

# A Course in Reading Classical Newari

Selections from the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*

**Felix Otter**

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## Foreword

This little book has grown out of a loose collection of materials for a summer school that was supposed to be held at the University of Marburg in August 2020, but which eventually had to be cancelled on account of the global Coronavirus outbreak. These materials originally consisted of extracts from the raw material for a comprehensive grammar of Classical Newari that I have been working on for the last two years, and that was originally conceived to serve as both grammar and textbook. For several reasons, I have decided to publish the material presented here separately, leaving the reference work to grow and gestate for some more years. Recent events have convinced me that there is, after all, some demand for a tool (however imperfect) for learning Classical Newari among students of South and Central Asian linguistics, history, and culture – both in Nepal and in the “West”.

In compiling this book, I have sought to anticipate the needs and qualifications of its potential readership, as well as the institutional framework for learning and teaching Classical Newari – or rather, the lack thereof: since Classical Newari is not a regular part of the academic curriculum, the book is primarily designed for self-study, although it can of course be used in the classroom as well. It does make certain demands on the learner that introductory textbooks do not usually make: First of all, it presupposes a certain familiarity with Indic scripts – more specifically, the **devanāgarī** script. This is based on the assumption that anyone wishing to learn Classical Newari can be expected to have some prior knowledge of Modern Newari, Sanskrit, and/or Nepali, all of which are usually printed in **nāgarī** characters. (The script most widely used in Classical Newari manuscripts, the so-called **nevārī** or **pracalita lipi**, will be introduced in this textbook.)\* To a somewhat lesser extent, it also presupposes a certain familiarity with linguistic terminology, which in light of the intended readership

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\*) Those who merely wish to acquire a working knowledge of Classical Newari grammar (e.g. for comparative purposes) can still use the book, since all paradigms, sample sentences, and reading passages are also provided in transcription (more on which below).



seems to be a fair assumption. Generally speaking, explanations have been kept to a minimum, all theoretical issues having been set aside for consideration in the reference grammar which I hope to present to the public some day in the not too distant future. Consequently, wherever I make statements that seem to contradict previous authorities, I have to crave the readers' indulgence as well as their trust that a linguistically sound justification will eventually be supplied – only not here, and not now.

A word has to be said, however, about the sources upon which this textbook draws. The first and foremost of these is, of course, Hans Jørgensen's *Grammar of the Classical Newari* published in Copenhagen in 1941. Despite its imperfections – inevitable in any pioneering work –, it is a remarkable feat of scholarship, and continues to be the standard against which any study of Classical Newari grammar has to be measured. When it comes to verb morphology, Jørgensen's work has been improved upon by the work of Tej Ratna Kansakar, and by Ulrike and Bernhard Kölver in their seminal 1978 article. The most valuable source for Classical Newari verb morphology, however, is not a grammar at all, but rather the *Dictionary of Classical Newari* published in Kathmandu in 2000, whose editors have made the felicitous decision to give full references (usually including sample sentences) for all verb forms found in their sources. The wealth of material contained in this indispensable work of reference is a still largely untapped reservoir – not least for a comprehensive study of the diachronic development of the Newari verb system, which continues to be an urgent desideratum. While the description of the Classical Newari verb system adopted in this textbook differs more or less radically from its predecessors, it is obviously greatly indebted to them.

The considerable uncertainties still pertaining to the diachrony of Classical Newari made it seem advisable to adopt a specific text as the corpus on which this textbook is based; I have chosen the (as yet unedited) Newari version of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, the earliest dated manuscript of which was copied in the second half of the seventeenth century, and which fairly represents the (heavily Sanskritised) literary register of “mature” Classical Newari without any obvious archaisms, nor any admixture of Modern Newari forms. With few exceptions, the

sample sentences and sentences for exercise have been taken from three of the eleven manuscripts of this text that are currently at my disposal; a critical edition of the entire text is currently in preparation.

It should be pointed out that this book makes no pretensions to completeness in its grammatical description; any such pretension is necessarily precluded by the high degree of diachronic and synchronic variation of Classical Newari, and by the fact that the study of the language is, even eight decades after the publication of Jørgensen's *Grammar*, in many ways still in its infancy. I have, however, endeavoured to cover all grammatical phenomena encountered in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*. For phenomena not encountered in this text, I have relied on the references and examples given in Jørgensen's *Grammar* and in the *Dictionary of Classical Newari*.

In writing this book, I have received (at times much needed) encouragement from colleagues and friends, including Jürgen Hanneder (Marburg), Camillo Formigatti (Oxford), Sanyukta Shrestha (Pasa Puchah Guthi UK, London), and Astrid and Christof Zotter (both Heidelberg). Bastian Jantke (Heidelberg) read parts of an earlier draft of this book and made some very useful comments. Special thanks are due to Manik Bajracharya (Heidelberg), whose help in resolving some thorny issues in the Newari text and its translation has been invaluable. Kristina Münchow and Siegfried Schmitt of the Oriental Department at Staatsbibliothek Berlin have been extremely helpful and supportive throughout my research, and also in securing the rights for the illustrations used in this book. I am very grateful to Nicole Merkel-Hilf and Elizaveta Ilves of CrossAsia-eBooks for the kind and professional management of the publication. My greatest debt of gratitude, as always, is to my wife Goulia, without whose love, support, and patience this book would not have been written.

*Marburg, October 2020*

## A Note on Transcription

There is no commonly recognised standard for representing Classical Newari in Latin script, and anyone wishing to do so is faced with a number of (sometimes quite impossible) choices. The first of these is whether to transcribe or to transliterate, i.e. whether to represent the way the language was spoken (to the extent that it can be reconstructed), or the way it was written. If the latter, the choice is simple, since Classical Newari was written in scripts that can be unambiguously represented by the internationally recognised system of transliteration devised for Sanskrit (IATS). This was the path chosen both by the editors of the *DCN* and by Siegfried Lienhard (in his later editions), and given the high degree of orthographical variation in Classical Newari, transliteration makes perfect sense in the context of a historical dictionary or a scholarly edition.

In the context of grammatical discussion, however, orthographic variation becomes problematic, and even more so in the context of an introductory coursebook, where some degree of standardisation is clearly desirable from a didactic point of view. In this textbook, I have adopted a system of transcription (rather than transliteration) that takes its cue from the reconstructed phonology of Classical Newari: as a general rule, each phoneme of the language has been assigned one single grapheme (or digraph – exceptions are noted below). Hence, /l/ will always be represented in indigenous words by **l**, and never by **r**, **ḍ**, or **ḍ**, /s/ by **s**, not **ś** etc. On the whole, the system adopted here will be found not to differ too widely from Jørgensen's system.

In representing the phonemes /e/ and /o/, I have sought to compromise to a certain extent between phonology, phonetic realisation, and orthographic variation. It is highly probable that these phonemes were realised with a phonetic on-glide at least syllable-initially, and possibly in other environments as well (as is the case in Modern Newari).\* In

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\*) Based on the observation of orthographical variance, Jørgensen had posited an opposition /e/ < /ĕ/ and /o/ < /wo/: according to Jørgensen, “stable” /e/ is always represented by <e>, whereas /ĕ/ is variously spelt <e>~<ya>~<ye>; *mutatis mutandis*, “stable” /o/ is always represented by <o>, and /wo/ alternately by <o>~<va>~<vo>. While it is true that the spellings <ya>, <ye>, <va>, and <vo> are not usually found in some contexts, /ĕ/ and /wo/ cannot be accepted as independent phonemes for the simple reason that there are virtually no minimal pairs /e/ < /ĕ/ and /o/ < /wo/,

this book, /e/ and /o/ will always be represented as **ye** and **wo** syllable-initially. Another compromise (this time between phonology and spelling conventions) is the representation of /o/ as **wo** in a handful of words where /o/ is virtually never represented by <o> in the MSS, but always by <va>.

Note that the system of transcription adopted here, while based on the conventions for transliterating Sanskrit, differs from the latter in some respects: First of all, nasalisation is consistently indicated in indigenous words by tilde, not by **anusvāra**. In **pracalita lipi**, the phonemes /b/ and /w/ are represented by the same grapheme <v>; since the transcripts in this textbook give precedence to phonology over spelling, /b/ and /w/ are transcribed according to their phonological value (which can be easily reconstructed on the basis of MN in all instances).

The most difficult choices to be made in transcribing Classical Newari, however, must be the ones concerning the treatment of word-final “inherent” **a**. Jørgensen assumed that it was generally not pronounced, and hence transcribed **yāñ**, **gāk**, **sukh**, and **parbat** (and even **putr** and **ratn**). In this textbook, I have taken a more cautious approach and have usually retained word-final “inherent” **a** in the transcription unless apocopation of the preceding consonant in the Modern Newari cognate indicates that it was silent – thus, **bohol** “shoulder” (*cf.* MN **bwaha**), but **sala** “horse” (*cf.* MN **sala**). In non-assimilated Sanskrit loans, “inherent” **a** has been retained throughout.

Alas, any attempt at consistency is stifled by the massive presence of Sanskrit loanwords in various stages of assimilation, which do not readily conform to Classical Newari phonology.\* Non-assimilated Sanskrit loans have generally been transcribed according to the established rules for transliteration, i.e. the distinctions between /l/ and /r/

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suggesting that the observed variance is at best phonetically conditioned, rather than phonological.

\*) Since the degree of assimilation of Skr. loans cannot be gauged from orthographic variation alone, I have treated Skr. loans as fully assimilated only where they (a) have been grammaticalised to some extent, e.g. in denominatives or compound verbs, and (b) are current as assimilated loans in Modern Newari. In all other instances, I have preferred to err on the side of caution.

and between /ś/, /ṣ/, and /s/ have been maintained; pre-consonantal **anusvāra** has been transcribed as the class nasal. Following Jørgensen, syllable-initial <v> in Sanskrit loans has been transcribed as **b**, reflecting the pronunciation of that graph word-initially. Word-medial and post-consonantal <v> has been transcribed as **w**.\*

However, in order not to let the student get too used to a standard that doesn't exist, all sample sentences, sentences for exercise, and reading passages are given twice: Once in **nāgarī**, and once in transcription. While the transcribed text is given in standardised orthography, the **nāgarī** version represents the non-standardised spelling of the MS. In the sample sentences and in the key to the exercises, moreover, the salient morpheme boundaries are usually indicated, but never in the **nāgarī** text. The serious student who intends to work with Classical Newari manuscripts at some point is strongly advised to focus first and foremost on the **nāgarī** text, and to consider the transcription as no more than a didactic aid to be dispensed with when no longer needed.

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\*) Word-medially, <v> seems to have been realised as [β]. Orthographic variance also indicates that the sequences <va> and <ya> were frequently pronounced as [o] and [e] respectively even in Skr. loans, e.g. <vyathā>~<vethā> [betha:] „affliction“, <vidyāvanta>~<vidyāonta> [bidya<sup>w</sup>ontə] „knowledgeable“.

## Symbols and Abbreviations

*	reconstructed form	IA	Indo-Aryan
?	not attested or ill-formed	IMP	imperative
⟨⟩	grapheme, graphological representation	INANIM	inanimate
{}	morpheme and/or allomorph	Ktm.	Kathmandu/Patan
//	phoneme	LGH	low grade honorific
⌈⌋	allophone or phonetic realisation	LOC	locative case
	morphophoneme	MGH	middle grade honorific
+	presence of a feature	MS	manuscript
-	absence of a feature	MSS	manuscripts
~	varies with; corresponds roughly to	MN	Modern Newari
<	is derived from	<i>na</i>	animate noun
>	results in	<i>nah</i>	animate-honorific noun
α	presence or absence of a feature	<i>ni</i>	inanimate noun
ABL	ablative case	NIA	New Indo-Aryan
ABS	absolutive case	Np.	Nepali
ANIM	animate	NS	Nepāl Saṃvat
ANT	antecedent	NUM	numeral
ASP	aspiration; breathiness	ON	Old Newari
ats	<i>ardhatatsama</i>	P.	Persian
AUX	auxiliary verb	PERF	perfective
Bhp.	Bhaktapur	PL	plural
CLASS	classifier	<i>pp</i>	postposition
CN	Classical Newari	PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
CONV	converb	PST	past tense
COV	coverb	PTC	participle
DAT	dative case	SG	singular
DET	determiner	Skr.	Sanskrit
DIR	directive case	SOC	sociative case
ERG	ergative case	STAT	stative
FUT	non-past	tbh	<i>tadbhava</i>
GEN	genitive case	ts	<i>tatsama</i>
H.	Hindi	<i>var.</i>	variant
HGH	high grade honorific	<i>varr.</i>	variants
HON	honorific	<i>v.l.</i>	<i>varia lectio</i>
		VN	verb noun
		VOICE	voice
		VS	Vikram Saṃvat



## Introduction

Newari (or Newar; indigenous name: **nepāl bhāṣā**, modern **nevāḥ bhāy**) is a Tibeto-Burman language of the Indosphere; its precise position within the Tibeto-Burman branch is contested. Its lexicon, especially that of the “Classical” variety introduced here, is replete with Indic loans (mostly from Sanskrit, but also from Maithili and, to a lesser extent, Nepali). Three stages of its development can be distinguished, although the timeline for the transition from one stage to the other is at present far from clear:

(1) Early Classical or Old Newari, the earliest surviving document of which is dated to NS 235/1112 CE. There are a number of important texts written in this variety, including the bilingual *Gopālarāja-vaṃśāvalī* (NS 500/1380 CE, Sanskrit/ Newari), a version of the *Nāradaśmṛti*, and a commentary on the *Amarakośa* (the latter two as yet unedited). There is to date no comprehensive grammatical study of Old Newari, although some groundwork has been done, and its vocabulary is covered by the *DCN*.

(2) Late Classical Newari or Classical Newari *proprement dit* – the language of literary texts and inscriptions of the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, but used in MSS until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century CE. This is the variety described in Hans JØRGENSEN’s *A Grammar of the Classical Newari* (1941), the only grammar of Classical Newari available so far. A small number of Classical Newari texts have been edited, mostly translations and/or adaptations of Sanskrit texts, but also original compositions, including a wealth of historiographical material; the vast majority of Classical Newari texts still awaits edition and publication. Modern Newari forms begin to surface in manuscripts from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century CE onward, suggesting a diglossic situation where the spoken everyday language differed increasingly from the formal literary language. The 18<sup>th</sup> century also sees a rupture in the scribal tradition after the Gorkha conquest, which resulted in a more or less complete cessation of royal patronage, although manuscripts continued to be produced and copied well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is this variety of Newari that is the object of this course.

(3) Probably in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the spoken language begins the transition from Classical to Modern Newari, which is today spoken by



about 850,000 individuals in the Kathmandu Valley and beyond. Used as literary language since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the language was the object of political persecution under the Rāṇā regime. Although Modern Newari is relatively well documented, the language is somewhat endangered, with more and more speakers shifting to Nepali – a trend that started in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and appears to continue largely unbroken. More recently, however, there have been some encouraging developments, and there is today a vibrant scene of language activists both in Nepal and in the global diaspora.

