view', both verbs are marked for tense, but it is the auxiliary *dvāt-am* which conveys a passive existential meaning of the construction.

    In (11b) the verb *com-* marked by the nominalizing suffix <-ga> (<-gu> in modern Newar) is progressive, in contrast to its lexical meaning 'sit, stay', and this combination conveys habitual meaning in the past.

    Genetti (1986: 58) observes that *tad-* 'put' (<tal-> in modern Newar) 'does not require an overt syntactic reference to the locative goal', and in her examples the verb is sometimes

12

glossed as durative 'keep'. I translate the phrase *raksa tady-am* as 'kept protected' rather than as simple past 'protected' because the auxiliary *tad-* 'put' does not specify a single event, unlike when *tad-* 'put' is used as a main verb. The appropriate way of expressing non-durative action would be *raksa yāt-am* 'offered protection, protected'.

In (11d) the use of the present participle *khā-se* 'hanging' (*khāy-ā:* in modern Newar) and past tense *tāth-ā* 'left' in combination depicts a single event rather than a sequence of events. The fact that Newar and other Tibeto-Burman languages have sequences such as 'he did the work and finished it' or 'she cooked the food and completed it' is seen by DeLancey "to constitute the seedbed for grammaticalization."

The lexical meaning and the grammaticalized status of the verbs of motion or direction can be represented as follows:

(12)   verb   lexical meaning   grammaticalized function

         won-   'go'   imperfective
         wal-   'come'   come to be
         yen-   'take away'   progressive
         hal-   'bring'   initiative

These verbs used as auxiliaries make reference to the motion or direction in two significant ways: (1) They provide good examples of the development from periphrastic constructions to derivational or inflectional markers, and (2) they simultaneously illustrate the transition of the role of grammaticalization from discourse to a grammatical structure. The use of these verbs as auxiliaries in periphrastic constructions can be seen in the following examples.

(13a)   bon-a   won-āva
         take-PT   go-PP
         'going with'

(13b)   jul-a   waly-am
         be-PT   come-PT
         'came to be this way'

(13c)   dhā-yā   yemn-āva
         say-PT   take-PP
         'continuing to say'

(13d)   kaŋ-ā   haly-am
         tell-PT   bring-PT
         'was told and sent'

The sequences (13a-d) behave as periphrastic constructions rather than as predicate verb phrases. The verbs *bon-* 'take someone along' and *won-* 'go' in (13a), and *kaŋ-* 'tell' and *hal-* 'bring' in (13d) are all finites, but their sequential order is irreversible, and they function together as a constituent within larger syntactic structures. The examples also support my

earlier assertion that a single event can be expressed by a series of motion verbs. Since such serialized verbs are essentially participial strings ending in the suffixes <-āva> or <-sem> (with lengthened final vowel in modern Newar) not occurring at the end of a clause, these constructions function as links in the clausal chain which as a rule culminates in a final finite verb. In Classical Newar texts, sentences such as the following are innumerable.

(14a)   je-pani-syam   tod-a-ma-tot-ala
            I-PL-AG   leave-PT-NEG-leave-PT
            'until we release (you)...'

(14b)   chu   dhā-ya   nam   ma-te-va   dhā-syam
            any   say-INF   INT   NEG-permit-PP say-PP
            'saying that (he) should not speak a word...'

(14c)   anega   kodap-am
            much   instruct-PP
            'after much instructing...'

(14d)   sim   cha-pu   vān-a   kāca-k-āva
            wood   one-NUM   bite-PST   take-CAUS-PP
            'making (it) bite a piece of wood...'

(14e)   thva sim   ne-mha-m   hamsa-na   twātha-na   kāŋ-ana
            this   wood   two-NUM-AG   swan-AG   beak-INST   press-PP
            'the two swans biting this stick firmly on their beaks, ...'

