

PERSON MARKERS:  
FINITE CONJUNCT AND DISJUNCT VERB FORMS IN NEWARI<sup>1</sup>

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1. THE PROBLEM

Anyone who attempts to learn Newari soon becomes aware that in certain declarative clauses there is one form of the verb (the conjunct form) that normally occurs with first person actors and that there is another form of the verb (the disjunct form) that normally occurs with non-first person actors.<sup>2</sup> Thus, with the verb, *wane* 'to go', we get the following forms in the past tense:

- |                  |                                   |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Ji ana wanā.  | <i>I went there (conjunct).</i>   |
| 2. Cha ana wana. | <i>You went there (disjunct).</i> |
| 3. Wa ana wana.  | <i>He went there (disjunct).</i>  |

One might be tempted simply to consider *wanā* to be the first person form except for the fact that in questions this is the normal second person form,

- |                     |                                     |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 4. Cha ana wanā lā? | <i>Did you go there (conjunct)?</i> |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|

and for the fact that the conjunct form can be a normal third person form in certain embeddings, as, for example, in Sentence 5:

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 5. Wāṇ wa ana wanā dhakāā<br>dhāla. | <i>He said that he went there (himself).<sup>3</sup></i> |
|-------------------------------------|--|

In this context the disjunct form also occurs but with a different meaning:

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 6. Wāṇ wa ana wana dhakāā<br>dhāla. | <i>He said that he (someone else) went there.</i> |
|-------------------------------------|---|

Sentence 6 could in fact be an example of direct quotation where Sentence 5 could only be an indirect quotation.<sup>4</sup> As a direct quotation Sentence 5 would have to be recast as follows:

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 7. Waa "Ji ana wanā," dhakāā<br>dhāla. | <i>He said, "I went there."</i> |
|--|---------------------------------|

To complicate matters still further, one soon discovers that there are impersonal verbs which have no finite conjunct forms at all.<sup>5</sup>

8. Jij wa khā sila. *I came to know that fact (disjunct).*  
 Chāḥ wa khā sila. *You came to know that fact (disjunct).*  
 Wāḥ wa khā sila. *He came to know that fact (disjunct).*
9. Jij wa saa tāla. *I heard that noise (disjunct).*  
 Chāḥ wa saa tāla. *You heard that noise (disjunct).*  
 Wāḥ wa saa tāla. *He heard that noise (disjunct).*

The problem to which this paper is addressed, then, is that of determining what it is that controls the use of finite conjunct and disjunct forms of the verb.

## 2. CONJUNCT, DISJUNCT, AND THE TRUE INSTIGATOR

The problem regarding impersonal verbs points up a very central fact about the conjunct-disjunct pattern in Newari. Finite conjunct forms are appropriate only where the actor of the clause is portrayed as a true instigator, one responsible for an intentional act. Even with personal verbs disjunct forms replace conjunct forms where the actor is not portrayed as true instigator. Thus the verb *palā* in Example 10 is conjunct,

10. Jij lā palā. *I cut the meat (intentionally).*

whereas in Example 11 *pala* is disjunct:

11. Jij lā pala — cha khana *I cut the meat (quite by accident) —*  
 makhu lā? *you saw me didn't you?*

The same distinction is made in questions. As shown in Example 4 a conjunct form will normally accompany a second person question which has a personal verb. Thus Sentence 12 has a conjunct verb as one would normally expect:

12. Cha danā lā? *Did you get up (voluntarily)?*

Thakurlal Manandhar has pointed out, however, that where the action is portrayed as involuntary and the actor for this reason does not figure as a true instigator, the disjunct form will occur, as it does in Example 13:

13. Cha dana lā? *Did you get up (involuntarily)?*

The reason that impersonal verbs have no finite conjunct forms is thus quite clear. They have no actors that qualify as true instigators. So, while *tāye* 'to hear' is impersonal and has no finite conjunct form, *nene* 'to listen' does have a finite conjunct form since it also can have a true instigator. Similarly, *dune* 'to collapse' is impersonal but *thune* 'to raze to the ground' is personal. Significantly, those

verbs which lack personal conjunct forms also lack normal imperatives. The few impersonal verbs, such as *siye* 'to die' that do occasionally occur in the imperative have rather special semantic interpretations in this usage.<sup>6</sup> They are not thought of as commands in the ordinary sense.