The text by means of which the grammar of Classical Newari will be introduced in the following pages is the Newari version of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* – one of the most popular texts of the South Asian narrative tradition, which exists in a considerable number of different versions. The Newari text, which must have been composed before 1675 CE, is relatively close to Jambhaladatta's Sanskrit version. Nevertheless, Students familiar with any of the many tellings of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* in any South Asian language will be at an advantage when tackling the reading passages contained in this book. The basic plot is as follows: King Vikramakeśarin (or Vikramāditya) is called upon by a quite sinister yogi to help with a secret ritual: on the night of the new moon, the king has to fetch a corpse inhabited by a *vetāla*, a corpse-demon, that is hanging from a tree and that the yogi requires for his ritual. While carrying the corpse, the king must not speak, otherwise the corpse will return to the tree. The *vetāla* now tricks the king into breaking his silence by telling him stories that involve a riddle: if the king knows the answer but does not speak, he will have committed a grave sin (in some versions of the story, his head would explode). Twenty-four times the king knows the answer, and twenty-four times the corpse returns to the tree. Finally, the *vetāla* tells the king a riddle he cannot solve, and his task is about to be fulfilled – when it turns out that the yogi requires not one corpse, but two ...

# Lesson I

## *Sound system and script*

**Vowels.** Classical Newari has six vowel phonemes /a/, /ā/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/. Vowel length is generally not distinctive, except for /a/ <> /ā/. It is probable that the difference between /a/ and /ā/ is one of quality rather than quantity – as is the case in Modern Newari, where /a/ is realised as [ə] (or [ɑ], depending on position), and /ā/ as [a].

**Tab. 1: The vowel system of Classical Newari**

<i>Transcription</i>	<i>IPA</i>	<i>Jørgensen</i>	<i>Corresponding graphemes</i>
<b>a</b>	[ə], [ɑ]	<i>a</i>	अ <a>
<b>ā</b>	[a]	<i>ā</i>	आ <ā>
<b>i</b>	[i]	<i>i, ī</i>	इ <i>, ई <ī>
<b>u</b>	[u]	<i>u, ū</i>	उ <u>, ऊ <ū>
<b>e (ye)</b>	[e], [ẽ]	<i>e, ě</i>	ए <e>, य <ya>, ये <ye>
<b>o (wo)</b>	[o], [ʷo]	<i>o, wo</i>	ओ <o>, व <va>, वो <vo>

NB – As noted above, /e/ and /o/ will be transcribed as **ye** and **wo** syllable-initially, and as **e** and **o** in all other instances. Also, /o/ will always be transcribed as **wo** post-consonantly in those few words where a spelling <o> is not attested. In some formations, where the spelling <ye> is not attested, the verb noun formant {-e} will be transcribed as **ya**. Both /e/ and /o/ appear to be secondary phonemes, having grown out of Proto-Newari diphthongs \*/i̯a/ and \*/w̯a/ respectively.

**Consonants.** The consonant inventory of Classical Newari consists of sixteen stops (including four affricates), six nasals, two flaps, two glides, one sibilant, and one aspirate.

*Stops:* There are four dorsal, eight apical, and four labial stops. There is a twofold opposition αVOICE, αASP(iration) in all stops; apicals are further characterised by the presence or absence of AFFR(ication). There is no opposition dental <> retroflex; apical stops were probably

realised als alveo-dentals (as in Modern Newari), and they are occasionally represented by retroflex graphemes (but mostly by dentals). Apical affricates are usually represented by the palatal graphemes <c>, <ch>, <j>, and <jh>, and will be transcribed in this course accordingly; they were probably realised as [tʃ], [tʃʰ], [dʒ], and [dʒʰ] (as in Modern Newari).

*Tab. 2: The stops of Classical Newari*

		-VOICE		+VOICE	
		-ASP	+ASP	-ASP	+ASP
dorsal		/k/	/kh/	/g/	/gh/
apical	{ -AFFR	/t/	/th/	/d/	/dh/
	{ +AFFR	/c/	/ch/	/j/	/jh/
labial		/p/	/ph/	/b/	/bh/

NB – In voiced stops, aspiration is strictly speaking realised as breathiness; for the sake of simplicity, and in keeping with Indological convention, this will not be reflected in the transcription.

- 4 *Nasals*: There are two dorsal, two apical, and two labial nasals, all of which are characterised by the opposition  $\alpha$ ASP. The dorsal nasals /**n̄**/ [ŋ] and /**ñh**/ [ŋʰ] occur in all positions, including word-initially; in Modern Newari as spoken in Kathmandu and Patan, they have been replaced by /**ny**/ and /**nyh**/ respectively, but /**n̄**/ has been retained in the speech of Bhaktapur. The modern (Ktm.) forms are sometimes encountered as variants in (late) Classical texts.
- 5 *Flaps*: With the possible exception of non-assimilated loanwords, Classical Newari has two flaps /**l**/ and /**lh**/ which are characterised by an opposition  $\alpha$ ASP; they are variously spelt als <l> or <r>, and frequently even as <ḍ> or <d> (even in Skr. loans!), although the spelling <rh> (for /**lh**/) is rare. Positional variation is probable, but there is no evidence for any phonological distinction (although that might have been the case for Old Newari). In Indic loanwords, original /r/ is frequently represented by <l>, e.g. <tīla> ~ <tīra> “riverbank”, <nagara> ~ <nagala> “city”, including word-initially (<rakṣā> ~ <lakṣā> “protection”).

*Glides*: Classical Newari has one palatal glide /y/ and one labial glide /w/. These are of phonological value only before /ā/, the sequences <y> and <va> being orthographic variants of /e/ and /o/: in some environments, /e/ and /o/ were probably realised with a phonetic on-glide [j̥] and [w̥] (see above).<sup>\*</sup> Before /i/ and /u/, <y> and <v> only occur as variants in loanword orthography, e.g. <ināpa> ~ <yināpa> “request”, <udesa> ~ <vudesa> “object, purpose” (< Skr. **uddeśya-**), and seem to represent a purely phonetic on-glide, or perhaps null-onset.

*Sibilant*: There is one unvoiced post-dental sibilant /s/; the orthographic variants <ś> ~ <s> can be observed in all positions, both in indigenous words and Indic loans (note that <ś> usually represents /kh/!).

*Aspirate*: There is one (probably unvoiced) glottal aspirate /h/.

The consonant system of Classical Newari can be summarised as in *tab. 3*; note that for the sake of systemic coherence, the apical stops have here been described as alveolar (the “pure” stops) and alveopalatal (the affricates) respectively.

*Tab. 3: The consonant system of Classical Newari*

	stops and affricates				nasals		flaps		glides	sibil.	asp.
	-VOICE		+VOICE		-ASP	+ASP	-ASP	+ASP			
	-ASP	+ASP	-ASP	+ASP							
glottal											/h/
velar	/k/	/kh/	/g/	/gh/	/ŋ/	/ñh/					
alv.-pal.	/c/	/ch/	/j/	/jh/					/y/		
alveolar	/t/	/th/	/d/	/dh/	/n/	/nh/	/l/	/lh/		/s/	
labial	/p/	/ph/	/b/	/bh/	/m/	/mh/			/w/		

**Nasalisation.** The phonological status of nasalisation is problematic. In most contexts, nasalisation seems not to be phonologically distinctive; on the lexical level, variants are frequent, e.g. **che** ~ **chē** “house”, **khū** ~ **khū̄** “thief”. The variation /ā/ ~ /ā̄/ seems to be predicated on a dialectal difference between Kathmandu/Patan and Bhaktapur, e.g. **lā**

<sup>\*</sup> Given the positional constraints on /w/ and /y/, it might make sense to interpret the vowel system of CN as consisting of four vowels /a/, /ā/, /i/, and /u/, and four diphthongs /ya/ (=e/), /wa/ (=o/), /yā/, and /wā/.

(Ktm.) ~ **lā** (Bhp.) “way, path”. Word-medially, nasalisation is often triggered by a following nasal consonant, e.g. **cone** ~ **cōne** “to stay”.

NB – While nasalisation seems not to be distinctive (in the sense that no minimal pairs can be quoted), there are some nasalised morphophonemes, e.g. the perfective past marker {-**ā**} (*varr.* {-**o**}, {-**a**}) and the emphatic clitic {-**ā**}; see below, §§ 38, 74.

- 11 **Syllable structure and “inherent *a*”.** With the exception of non-assimilated loanwords, the Classical Newari syllable usually has the structure C(g)V(C), with g = glide (/y/ or /w/, only before /ā/ – see above). The existence of closed syllables is problematic: *pace* Jørgensen, Old Newari clearly favoured open syllables, as is attested by the treatment of PTB forms (TAMOT 2002). In Classical Newari, closed syllables seem to have been permitted at least word-medially, as is suggested by spellings such as <ṛājāpanista> “king-PL-DAT” (alongside <ṛājāpanisata>). Word-finally, closed syllables are evidenced by apocoptation of the word-final consonant in the respective Modern Newari cognate – see the note on transcription above.

NB – The cognate Modern Newari forms suggest that “inherent *a*” was fully pronounced in forms such as **gana** “where?” (MN **gana**) or in the dative case marker {-**tā**} (MN {-**ta**:}), but not in the ergative/instrumental case marker {-**n**} (MN {-**n̄**}) or in the locative case marker {-**s**} (MN {-:}). We will thus not be amiss to pronounce <gana> “where?” as [gənə] and <kanyāyāta> “girl-DAT” as [kənyayətə], but <ṛājāna> “king-ERG” as [rajan], and <nagarasa> “city-LOC” as [nəgərəs].

- 12 **The script(s).** The majority of Classical Newari MSS are written in the **pracalita lipi** (“current script”), with **devanāgarī** becoming more common in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century CE. The differences between the two scripts lie not so much in the shape of the individual characters – when it comes to that, the differences are hardly greater than between Devanagari and Gujarati –, but rather in the way that vowel signs (**mātrā**) are added to the consonant characters, and in the shape of certain conjunct characters.

Tab. 4: The basic characters of the pracalita script\*

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ
a	ā	i	ī	u	(ū)
अ	ॐ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ
ɾ	!	e	(ai)	o	(au)
क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	
ka	kha	ga	gha	ṅa	
च	क	ज	झ	ञ	ण
ca	cha	ja	jha	jña	(ṅa)
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	ण
ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa	ṇa
त	थ	द	ध	न	न
ta	tha	da	dha	na	na
प	फ	ब	भ	म	म
pa	pha	ba	bha	ma	ma
य	र	ल	व	श	श
ya	ra	la	va	śa	śa
ष	स	ह	क	न	न
ṣa	sa	ha	kā	naḥ	naḥ

\*) Eye copies from various MSS of the NVP. Characters not found there have been given in brackets; they are exceedingly rare in Classical Newari texts.

Vowel signs are attached to the consonant characters in the following way:

- 13 **āmātrā** is a vertical line added to the right; note the way it is added to characters that are not topped by a horizontal line (also to ⟨ga⟩, see § 18).

जा	रा	था	धा	ध्या
jā	rā	thā	dhā	dhyā

- 14 **imātrā** and **īmātrā** are added in the same way as in **devanāgarī**.

ति	ती	त्रि
tī	tī	trī

- 15 **umātrā** is usually a bent diagonal line underneath the consonant character, pointing left in some characters, and right in others.

कु	गु	जु	तु	दु	नु	हु
ku	gu	ju	tu	du	nhu	hu

- 16 **ūmātrā** and **ṛmātrā** are relatively rare; ⟨ṛ⟩ and ⟨ḷ⟩ practically do not occur.

कृ	रृ	कṛ	गṛ	वṛ
kū	rū	kṛ	gṛ	vṛ

- 17 **emātrā** is added to consonant characters in two ways: In most characters, the straight horizontal line on top is replaced with an undulating line; with characters that are not topped with a horizontal line (as well as with ⟨ga⟩), the sign for **e** is placed to the left (**prṣṭhamātrā**).

के	जे	ने	थे
che	je	ṇe	the

The same system applies *mutatis mutandis* to **ai**, **o**, and **au**.

18

कै  
kai

भो  
bho

गो  
go

चौ  
cau

गौ  
gau

The aspirated nasals /**ñh**/, /**nh**/, and /**mh**/ as well as the aspirated flap /**lh**/ are represented by the conjunct characters <ñh̄>, <nh̄>, <mh̄>, and <lh̄> respectively:

19

ऱ्ह  
ñha

ऱ्ह  
nha

ऱ्ह  
mha

ऱ्ह  
lha

Other common conjunct characters include, but are by no means limited to, the following:

20

कै  
ktaṃ

कष  
kṣa

कषम  
kṣmā

ज्ञ  
jñā

ज्य  
jyā

ज्ञ  
ñja

ण्ड  
ṇḍa

तत  
tta

त्र  
tra

भ्र  
bhra

म्य  
mhyā

श्  
ṣṭa

श्  
ṣṇa

स्तु  
stu

स्तु  
stha

For more details, see ŚĀKYA (VS 2030: 39-45).



Exercise I

Here is the eleventh story of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati (= Reading passage 11) as given in MS A (Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Hs. or. 6405). A full transcription is provided in the key to the exercises.

॥ कथं च कादसवर्गाल ॥ ॥ लि (थ) धवधय

संवाचवर्गाल नत्रपमीनरुयकलं रुलदासीं वगालनभालं शीमदात्रा क अ  
यसुन्नरुयमगव॥ रुनखीकानं रुदून ॥ काचिनपूलनाम नमयदसुवाड ॥  
धनगत्रया त्राका धर्मधरुनाम दव थत्राकाया पत्रमद्रूप कोवनसी रु क  
थस सुक्कात्रानीदव रुक्रीयानाम रुन्दलेखा रुक्रीया त्रावावगी रुकायास  
ग कवगी थसक्कासनाम॥ रुक्रीयाकनस उजानमन्दपस रुन्दलेखागी  
सुत्रक सुखयादविश्रीगी लि (थ) त्राकान कीदालपावलस धवसंपालसवाड

पद्मपुष्पया रुलकागंदाव क्कासुरुदाव पद्मपुष्पया रुल रुकमाणन श्रीमाम्ने  
शुयावचानं॥ थसलस त्राकानवेद्य क्काचिनत्राकाव सीकापवालयदाव संकग  
नवाड साचकलं॥ लि (थ) धवपदिजनन लिखिकाव त्राकफलयंदाव निदान  
याचकलं॥ धनीलि रुक्रीयाकनस रुकिकयासादस गात्रावगीव कीदालपाव  
लस वरुमाया गरुन गात्रावगीया सुवीत्रसखयाव गात्रवैलानखकी क्कासः  
यल २ गदाववली थखंदाव त्राकाकीसु कवायाव वेद्यवानकाव उपवालयो

वकलं ॥ लि (थ) रुक्रीयाकनस ममाकंठगीवा ॥ गत्रकथायादावलस दून  
सुवकीक्रीयाया शकगायाव ममाकंठगीया लाकागस यल २ गं थथरुव  
खंदाव त्राकाविस्मयवालीं॥ ॥ थखं स वगालन त्राकायाकसयकलं  
शीमदात्राक थसक्कास सुयाकामलसवीत्रधर्क ॥ थददाव त्राकानभालं॥  
कावगाल रुदु गानषुक्रिया वकीक्रीयाशलन यल २ गली डाक्री कामत्राः  
शीकायधर्क रुकानभालसा उपनीनक्कासं शवीत्रवा सर्वधदव थयास

वीडासिवधमद् सुलशकाकामागन थथरुव थगन थयाश्रीकामत्रासीस  
वीत्ररुला धर्कभालं थथडरुवविशुनी वगाल थवधयसंवीनवनी ॥ ॥  
॥ रुलि च कादसवर्गाल १ समाफ ॥ ॥ ॥

## Lesson 2

*Some basics of Classical Newari syntax – word order – ergativity – noun phrases – sentences with nominal predicate*

**Word order.** Classical Newari is a SOV language: the subject (or agent – see below) usually occupies the first slot in a sentence, the object (or patient) the second, with the verb invariably at the end. 21

**Ergativity.** Classical Newari is an ergative language, i.e. the patient (“logical object”) of a transitive verb takes the same marker as the argument (“subject”) of an intransitive verb; as in most ergative languages, this marker is zero, and its case is conventionally known as absolutive. The agent (“logical subject”) of a transitive action is marked for ergative case.\* 22

NB – For speakers of Nominative/Accusative (“N/A”) languages such as English, German, or Turkish, ergatives look like passive constructions, especially in languages where the verb is usually marked for agreement with the “subject” in person and/or number (as in Basque, though not in Classical Newari). Note that ergative languages usually do not have a passive voice.