(14f)   thva kāpare   boy-a-k-am   yamŋ-ā   jur-o
            this   tortoise   fly-INF-CAUS-PT   take-PT   be-PT
            '... flew away carrying this tortoise'

The clausal chains in (14a-f) highlight several interesting points on grammaticalized verbs. (1) The participial and perfective are the two basic verb forms characterizing the Classical Newar tense system. The Classical Newar sentence is constructed by chaining various forms of non-final participles in <-āva>, <-syam>, <-ana>, whereas modern Newar has retained only morphological vowel lengthening to mark participial use. (2) Verb phrases like *dhāya mateva* 'not permit to say', *vāna kācakāva* 'making bite', and *boyakam yamŋā juro* 'flew away carrying' provide clear evidence of a verb which potentially occur as a clause-final finite main verb being used as an auxiliary functioning as an aspect marker. It is also evident from the study of Classical Newar texts of the earlier period that these auxiliaries developed from full-fledged verbs, similar perhaps to the way in which the modal auxiliaries *may, can, must* and *do* developed in English. Here we shall not be concerned with how these changes took place, and it will become clear below that some of the changes are still in progress. (3) The syntactic element order of the clause is related to pragmatic or discourse functions which existed at a particular point in the language's history. This would support Givón's (1971a, 1971b) focus on the historical data in an

attempt to view grammaticalization as a development from paratactic discourse structure to closed syntactic structures.

The lexical meaning and the grammaticalized status of the verbs of experience or perception can be represented as follows:

(15)   verb   lexical meaning   grammaticalized function

        cāl-   'feel'   experiential perfect
        tāl-   'hear'   predicative
        khamŋ-   'see'   fulfilment

The semantic extension involved in grammaticalization is clearer in the case of the experiential verbs listed in (15). The development of grammaticalized meanings in verbs phrases illustrates how these verbs tend to acquire increasingly abstract meanings from a concrete lexical meaning. The following examples illustrate this development.

(16a)   tama   cāl-am
        anger   feel-PT
        'was angry'

(16b)   nhedana   cāl-am
        sleep   feel-PT
        'woke up'

(17a)   nvaŋ-ā   tāy-āva
        speak-PT   hear-PP
        'hearing what was said'

(17b)   ju-yu   tāly-am
        be-FUT   hear-PT
        'may become so'

(18a)   ahadi-na   khamŋ-āva
        hunter-AG   see-PP
        'the hunter, upon seeing (the animal), ð'

(18b)   karmma   khamŋ-āva
        destiny   see-PT
        'fulfilled destiny'

In the first member of each pair of examples, (16a), (17a) and (18a), the verb acts as a main verb and expresses its full lexical meaning, whereas in the second member of each pair, (16b), (17b) and (18b), the verbs express abstract, derived senses. The abstract senses conveyed by these auxiliaries is as semantically unique as their full lexical meanings, and these auxiliaries represent language-specific metaphorical or idiomatic expressions. Although the meanings of *cāl-, tāl-* and *khamŋ-* differ in the type of perception which they

denote, it is possible to view these metaphorical extensions of their use as auxiliaries as part of their underlying semantic structure. Matisoff (1991) calls grammaticalization a subtype of a metaphor and defines it as 'a metaphorical shift toward the abstract'. In this sense, the expression *nhedana cālam* could be interpreted as 'felt the sensation of having woken up', whilst *juyu tālyam* could be interpreted as 'will be perceived or intuitively felt', and *karmma khamŋ-ā* as 'seen or experienced one's fate'.

The semantic distinctions between the full verb examples (16a), (17a) and (18a) vs. the grammaticalized examples (16b), (17b) and (18b) represent a transfer from concrete meaning to abstract metaphor, which is regarded as an essential process in the development of grammatical functions. Genetti (1986b) describes the semantic properties of the verb *tal-* 'put' and the aspectual verbs *cwon-* 'stay' (progressive) and *dhun(-k)-* 'finished' (perfective), whereby a grammatical extension of their meaning enables their use as a benefactive-purpose marker, as a perfect and as an evidential, respectively. Such grammatical extension as a historical or synchronic process is immediately tied to the semantic potential of the verbs involved and to pragmatic considerations exploited in discourse.

