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INDEPENDENT VERBS and AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS in NEWARI¹

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The lexical origins of aspectual morphology are well attested cross-linguistically and especially transparent in pidgin/creole studies (Givón 1982). Just how and why grammaticization takes place as it does, and with enough cross-linguistic similarity to be of typological interest, remains problematic in many respects, although several recent studies have begun to focus on the issues involved (Bybee 1985; Heine and Reh 1984). Grammaticization of an independent lexical item is presumed to proceed in stages, from "discourse preferences for syntactic structures" (DuBois 1985:349), through intermediate stages involving semantic bleaching, reanalysis and phonological reduction, to potential incorporation as bound morphology. In understanding what a stage is, and what it represents in the synchronic grammar of a language, of particular interest are "versatile" verbs (Matisoff 1973), which function both as independent and auxiliary verbs, depending on context. Versatile verbs are especially clear illustrations of how lexical resources are deployed to encode meaning and function. In this paper, we will look at two versatile verbs in Newari, con- "stay, remain" and t0- "put, place, keep", which take on auxiliary functions in verb concatenation constructions. In their auxiliary uses, we can identify aspectual/attitudinal functions for con- "stay, remain", and aspectual/evidential functions for t0- "put, place, keep".²

The versatile status of the two verbs allows us to see more clearly the relationship between their inherent semantics and the meanings and functions they encode as auxiliaries. As we shall see, a single verb may realize different auxiliary values in different environments. Characterizing these different values and their contextual determinants will be the primary goal of the paper. While this paper is primarily descriptive, we will find it useful to recognise two distinct (but not necessarily contradictory) perspectives on the linguistic category of aspect: (1) viewpoint specification (DeLancey 1982; Lloyd 1979). (2) discourse grounding (Hopper 1979;1982).³

2.0 PRELIMINARIES

2.1 Inflectional Morphology

Before proceeding, it will be necessary to briefly outline the morphological coding of the tense/aspect/modality complex in Newari, and give a brief overview of the patterns of discourse organization which occur in the texts used as data for this study. The inflectional paradigm is a two-way system encoding tense/aspect/modality on the one hand, and a person/volitionality based evidential system on the other. The forms are given below using the verb won- 'go'.

	PAST	/	NON-PAST
<u>CONJUNCT</u>	won-a		won-e
	<u>PERFECTIVE / IMPERFECTIVE</u>		
<u>DISJUNCT</u>	won-0	wɔ̃:	won-1

With active verbs, the perfective disjunct (PVD) form -0 marks completed actions; in third person narratives it performs the basic function of signaling the termination of sequential discourse units. With stative verbs, it marks arrival at a state. What I am labeling imperfective disjunct (IMPD) is generally identified as having habitual meaning with active verbs and stative meaning with stative verbs (cf. Malla 1985). It is also a preferred form with negation. The two conjunct forms (past and non-past) generally reflect direct (usually first person) knowledge of volitional actions.⁴

2.1 Clause Chains

Newari discourse, particularly narrative, is characterized by chains of two or more clauses, where the finite marking for the entire sequence occurs on the final clause in the chain (Genetti to appear a). Non-final clauses are marked with a variety of subordinating suffixes, the most common being a temporal sequence (participial) marker -a:. In addition to the subordinating suffixes, non-final clause boundaries are marked with a rising, non-terminal intonation contour. In the example below, the perfective disjunct form -0 marks the final verb in the chain and (along with the hearsay evidential hō) signals the termination of this particular discourse unit.⁵

- 1) laksmi narayan-Ń he:ka-hik-a:
 -ERG console-RDP-NF

bona-bin-a h0y-a: bona-bin-a h0y-a:
 lead-RDP-PC bring-NF lead-RDP-PC bring-NF

wanglsima-e t0l-0 hŃ
 pipaltree-LOC put-PVD EVD

"It's said that Laksmi and Narayan, consoling (Laksmi's sister), led her along, and leading her along placed her at the pipal tree."

2.3 Multiverb Constructions

Multiverb constructions in Newari involve a single clause in which initial non-verbal constituents are followed by two or more contiguous verbs under a single intonation contour. Non-final verbs in the sequence are marked with the vowel form -a, homophonous with the past conjunct form. The final verb in the sequence carries the inflectional morphology which marks the status of the entire clause. Sequence-initial verbs serve as the semantic head, although they are not distinguished morphologically as such. The auxiliary functions of versatile verbs occur when the verb appears non-initially in the sequence. In the example below, h0ya "bring" and bil0 "give" function as directional and benefactive auxiliaries, respectively.