(2.1) **rājā-∅**                      **deñ-a.**  
king-ABS                      SLEEP-STAT.PTC  
“The king slept.”

(2.2) **khū-n**                      **rājā-∅**                      **khan-ā.**  
thief-ERG                      king-ABS                      SEE-PERF.PST  
“The thief saw the king.” [“By the thief the king (was) seen.”]

**Noun phrases.** Classical Newari NPs are usually extended to the left: with the notable exception of numerals – especially where they mark indeterminacy (2.10, 11) –, any determiners (“articles”, 2.3-9), adjectives (2.4), or attributive VPs (2.5-11) come before the head. Any 23

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\* This is, of course, a gross simplification; as in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, the semantic category of controllability has as prominent a part to play as transitivity in determining which verbs are construed with the ergative case. This should be borne in mind when we come across sentences with dyadic verbs expressing a non-volitional action, where both arguments are marked for absolutive case (e.g. **rājā-∅ rasa-∅ tāl-ā** “The king (felt joy=) rejoiced”).

case (2.6, 9, 11) and/or plural markers (2.8, 9), as well as postpositions (2.7), are added to the last constituent of the NP.

- (2.3) **thwo** **rājā-Ø**  
 DET king-ABS  
 “this king”
- (2.4) **thwo tawo** **rājā-Ø**  
 DET great king-ABS  
 “this great king”
- (2.5) **thwo khū-n khañ-ā** **rājā-Ø**  
 DET thief-ERG SEE-PERF.PTC king-ABS  
 “this king that the thief saw”, “this king seen by the thief”
- (2.6) **thwo khū-n khañ-ā** **rājā-yātā**  
 DET thief-ERG SEE-PERF.PTC king-DAT  
 “for this king that the thief saw”, “for this king seen by the thief”
- (2.7) **thwo khū-n khañ-ā** **rājā-thē**  
 DET thief-ERG SEE-PERF.PTC king-like  
 “like this king that the thief saw”, “like this king seen by the thief”
- (2.8) **thwo khū-n khañ-ā** **rājā-pani-Ø**  
 DET thief-ERG SEE-PERF.PTC king-PL-ABS  
 “these kings that the thief saw”, “these kings seen by the thief”
- (2.9) **thwo khū-n khañ-ā** **rājā-pani-stā**  
 DET thief-ERG SEE-PERF.PTC king-PL-DAT  
 “for these kings that the thief saw”, “for these kings seen by the thief”
- (2.10) **khū-n khañ-ā** **rājā cha-mhā-Ø**  
 thief-ERG SEE-PERF.PTC king one-NUM.CLASS.ANIM-ABS  
 “a certain king whom the thief saw”, “a certain king seen by the thief”
- (2.11) **khū-n khañ-ā** **rājā cha-mhā-yātā**  
 thief-ERG SEE-PERF.PTC king one-NUM.CLASS.ANIM-DAT  
 “for a certain king whom the thief saw”, “for a certain king seen by the thief”

- 24 **Sentences with nominal predicate.** Just as in Sanskrit or Bengali, Classical Newari sentences with a nominal predicate do not require a copula verb in order to be well-formed. If the subject is a personal pronoun, the predicate usually precedes it:

(2.12) थ्व कापालिक बिल्वफलया दाता ।

**thwo kāpālika-Ø bilbaphala-yā dātā-Ø.**  
 DET kāpālika-ABS bilva fruit-GEN giver-ABS  
 “This kāpālika is the giver of the bilva fruits.”

(2.13) क्षान्तिशील नाम कापालिक जोगी जे ।

**kṣāntiśīla nām kāpālika jogī-Ø je-Ø.**  
 Kṣāntiśīla name kāpālika yogī-ABS I-ABS  
 “I am a kāpālika yogi by the name of Kṣāntiśīla.”

## Exercise 2

*Translate the following sentences with the aid of the glossary:*

1) थ्वया पुत्री जे ।

**thwoyā putrī je.**

2) जे पुत्र अती जुबाल ।

**je putra ati jubāla.**

3) थ्व राजाया रानी सोमप्रभा नाम महादेवी ।

**thwo rājāyā rāṇī somaprabhā nām mahādebī.**

4) थ्वया सखा बुद्धिशरीर नाम मन्त्रिया पुत्र ।

**thwoyā sakhā buddhiśarīra nām mantriya putra.**

## Notes

1)-4) {-yā} is the genitive case marker. In personal pronouns, the genitive case marker is often zero (e.g. in **je**, sentence 2); for more details, see § 31 below.



## Lesson 3

*Nominal system: general introduction – gender – number – absolutive, ergative, genitive, and locative cases*

**The nominal system of Classical Newari** has the categories gender, number, and case. Whereas gender and number are confined to the nominal system, case markers are a regular feature of the verb system as well, where they play a central role in the formation of converbs. 25

**Gender.** While no distinction is made between masculine, feminine, and/or neuter nouns, there is a clear morphological distinction between (1) inanimate, (2) animate/non-honorific, and (3) animate/honorific nouns (as in Modern Newari); this distinction manifests itself primarily in the use of different plural markers and different case markers for the ergative/instrumental and locative cases. 26

NB – The distinction between “honorific” and “non-honorific” should be taken with a grain of salt; in Modern Newari, the semantic difference does lie in the honorific degree, but according to Jørgensen, the difference between the two categories in Classical Newari is purely etymological, the “honorific” nouns being Sanskrit loans. For either interpretation there are examples and counter-examples, but it seems that Sanskrit loans generally tended to be reclassified as honorifics.

**Number.** There are two numbers, singular and plural. While inanimate nouns are not morphologically marked for plural number, there are different sets of markers for animate/non-honorific and animate/honorific nouns and pronouns respectively, which are given in *tab. 5*. There is generally a marked asymmetry in the number of attested cases for singular and plural (see below). 27

**Tab. 5: Plural markers**

	<i>Inanimate</i>	<i>Animate/ non-honorific</i>	<i>Animate/ honorific</i>	<i>Pronoun</i>
<i>Absolutive case</i>	{-∅}	{-ta} ~ {-to}	{-pani}	{-pani}
<i>“Oblique” cases</i>	{-∅}	{-ta}	{-pani}	{-mi}

NB – The animate/non-honorific plural marker {-ta} is frequently spelt <to> (but rarely in the “oblique” cases). Inanimate nouns can be marked for plural with Skr. loans like **s(a)kalā**, **samastā** “all” placed after the noun.

<b>che</b> “house”	<b>(che-skalā)</b> (“all the houses”)	<b>rājā</b> “king”	<b>rājā-pani</b> “kings”
<b>khicā</b> “dog”	<b>khicā-ta</b> “dogs”	<b>thwo</b> “he/she/it”	<b>thwo-pani</b> “they”

- 28 **Case.** The number of cases in Classical Newari is a matter of some debate; Jørgensen posited the existence of eight different cases (nominative, agentive, genitive, dative, locative, ablative, instrumental, sociative, and directive). The view taken here is that in any given paradigm, six “core” cases can be distinguished: absolutive, ergative/instrumental, genitive, dative, locative, and sociative.
- 29 **Absolutive case:** Newari being an ergative language, the argument of an intransitive/non-controlled VP and the patient of a transitive/controlled VP are both marked for absolutive case (see above); the case marker is {-Ø} in all genders and numbers. The absolutive case also functions as a vocative.

<b>che-Ø</b> “house”	<b>(che-skalā-Ø)</b> (“all the houses”)	<b>rājā-Ø</b> “king”	<b>rājā-pani-Ø</b> “kings”
<b>khicā-Ø</b> “dog”	<b>khicā-ta-Ø</b> “dogs”	<b>thwo-Ø</b> “he/she/it”	<b>thwo-pani-Ø</b> “they”

- 30 **Ergative/instrumental case:** On semantic grounds, it can be argued that only nouns and pronouns with animate reference can be marked for ergative case, whereas nouns with inanimate reference can only be marked for instrumental case. There are two allomorphs {-sē} (*var.* {-sen}) and {-n} (the latter two invariably spelt <senā> and <na>). Inanimate and animate/non-honorific nouns usually take {-n}, whereas animate/honorific nouns can be marked in the singular with either {-sē} or {-n} (with a clear preponderance of the latter). Plural animate/honorific nouns always take {-sē}. Personal pronouns usually take {-n} in the singular and {-sē} in the plural – with the exception of the HGH 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun **chalpol**, which always takes {-sē}.

Tab. 6: Ergative/instrumental case markers

	<i>Inanimate</i>	<i>Animate/ non-honorific</i>	<i>Animate/ honorific</i>	<i>Pronoun</i>
<i>Singular</i>	{-n}	{-n}	{-n}, {-sē}	{-n}
<i>Plural</i>	—	{-sē}	{-sē}	{-sē}
<b>che-n</b> “with the house”			<b>rājā-n, rājā-sē</b> “by the king”	<b>rājā-pani-sē</b> “by the kings”
<b>khicā-n</b> “by the dog”	<b>khicā-ta-sē</b> “by the dogs”		<b>thwo-n</b> “by him/her/it”	<b>thwo-pani-sē</b> “by them”

The most important function of the ergative/instrumental case is to mark the agent in a transitive sentence with a controlled verb.

(3.1) *rājā-n se-∅ bil-ā.*

“The king gave a fruit.”

(3.2) *mantriputra-n lhāl-ā.*

“The minister’s son spoke.”

**Genitive case:** The genitive case marker is {-yā} in the singular and {-s} (mostly spelt <sa>) in the plural; animate/honorific nouns occasionally take {-s} in the singular as well. In 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns, the genitive is usually marked by {-∅} in the singular, with the exception of the HGH 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun **chalpol**, which takes either {-yā} or {-s}.

31

<b>che-yā</b> “of the house”		<b>rājā-yā, rājā-s</b> “of the king”	<b>rājā-pani-s</b> “of the kings”
<b>khicā-yā</b> “of the dog”	<b>khicā-ta-s</b> “of the dogs”	<b>thwo-yā</b> “his/her/its”	<b>thwo-pani-s</b> “their”
<b>je-∅</b> “my”	<b>je-pani-∅, je-mi-s</b> “our”		

The genitive case indicates possession; in sentences with nominal predicate, it can express the notion “to have”:



- (3.3) थ्वया पुत्री जे ।

**thwo-yā putrī-Ø je-Ø.**“I am *his* daughter.”

- (3.4) जे पुत्र अती जुबाल ।

**je-Ø putra-Ø ati jubāla-Ø.**“*My* son is a terrible gambler.”

- (3.5) ओया काय धनदत्त नाम ।

**wo-yā kāya dhanadatta nām-Ø.**“*He had* a son called Dhanadatta.”

- 32 **Locative case:** The locative case marker is {-s} (invariably spelt <sa>) for inanimate and animate/non-honorific nouns; animate/honorific nouns take the allomorph {-ke} added to the genitive case marker. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns (with the exception of **chalpol**) take the same allomorph, but added directly to the stem. In the plural, the locative case marker (allomorph {-ke}) is only attested for animate/honorific nouns and for pronouns.

<b>che-s</b> “in the house”	<b>rājā-yā-ke</b> “concerning the king”	<b>rājā-pani-s-ke</b> “concerning the kings”	<b>je-ke</b> “concerning me”
<b>khicā-s</b> “concerning the dog”	<b>thwo-yā-ke</b> “concerning him/her/it”	<b>thwo-pani-s-ke</b> “concerning them”	<b>je-mi-s-ke</b> “concerning us”

The primary function of the locative case is to express location or direction. With animate nouns, the locative case can also express possession, and mark the addressee of certain (but not all) *verba dicendi*.

- (3.6) गंगातीरस पातरीपुत्र नाम नगर दस्यं चोड ।

**gaṅgāṭīra-s pāṭaliputra nām nagara-Ø da-sē coṅ-a.**“*On the banks of the Gaṅgā*, there was a city called Pāṭaliputra.”

- (3.7) कापालिक दक्षिणस्मानस वनः ।

**kāpālika-Ø dakṣiṇasmasāna-s won-ā.**“The kāpālika went *to the southern cremation ground*.”

- (3.8) ओयाके विचित्र सारिका सौपर्णिका नाम ।  
**wo-yāke bicitra sārikā sauparṇikā nām-Ø.**  
 “She had (with her) a beautiful mynah bird called Sauparṇikā.”
- (3.9) छन्हुया क्षनस सुकन सालिकायाके ल्हालं ।  
**cha-nhu-yā kṣaṇa-s śuka-n sārikā-yāke lhāl-ā.**  
 “One day, the parrot spoke to the mynah bird.”

### Exercise 3

Identify the underlined words by number, case, and gender with the aid of the glossary; translations of the sentences are given in the key to the exercises.

- 1) राजास्यं कापालिक आदेश बिरं ।  
**rājāsē kāpālika ādeśa bilā.**
- 2) थ्व बेरस राजासके धारं ।  
**thwo belas rājāske dhālā.**
- 3) राजानं कृष्णचतुर्दशी कुन्हुया रात्रीस खड्ग जोडाव याकातं मेवन म खानकं स्मसानस कापालिकया समीपस बिज्याक ।  
**rājānā kṛṣṇacaturdaśī kunhuyā rātrīs khadga jonāwo yākatā mewon ma khānakā śmaśāṇaṣ kāpālikayā samīpaṣ bijyāka.**
- 4) थ्व खं डेडाव मन्त्रीपुत्रन राजकुमारयाके ल्हालं ।  
**thwo khā ṇēnāwo mantriputran rājakumārāyāke lhālā.**
- 5) छन्हुया क्षनस पद्मावतीन राजपुत्रयाके डेनें ।  
**chanhuyā kṣaṇaṣ padmābatīn rājaputrayāke ṇenā.**
- 6) थ्वगुली खंस राजा बिक्रमादित्यया बोहोलस चोड बेतालन राजायाके सेयकलं ।  
**thwoguli khāṣ rājā bikramādityayā boholaṣ coṇa betālan rājāyāke seyakalā.**

### Notes

- 3) **rājānā: {-ā}** is an emphatic marker – “the king (himself)”, “the king (and no one else)”, “as for the king, ...”, “the king”, see § 74 below.