4. Morphologization

In this section, I shall treat the Newar causative <-k> and the verbs *tal-* 'put' and *cāl-* 'feel'. An important observation which emerges from the data presented here is that the auxiliary status of at least some of these verbs has undergone even further grammaticalization to yield suffixes attached to modern Newar finite or derived verb forms. Genetti (1986:58) noted one such function when she remarked that 'the causative morpheme *kal-* has grammaticalized to the point of having no independent lexical meaning, and has become syntactically a suffix. Thus it can never be separated from a main verb in a clause chain.' DeLancey (1991:7-8) regards 'morphologization' as the third stage in the grammaticalization process, being preceded by the processes of 'serialization', i.e. 'the dropping of the mark of subordination on the first verb in a chain', and of 'auxiliarization', i.e. 'the loss by the grammaticalized verb of its phonological and morphological independence'. Morphologization is then defined as 'the grammaticalized morpheme which occurs as, rather than in construction with, finite verb inflection'. However, not all cases of grammaticalization involve morphologization. In Classical Newar, the phenomena of verb serialization and clause chaining discussed above must be regarded as prerequisites to the genesis of new morphological categories in the language. The development of the Newar verbs and their subsequent lexicalization with an accreted causative derived from the full verb *kāl-* 'take' can be seen as a movement within the lexical-derivational-inflectional continuum proposed by Bybee (1985).

(19)   *na-* 'eat'   >   *na-kāl-*   >   *nay-a-k-am* 'caused to eat'

   bo- 'fly'   >   *bo-kāl-*   >   *boy-a-k-āva* 'causing to fly'

   niŋ- 'count'   >   *niŋ-kāl-*   >   *niŋ-kā-se* 'causing to count, twist, turn, grind'

In these examples, the meaning of each component verb contributes to the meaning of the whole. The verb *na-* 'eat' is causativized by the verb *-kāl-* 'take' to mean 'took (food) to

feed someone'. Similarly, the verb *bo-* 'fly' is causitivized to yield 'to take (bird, kite) to make it fly'. The verb *niŋ-* 'count, twist, turn, grind' represents an interesting semantic development in that the verb has developed other meanings than that of its original Tibeto-Burman root. The causativizing function of the Newar suffix <-k> in all these forms is that of a bound and fully grammaticalized morpheme.

Such formations contrast with older Tibeto-Burman derivational processes, such as the ubiquitous process of prefixation of the Tibeto-Burman casative prefix *<s->, reflected in Newar by aspiration and devoicing.

> *deŋ-* 'sleep' > *theŋ-ā* 'caused to sleep' (vs. **deŋ-kāl-*)

The Newar verb *tal-* 'put' is analysed by Genetti as an event verb 'put' and as a durative or stative verb 'keep'. These two meanings have led to the different aspectual senses of the grammaticalized forms of the verb. This is particularly true for the contrast which Genetti recognizes in the modern Newar participial and perfective forms of the verb.

(20)   w-ã   saphu: chē-ē   tal-a
        he-ERG   book   house-LOC   put-PD
        'He put the book in the house.'

(21)   wã-ā   saphu: chē-ē   tay-ā   tal-a
        he-ERG   book   house-LOC   put-PP   put-PD
        'He kept the book in the house.'

While sentence (20) contains a simple past disjunct form of the verb, sentence (21) combines a participial form *tay-ā* 'having put' with a perfective form *tal-a* 'put', which yields the durative meaning of 'keep'. It is precisely this type of repeated occurrence of *tal-* 'put' which tends to become morphologically reduced, losing its status as a full lexical verb. Consider the following examples.

(22)   jĭ-ĭ   tisā   tay-ā   ta-i-tale
        I-ERG   jewelry   put-PP   put-PP-until ....
        'As long as I keep the jewelry....'