### 3. QUOTES, QUOTE FRAMES, AND CO-REFERENTIAL ACTORS<sup>7</sup>

Consider again the following sentences:

1. Ji ana wanā. *I went there.*
5. Wəṣṣ wa ana wanā dhakāā dhāla. *He said that he went there (himself).*
7. Wəṣṣ "Ji ana wanā" dhakāā dhāla. *He said "I went there."*

Let us refer to the underlined clauses in Sentences 5 and 7 as *quotes* and to the non-underlined portions as *quote frames*. In 5 the actor of the quote frame, *wəṣṣ* 'he (agentive form)' refers to the same individual as the actor of the quote, *wa* 'he'. In Example 7 the actors *wəṣṣ* 'he' and *ji* 'I' both refer to the same person. In both 5 and 7 the verb of the quote, *wanā* 'went', is conjunct in form. This correlation suggests that the use of conjunct forms is not related to the person of the actor as such but is related rather to co-reference of actors. If the actor of the quote refers to the same individual as the actor of the quote frame, then the verb of the quote is conjunct in form.

Can this observation be extended to account for the conjunct forms in unembedded clauses such as Sentence 1? If we follow Saddock, 1974, in positing an abstract performative for all such sentences then there appears to be quite a natural extension of this observation which accounts for the conjunct form of *wanā* 'went' in Sentence 1 as well as for the disjunct form of *dhāla* 'said' in Sentences 5 and 7. From this general point of view we can look at Sentence 1 as a quote within a quote frame where the quote frame is a verbalisation of the speech act. For a declarative sentence such as Example 1 the quote frame could be supplied as follows:

- 1a. [J|| chita] "Ji ana wanā" [I say to you] "I went there."  
[dhayā].

An implicit quote frame of this sort constitutes an abstract performative in Saddock's view. Once such a quote frame is supplied it is easy to see how the account of conjunct and disjunct forms that has been suggested above for the verbs of embedded quotes can be naturally extended to account for unembedded clauses as well. Sentence 1 has the conjunct form, *wanā* 'went', because its actor, *ji* 'I', refers to the actor of the implicit quote frame. Sentences 5 and 7 have the disjunct

form, *dhāla* 'said', because in each case the actor, *wāq* 'he', does not refer to the same individual as the actor of the implicit quote frame, namely the speaker. This also explains why the conjunct form is associated with first person actors in independent declarative clauses.

Direct quotes involve the same pattern of verb forms as unembedded clauses. Where the quote has a first person actor it also has a conjunct main verb regardless of the form of the quote frame subject.

14. *Ji* "Ji ana wanā" *dhakāā*    *I said "I went there."*  
       *dhayā*.
15. *Chāq* "Ji ana wanā" *dhakāā*    *You said "I went there."*  
       *dhāla*.
16. *Wāq* "Ji ana wanā" *dhakāā*    *He said "I went there."*  
       *dhāla*.
17. *Ji* "Cha ana wana" *dhakāā*    *I said "You went there."*  
       *dhayā*.
18. *Chāq* "Cha ana wana" *dhakāā*    *You said "You went there."*  
       *dhāla*.
19. *Wāq* "Cha ana wana" *dhakāā*    *He said "You went there."*  
       *dhāla*.
20. *Ji* "Wa ana wana" *dhakāā*    *I said "He went there."*  
       *dhayā*.
21. *Chāq* "Wa ana wana" *dhakāā*    *You said "He went there."*  
       *dhāla*.
22. *Wāq* "Wa ana wana" *dhakāā*    *He said "He went there."*  
       *dhāla*.

In Sentences 14 through 22 the conjunct forms are underlined. For every conjunct form there is a first person actor. In 14, 15, and 16 the actor of the quote refers to the same individual as the actor of the quote frame. In 14, 17, and 20 the actor of the quote frame refers to the same individual as the actor of the implicit quote frame, namely the speaker.

#### 4. QUESTIONS AND THE CO-REFERENCE RULE

Consider now Examples 2 and 4.

2. *Cha ana wana. You went there (disjunct).*

4. *Cha ana wanā lā? Did you go there (conjunct)?*

To this point we have seen that the disjunct form in Example 2 can be explained on the basis of the fact that even though *cha* 'you' is portrayed as true instigator it does not refer to the same individual as the actor of the implicit quote frame, namely the speaker. What explanation, then, can be offered for the fact that the verb in

Example 4 is conjunct? Two possible lines of explanation can be given which are very nearly equivalent. One is that in true questions the conjunct-disjunct pattern is determined by the form anticipated in the answer. Thus, Example 4 anticipates some reduced form of Example 1 as an answer.