## Lesson 4

*The verb system: general remarks – root and stem – perfective past – dative case – sociative case*

The verb system of Classical Newari is marked by a twofold distinction for tense (past/non-past); in the past tense, the category of aspect (perfective/stative) is also morphologically marked, though not in the non-past. Generally speaking, temporal deixis is relatively weak, and aspect marking takes precedent over tense marking. 33

There are no conjugated forms in the sense that verb forms are generally not marked for person and/or number. There is, however, a fundamental morphological distinction between verb forms that are open to case marking and forms that are not; in this coursebook, these latter will be referred to as “finite”, the former as “participial”. 34

Verb forms can further be distinguished by their syntactic properties: Only certain forms can be the head of a non-subordinated VP. In addition to the finite forms *perfective past*, *imperative*, and *non-past*, this slot can also be filled by the *stative participle*, the *perfective participle*, and the *verb noun*. There is, in fact, a growing tendency to substitute the two latter forms for the respective finite forms in declarative sentences with first person reference, and in interrogative sentences with second person reference. This is the prehistory, so to speak, of the conjunct/disjunct system of Modern Newari, where verbs in the past and in the non-past are generally expressed with conjunct forms whenever (a) the action is controllable or intentional, and (b) the subject/agent and the evidential source are identical – which is typically the case with the first person in declarative, and with the second person in interrogative sentences. 35

**Tab. 7: Conjunct and disjunct forms in Modern Newari**

	<i>Controllable action verbs</i>			<i>Non-controllable action verbs</i>		
	<i>1<sup>st</sup> pers.</i>	<i>2<sup>nd</sup> pers.</i>	<i>3<sup>rd</sup> pers.</i>	<i>1<sup>st</sup> pers.</i>	<i>2<sup>nd</sup> pers.</i>	<i>3<sup>rd</sup> pers.</i>
<i>Declarative</i>	conjunct	disjunct	disjunct	disjunct	disjunct	disjunct
<i>Interrogative</i>	disjunct	conjunct	disjunct	disjunct	disjunct	disjunct

*Tab. 8: Classical Newari functional equivalents of the conjunct and disjunct forms*

	Conjunct		Disjunct	
	Modern Newari	Classical Newari	Modern Newari	Classical Newari
Past	past conjunct	perfective participle	past disjunct	perfective past, stative participle
Non-past	future conjunct	verb noun	future disjunct	non-past

In Classical Newari, this system is not yet fully established: The cognate forms of the conjunct forms in Modern Newari are frequently found in slots where the disjunct forms would be expected. Significantly, the distinction between controlled and non-controlled verbs seems not to be consistently observed in Classical Newari in this context.

- 36 **“Root” and “Stem”**. Classical Newari verbs can be grouped into four classes depending on their morphological properties; causatives and denominatives, which will be discussed later, constitute a fifth class. Roots generally have the structure  $C_1(g)VC_2$ , with  $C_2 = \mathbf{n, t, l}$ . Verbs of Class I end in **-n**, verbs of Class II in **-t**, and verbs of Classes III and IV in **-l**. Stems are formed from the root by triple gradation. The difference between Classes III and IV is the behaviour of root-final **-l**: in verbs of Class III, it is elided in the zero grade stem, whereas in verbs of Class IV, it is retained.

NB – The slot C1 can be filled not only by the glide phonemes /y/ and /w/ before /ā/, but also by the phonetic on-glide of the vowels /e/ [e] and /o/ [o]. In verb roots, vocalic onset is otherwise not permitted.

*Tab. 9: Gradation of verb stems*

	I	II	III	IV
Zero grade	<b>kha-</b> ( <b>khañ-</b> )	<b>yā-</b> ( <b>yāk-</b> , <b>yāy-</b> ,	<b>ju-</b> ( <b>juy-</b> )	<b>māl-</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> grade	<b>khan-</b>	<b>yāñ-</b> )	<b>jul-</b>	<b>māl-</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> grade	<b>khana-</b>	<b>yāt-</b>	<b>jula-</b>	<b>māla-</b>
	“see”	“do, make”	“become”	“be necessary”

NB – This system is the result of relatively recent changes in the *auslaut* of Old Newari roots; as late as the 16<sup>th</sup> century, many Class I verb roots ended in **-ñ** or **-j**, and Class II contains several roots with an original final consonant **-c** (Details in KANSAKAR 2005). The latter resurfaces in the older forms

of the causative (see below), and possibly in the allomorphs of the zero grade stem. There is also a number of verbs that follow the pattern of Class II in some forms, and that of Class III in others; the Class I verb **mhane** “to dream” likewise has some forms belonging to Class III.

In addition to these, there is a fourth grade of the stem, which we will here refer to as the extended stem. It is formed by adding {-**ñā**} to the second grade stem. The extended stem behaves morphologically like a participle insofar as it is open to case marking, but does not take tense or aspect markers. It does not seem to occur in isolation (or rather: with absolutive case marking), but only with the ergative/instrumental, locative, and sociative case markers; the functions of these forms will be discussed in due course. 37

**The perfective past tense.** This is formed by adding the formant {-**ā**} (38 *varr.* {-**a**}, {-**o**}; dialectal variant {-**ā**}, Bhp.) to the first grade of the stem. It is generally used with past reference for completed actions. It is by far the predominant form in narrative texts, but as the cognate of the past disjunct form of Modern Newari, it is not generally used with the first person in declarative, or with the second person in interrogative sentences.

I	II	III	IV
<b>khan-ā</b>	<b>yāt-ā</b>	<b>jul-ā</b>	<b>māl-ā</b>
<b>khan-a</b>	<b>yāt-a</b>	<b>jul-a</b>	<b>māl-a</b>
<b>khan-o</b>	<b>yāt-o</b>	<b>jul-o</b>	<b>māl-o</b>
“saw”	“did”	“became”	“was necessary”

NB – The variance has been interpreted as a remnant of Proto-Newari personal endings; according to Jørgensen, the form in {-**o**} tends to be used with first and second person subjects, but the data from the NVP does not support this assumption. On the whole, the forms in {-**a**} and {-**o**} are relatively rare with the exception of **julo**, which is the standard form of **juye** as perfective auxiliary – see below, § 152.

For the first person in declarative sentences and the second person in interrogative sentences, the perfective participle (the cognate of the past conjunct form of Modern Newari) is regularly substituted for the (finite) perfective past. It is formed by adding {-**ā**} to the zero grade of the stem (allomorphs in **-ñ** and **-y** in Classes I, II and III respectively). 39

I	II	III	IV
<b>khañ-ā</b> “saw”	<b>yāñ-ā</b> “did”	<b>juy-ā</b> “became”	<b>māl-ā</b> “was necessary”

NB – More often than not, the personal pronoun is left unexpressed in conjunct contexts.

(4.1) कन्दर्प नाम बनियाव विवाहा यातं ।

**kandarpa nām baniyā-wo bibāhā-Øyāt-ā.**

“(She) got married to a merchant by the name of Kandarpa.”\*

(4.2) थनी तुनी विवाहा याडा ।

**thani tuni bibāhā-Øyāñ-ā.**

“Only today have (I) married (her).”

(4.3) अरे रे मृतक छाडान था वया ।

**are re mṛtaka-Ø, chāñān thā woy-ā?**

“Hey corpse, why (have you) gone up?”

40 **Dative case:** The dative case marker {-tā} (frequent variants: {-tā}, {-ta}) is not usually found with inanimate nouns; with animate nouns, it is added to the genitive case marker. With 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns, it is added directly to the stem – again with the exception of **chalpol**. In the plural, the dative case marker is only attested for animate/honorific nouns.

<b>(che-tā)</b> “for the house”	<b>rājā-yā-tā</b> “for the king”	<b>rājā-pani-s-tā</b> “for the kings”	<b>je-tā</b> “for me”
<b>khicā-yā-tā</b> “for the dog”	<b>thwo-yā-tā</b> “for him/her/it”	<b>thwo-pani-s-tā</b> “for them”	<b>je-mi-s-tā</b> “for us”

The primary function of the dative case is to mark the third argument, e.g. the receiver of something given:

\* For the sociative case marker {-wo} see below, § 41.

(4.4) कापालिकन राजायातं आशिर्वाद बिलं ।

**kāpālika-n rājā-yātā āśīrbāda-Ø bil-ā.**

“The kāpālika (gave a blessing to=) blessed *the king*.”

(4.5) छ क्षणस बिष छुडा पक्कण मंत्रिपुत्रयातं बिस्य हरं ।

**cha kṣaṇa-s biṣa-Ø chuṅ-ā pakwān-Ø mantriputra-yātā bi-sē hal-ā.**

“Once, (she) gave *the minister’s son* a dish that was laced with poison.”

**Sociative case:** This case seems to be largely restricted to animate nouns (non-honorific: singular, honorific: singular and plural) and 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns; the marker {-wo} (mostly spelt <va>, sometimes <vo>, in younger MSS predominantly <o>) is added directly to the stem – with the exception of the plural of animate/honorific nouns and of pronouns, where it is added to the genitive case marker. In most instances, its function corresponds to that of the English preposition “(together) with”.

<b>(che-wo)</b> “with the house”	<b>rājā-wo</b> “with the king”	<b>rājā-pani-s(a)-wo</b> “with the kings”	<b>je-wo</b> “with me”
<b>khicā-wo</b> “with the dog”	<b>thwo-wo</b> “with him/her/it”	<b>thwo-pani-s(a)-wo</b> “with them”	<b>je-mi-s(a)-wo</b> “with us”

NB – With inanimate nouns, the sociative case marker usually only occurs with the postposition **tule** <tulya> “equal to”; see below.

(4.6) कन्दर्प नाम बनियाव विवाहा यातं ।

**kandarpa nām baniyā-wo bibāhā-Ø yāt-ā.**

“(She) got married *to a merchant* by the name of Kandarpa.”

(4.7) हे रावण्यवती । छ सावित्रिव तुल्य ।

**he lāvaṇyavatī-Ø, cha sābitrī-wo tule.**

“O Lāvāṇyavatī, you are like *unto Sāvitrī!*”



## Exercise 4

*Translate the following sentences.*

- 1) लास चौलव नपा लातं ।  
**lās caurawo napā lātā.**
- 2) छन्हुया दीनस दैवयोगन चन्दनपुर नाम नगर थेनं ।  
**chanhuyā dinas daibayogan candanapura nām nagara thenā.**
- 3) लिथे कन्दर्प नाम बनियाव सुदिन कुन्हु विवाहा यातं ।  
**liṭhē kandarpa nām baniyāwo sudina kunhu bibāhā yātā.**
- 4) कापालिकन हर्षमानन राजाया स्तुति यातं ।  
**kāpālikan harṣamānan rājāyā stuti yātā.**
- 5) जेन समस्त खां सेया खङ्गविद्यां सया ।  
**jen samasta khā seyā, khaḍgabidyā sayā.**
- 6) छन्हुया क्षनस राजपुत्रन थ्व सुकयात प्रस्न यातं ।  
**chanhuyā kṣaṇas rājaputran thwo śukayātā prasna yātā.**

## Notes

- 1) the subject of this sentence is not expressed; translate “she”; **lā** is the Bhp. cognate of **lā** “way, road”.
- 2) **daibayoga-n**: the ergative case marker here functions as adverbial formant; again, the subject is not expressed; translate “he”.
- 3) subject: “she”.
- 5) **khā** (**khā-ā**), **khaḍgabidyā** (**°bidyā-ā**): for the emphatic clitic {-ā}, see § 74 below; **khā** is the Bhp. cognate of **khā** “speech, story; thing said”.

The nominal morphology of Classical Newari can be summarised as in the tables below; rare forms have been given in brackets, unattested forms are indicated by n.t. Cases where the marker is added directly to the stem have been referred to as ‘primary’, where it is tagged onto the genitive case marker, as ‘secondary’ cases. Note that not all variants mentioned in lessons 3 and 4 have been included in the tables. 42

**Tab. 10: Inanimate nouns: che (var. chē) “house”**

	primary	secondary
ABS	<b>che-∅</b>	
INSTR	<b>che-n</b>	
GEN	<b>che-yā</b>	
DAT		<b>(che-yātā)</b>
LOC	<b>che-s</b>	
SOC	<b>che-wo</b>	

**Tab. 11: Animate/non-honorific nouns: khicā “dog”**

	Singular		Plural	
	primary	secondary	primary	secondary
ABS	<b>khicā-∅</b>		<b>khicā-ta-∅</b>	
ERG	<b>khicā-n</b>		<b>khicā-ta-sē</b>	
GEN	<b>khicā-yā</b>		<b>khicā-ta-s</b>	
DAT		<b>khicā-yā-tā</b>	n.t.	
LOC		<b>khicā-yā-ke</b>	n.t.	
SOC	<b>khicā-wo</b>		n.t.	

**Tab. 12: Animate/honorific nouns: rājā “king”**

	Singular		Plural	
	primary	secondary	primary	secondary
ABS	<b>rājā-∅</b>		<b>rājā-pani-∅</b>	
ERG	<b>rājā-n, rājā-sē</b>		<b>rājā-pani-sē</b>	
GEN	<b>rājā-yā</b>		<b>rājā-pani-s</b>	
DAT		<b>rājā-yā-tā</b>		<b>rājā-pani-s-tā</b>
LOC		<b>rājā-yā-ke</b>		<b>rājā-pani-s-ke</b>
SOC	<b>rājā-wo</b>			<b>rājā-pani-s(a)-wo</b>



## Lesson 5

*Converbs: general remarks – the antecedent verb in {-āwo} – imperfective/stative*

**Converbs.** One of the defining characteristics of Classical Newari is the extensive use of converbs. Broadly speaking, whenever two actions are in any kind of temporal (“after doing”, “immediately after doing”, “while doing”, “until doing”, “as long as doing”), causal (“by doing”, “although doing”), or conditional relationship (“if doing”, “when doing”, “even if doing”), the first action is usually expressed through a converb. Classical Newari converbs are “participial” forms insofar as most of them have a case marker as formant.\* In narrating consecutive events, Classical Newari prefers subordinated converb clauses, where German or English would prefer coordinated finite verb sentences. It is not uncommon, therefore, for a Classical Newari sentence to consist of a relatively long sequence of subordinated VPs. Converbs are not overtly marked for tense or mode, and have to be translated according to the context provided by the main verb: 43

(5.1) **thwo-Ø khañ-āwo rājā-Ø rasa tā-sē bijyāk-a.**  
this-ABS HEAR-ANT.CONV king-ABS REJOICE-COV HON.AUX-PERF.PST  
“When he heard this, the king rejoiced.”  
(or: “The king heard this, and rejoiced.”)

(5.1') **thwo-Ø khañ-āwo rājā-Ø rasa tā-sē bijyāy-uwo.**  
this-ABS HEAR-ANT.CONV king-ABS REJOICE-COV HON.AUX-FUT  
“When he hears this, the king will rejoice.”  
(or: “The king will hear this, and rejoice.”)

(5.1'') **thwo-Ø khañ-āwo rasa tā-sē bijyā-hune.**  
this-ABS HEAR-ANT.CONV REJOICE-COV HON.AUX-IMP.HGH  
“When you hear this, rejoice!”  
(or: “Hear this, and rejoice!”)

**Temporal converbs.** Whenever two (or more) actions are represented as being in any kind of temporal relationship, only the last action of the sequence is usually expressed through a finite verb form, and the 44

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\*) In Jørgensen’s *Grammar* (1941), these are usually referred to as “conjunctive participles”; in the *Dictionary* (1936), however, the term “converb” is also used.

other(s) through VPs with a temporal converb as head. For purely expository purposes, temporal converbs can be loosely grouped into three categories: (1) *antecedent converbs*, expressing an action that precedes the action of the main verb; (2) *coincident converbs*, expressing an action that is simultaneous to the action of the main verb; and a (3) *terminal converb*, expressing an action that will take place upon completion of the action of the main verb.

- 45 **The antecedent converb in {-āwo}**. This is by far the most common of all converbs (the cognate of the non-final form in {-ā:} in Modern Newari). It is formed by adding the sociative case marker {-wo} to the perfective participle (see above, § 39).

I	II	III	IV
<b>khañ-ā-wo</b>	<b>yāñ-ā-wo</b>	<b>biy-ā-wo</b>	<b>ñhel-ā-wo</b>
"saw, and ..."	"did, and ..."	"gave, and ..."	"laughed and ..."