(23)   jĭ-ĭ   tisā   tay-ā   ta-i-bale
        I-ERG   jewelry   put-PP   put-PP-when ....
        'When I was keeping the jewelry....'

In example (22), the alliterative sequence *tayā taitale* is no longer fully pronounced in modern Newar speech, and is always reduced to *taitatle*. What happens here is that the first participle form *tayā* is phonologically reduced to *tai*, whereas the already reduced second participle *tai* is fused to the following concessive adverbial suffix <-tale> to give *tatle.* In sentence (23), the reduplicated sequence is pronounced *tai taibale*. The phonological similarity between the verb *-tal* 'put' and the adverbial suffix <-tale> is just as striking case of homonymy, where no derivational relationship exists. This adverbial suffix may occur

after any event verb, e.g. *dhā-tale* 'as long as (it is) said', *byu-tale* 'as long as (it is) given', *kam-tale* 'as long as (it is) told', etc.

The verb of perception *cāl-* 'to feel' is rapidly losing its status as a full-fledged main verb along with its full lexical meaning. Its use in modern Newar is now primarily confined to aspectual functions, although it is still used to denote its full meaning in expressions such as *tama cāl-a* 'felt anger', *gha cāl-a* 'felt revulsion' or *tyānu cāl-a* 'felt tired'. Its weakened or generalized senses are illustrated in the following collocations.

(24)   jyā   ko-cāl-a
         work   end-feel-PT
         'The work was completed.'

(25)   wā-phasa-e   jhũ-cāl-a
         rain-wind-LOC   soak-feel-PT
         'Was completely soaked in the storm.'

(26)   dhebā   mhā-cāl-a
         money   save-feel-PT
         'Money was saved.'

(27)   cheri-i   tham-cāl-a
         ground.floor-LOC   up-feel-PT
         'Moisture seeped up through the ground-floor.'

(28)   jvar   pi-cāl-a
         fever   out-feel-PT
         'The fever flared up.'

(29)   pe-rhu   cāl-a
         four-times   feel-PT
         'Went to (the same place) four times.'

Examples (24)-(29) show the diverse interpretations and applications acquired by the original meaning of *cāl-* 'feel'. This verb is obviously well on its way to being reduced to an auxiliary in modern Newar, and its combination with verbs, adverbs and nominals indicates that it is even fast becoming reduced to a bound suffix with a syntactic function in expressions which have not yet lost their metaphorical flavour. The highly restricted uses of *cāl-* 'feel' as a full-fledged main verb in modern Newar seems to indicate the grammaticalization which this verb has undergone, although for this verb the process of morphologization seems to have only just begun.

Scholars have observed the limited flexional system for tense marking and the importance of word order and clause chaining as syntactic devices in Newar. However, very little lexical and syntactic study has been done of Classical Newar texts from the point of view of grammaticalization as a historical process. Here I have attempted to discuss the grammaticalized verbs of Classical and modern Newar in terms of verb serialization, auxiliarization and morphologization, although the forces motivating these changes remain

unclear. The data were drawn from a wide range of texts whilst focusing on three types of verbs, viz. verbs of location, motion and direction, and perception. Both Classical as well as modern Newar exhibit verb concatenation with the use of participial forms in clause chaining characterized by a specific, irreversible element order. The development of an auxiliary system reflects an early stage of grammaticalization from independent lexical verbs to auxiliaries which play a role in the tense and aspect morphology. The auxiliary status of a subset of verbs has been shown to have undergone further grammaticalization involving reduction to suffixes with a morphosyntactic processes in the modern Newar spoken and written language. In addition to the morphologization of the causative suffix <-k> derived from the full verb *kal-* 'take', the verbs *tal-* 'put' and *cāl-* 'feel' have become auxiliaries in modern Newar and are in the process of being formally further reduced in a process of continuing grammaticalization, whereby their syntactic position in a clause chain will give rise to a suffixal slot within complex verbal compounds. The grammaticalized senses of these morphemes retains facets of the original lexical meaning of the full-fledged verbs whence these morphemes derive.