1. Ji ana wanā. *I went there (conjunct).*

Similarly, Examples 12 and 13 also have verb forms which differ in their expected responses, 12 expecting 12a:

12a. Ji danā. *I got up (voluntarily).*

and 13 expecting 13a:

13a. Ji dana. *I got up (involuntarily).*

Another way of accounting for these examples is to say that the conjunct form is required in true questions whenever the actor-instigator of the verb refers to the same individual as the goal of its quote frame, whether stated or implicit. The norm is illustrated by the following paradigm.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 23. Wṛṇṇ jītaa "Cha ana <u>wanā</u><br>lā?" dhakāā dhāla.  | <i>He asked me "Did you go there?"</i>  |
| 24. Wṛṇṇ chanta "Cha ana <u>wanā</u><br>lā?" dhakāā dhāla. | <i>He asked you "Did you go there?"</i> |
| 25. Wṛṇṇ waita "Cha ana <u>wanā</u><br>lā?" dhakāā dhāla.  | <i>He asked him "Did you go there?"</i> |
| 26. Wṛṇṇ jītaa "Wa ana wana<br>lā?" dhakāā dhāla.          | <i>He asked me "Did he go there?"</i>   |
| 27. Wṛṇṇ chanta "Wa ana wana<br>lā?" dhakāā dhāla.         | <i>He asked you "Did he go there?"</i>  |
| 28. Wṛṇṇ waita "Wa ana wana<br>lā?" dhakāā dhāla.          | <i>He asked him "Did he go there?"</i>  |

The conjunct forms in 23-28 are underlined.

One might say, then, that in statements the instigative or performative focus is upon the speaker but that in true questions the focus is upon the hearer. Alternatively one might say that the conjunct-disjunct form of a true question anticipates that of its answer.

## 5. TRUE QUESTIONS, RHETORICAL QUESTIONS, AND THE FIRST PERSON

The paradigm given in Examples 23 through 28 contains no first person questions, no rhetorical questions, and no questions that portray the action as involuntary. The lack of first person questions in this paradigm is not an oversight. First person questions are tricky. If a question is a true request for information, the questioner professes not to know the answer. In a first person question, however, the

speaker cannot ask a true question about an action in which he portrays himself as a voluntary instigator. Either he was the voluntary instigator and knows perfectly well what he did or else he performed the act unwittingly and was not the voluntary instigator. Newari grammar allows no other options. It is possible to have a true question such as 29-B in which the speaker has forgotten the act in question.

29. A: Chḥḥ nhāca ip|| lwāāgu      *Did you see them fighting some time back?*  
           khḥ lā?

B: Ji ugu ilae ana wana      *'Did I go there at that time (I don't recall)?*  
           lā?

A: Cha du thḥḥ cwḥḥ.      *It seems that you were there.*

But even here the speaker can be an instigator only from someone else's point of view. For true first person questions, then, it is the impersonal pattern that is followed. There is no personal interrogative form for true first person questions. The gap in the paradigm is real.

Of course not all questions are true questions. The question in 30-B is a rhetorical question used as an emphatic denial.

30. A: Cha ḥḥḥ ana wana.      *You went there too.*

B: Ji ana wanā lā?      *Did I go there? (I most certainly did not!)*

Sentence 31 would be the second person form of such an emphatic denial.

31. Cha wala lā?      *Did you come? (Most certainly not!)*

Rhetorical questions are different from true questions both in form and in interpretation. As far as conjunct and disjunct forms of the verb are concerned they follow the declarative pattern. Neither 30-B nor 31 expect an answer. They are not requests for information. The interrogative particle, lā has a strong negative interpretation in these examples and both of the actors, ji and cha figure as voluntary instigators.

Interestingly enough, Example 30-B could also be used as a test question in a situation in which the speaker knows the answer. Test questions do expect answers but they are not requests for information.<sup>8</sup>

## 6. SUMMARY OF THE FINITE CONJUNCT-DISJUNCT PATTERNS

There are three major patterns of finite conjunct and disjunct forms: an impersonal pattern, a declarative pattern, and an interrogative pattern. In the declarative pattern the conjunct form is used with finite verbs whose actor-instigator refers to the same individual as the actor of the quote frame (the speaker), whether expressed or implicit. In the interrogative pattern the conjunct form is used where the proposed actor-instigator of the verb refers to the same individual as the goal

of the quote frame (the hearer). Otherwise, disjunct forms are used. These patterns are summarised in Figure 1. The numbers in the cells refer to the examples cited above.

<i>Actor is co-referential with:</i>	<i>(Actor is Instigator)</i>		<i>(Actor is not Instigator)</i>
	Declarative Pattern	Interrogative Pattern	Impersonal Pattern
Quote Frame Actor (Speaker)	Conjunct (1, 5, 7, 10, 14-16, 12a, 30-B)	(Gap)	Disjunct (8, 9, 11, 13a)
Quote Frame Goal (Hearer)	Disjunct (2, 17-19, 31)	Conjunct (4, 12, 23-25)	Disjunct (8, 9, 13, 29-B)
Other	Disjunct (3, 6, 20-22)	Disjunct (26-28)	Disjunct (8, 9)

Figure 1. SUMMARY OF FINITE CONJUNCT-DISJUNCT PATTERNS IN NEWARI VERBS

## NOTES

1. This paper is a revised version of a paper written in 1971 and circulated in mimeographed form. The analysis of the 1971 paper was restated and incorporated in Sresthacharya, Maskey, and Hale 1971, pp.99-100. The writer wishes to express appreciation to Mr Thakurlal Manandhar, Mr Punya Ratna Bajracharya, Mr Iswaranand Sresthacharya, Mr Tej Ratna Kansakar, and Mr Jagan Nath Maskey for their help in approaching this problem.