NB – the following irregularities and variances occur: The copula verb **date** has two variants, **dayāwo** ~ **dāñāwo**. Verbs that generally oscillate between the patterns of Classes II and III show both variants: **teye** "to put" > **teyāwo** ~ **teñāwo** (also **thāñāwo**); **dhāye** "to say, speak" > **dhāyāwo** ~ **dhakāwo**; **lhāye** "to say, speak" > **lhāñāwo** ~ **lhāyāwo**. – Note that the glossing in the table above presupposes past tense marking of the main verb.

- 46 The temporal deixis of this converb is relatively weak; the temporal extent of the action is not clearly demarcated against that of the main verb. In addition to its core function, this converb frequently has causal or conditional force. In narrative prose, this is the most frequent of all verb forms: It is not uncommon to find three, four, or even more VPs describing a sequence of events combined into a single period, with all except the last action in the sequence being expressed by the converb in {-āwo}. Note that as with all CN converbs, use of the converb in {-āwo} does not imply identity of subject!\* In instances where the entire period does have a single subject (which is frequently the case), the latter is expressed only once, and is governed by the head of the VP in which it is located: if that head is an intransitive/non-controlled verb,

\* For the remainder of this coursebook, "subject" will be used as a blanket term for the agent of a transitive/controllable, and for the argument of an intransitive/non-controllable verb respectively.

the subject will be marked for absolutive case, and if it is transitive/controlled, the subject will be marked for ergative case.

(5.2) ओ पुरुषन हयाव फोडरपं सोरडास्यं ...

**wo purukha-n hay-āwo pholalap-ā sola-ñāsē ...**

“When that servant *brought* (them) and split (them) to look inside ...”

(5.3) थ्व सेया दुवने अमूल्य अमूल्य पञ्च रत्न खंडाव अतिहर्षमान जुयाव आदेश बिलं ।

**thwo se-yā duwone amūlya amūlya pañca ratna-Ø khañ-āwo atiharṣamāna juy-āwo ādeśa bil-ā.**

“When (he) saw five priceless jewels inside the fruit, (he) became extremely glad and spoke.”

(5.4) थथ्यं धायाव राजान धालं ।

**thathē dhāy-āwo rājā-n dhāl-ā.**

“When (he) had thus spoken, the king spoke.”

(5.5) जोगीया वचन डेडाव राजा विक्रमकेशरी हर्षरोमांचितदेह याडाव क्षान्तिशीलयातं आदेश बिलं ।

**jogī-yā bacan-Ø ñeñ-āwo rājā bikramakeśarī-Ø**

**harṣaromāñcitadeha yāñ-āwo kṣāntiśīla-yātā ādeśa bil-ā.**

“When he *heard* the words of the yogin, King Vikramakeśarin *shuddered with delight*, and he spoke to Kṣāntiśīla.”\*

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\*) In (5.2), **wo purukhan** is strictly speaking only the subject of the subordinated VP governed by **hayāwo**; since there is no change of subject within the period, the subject of **pholalapalā solañāsē** “split and examined” is left unexpressed. The same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, in (5.3), where the subject is understood from the context of the preceding sentence. A change of subject does take place in (5.4), the subject of **dhāyāwo** being implied by the narrative context. (5.5) is more complex: All three VPs have King Vikramakeśarin as their implied subject; in the VP governed by **ñeñāwo**, it is left unexpressed because the emphasis is not on the act of hearing, but on the action(s) that follow. Although **yāñāwo** is strictly speaking a transitive (dyadic) verb, the bristling of the body hair is an involuntary, non-controlled action, and hence **rājā bikramakeśarī** is marked for absolutive, rather than ergative case. Cf. § 62 below.

- (5.6) भो सखा । थ्व पुष्करिनीस जलक्रीडा याडाव सीतल जलपान याडाव पद्मनाल  
नयाव चित्तस आनन्द याडाव सला नेम्हं लंख तोनकाव कोमल घास नकाव भिंड  
वृक्षया छायास खंछि विश्राम याडाव छेजे नेम्हं थव गृह वने ॥

**bho sakhā, thwo puṣkariṇī-s jalakrīḍā yāñ-āwo śītala  
jalapāna yāñ-āwo padmanāla-Ø nay-āwo citta-s ānanda  
yāñ-āwo salā ne-mhā-Ø lākh-Ø tonak-āwo komala ghās-Ø  
nak-āwo bhīna bṛkṣa-yā chāyā-s khāchi biśrāma yāñ-āwo  
cheje ne-mhā-Ø thawo gṛha won-e.**

“O friend, let the two of us *play* in the the waters of this pond,  
*drink* the cool water, *eat* lotus stalks, *enjoy* ourselves, *give* our  
two horses water to drink, *feed* (them) tender grass, *rest* for a  
while in the shade of a beautiful tree and go home.”

- 47 **Imperfective/stative.** Imperfective actions and states are expressed through the stative participle; the temporal deixis of this form is rather weak, but in narrative contexts it is more often than not used with past reference. It is formed by adding {-a} to the zero grade of the stem (Class I: Allomorph in **-ñ**, Class II: allomorph in **-k**), with the allomorph {-wo} for Class III verbs.

I	II	III	IV
<b>khañ-a</b>	<b>yāk-a</b>	<b>ju-wo</b>	<b>māl-a</b>
“saw”	“did”	“became”	“was necessary”

NB – The stative participle of **cone** “to stay, be (somewhere)” has a relatively common variant **cōga** or **cōgwo** (besides the regular form **coña**). This may be interpreted as a remnant of the original *auslaut -j* (verbal noun: **cōja**, attested in NS 500/1380 CE). However, similar variants are attested for **khane** “to see (**khāga**), **thane** “to fill” (**thāgwo**), **bhine** “to be good” (**bhīgwo** besides regular **bhīna**), and **wone** “to go” (**wōgwo** besides regular **wōna**, **wāna**), which might indicate that the velar consonant (also in Class II verbs) is part of the bound morpheme, not of the stem. Note particularly the irregular forms of **date** “to be, exist”: **dawo**, **do**, **du**; more on this in § 112 below.

- 48 Like the perfective past, the stative participle is rarely used in contexts where the past conjunct form would be obligatory in Modern Newari. In these cases, the perfective participle is usually substituted.

- (5.7) उत्तरदिसास नेपाल नाम देस दव । थ्व नेपाल देसस जसकेतु नाम राजा दव ।  
**uttaradiśā-s nepāl nām deśa-Ø da-wo. thwa nepāl deśa-s  
 Jaśaketu nām rājā-Ø da-wo.**  
 “In the north, there is a country called Nepal. In that country  
 Nepal, there is a king called Yaśaketu.”
- (5.8) भो कापालिक । छु निमित्तन ता दतो बिल्वफल तोहोन अमुल्य रत्न बिया ।  
**bho kāpālika-Ø, chu nimitti-n tā dato bilbaphala-Ø toho-n  
 amūlya ratna-Ø biy-ā?**  
 “O kāpālika, why *have (you) been giving (me)* precious jewels  
 for a long time in the guise of bilva fruits?”
- (5.9) महापुरुष वीर खोजलपं जुया ।  
**mahāpurukha bīra-Ø khojalap-ā juy-ā.**  
 “*I have been searching* for a great and courageous man.”\*

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\*) As the adverbial **tā dato** “for a long time” indicates, the act of giving in (5.8) is imperfective. For the form **khojalapā juyā** in (5.9), see below, § 152.



## Exercise 5

*Translate the following sentences.*

- 1) थ्व खंडाव हास्य याडाव राजान आदेश बिलं ।  
**thwo khañāwo hāsya yāñāwo rājān ādeśa bilā.**
- 2) थ्व बेलस मृतक राजानः बोहोलस तयाव कापालिकया समीपस वने तेयकलंः ॥  
**thwo belas mṛtaka rājān boholas tayāwo kāpālikayā samīpas wone teyakalā.**
- 3) राजान कृष्णचतुर्दशी कुन्हुया रात्रीसः खङ्ग जोडाव स्मसानस कापालिकया समीपस बिज्याक ।  
**rājān kṛṣṇacaturdaśī kunhuyā rātrīs khaḍga joñāwo śmaśānas kāpālikayā samīpas bijyāka.**
- 4) थ्व खंडाव पाहान विस्मय चालं ।  
**thwo khañāwo pāhān bismaya cālā.**
- 5) शिषर देशया कर्णोत्तर नाम राजा दव ।  
**śikhara deśayā karṇotpala nām rājā dawo.**
- 6) थ्व डेडाव थ्व धर्मदत्त रावण्यवतीयाके वोडाव थव कार्य ल्हालं ।  
**thwo ñeñāwo thwo dharmadatta lābaṇyabatīyāke woñāwo thawo kārya lhālā.**

## Notes

- 2) **samīpas**: postposition, construed with the genitive; “near, with; towards”; see below, § 71. **wone teyakalā** “set out, proceeded”.
- 6) **lābaṇyabatīyāke**: with animate beings, the postposition **samīpas** is more common to indicate the direction of a movement, but the locative case can also be used in this sense – see above, § 32.

## Lesson 6

### *Non-past – personal pronouns – deictic pronouns – dhakā*

**Non-past.** This is used for expressing future actions, or habitual/ recurring actions in the present. It is formed by adding {-i}, *var.* {-u} to the first grade stem of Class I verbs, and to the zero grade stem of all other verbs (allomorph in -y of Classes II and III); note that verbs of Classes I and IV do not generally take {-u}. Both variants of the non-past marker can be extended by adding -wo (usually spelt <va> or, especially in later MSS, <o>) or -no, *var.* -na (the latter only Class III) without apparent change of meaning; in fact, the non-extended forms, while frequent in Old Newari, are relatively rare in Classical Newari, and are only attested for Classes II and III.

I	II	III	IV
—	yāy-i	(juy-i)	—
khān-iwo	yāy-iwo	juy-iwo	māl-iwo
—	—	juy-ino	—
—	yāy-u	juy-u	—
—	(yāy-uwo)	juy-uwo	—
—	—	(juy-uno)	—
<i>“will see”, “sees usually”</i>	<i>“will do”, “does usually”</i>	<i>“will become”, “usually becomes”</i>	<i>“will be necessary”, “is usually necessary”</i>

NB – The Class I verb **wone** “to go” has the following irregular non-past forms (in addition to the regular **woniwo**): **wōnaiwo**, **wōnayu**. The non-past of **ñene** “to hear” has a variant **ñeyiwo** (besides regular **ñeniwo**). The Class I verb **mhane** “to dream” forms its non-past according to the pattern of Class III (**mhayu**). – Bracketed forms have been supplemented from other verbs of the same class.

In conjunct contexts, the verb noun is usually substituted for the corresponding non-past form. This is formed by adding {-e} (positional variant {-ye}, more often than not spelt <ya>) to the first grade stem of Class I verbs, and to the zero grade stem in all other cases.

I	II	III	IV
khān-e	yā-ye	ju-ye	māl-e
<i>“to see”</i>	<i>“to do”</i>	<i>“to become”</i>	<i>“to be necessary”</i>

NB – There are a number of historical variants of the verb noun; in the glossary, they are given in square brackets at the end of each entry where applicable. The copula “to be”, although following the pattern of Class II in most forms, usually retains the stem-final **-t** in the verb noun: **date**, *pace* Jørgensen rarely **daye**.

(6.1) थव सुरतसुखन काल हंनिव ।

**thwo-wo suratasukha-n kāla han-iwo.**

“(You) will spend (your) time in amorous dalliance with her.”

(6.2) थथिंन्व अमूल्य रत्न छुया बियुव ।

**thathiña amūlya ratna-Ø chuyā biy-uwo?**

“Why does (he) keep giving (me) such precious jewels?”

(6.3) जेन सिमं गयाव छ को काय ।

**je-n simā-Ø gay-āwo cha-Ø ko kā-ye.**

“I will climb the tree and take you down!”

(6.4) जेन भस्म लक्षा म यातसा छन गथे म्वाचके ।

**je-n bhasma-Ø rakṣā-Ø ma yāta-sā cha-n gathē mwācak-e?**

“If I hadn’t kept (her) ashes, how would you have revived (her)?”

- 51 **Personal pronouns.** The stems of these are generally identical in singular and plural. The stem of the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun, which we have already encountered in the exercises to lesson 2, is **je-** (*var.* **ji-**). The 2<sup>nd</sup> person distinguishes between three honorific grades: a low grade honorific (LGH) **cha-** (extended stem form: **chan(a)-**), a middle grade honorific (MGH) **che-** (*var.* **chi-**), and a high grade honorific (HGH) **chalpol-**. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person is usually expressed with the deictic pronouns (see below).\*

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\* The variant **ji** (which corresponds to the Modern Newari form) becomes more common in MSS in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (around NS 880); the same is largely true of **chi** which, however, is already attested in Old Newari (NS 500 / 1380 CE).

Tab. 13: Singular paradigms for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person

	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. LGH	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. MGH	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. HGH
ABS	<b>je-∅</b>	<b>cha-∅</b>	<b>che-∅</b>	<b>chalpol-∅</b>
ERG	<b>je-n</b>	<b>cha-n</b>	<b>che-n, che-sē</b>	<b>chalpola-sē</b>
GEN	<b>je-∅ (!)</b>	<b>chan-∅ (!)</b>	<b>che-∅, che-s</b>	<b>chalpola-s, chalpola-yā</b>
DAT	<b>je-tā</b>	<b>chan(a)-tā</b>	<b>che-tā</b>	<b>chalpola-s-tā</b>
LOC	<b>je-ke</b>	<b>chan(a)-ke</b>	<b>che-ke</b>	<b>chalpola-s-ke</b>
SOC	<b>je-wo</b>	<b>cha-wo</b>	<b>che-wo</b>	<i>n.t.</i>

NB – Care should be taken not to confuse ABS and GEN of the 1<sup>st</sup> person and the 2<sup>nd</sup> person MGH, and ERG and GEN of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person LGH. However, since these forms tend to occupy rather different syntactic slots, any problems arising from their similarities can usually be easily resolved.

The 1<sup>st</sup> person distinguishes between an exclusive plural (excluding the hearer) and an inclusive plural (including the hearer); the latter seems to distinguish between an unmarked form (stem: **jheje-**, *var.* **jhiji-**) and an intimate form (stem: **cheje-**, *var.* **jeche-**). 52

Tab. 14: Plural paradigms for the 1<sup>st</sup> person

	Exclusive	Inclusive (unmarked)	Inclusive (intimate)
ABS	<b>je-pani-∅</b>	<b>jheje-∅</b>	<b>cheje-∅</b>
ERG	<b>je-mi-sē</b>	<b>jheje-sē</b>	<b>cheje-sē</b>
GEN	<b>je-pani-∅, je-mi-s</b>	<b>jheje-s</b>	<b>cheje-s</b>
DAT	<b>je-mi-s-tā</b>	<b>jheje-s-tā</b>	<b>cheje-s-tā</b>
LOC	<b>je-mi-s-ke</b>	<b>jheje-s-ke</b>	<b>cheje-s-ke</b>
SOC	<i>n.t.</i>	<i>n.t.</i>	<i>n.t.</i>

No plural forms are attested for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person LGH. The MGH forms its plural with the *tatsama* marker **{-sakal(a)}** (usually syncopated to **{-skala-}** in the “oblique” cases). Plural forms of the HGH are rare, and seem to be restricted to “late” Classical texts. 53

Tab. 15: Plural paradigm for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person

ABS	<b>che-s(a)kal(a)-∅</b>
ERG	<b>che-skala-sē</b>
GEN	<b>che-skala-s, che-skala-yā</b>
DAT	<b>che-skala-yā-tā</b>
LOC	<b>che-skala-s-ke, che-skala-yā-ke</b>
SOC	<i>n.t.</i>

- 54 **Deictic pronouns.** Classical Newari has a three-way deictic system: near-speaker (**thwo-**), near-hearer (**āma-**; frequently spelt <āmo> in the absolutive case), and distant (**wo-**; more often than not spelt <o>). NB – The remote deictic pronoun **huhū** (Modern Newari: **hū:**), although attested as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE, seems to have been very rarely used. Jørgensen was not aware of its existence, and *DCN* only gives a single reference; it is not attested in the NVP.