- 2) wŃ: ji-t0 dh0u jon-a h0y-a bil-0
 3-ERG 1-DAT curd grab-PC bring-PC give-PVD
 "He carried over some curd for me." (EX)

In examples like (2) above, "independent" and "auxiliary" readings for the verbs are barely distinguishable. In many contexts, supersegmental features alone distinguish the two.

3.0 AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS

3.1 con- "stay, remain"

As an independent verb con- can be glossed as "stay" or "remain". This lexical meaning is realized differently in different environments. In non-initial position in a multiverb construction with an active principal verb, it marks an internal or non-terminal viewpoint on the action, i.e. continuous aspect.

- 3) Ram ye-le-e con-0
 Patan-LOC stay-PVD
 "Ram stayed (behind) in Patan." (EX)

- 4) Ram ye-le-e con-a con-0
 stay-PC stay-PVD
 "Ram is/was staying in Patan." (EX)

In the example below, a Newari version of the "Lion and the Mouse" (retranscribed from Hale & Hale 1970), the use of con- marks a specific discourse relation; it indicates overlapping sequential events.

- 5) ch0-gu tarhã:-gu ha:ku-gu gũ:-e
 one-CL big-CL black-CL forest-LOC

ch0-mh0 siŋ0 m0st0 jui-ka den-a con-0
 one-CL lion well be-ADV sleep-PC stay-PVD

u-thae: chũ ti: j0k0 w0-ya-gu mh0-e
 that-time mouse slow only 3-GEN-CL body-LOC

g0y-a mhít-a con-0
 climb-PC play-PC stay-PVD

chũ: mhít-a cũ:-gu siŋ0-nũ cay-a:
 mouse play-PC stay-NOM lion-ERG feel-NF

chũ:-t0 jon-0
 mouse-DAT catch-PVD

"In a large, dark forest a lion was sleeping soundly. Meanwhile, a mouse slowly climbed up on his body and was playing. The lion felt the mouse playing and caught him." (HH:3.1)

In this context of chronologically ordered actions, con-0 indicates an on-going action with respect to the one that follows. The form cũ:-gu indicates a nominalized clause which also encodes an on-going action with respect to the following discourse event. It is these uses of con- which hold together the actions, relating them to each other within a unified action sequence. This function of distinguishing "unbounded" events from "bounded events" is suggested by Hopper (1982) as being a primary function of aspect. What is significant here is that while it is encoding the external facts of the action sequence, con- is simultaneously performing an aspectual discourse function. In these situations, the lexical representation of external temporal dynamics is mapped directly into a

discourse context. The discourse function follows directly from the inherent semantics of the verb and the external facts of the action sequence.

While con- regularly marks a continuous aspect with active verbs, with a set of punctual change-of-state verbs e.g. "be broken", "be torn", etc., it takes on an attitudinal meaning of surprise or counter-expectation. It functions in these situations to signal viewpoint rather than discourse relations.

- 6) tho salinca t0jyat-0
 this cup break-PVD
 "The cup broke/became broken" (EX)

- 7) tho salinca t0jyan-a con-0
 break-PC stay-PVD
 "The cup is broken" (to my surprise) (EX)

As a typical use, my consultant suggested the following situation where he reaches into his pocket to pull out a 100 Rupee note and finds it torn, and thus of dubious value.

- 8) tho no:t gun-a con-0
 this note tear-PC stay-PVD
 "The note is torn." (to my surprise) (EX)

The interpretation suggested by my consultant is remarkably consistent with the notion of "unassimilated knowledge" discussed by Slobin & Aksu (1982), Akatsuka (1985), Lee (1985) and DeLancey (to appear). Although the event is complete, it is un-assimilated at the time of utterance. Since the punctual change-of-state verbs have no internal dynamics to speak of, the scope of operation appears to be that of a conceptual space within which the representation of the event is "in process". The external facts are not at issue here; the use of con- appears to imply a particular experiential perspective, i.e. a non-terminal viewpoint on the assimilation of knowledge. Significantly, similar interpretations arise with "pure" statives. For example:

- 9) wo m0nu khũ kh0:
 that man thief be-IMPD
 "That man is a thief" (fact) (EX)

- 10) wo m0nu khũ kh0y-a con-0
 that man thief be-PC stay-PVD
 "That man is a thief" (it turns out) (EX)

With the verb ju- "become", con- commonly appears in certain types of narratives to indicate a fortuitous occurrence or appearance by an important character.⁶ In one sense this can be viewed as a "surprisal" function related to non-terminal viewpoint. At the same time, however, it serves a definite discourse function by introducing characters and situations which will play important roles in the events to follow. In example (11) below, the entire nominalized clause is predicated by the juya con0 construction.