The transcription used in this paper is a phonemic representation of spoken Kathmandu Newari. The transcription distinguishes five short vowels: i, e, ā, a, and u; seven long vowels: ī, ē, āā, aa, uu, ae, and āē; and five diphthongs: āi, āu, ai, au, and ui. The sequences, wa and waa could alternatively have been interpreted as the vowels o and oo respectively. The nasalisation of vowels is contrastive and is represented by a subscript hook (ǀ, ǁ, etc.). All oral vowels have nasal counterparts. For a discussion of the phonetic variants of Newari vowels see Friedman, Kansakar, Tuladhar, and Hale, forthcoming. For a statement of the relationship of this transcription to the Devanagari representation see Hale and Hale 1976.

As for consonants, the transcription distinguishes four major series of consonants, a voiceless series: p, t, c, k, s; a voiced series: b, d, j, g, m, n, ṅ [ŋ], l, r, w, y; an aspirated series: ph, th, ch, kh; and a breathy series: bh, dh, jh, gh, mh, nh, lh, rh, and h.

2. Conjunct and disjunct forms are distinguished both in the past and future tenses of the verb. Past disjunct forms end in a, past conjunct forms in ā, and future disjunct forms in i. Future conjunct forms end in e except following w and l where e becomes ī. Thus the verb wane 'to go' has four forms (past disjunct: wana; past conjunct: wanā; future disjunct: wani; and future conjunct: wane) whereas a verb such as biye 'to give' in normal speech has but three (past disjunct: bila;



past conjunct: biyā; future disjunct: bil; future conjunct: bil).

For a fuller treatment see Hale 1971c; Sresthacharya, Maskey, and Hale 1971, pp. 79ff.; Hale 1973; and Sresthacharya 1976. For a discussion of Newari tenses see Bendix 1974.

3. dhakāā is invariant and cannot be negated. For this reason it is better to view it as a quotative complementiser than as the irregular causative absolute form of dhāye 'to say'. It is optional and may be omitted, though in natural speech it is normally present. With other verbs of saying its omission is even less natural. Other verbs that take the quotative complement include tāye 'to hear', nene 'to ask, to listen', kane 'to tell', siye 'to know', cwane 'to be under the impression that, to seem that', gyāye 'to be afraid (thinking) that', and many others.

wāq in Sentence 5 is the agentive form of wa 'he, she, it'. For a fuller account of Newari noun inflection and classification see Hale 1971b; Hale and Manandhar 1973 (reprinted in this volume, pp. 79-93) and especially the very valuable work of Kölver and Kölver 1975.

4. Direct quotation in Newari is entirely natural and exhibits the full range of forms. Indirect quotation is somewhat less natural. Speakers with whom I have checked generally reject indirect quotation of questions as well as indirect quotations of statements which involve first person actors in construction with disjunct verbs. Thus, a sentence such as

Wāq ji wala dhakāā dhala. *He said that I came.*

is normally disallowed as an indirect quotation, though it would be acceptable as a direct quotation, 'He said "I came (involuntarily)."'

5. Impersonal verbs do, of course, have non-finite conjunct forms in constructions such as the following:

J|| wa saa tāyā cwana. *I was hearing that noise.*

where tāyā is conjunct in form due to its occurrence with the continuous auxiliary, cwane. The auxiliary is the finite form in this example.

6. Impersonal verbs comprise a significant set of verbs in Newari. Of the four sets of clause types distinguished by Manandhar and Hale (MS) only one set has actors. The verbs of actorless clause types are all impersonal. Included here are verbs such as dhune 'to be finished', chine 'to be comfortable', ballāye 'to be strong, durable', dune 'to collapse', buye 'to be well cooked', and sāye 'to taste good'.

7. In the 1971 version of this paper the term, sentential matrix, is used in place of the term quote frame. The term, sentential matrix, is

also to be found in Schöttelndreyer, 'Person Markers in Sherpa', in the same sense as the term, quote frame, in this paper. Schöttelndreyer's paper is to be found in this volume, pp. 125-30.

8. Such questions, which test the hearer's knowledge, may pose problems parallel to those mentioned above for true questions with first person actors. When one is asked whether or not he did something and is cast as the instigator of the act, he is then presumed to know the answer. If both the speaker and the hearer know the answer and if the speaker *presumes* that the hearer knows the answer, it is pointless even to ask a test question. Test questions thus appear to have a second person gap parallel to the first person gap which exists for true questions.

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