NB – The near-speaker pronoun **thwo-** clearly belongs to a deictic stem **tha-**, that is used for the formation of a number of conjunctions and adverbs – see below. Note that **thwo-** is very rarely spelt <tho> (as it is pronounced).

*Tab. 16: Singular paradigms for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person*

	<i>Near-speaker</i>	<i>Near-hearer</i>	<i>Distant</i>
ABS	<b>thwo-∅</b>	<b>āma-∅</b>	<b>wo-∅</b>
ERG	<b>thwo-sē, thwo-n</b>	<b>āma-n</b>	<b>wo-n</b>
GEN	<b>thwo-yā</b>	<b>āma-yā</b>	<b>wo-yā</b>
DAT	<b>thwo-yā-tā</b>	<i>n.t.</i>	<b>wo-yā-tā</b>
LOC	<b>thwo-yā-ke</b>	<i>n.t.</i>	<b>wo-yā-ke</b>
SOC	<b>thwo-wo</b>	<b>āma-wo</b>	<b>wo-wo</b>

*Tab. 17: Plural paradigms for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person*

	<i>Near-speaker</i>	<i>Near-hearer</i>	<i>Distant</i>
ABS	<b>thwo-pani-∅</b>	<i>n.t.</i>	<b>wo-pani-∅</b>
ERG	<b>thwo-pani-sē</b>	<i>n.t.</i>	<b>wo-pani-sē</b>
GEN	<b>thwo-pani-s</b>	<i>n.t.</i>	<b>wo-pani-s</b>
DAT	<b>thwo-pani-s-tā</b>	<i>n.t.</i>	<b>wo-pani-s-tā</b>
LOC	<b>thwo-pani-s-ke</b>	<i>n.t.</i>	<b>wo-pani-s-ke</b>
SOC	<b>thwo-pani-sa-wo</b>	<i>n.t.</i>	<b>wo-pani-sa-wo</b>

- 55 **Direct speech marker dhakā.** This postsentential particle – probably derived from **dhāye** (**dhāl-**) “to say, speak” – works in much the same way as Skr. **iti**. Its primary function is to mark a portion of text as direct speech, and as such it is best left untranslated. It plays a vital role in structuring dialogue in narrative texts, where standardised formulas like **dhakā dhāyāwo** (= Skr. **ity ukte sati**) and **dhakā ñeñāwo** (= **iti śrutvā**) function as markers of turn-taking. Like **iti**, **dhakā** can also mark the motive of or reasoning behind a subsequent action, sometimes conveying the notion “in order to”.

- (6.5) शिषर देशया कर्णोत्पर नाम राजा दव धकं धालं ।  
**‘śikhara deśa-yā karṇotpala nām rājā-Ø da-wo’ dhakā dhāl-ā.**  
 ““In the country Śikhara, there is a king called Karṇotpala’, (he) said.”
- (6.6) भो मित्र । छन आमो गथे सेया धकं धायाव मन्त्रीपुत्रन धालं ।  
**‘bho mitra-Ø, cha-n āmo gathē sey-ā?’ dhakā dhāy-āwo mantriputra-n dhāl-ā.**  
 ““O friend, how do you know this?’ [when (this) was spoken =] thereupon, the minister’s son spoke.”
- (6.7) थ्व क्षनस अनेग विद्याधरीन लिचकाव विचित्र अलंकालण तियाव थ्व पुखुलीस  
 जलक्रीडा याय धकं कन्यारत्न वलं ॥  
**thwo kṣaṇa-s anek bidyādhārī-n licak-āwo bicitra alaṅkāra-n tiy-āwo thwo pukhuli-s jalakrīḍā yā-ye dhakā kanyāratna-Ø wol-ā.**  
 “At that moment, a jewel of a girl, accompanied by many musicians and decked in jewellery, came (there) *in order to* bathe in that pond.”
- (6.8) छन खं डेने धकं अती लस तास्यं वया धकं धायाव क्षान्तिशीलन धालं ।  
**‘chan-Ø khā ṇen-e dhakā ati rasa tā-sē woy-ā’ dhakā dhāy-āwo kṣāntiśīla-n dhāl-ā.**  
 “I have come very gladly *in order to* hear your story. (when (this) was spoken=) thereupon, Kṣāntiśīla spoke.”

## Exercise 6

Translate the following sentences:

- 1) भो महाराज । दक्षिनस्मसानस जे चोने ।  
'**bho mahārāja, dakṣiṇasmasānas je cone.**'
- 2) अना मालको छेके इनाप याय ।  
'**anā mālako cheke ināpa yāye.**'
- 3) जे वय खे धकं राजास्यं लहायाव कापालिक दक्षिनस्मसानस वनः ॥  
'**je woye khe' dhakā rājāsē lhāyāwo kāpālika dakṣiṇasmasānas wonā.**
- 4) छन ह्वने जेपनिस्यं प्राण तोलतेः ।  
'**chan ṅhawone jepanisē prāṇa tolate.**'
- 5) थ्व वंडाव सादेश बियाव ओपनीस खं कानं ।  
'**thwo woṅāwo sādeśa biyāwo wopanis khā kānā.**
- 6) थ्व गृहस छेस्कल सुखन बास याहुन ।  
'**thwo gṛhas cheskal sukhan bāsa yāhuna.**'
- 7) छलपोलसेन सावधानन डेड बिज्यातसा जेन इनाप याय ।  
'**chalpolasen sābadhānan ṅeṅa bijyātasā jen ināpa yāye.**'
- 8) भो पुरुष । जेन छनके छु याडा ।  
'**bho purukha, jen chanake chu yāṅā?**'

## Notes

- 2) **māla-ko**: "that which is required"; see below, § 96.
- 3) In Classical Newari manuscripts, **visarga** is frequently used as a punctuation mark, especially in connection with (double) **daṅḍa**.
- 4) **ṅhawone**: This and other postpositions will be introduced in lesson 8; for the irregular stem of the verb **tolate** see below, § 138.
- 6) **bāsa yāhuna**: the HGH imperative of **bāsa yāye**; see below, § 67.
- 7) **ṅeṅa bijyātasā**: "if you (will) kindly listen"; see §§ 68, 115, and 154 below.

## Lesson 7

*Causative verbs – denominative verbs – compound verbs – interrogative pronouns*

To the four verb classes that we have so far encountered can be added 56  
a fifth class of derivative stems that shows rather different inflection in some instances. These are the so-called (1) causative and (2) denominative verbs. Causatives are formed from verbs of classes I-IV and convey the notion of causing the action of the *verbum simplex* to be performed, e.g. **mwā-ye (mwāt-)** “to be alive” > **mwāca-k-e** “to bring (back) to life”. Denominative verbs, on the other hand, are formed on the basis of action nouns or participles borrowed from Indo-Aryan, e.g. Skr. **siddha-** “accomplished > **siddha-lap-e** “to accomplish, attain”. This process of denominal stem formation is one of two strategies that Classical Newari employs for the incorporation of verbal loans (compound verbs being the other strategy – see below). In this lesson, we will only look at the forms introduced so far; all other forms will be introduced together with the corresponding forms of classes I-IV in due course.

**Causative verbs.** These are formed by adding a causative marker 57  
{-kal-} to the second grade stem of the *verbum simplex* in classes I, II, and IV, and to the verb noun of class III verbs: **mune** “to assemble” > **muna-kal-** “to gather”; **hāye (hāt-)** “to say” > **hāta-kal-** “to convey (a message)”; **juye (jul-)** “to become” > **juya-kal-** “to cause to happen”. The causative stem in its turn is subject to gradation.

*Tab. 18: Gradation of the causative stem*

Zero grade	V
First grade	yātak-
Second grade	yātaka-
Third grade	yātakal-
Extended stem	yātakala-
	yātakalañā-
	“to make (cause to exist)”



NB – Causative stem formation is subject to a number of irregularities that will not be examined here in detail. Only two points should be noted: (1) The irregular copula verb **date** “to exist” forms a regular causative **dayake** (instead of the expected **datake**) “to make (cause to exist)”. (2) Class II verbs sometimes retain the original *auslaut* of the *verbum simplex*, e.g. **yācake** ~ **yātake** “cause to make” < **yāye** (**yāt-**) “to do, make”, Old Newari **yāca**; see § 56 above for another example. This is frequently found in verbs that do not seem to have an original *auslaut* -c, e.g. **mocake** “to (cause to) kill” < **moye** (**mol-**) “to perish, die”. Note also that the verb noun of class III verbs is never spelt <ye> in connection with the causative marker, but always <ya>; this will be reflected in our transcription throughout.

- 58 Of the forms introduced so far, the verb noun, the perfective participle, the converb in {-**āwo**}, the stative participle (marker: {-**u**!}), and the non-past (marker: {-**i(wo)**}, {-**i(na)**}, never {-**u**} etc.) are formed from the zero grade stem; the stative participle may also be formed from the first grade stem (marker: {-**wo**}). The perfective past is formed from the second grade stem (*tab. 19*):

*Tab. 19: Forms of the causative: dayake “to make”*

<i>Verb noun</i>	<b>daya-k-e</b>	“to make”, “I will make”, “will you make?”
<i>Perf. pst.</i>	<b>daya-kal-ā</b>	“(he/she/it) made”
<i>Perf. part.</i>	<b>daya-k-ā, dayā-k-ā</b>	“made”, “I made”, “did you make?”
<i>Conv. in {-āwo}</i>	<b>daya-k-ā-wo</b>	“made, and ...”
<i>Stat. part.</i>	<b>daya-k-u</b> (!), <i>var.</i> ( <b>daya-ka-wo</b> )	“being made”
<i>Non-past</i>	<b>daya-k-i</b> <b>daya-k-i-wo</b> <b>daya-k-i-na</b>	} “will make”, “usually makes”

NB – The semantic relationship between *verbum simplex* and causative verb is not without complications. In some instances, the causative verb expresses the same (non-causative) action as the *verbum simplex*, or otherwise merely seems to express a different nuance thereof; e.g. **liye** (**lit-**) “to pursue”, **licake** “to follow, accompany”. The causative verb **seyake** “to cause to know” is frequently used synonymously with **seye** (**sel-**) “to know”, as are the verbs **dhunake** and **dhune** “to finish (doing something)”. No causative element is readily discernible in verbs like **teyake** “to be about to, to start doing s.th.” – formally, the causative of **teye** (**tel-**) “to put”.

- 59 **Denominative verbs.** These are mostly based on nouns or participles borrowed from Indo-Aryan to which is added a denominative formant

{-lapal-}. The pattern of stem gradation is by and large the same as with causative verbs, although as we shall see in due course, the distribution of forms differs somewhat.

*Tab. 20: Gradation of the denominative stem*

	V
Zero grade	cinta-lap-
First grade	cinta-lapa-
Second grade	cinta-lapal-
Third grade	cinta-lapala-
Extended stem	cinta-lapalañā- “to think”

As with causative verbs, the verb noun, the perfective participle, the 60  
 converb in {-āwo}, the stative participle (marker: {-u}!), and the non-  
 past (marker: {-i(wo)}, {-i(na)}), are formed on the basis of the zero  
 grade stem; the perfective past is formed from the second grade stem.

*Tab. 21: Forms of the denominative: cintalape “to think”*

Verbal noun	cinta-lap-e	“to think”, “I will think”, “will you think?”
Perf. pst.	cinta-lapal-ā	“thought”
Perf. part.	cinta-lap-ā	“thought”, “I thought”, “did you think?”
Conv. in {-āwo}	cinta-lap-āwo	“thought, and ...”
Stat. part.	(cinta-lap-u), var. (cinta-lap-o)	“thinking”
Non-past	cinta-lap-i (cinta-lap-iwo) cinta-lap-ina	} “will think”, “usually thinks”

**Compound verbs.** The other strategy employed by Classical Newari 61  
 for forming verbs on the basis of nouns is the combination of a nominal  
 component – more often than not, an Indo-Aryan loan – with a function  
 verb, e.g. Skr. **krīḍā** “play, dalliance” + **yāye** “to do, make” > **krīḍā**  
**yāye** “to make love”. Most of these compound verbs are formed with  
**yāye**, e.g. **upacāra yāye** “to treat, cure”, **kayāgal yāye** “to quarrel”;  
 other function verbs used in this formation include **biye (bil-)** “to give”  
 (e.g. **ādeśa biye** “to speak (*hon.*)”, **āsīrbāda biye** “to bless”), and **cāye**

(cāl-) “to awaken”, which is regularly used with (Sanskrit) loanwords denoting a mental state, e.g. **kautuka cāye** “to be curious”, **bismaya cāye** “to be astonished”.

- 62 *Syntax of compound verbs*: As a general rule, the nominal component is marked for absolutive case. The case marking on the “subject” is determined by the syntactical properties of the function verb, i.e. a transitive/controlled verb like **yāye** or **biye** requires ergative case marking, and an intransitive/non-controlled verb like **cāye** requires absolutive case marking. Case marking on any further complement (“object”) is likewise governed by the function verb.

NB – There are instances where the action expressed by a compound verb with **yāye** is involuntary, and the “subject” is marked for absolutive, rather than ergative case – see the note on (5.5) above.

- 63 **Interrogative pronouns**. There are two of these, one animate: **su-** “who?”, and one inanimate: **chu-** “what?”. The animate pronoun inflects regularly (paradigm: **khicā**) with the exception of the ergative case marker, which is added to the extended stem **sunā**: **sunān** “by whom?”. Of the inanimate pronoun, only the genitive and dative cases are attested: **chuyā** “why?”, **chuyātā** “for what purpose?”. Interrogative adverbs are usually formed from the stem **ga-**: **ganā** “where?” **ganān** “from where?” **gathē** “how?” **gathiṅa** (var. **gathīgwo**) “how, of what kind?”