- 11) ch0-nhu ch0-mh0 ha: sara:sar
 one-day one-CL bee along

bwoy-a woy-a cō:-gu juy-a con-0
 fly-PC come-PC stay-NOM become-PC stay-PVD

"One day, it so happened there was a bee
 who came flying along." (HH:6.1)

- 12) kh0ne khunu wo ph0ethu0-ya chē-e
 next day that shepherd-GEN house-LOC

ch0-gu tharā:-gu bhwaē jya juy-a con-0
 one-NOM big-NOM feast work become-PC stay-PVD

"The next day, it so happened, there was a big
 feast being held at the shepherd's house."
 (HH:11.7)

The use of the juya con0 construction suggests "surprise" or "coincidence" as conventionalized components in a story schema. The durational component or sense of "becoming" which the construction encodes suggests the not-yet-completed establishment of a discourse identity for the characters or situations. In examining the value of con- in this construction we find that "unassimilated knowledge" and "incompletely established discourse identity" are closely related notions.

3.2 t0- "put, place, keep"

In the preceding section, we examined how the verb con- took on different meanings and functions in multi-verb constructions. In the discussion, we assumed a single "core" meaning for the verb and suggested how the inherent semantics were mapped into the different auxiliary functions. As our framework, we referred to two perspectives on the role of aspect: viewpoint specification and discourse grounding. In this section we

will look at the auxiliary functions of t0- "put, place, keep" which, in its auxiliary capacity, marks a kind of resultant state.

As an independent verb t0- encodes meanings variously translated as "put, place, keep". Although the exact details will not concern us here (cf. Genetti to appear b), the meaning distinctions generally correlate with a "procedent" interpretation for "put" and a "finitive" interpretation for "keep" (Lloyd 1979). In either case, its use suggests an explicit or implicit locative goal. The locative goal and resultant state components of t0- appear to motivate its auxiliary function. As an auxiliary, t0- occurs with transitive principal verbs, indicating the maintenance of a state of affairs brought about by the action encoded in the transitive principal verb. In the example below, the independent use of t0- encodes the simple action "put out", whereas the auxiliary use indicates that food was prepared and is in a state ready for serving. In this respect it shares much with the discourse characterization of the perfect (cf. Li, Thompson & Thompson 1982).

- 13) ale b0ji gha:sa:-ghisa: jore yan-a t0:-gu
 then rice food-RDP preparation do-PC put-NOM

chu chu du wo phukk0: t0y-a:
 what what be-IMPD that all put(out)-PC

"Then, the beaten rice and items of food
 which have/had been prepared, whatever there
 is, we put out." (HH:27.77)

The auxiliary use of t0- often implies a being-in-location that exists as a result of a previous action. In this capacity, it often functions in discourse to relate a previous action's results to the following action or event. A preliminary examination of its co-occurrence patterns in Late Classical Newari texts shows a decided preference for verbs with implied locative resultant states, e.g. "cover", "hang", "pile", "tie-up" etc. As with con-, the representation of the concrete external facts which the verb encodes leads directly to a particular discourse relation, in this case "currently relevant resulting state". The following example, from Jorgensen (1939), is a transliteration of an 18th century text; as my translation implies, the use of taya suggests a more literal precursor for the auxiliary function.

- 14) huṃ-huṃ simās khāsyam tayā-hma mṛtak cha-mha
such tree hang put-body corpse one-body

chinaṃ ko kāyāva bi-hune
you down take give

"In such and such a tree, there is a corpse
which has been put there by hanging. Take it
down and bring it (to me). (B 35.28)

The function is similar to con- in that the re-
sultant state is unbounded with respect to the fol-
lowing action. It is distinct from con- in that it re-
flects overlapping states rather than overlapping
actions. For example:

- 15) bhun-a t0-e ma: ka
cover-PC put-INF need-IMPD EMPH

ale yak0n0 wa-i ka
then quick come-NPD EMPH

"(You) need to keep (the pot) covered.
Then, (the fermenting) will come quickly."

The use of t0- is more likely to reflect attention
being devoted to the goal of an action rather than its
source. In fact, with non-first person agents, in cer-
tain pragmatic contexts, its auxiliary use suggests
that the speaker has not witnessed the event itself,
and is inferring the action from its result. In the
text segment below, the auxiliary use of biya "give" by
speaker A implies that speaker B has purposefully re-
moved the paper. Speaker B's reply, and use of t0ya,
implies innocence, i.e. being unaware of the cause. The
segment begins when speaker A interrupts B's
conversation to inquire about the paper which is used
to clean up chicken droppings.