References

Brinkhaus, Horst. 1982. *Muladevasasideva Pākhyāna.* Berlin: German Research Council.

Bybee, Joan L. 1985. *Morphology: A Study of the Relation between Meaning and Form.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins [Typological Studies in Language 9].

DeLancey, Scott. 1985. "The analysis-synthesis-lexis cycle in Tibeto-Burman: A case study in motivated change". In: John Haiman, ed., *Iconicity in Syntax: Proceedings of a Symposium in Syntax, Stanford, June 24-26, 1983*, 367-389. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

DeLancey, Scott. 1989. "Verb agreement in Proto-Tibeto Burman". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* LII (2): 315-333.

DeLancey, Scott. 1991. "The origins of verb serialization in modern Tibetan". *Studies in Language* 15: (1): 1-23.

DeLancey, Scott. 1992. "The historical status of the conjunct/disjunct pattern in Tibeto-Burman". *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 25: 39-62.

Emeneau, Murray B. 1956. "India as a linguistic Area". *Language* 32 (1): 3-16.

Emeneau, Murray B. 1974. "The Indian linguistic area revisited". *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 3 (1): 92-134.

Genetti, Carol Elaine. 1986a. "The grammatical development of postpositions to subordinators in Bodic languages". In: V. Nikiforidou et.al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meetng of the Berkeley Linguistic Society* 387-400. Berkeley: University of California at Berkeley.

Genetti, Carol Elaine. 1986b. "The grammaticalization of the Newari verb *tol-*". *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 9 (2): 53-70.

Genetti, Carol Elaine . 1994. *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Dolakha Newari Dialect.* Tokyo: Institute for the study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. [*Monumenta Serindica* No. 24]

Givón, Talmy. 1971a. "Historical syntax and synchronic morphology: An archaeologist's field trip". *Chicago Linguistic Society* 7: 394-415.

Givón, Talmy. 1971b. *On Understanding Grammar.* New York: Academic Press.

Hale, Austin. 1980. "Person Markers: Finite Conjunct and Disjunct Verb Forms in Newari". In Trail, R. (ed.), *Papers in South-East Asian Linguistics, No.7* 95-106. Canberra: Australian National University.

Hale, Austin. 1982. *Research on Tibeto-Burman Languages.* Amsterdam: Mouton [Trends in Linguistics State-of-the-Arts Report 14].

Hale, Austin. 1993. "Sociolinguistic Survey of Nepal". Draft proposal presented at the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies and the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur.

Hale, Austin, and Watters, David. 1973. *Clause, Sentence and Discourse Patterns in Selected Languages of Nepal.* Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma [Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields No. 40].

Hansson, Gerd. 1991. *The Rai of Eastern Nepal, Ethnic and Linguistic Grouping: Findings of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal.* Kathmandu: Linguistic Society of Nepal and Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.

Hargreaves, David J. 1984. "Case Marking and Nominalization in Classical Newari". Paper presented at the XVII International Conference for Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics at the University of Oregon at Eugene.

Hargreaves, David J. 1986. "Independent Verbs and Auxiliary functions in Newari". In: V. Nikiforidou et.al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society* 401-412. Berkeley: University of California at Berkeley.

Hargreaves, David J. and Tamot, Kashinath. 1985. "Notes on the history of some Newari verbs: Preliminary evidence". Paper presented at the XVII International Conference for Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics at Bangkok.

Jørgensen, Hans. 1931. *Vicitrakarnikavadānoddhrata.* London: The Royal Asiatic Society.

Jørgensen, Hans. 1936a. "Linguistic remarks on the verb in Newari". *Acta Orientalia* 14 (4): 280-285.

Jørgensen, Hans. 1936b. *A Dictionary of the Classical Newari.* Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard.