## Exercise 7

Translate the following sentences:

- 1) छन सिद्धि साधरपिन ।  
**chan siddhi sādhalapina.**
- 2) ओ नगरस महाधनी हिरण्यगुप्त नाम बनिया बसरपो ।  
**wo nagaras mahādhanī hiraṇyagupta nām baniyā basalapo.**
- 3) हे सखे । थ्व कन्या सू । गनान वला । सुया पुत्री । छु नाम । थ्व गथे सेयके ।  
**he sakhe, thwo kanyā su? ganān wolā? suyā putrī? chu nām? thwo gathē seyake?**
- 4) थ्व खंस वेतालन राजायाके सेयकरं ।  
**thwo khās betālan rājāyāke seyakalā.**
- 5) थ्व खंडाव गृहस्थ ब्राह्मणन थव मन्त्रपुथी जोडाव सिद्धमन्त्रन काय म्वाचकलं ।  
**thwo khañāwo gṛhastha brāhmaṇan thawo mantraputhī joñāwo siddhamantran kāya mwācakalā.**
- 6) थ्व कन्या अग्निसंस्काल याडान लि छम्हं ब्राह्मणन जटाधारी जुयाव ओया भस्मन थव देह लेपलपाव नाना देश भ्रमलपाव जुलं: ॥  
**thwo kanyā agnisamskāra yāñān li chamhā brāhmaṇan jaṭādhārī juyāwo woyā bhasman thawo deha lepalapāwo nānā deśa bhramalapāwo julā.**
- 7) लिथे राजा सुद्रकन सुरतसम्भोग याडान अती परिश्रम जुयाव सीतल वायु सेवलपे धकं कवसी था हालं ॥  
**lithē rājā sūdrakan suratasambhoga yāñān ati pariśrama juyāwo śītala bāyu sebalape dhakā kawosī thā hālā.**

## Notes

- 3) **wolā**: the Bhp. variant of **wolā**; see above, § 38.
- 6) **yāñān li**: after performing; see below, §§ 106 sq.; **chamhā brāhmaṇan**: “one brahman (ERG)”; **julā** is here used as a stative auxiliary which may be ignored in the translation; see below, § 152.
- 7) **yāñān**: a causal converb “by doing”, “because ... did”; see below, § 101.



## Lesson 8

*Imperative – postpositions – clitics: -ā, -tō, ni, mātra(n) – question marker lā*

**Imperative.** There are several ways of forming an imperative in Classical Newari, and these seem to be at least in part predicated on different honorific levels: Besides a low grade honorific (LGH) and a middle grade honorific (MGH) imperative, there are several ways of expressing a high grade honorific (HGH) imperative, in addition to a Super-HGH imperative which is formed by means of an auxiliary verb. No imperatives seem to be attested for class IV verbs. 64

The LGH imperative is formed from the zero grade stem of class II and III verbs with zero suffix. 65

I	II	III	IV
—	<b>yā-∅</b> “do!”	<b>dhā-∅</b> “speak!”	—

NB – The honorific force of this form is not entirely clear; being on the whole relatively rare, it might well be a morphological variant of the MGH imperative. Other attested forms are: **te, ti** (**taye, tal-** “to put”), **he, hi** (**haye, hal-** “to carry, bring”), and **wā** (**woye, wol-** “to come.”)

The MGH imperative is formed by adding the marker {-wo}, var. {-a} to the zero grade stem (allomorph in -ñ in class I verbs). In class V verbs (causatives and denominatives), the non-past can have the function of a MGH imperative. 66

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>ñeñ-o</b> <b>ñeñ-a</b> “listen!”	<b>yā-wo</b> “do!”	<b>ju-wo</b> “be!”	—	<b>dayak-i</b> <b>dayak-ina</b> “make!”

NB – Irregular forms include **tiwo** (**taye, tal-** “to put”), **hiwo** (**haye, hal-** “to carry, bring”), **woni** (**wone** “to go”).

For the HGH imperative, by far the most common formant is {-hune} (varr. {-huna}, {-huni}, {-guna}) added to the zero grade stem. Less common is the formant {-ñāna}. 67

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>ñe-huna</b>	<b>yā-hune</b>	<b>bi-huna</b>	—	—
<b>ñe-ñāna</b>	<b>yā-ñāna</b>	<b>bi-ñāna</b>		
<i>“please listen!”</i>	<i>“please do!”</i>	<i>“please give!”</i>		

NB – There are also HGH imperatives in {-**kāna**} (*var.* -**kāne**}) and {-**sana**}, which – although generally common – are not attested in the text of NVP. In some instances, HGH imperative markers have been added to the verb noun or the second grade stem: **woneguna** “please go!”, **senahuni** “please learn!”, **selāhana** “please understand!”, **solahuni** “please look!”.

- 68 The HGH imperative **bijyāhune** (**bijyāye** “to deign to do s.th.”) can be used as an auxiliary for transforming an MGH imperative into a super-polite imperative:

(8.1) भो राजन् । सावधानन डेड बिज्याहुन ।

**bho rājan, sābadhāna-n ñeñ-a bijyā-huna.**

“O king, may it please you to listen carefully.”

We will have more to say on the use of **bijyāye** in § 154 below.

- 69 **Postpositions.** In contrast to languages like German or English, function words that mark a NP as having a spatial, temporal, or causal relationship to another NP are not placed *before* it (*preposition*), but *after* it (as in Turkish or Hindi), and are hence conventionally referred to as *postpositions*. Each postposition is usually construed with a particular case; most CN postpositions govern either the absolutive or the genitive case, and a handful the sociative case. It is remarkable that a sizeable proportion of postpositions in Classical Newari are phonologically non-assimilated Sanskrit loans that are inflected with Newari case markers. Note that the following list is not exhaustive.
- 70 *Postpositions governing the absolutive case:* The most frequently used include **tō** (*var.* **to**) “towards”; **tohon** “under the pretext, in the guise of”; **thē** (*varr.* **the, thī**) “as, like”; **duhā** “into”; **nimittan** (*var.* **nimittin**) “for the sake of”; **nisē** “since”; **binu** “without”; **belas** “at the time of”; **sahita** “together with”. The use of **belas** is largely restricted to demonstratives (**thwo belas** “at that time” = “then”) and verb nouns, although it is also attested with perfective participles (as is **thē**). With verb nouns, **nimittan** conveys the notion “in order to”.

NB – Since the absolutive case marker is zero and does not imply any modification of the stem, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether postpositions are construed with the absolutive case, or are simply added to the stem in the same slot as case markers. It could, in fact, be argued that indigenous morphemes like **tō** and **thē** are not postpositions at all, but rather “directive” and “equative” case markers (with reference to **tō**, this is the view taken by Jørgensen). Note that **tō** is formally identical with the emphatic marker **tō** (see below, § 75), the latter being used much more frequently than the former; **thē** is frequently employed as a formant in adverbs (e.g. **thathē**, “thus”; **thathīgwo** “such a ...”; **yethē** “*ad libitum*” < **yeye** “to like, wish”).

- (8.2) द्वारतो थेंड बेलस राजान मन्त्रीयाके धारं ।  
**dwāra-Ø tō thēn-a belas rājā-n mantrī-yāke dhāl-ā.**  
 “When (Vīrabala) had reached *the door*, the king spoke to the minister.”
- (8.3) छु निमित्तन ता दतो बिल्वफल तोहोन अमुल्य रत्न बिया ।  
**chu nimittan tā dato bilbaphala-Ø tohon amūlya ratna-Ø biyā?**  
 “Wherefore have you been giving me (such) precious jewels *in the guise of bilva fruits* for (such) a long time?”
- (8.4) परमेश्वरया आभरणस चोंड मणि थें थ्व नगरस ...  
**parameśwara-yā ābharana-s coṅ-a maṇi-Ø thē thwo nagara-s ...**  
 “In this city, (that was) *like the jewel in the ornament of Parameśvara* ...”
- (8.5) धाया थ्यं हतस वंडाव ब्यापाली आभलन केनं ।  
**dhāy-ā thē hata-s woṅ-āwo byāpārī-Ø ābharana-Ø ken-ā.**  
 “He went to the market *as (he) had been told*, and showed the jewellery to a merchant.”
- (8.6) छन्हुया क्षनस थ्वपनी नेम्हं अहड वने धकं सडं गयाव बन दुहा वनं ।  
**chanhu-yā kṣana-s thwo-pani ne-mhā-Ø ahala won-e dhakā sala-Ø gay-āwo bana-Ø duhā won-ā.**  
 “One day, the two of them mounted their horses and went *into the forest* in order to go hunting.”
- (8.7) छु निमित्तन ता दतो बिल्वफल तोहोन अमुल्य रत्न बिया ।  
**chu-Ø nimittan tā dato bilbaphala-Ø tohon amūlya ratna-Ø biyā?**  
 “Wherefore have you been giving me (such) precious jewels in the guise of bilva fruits for (such) a long time?”



- (8.8) मृतक वेताल सिद्ध याय निमित्तिन उत्तरसाधक महापुरुष बीर खोजलपं जुया ।  
**mṛtaka betāla-Ø siddha yā-ye nimittin uttarasādhaka mahāpuruṣha bīra-Ø khojalap-ā juy-ā.**  
 “I have been searching for a great man who can be (my) assistant *in order to* obtain a corpse (inhabited by) a vetāla.”
- (8.9) पद्मावतीवो नापं चिलकालं निस्यं भालपा शृङ्गालसुखन रात्री हानं ॥  
**padmāvatī-wo nāpā cirakālā nisē bhā-lap-ā śṛṅgārasukha-n rātrī-Ø hān-ā.**  
 “Together with Padmāvati, he spent the night in [*for a long time* =] long-desired lovemaking.”
- (8.10) वन बिनुन सिंह मोक थें सिंह बिनुन वन मोक थें । (DCN)  
**bana-Ø binu-n siṃha mok-a thē, siṃha-Ø binu-n bana-Ø mok-a thē.**  
 “As a lion dies *without* the forest, as the forest dies *without* the lion.”
- (8.11) थ्व बेलस मृतकया शरीरस चोड वेतालन राजासके धालं ।  
**thwo-Ø belas mṛtaka-yā śarīra-s coṅ-a betāla-n rājā-ske dhāl-ā.**  
 “[*At that time* =] then the vetāla that was occupying the corpse spoke to the king.”
- (8.12) सूर्य उदय म जुबल खें चाय बेलस ...  
**sūryodaya-Ø ma ju-bala khē-Ø cā-ye belas ...**  
 “[*At the time of* washing (his) face before sunrise ...”
- (8.13) स्फतिकप्रासादस तारावतीओ क्रीडा याडा बेलस ...  
**sphatikaprāsāda-s tārāvatī-wo krīḍā yāṅ-ā belas ...**  
 “[*When* (he) was amusing himself with Tārāvati in the crystal palace ...”
- (8.14) थ्व राजान अनेक सामर्थ मन्त्री सहितन चतुर्दिगसं समुद्रसिमा पृथ्वीया ईश्वर जुयावो ...  
**thwo rājā-n anek sāmārtha mantrī-Ø sahita-n caturdiga-s-ā samudrasīmā-Ø pṛthwī-yā īśwara-Ø juy-āwo ...**  
 “When this king, *accompanied by* many able ministers, had become the ruler of the earth in all quarters, up to the edge of the ocean, ...”\*

\*) In (8.10) and (8.14), the ergative case marker has the function of an adverbial formant.

*Postpositions governing the genitive case:* Common examples include 71  
**agras** “in front of, before; **ñhawone** “before, in the presence of”; **du**  
 (var. **duwone**) “inside”; **li** “after, behind”: **samīpas** “near by; to,  
 towards”: **sinō** (var. **sinā**) “(more) than”.

NB – **agras** and **ñhawone** are more or less synonymous, the former being frequently used with *verba dicendi* to mark the addressee; **samīpas**, corresponding in usage to Skr. **samīpaṃ/samīpe** in **tatpuruṣa** compounds, is sometimes construed with the absolutive case of inanimate nouns; **sinō**, the functional equivalent of Nepali **-bhandā**, is used to express the comparative and superlative of adjectives, for which there are no formants in Classical Newari.

(8.15) मित्रया अग्रस रात्रिया तेको खं ल्हालं ।

**mitra-yā agra-s rātrī-yā te-ko khā-Ø lhāl-ā.**

“(He) related the incidents of the night [*in front of*=] to (his) friend.”

(8.16) छन झुवने जेपनिस्सं प्राण तोलते ।

**chan-Ø ñhawone je-pani-sē prāṇa-Ø tolat-e.**

“We will commit suicide [*in your presence*] =] before your eyes.”

(8.17) थ्व सेया दुवने अमुल्य २ पञ्च रत्न खंडाव ...

**thwo se-yā duwone amūlya amūlya pañca ratna-Ø khañ-āwo ...**

“When *inside* this fruit (he) saw five very precious jewels ...”

(8.18) थ्व गना वानिव खस । जेनं थ्वया लि वव सोल वने ।

**thwo-Ø ganā wān-iwo khas? je-n-ā thwo-yā li wowo so-la won-e.**

“Where indeed will he go? I will go after him and look.”

(8.19) थ्व लुयके म जिवन छलपोलया समीपस वया ।

**thwo luyak-e ma ji-wo-n chalpolā-yā samīpas woy-ā.**

“Since (I) have not been able to find it, I have come [*in(to) your presence* =] to you.”

(8.20) थ्व नदीतील समीपस सिंसल्पावृक्षया उत्तर साखास मृतक पुरुष दोलायमान याड  
 चोंग्व ।

**thwo nadītīra-Ø samīpas śiṃśapabr̥kṣa-yā utara śākhā-s  
 mṛtaka purukha-Ø dolāyamāna yāñ-a coñ-a.**

“By the banks of this river, there is a dead man hanging from the highest branch of a *śiṃśapā*-tree.”

- (8.21) छोया सिन्वं स्त्रीया सिन्वं थव आत्मा मुरन रक्षा याडं तय मार । (DCM)

**cho-yā sinō strī-yā sinō tha-wo ātmā-Ø mūlanā rakṣā yāñ-a ta-ye māl-a.**

“*More than anything, more than (one’s) wife one has above all to guard (one’s) soul.*”

- (8.22) समस्त वीरया सिनं वीर थव राजा ।

**samasta bīra-yā sinā bīra thwo rājā.**

“This king is *the greatest of all heroes.*”

- 72 *Postpositions construed with the sociative case:* The most frequent ones are the Skr. loan **tule** (usually spelt <tulya>) “comparable”, and **nāpā** (*varr.* **napā, nāpā**) “with”; the latter is also used as a preverb (e.g. **nāpā lāye** “to meet”).

- (8.23) हे रावण्यवती । छ सावित्रिव तुल्य ।

**he lāvaṇyavatī-Ø, cha sābitrī-wo tule.**

“O Lāvanyavatī, you are *like unto* Sāvitrī!”

- (8.24) पद्मावतीवो नापं चिलकालं निस्यं भालपा शृङ्गालसुखन रात्री हानं ॥

**padmāvatī-wo nāpā cirakālā nisē bhā-lap-ā śṛṅgārasukha-n rātrī-Ø hān-ā.**

“*Together with* Padmāvatī, he spent the night in long-desired lovemaking.”

- 73 **Clitics.** In addition to postpositions that express, emphasise, or modify a case relationship, Classical Newari has a number of clitics – particles placed after words or phrases to express emphasis etc., that are not construed with any particular case. Note that the following list is not exhaustive.

- 74 **-ā, emphatic particle:** By far the most common way of emphasising a word in writing is to add **anusvāra** to its final **akṣara**, e.g. <vīravalana> “by Vīrabala” > <vīravalanā> “by *Vīrabala*”. As already noted by August Conradi in 1891, it is not entirely clear whether this **anusvāra** actually represents a morpheme {-ā}, or is merely an orthographic convention indicating a change in intonation.

- (8.25) जे प्राणया निमित्तिन भोछिसं प्राणा तोलतव । थ्वतेन जेन ईश्वरीयातं थव शरीर  
बिय धकं खङ्ग जोङाव थव शिर छेदरपे तेयकरं ।

**‘je-Ø prāṇa-yā nimitti-n bhochi-s-ā prāṇā-Ø tolata-wo.  
thwoten je-n-ā īśvarī-yātā thawo śarīra-Ø bi-ye’ dhakā  
khaḍga-Ø joñ-āwo thawo sir-Ø chedalap-e teyakal-ā.**

“‘For the sake of my life (he) has taken the life of (his) *entire family*. Therefore, I will sacrifice my body to the goddess’, and he took his sword and was about to to cut off his own head.”