- (16) A: wo athĩ chae li-k0y-a biya-gu
that stuff why away-take-PC give-NOM

khaki...athĩ
chickenshit...stuff

- B: suna..chu..bhĩ li-k0y-a t0l-0 dhaya-gu la
who? what? paper away-take-PC put-PVD say-NOM Q

A: That stuff, why did you take it away?
(there's) chickenshit...and stuff.

B: Who? What? You mean the paper's been taken away?

In this capacity, t0- clearly reflects a viewpoint specification. Unlike the more concrete uses where t0- implies a locative resulting state, in the example above, there is no concrete, visible, affected patient. The resulting state is the absence of the paper from where both speakers expect it to be. The use of t0- by speaker B indicates that her only knowledge is of the result. This evidential function clearly emerges when we examine its use with first person patients. My consultant would only accept examples like (17) below with the interpretation that the speaker was somehow unconscious or unaware at the time of the action.

- 17) wõ: ji-t0 dal-0
 3-ERG 1-DAT beat-PVD
 "He beat me." (EX)
- 18) wõ: ji-t0 day-a t0l-0
 3-ERG 1-DAT beat-PC put-PVD
 "He beat me/had beaten me"
 (as a child) or (when I was drunk) (EX)

The close relationship between the discourse function of resultant state and the viewpoint specification function can be seen in examples like (19) below where the resultant state clause occurs as a nominalized complement of the perception verb kh0n-. In the text segment that follows, the thirsty crow is flying along looking for water.

- 19) b0la: b0la: ch0-gu kasi-e gh0 ch0-g0
 at last one-CL roof-LOC pitcher one-CL

t0y-a t0:gu kh0n-0
 put-PC put-NOM see-PVD

"At last, he spied a pitcher (of water) which had been placed on an (open) roof." (HH:6.5)

In an example like (19) above, viewpoint is specified through the perception verb which represents both the narrator's and actor/subject's perspective; only the resultant state is evident. In terms of the following discourse, the pitcher of water will become the object of the crow's desire.

4.0 SUMMARY

This paper is a preliminary look at the grammaticization process with two versatile verbs in Newari. As

we have seen, different values for the auxiliary functions of the verbs arise in relation to different parameters, including the inherent semantics of the principal verbs and the discourse/pragmatic environment. We have loosely labeled these functions as "aspectual", "attitudinal" and "evidential", although we may wonder, as does Wallace (1982), to what extent they represent distinct linguistic "categories". In our discussion we have found it useful to highlight two perspectives: viewpoint specification and discourse grounding. Although we have barely touched upon the issue, we have seen that these two notions may not be entirely distinct. It remains the task of further research to refine these notions and see how they might be utilized in understanding the development of aspectual and related values. To the extent that we can understand better the manner in which lexical items are recruited to serve semantic and discourse/pragmatic functions, we can see more clearly the motivations and constraints (DuBois 1985), cognitive and communicative, which shape the development of linguistic systems.

¹ Newari is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken primarily in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal. Unless otherwise indicated, data for this paper were collected during 1984-85 in Kathmandu. A very special thanks goes to my primary consultant, Rajendra Man Shrestha, for his friendship, enthusiasm and valuable insights. Elicited examples are labeled (EX), all others come from tape-recorded monologues or dialogues involving Newari speakers. Special thanks also to Susanna Cumming, Cece Ford, Hyo Sang Lee, and Sandy Thompson for valuable comments on an earlier draft of the paper. Errors and shortcomings are, of course, my own.

² The symbol o indicates a mid-central to low-back vowel whose degree of rounding varies with the environment.

³ This division, of course, is an oversimplification. In the tense/aspect volume (1982) edited by Hopper, these two perspectives emerge primarily as a result of the clear and unambiguous claims which the authors make. As we shall see, both perspectives will prove to be valuable in accounting for the data.

⁴ Although I have retained the somewhat misleading labels, my description differs slightly from past accounts of the Newari paradigm (cf. Malla 1985). At the risk of skewing the deceptively symmetrical standard "box-four" arrangement of CONJUNCT/DISJUNCT vs. PAST/NON-PAST, I have included the imperfective disjunct in the paradigm. For more details on the Con-

junct/Disjunct distinction see Hale (1980); I have also departed slightly from past literature in my use of the bare infinitive stem (minus infinitive suffix) as my citation form in the text.

5 Abbreviations: DAT dative, EVD evidential, ERG ergative, CL classifier, GEN genitive, IMPD imperfective disjunct, INF infinitive, LOC locative, NF non-final, NOM nominalizer, NPC non-past conjunct, NPD non-past disjunct, PC past conjunct, PVD perfective disjunct, RDP reduplication.

6 Nepali rahecha serves a similar function in Nepali and is also derived from a durational verb, rahanu 'stay, remain'.

7 I have altered Jorgensen's translation slightly in favor of a more literal one.

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