Jørgensen, Hans. 1939. *Batisputrikākathā: A Tale of Thirty-Two Statuettes.* Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

Jørgensen, Hans. 1941. *A Grammar of the Classical Newari.* Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.

Kansākār, Tej Ratna. 1981. "Newari language and linguistics: A Conspectus". *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 8 (2): 1-18.

Kansākār, Tej Ratna. 1982. "Morphophonemics of the Newari Verb". Kansākār, Tej Ratna (ed.), *Occasional Papers in Nepalese Linguistics*, No. I: 12-29.

Kansākār, Tej Ratna. 1992. "Verb Citation in the Classical Newari Dictionary". Paper presented to the First Asia International Lexicography Conference at Manila.

Kansākār, Tej Ratna. 1994. "Classical Newari Verbal Morphology: A Preliminary Report". Paper presented at the XXVII International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics in Paris, October 1994.

Kölver, Bernhard, and Hemrāj Sākya. 1985. *Documents from the Rudravarna Mahāvihār.* Sankt Augustin Wissenschaftsverlag.

Kölver, Ulrike, and Kölver, Bernhard. 1978. "Classical Newari Verbal Morphology". *Zentralasiatische Studien* 12: 273-316.

Lienhard, Siegfred. 1963. *Manicudavadānoddhrata: A Buddhist Rebirth Story in the Nevāri Language.* Stockholm [Acta Universitas Stockholmensis, No. 4].

Lienhard, Siegfred. 1974. *Nevārigitimanjari: Religious and Secular Poetry of the Nevārs of the Kathmandu Valley.* Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Malla, Kamal Prakās. 1981a. "Linguistic archaeology of the Nepal valley: a preliminary report". *Kailash* 8 (1-2): 5-23.

Malla, Kamal Prakās. 1981b. "Madhya kālayā abhilekay Nepāl Bhāsā" [in Newar: 'The Newar language in the mediaeval epigraphy of Nepal']. *Kheluitā* 3: 5-16.

Malla, Kamal Prakās. 1982. *Classical Newari Literature: A Sketch.* Kathmandu: Educational Enterprises.

Malla, Kamal Prakās. 1984. "Some problems of Newari diachronic syntax". Paper presented at the Fifth Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal.

Malla, Kamal Prakās. 1985. *The Newari Language: A Working Outline.* Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa [Monumenta Serindica No. 14].

Malla, Kamal Prakās. 1990. "The earliest dated document in Newari". *Kailash* 16 (1-2): 15-26.

Masica, Colin P. 1976. *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Matisoff, James Alan. 1969. "Verb concatenation in Lahu: The syntax and semantics of 'simple' juxtaposition". *Acta Linguistica Hafniensa* 12: 69-120.

Matisoff, James Alan. 1976. "Lahu causative constructions: case hierarchies and the morphology/syntax cycle in a Tibeto-Burman perspective". In: Shibatani, M. (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics 6: The Grammar of Causative constructions.* New York: Academic Press.

Matisoff, James Alan. 1991. "Areal and Universal dimensions of grammatization in Lahu". Traugott, E. and Heine, B. (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization,* vol. 2: 353-83.

Shresthācārya, Iswarānanda. 1981. *Newari Root Verbs* (Bibliotheca Himalayica, Series II, Vol.1). Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandār.

Southworth, Franklin C. 1974. "Linguistic Stratigraphy of North India". *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 3 (1): 201-223.

Tamot, Kashinath (= Kasināth). 1990. "Some evidence for the two stages in the development of Classical Newari". Paper presented at the Symposium on the Classical Newari Dictionary at Kathmandu, 21 April 1990 [sixty-four page mimeograph].

Vajrācārya, Dhanavajra, and Malla, Kamal Prakās. 1985. *The Gopālarāja Vamsāvali.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Verma, M.K. and Hill, Edward C. 1979. "Why do South Asian languages have the typology that they do? ". *South Asian Language Analysis* 1: 125-134.

Tej Ratna Kansākār
tejk@mail.com.np