**-tō** (var. **-to**), *emphatic particle*: Apparently, this is the cognate of the MN emphatic particle **tu**. It occurs by preference after animate-honorific nouns in the absolute case, and after both participial and finite verbal forms; it is frequently found after the stative participle, followed by the auxiliary **juye** “become” (see § 152 below). Note the frequent spelling <tō>. 75

- (8.26) कापालिकन राजाटों बिज्याक खंडाव हर्षमानन राजायातं स्तुति यातं ॥

**kāpālika-n rājā-tō bijyā-ka khañ-āwo harṣamāna-n rājā-yātā  
stuti yāt-ā.**

“When the kāpālika saw that the king had come, he praised the king joyfully.”

- (8.27) राजान थथिंड सुख राज्य छादरपाव सेवकया निमित्तिन थव प्राणतों तोरते तेयकव ।

**rājā-n thathiṇa sukha rājya-Ø chādalap-āwo sebaka-yā  
nimittin thawo prāṇa-tō tolat-e teyak-awo.**

“The king was ready to part *even with his life* for the sake of (his) servant, giving up such a happy reign.”

- (8.28) अर्चना याकटों जुरों ।

(DCN s.v. yāca)

**arcanā yāka-tō jul-o.**

“(He) offered worship.”

- (8.29) छन छु यायुटों ।

(DCN s.v. yāca)

**cha-na chu-Ø yāyu-tō?**

“What would you do?”

**ni**, *emphatic particle*: Used for emphasising individual words, phrases, or whole sentences – the functional equivalent of Nepali (and MN) **ni**. In most contexts, it can be left untranslated. 76

(8.30) धर्मदत्तयाके वाडान लि छन जे नि ।

**dharmadatta-yāke wāñ-ā-n li chan-Ø je-Ø ni.**

“After I have gone to Dharmadatta, I (will be) yours.”

(8.31) खंछी विश्राम नी याहन ।

**khāchi biśrāma-Ø ni yā-huna.**

“Please rest awhile.”

77 **-mātra** “only”: A Sanskrit loan that also has a cognate in Nepali. With the ergative/instrumental case marker {-n}, it forms adverbials.

(8.32) थ्व डेडाव सुकन क्षनमात्रन ध्यावलपाव राजायाके ल्हालं ।

**thwo ñeñ-āwo śuka-n kṣana-mātra-n dhyābalap-āwo  
rājā-yāke lhāl-ā.**

“When he heard this, the parrot reflected only for a moment, and spoke to the king.”

78 **Question marker lā.** Yes/no-questions may be marked with the post-sentential **lā**, although this usage is not obligatory.

(8.33) थ्वया उपाय दव ला ।

**thwo-yā upāya-Ø da-wo lā?**

“Is there any remedy for this?”

## Exercise 8

*Translate the following sentences.*

- 1) छन मालको ल्हावो ।  
**chan mālako lhāwo.**
- 2) छेन डेहुन ।  
**chen ñehuna.**
- 3) छन सोयाव डेडाव वायो ।  
**chan soyāwo ñeñāwo wāyo.**
- 4) भो राजन् । जेके विश्वास या ।  
**bho rājan, jeke biśwāsa yā.**
- 5) ब्राह्मनन दजीव खे धकं खंछी विश्राम नी याहुन धकं धालं ।  
**brāhmaṇan “dajiwo khe” dhakā “khāchi biśrāma ni yāhuna” dhakā dhālā.**
- 6) कापालिकन अनेक प्रकारण मण्डरपूजा याडाव राजायाके धारं । हे राजन् । थ्व मण्डरस दण्डप्रणाम याव । थ्व डेडाव राजान धारं । भो कापालिक । जे म सया । छन नि याडाव केँडान ।  
**kāpālīkan anek prakāran maṇḍalapūjā yāñāwo rājāyāke dhālā – “he rājan, thwo maṇḍalas daṇḍapraṇāma yāwo!” thwo ñeñāwo rājān dhālā – “bho kāpālīka, je ma sayā. chan ni yāñāwo keñāna.”**

## Notes

- 1) **mālako**: relative participle of **māle** “to be necessary” > “that which is needed”; see § 96 below.



## Lesson 9

### *Numerals – generic particles – numeral classifiers*

Classical Newari follows the decimal system; there are no different forms for cardinals and ordinals, although in the paratext of manuscripts, ordinals are more often than not expressed through Sanskrit or NIA loans. The numbers from one to ten are: 79

१<sup>1</sup> cha    २<sup>2</sup> ne    ३<sup>3</sup> sō    ४<sup>4</sup> pe    ५<sup>5</sup> ñā  
६<sup>6</sup> khu    ७<sup>7</sup> nhas    ८<sup>8</sup> cyā    ९<sup>9</sup> gu    १०<sup>10</sup> ji

NB – The following variants are recorded: for **cha**, **chi** occurs regularly after the numerals **sata** “hundred” and **dol** “thousand” (see below); **ne** and **pe** also occur with lowered vowel **ni** and **pi**.

The tens are formed from an apocopated form of the ones by means of a formant {-ya}:\* 80

20	<b>niya</b>	30	<b>suya</b>	40	<b>piya</b>	50	<b>ñaya</b>
60	<b>khuya</b>	70	<b>nhaya</b>	80	<b>caya</b>	90	<b>guya</b>

Commonly encountered higher numerals are **sata** (variants **sala**, **sa**) “hundred”, **dol** “thousand”, and **lakha** (*var.* **lakṣa**) “lakh”. The numbers “100” and “1,000” are usually followed by **chi**: **sata-chi**, **sala-chi** “one hundred”; **dol-chi** “one thousand”. In all other instances, the multiplier precedes: **ne-sala** “two hundred”, **ñā sala** “five hundred”. 81

Higher units precede the smaller ones, thus **niya cha** “twenty-one” etc. In composition, **ji** takes a suffix {-ma}, thus **jima-cha** “eleven”, **jima-ne** “twelve” etc. The numerals **sata** and **dol** take the sociative case marker: **sa-chi-wo niya ñā** “one hundred and twenty-five”. 82

Numerals are generally suffixed with a numeral classifier (see below). 83

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\*) Not usually spelt <ye>, and probably pronounced [y<sup>o</sup>] or [i]; in MN, this formant survives as lengthening or *umlaut* of the preceding vowel.



84 “**Generic particles**”. The basic function of these clitics is to mark a NP for animate or inanimate gender – {-**mhā**} (*var.* {-**mhā**}, especially Bhp.) for the former, and {-**guli**} (*varr.* {-**gu**}, {-**go**}) for the latter. They can be used as (1) numeral classifiers, (2) agreement markers, and (3) nominalisers.

85 *Numeral classifiers*: Any numeral serving as an extension of a NP must be marked with one of the generic particles, unless it is marked with a numeral classifier (see below); the choice of the generic particle is predicated on the gender of the head. Note that the numeral is usually, though not always, placed after the head of the NP.

(9.1) जुवा ब्राह्मन स्वम्हंसेन कन्याया बबूयाके धालं ।

**juḃā brāhmana so-mhā-sen kanyā-yā babu-yāke dhāl-ā.**

“Three young brahmans spoke to the girl’s father.”

(9.2) लिथें जताधारी जुवम्हंन ... नगर छगुलिस वनं ।

**lithē jaṭādharī juwo-mhā-n ... nagara cha-gulī-s won-ā.**

“Later, the one who had become an ascetic ... went to a (certain) town.”

86 *Agreement markers*: The generic particles can be tagged on to a leftward extension of any given NP (usually, a pronoun or adjective), marking it for agreement with the head. In contrast to Modern Newari, their use is completely optional, and actually quite rare. Added to a pronoun, the generic particles seem to express emphasis.

NB – There is a growing tendency, observable since the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, to add the inanimate generic particle to the genitive case forms of personal pronouns, e.g. **jeguli**, **jigu(li)** “my”. This usage resulted in the subsequent reanalysis of {-**gu**:} as genitive case marker in MN pronominal paradigms.

(9.3) थ्वम्हं कापालिक बिल्वफलया दाता ।

**thwo-mhā kāpālīka-Ø bilbaphala-yā dātā-Ø.**

“This *very* ascetic is the giver of the bilva fruits.”

(9.4) थ्वगुली खंस राजा विक्रमादित्यया बोहोलेस चोड वेतालन राजायाके सेयकलं ।

**thwo-gulī khā-s rājā bikramāditya-yā bohola-s coṅ-a betāla-n rājā-yāke seyakal-ā.**

“[At that speech=] When (he had told) this story, the *vetāla* that was on King Vikramāditya’s shoulder spoke to the king.”

*Nominalisers:* Added to a verb form, the generic particles can serve as nominalisers; again, this usage is completely optional, and seems to indicate deictic emphasis (similar to Nepali **-cāhī** in this function): 87

(9.5) बिल्वफल विवम्हं जेन सोय वोंड हि ।

**bilbaphala biwo-mhā-Ø je-n so-ye won-a hi-Ø.**

“Fetch the one who brings the bilva fruits so that I can look at him.”

(9.6) छन ययागुली साधलपीव ।

**cha-n yeyā-gulī-Ø sādha-lap-iwo.**

“That which you desire will be fulfilled.”

**Numeral classifiers.** Like many South Asian languages, Classical Newari employs a system of numeral classifiers that are regularly tagged on to the numeral (the pronoun **mewo** “other” is also treated like a numeral in this respect). If the numeral is the extension of a NP, use of numeral classifiers is mandatory. In addition to the generic particles introduced above, Classical Newari has a number of other classifiers that apply exclusively to round objects {-**gol**} (frequent orthographic variants), abstract concepts {-**tā**}, units of time {-**nhu**}, flat objects {-**pā**}, long objects and weapons {-**pu**} etc. If the numeral is the head of a NP, its marking with either of the two agreement markers is mandatory. 88

(9.7) थना जिथी मिसा छम्हं खंडाव मित्रन ल्हालं ।

**thanā jithi misā cha-mhā-Ø khañ-āwo mitra-n lhāl-ā.**

“There, when he saw an old woman, the friend spoke.”

(9.8) लिथे जताधारी जुवम्हन ... नगर छगुलिस वनं ।

**lithē jaṭādhāri juwo-mhā-n ... nagara cha-gulī-s won-ā.**

“Later, the one who had become an ascetic ... went to a (certain) town.”

(9.9) छन्हुया क्षनस पद्मावतीन राजपुत्रयाके डेनं ।

**cha-nhu-yā kṣana-s padmāvatī-n rājaputra-yāke ñen-ā.**

“One day, Padmāvatī asked the prince.”

(Literally: “on the moment of one day”)

(9.10) छम्हायातं म बिस्यं तलं ।

**cha-mhā-yātā ma bi-sē tal-ā.**

“(He) ended up giving (her) to no one.”

- (9.11) सोलडास्यं छग्वड छग्वड बिल्वफलस पञ्च रत्न दव ।  
**sol-añāsē cha-gola cha-gola bilbaphala-s pañca ratna-Ø da-wo.**  
 “When he looked, he saw five jewels in each and every bilva fruit.”
- (9.12) नेपा लाहातनं वृद्धाया मुखस केचकलं ।  
**ne-pā lāhāta-n-ā br̥ddhā-yā mukha-s keca-kal-ā.**  
 “With both hands, (she) smeared the face of the old woman.”

### Exercise 9

*Translate the following sentences.*

- 1) थ्वगुली खंस वेतालन राजायाके ल्हालं ।  
**thwoguli khās betālan rājāyāke lhālā.**
- 2) हे द्वारी । दिनप्रति सुवर्ण पर सल छिव निय डा थ्वते जिते बिय माल ।  
**he dwārī, dinapratī subarṇa pala sala chiwo niya nā – thwote jite biye māla.**
- 3) थनी शुक्लपक्षया दशमी । थ्वतेन डान्हु पुन्हु नी वानके ।  
**thani śuklapakṣayā daśamī, thwoten nānhu khunhu ni wānake.**
- 4) छ न्ह्या क्षनस थ्वपनी नेमहं अहड वने धकं सडं गयाव वन दुहा वनं ।  
**cha nhuyā kṣanas thwopani nemhā ahala wone dhakā sala gayāwo bana duhā wonā.**
- 5) सरोवरतीरस छेन खंडाम्हं राजपुत्रपनी जेछेस थेनो ।  
**sarobaratīras chen khañāmhā rājaputrapani jeches theno.**
- 6) हे राजन् । जे मेवता सामग्री म दू । खङ्ग छपू हाथ नेपावो थ्वते दवः ।  
**he rājan, je mewotā sāmagrī ma dū. khaḍga chapū hātha nepāwo thwote dawo.**

## Lesson 10

*Perfective participle – stative participle – verb noun – relative participle – agent noun – causal converbs in {-an/-ān} – adversative converb in {-ānā}*

As we have seen above (§§ 33-35), Classical Newari verb forms can be classified by both morphological and syntactical criteria: only certain forms can take case markers, and only certain forms can be the head of a non-subordinated VP. When it comes to verb forms that can be the head of a subordinated VP, a further twofold distinction can be made depending on whether the VP is subordinated to another VP, or to a NP in the role of an attribute. \* While VPs subordinated to a VP are headed by a converb, VPs serving as attributes to a NP can be headed by (1) the perfective participle, (2) the stative participle, (3) the verb noun (in its property as non-past participle), and (4) the relative participle. 89

**The perfective participle.** Its formation has been discussed above, §§ 39, 58: 90

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>khañ-ā</b> “seen”	<b>yāñ-ā</b> “done”	<b>biy-ā</b> “given”	<b>pāl-ā</b> “beheaded”	<b>dayak-ā</b> “made”

Besides its role as a finite conjunct verb (§§ 39, 48), the perfective participle can serve as the head of an attributive VP; it usually expresses an action that was completed in the past (cf. the examples given in § 23 above): 91

(10.1) झुपाया छनके तथा बिल्वफल सकलं हिव ।

**ñhapāyā chana-ke ta-yā bilbaphala sakalā-Ø hi-wo.**

“Bring all the bilva fruits that (I) have previously put with you!”

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\*) More often than not, these attributive VPs can only be translated into English as relative clauses: “the Eve-bitten apple” = “the apple that was bitten by Eve”. The German language may be more accommodating in this respect, but it is highly debatable whether an expression such as “die dir von mir anvertrauten Bilva-Früchte” is in any more desirable than “die Bilva-Früchte, die ich dir anvertraut habe.”

- (10.2) अर्द्धरात्रिस दक्षिणदिशास स्त्री छम्हंन विलाप याडा सर तायाव राजान धारं ।  
**ardharātrī-s dakṣiṇadiśā-s strī cha-mhā-n bilāpa yān-ā sal-Ø**  
**tāy-āwo rājā-n dhāl-ā.**  
 “When at midnight he heard the sound of a woman *wailing* in  
 the southern direction, the king spoke.”

- 92 **The stative participle.** The formation of this participle has been discussed above, §§ 47, 58:

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>woñ-a</b>	<b>yāk-a</b>	<b>bi-wo</b>	<b>māl-a</b>	<b>dayak-u</b>
“going”	“doing”	“giving”	“being necessary”	“being made”

- 93 Like the perfective participle, the stative participle can be the head of an attributive VP, with the difference that it usually expresses not a completed action, but rather a state with no discernable temporal deixis:

- (10.3) दक्षिणदिशास अनेक राजापनिसेन सेबलपं चोड वीरबाहु नाम राजा दस्यं चोड ।  
**dakṣiṇadiśā-s anek rājā-pani-sen sebalap-ā coñ-a bīrabāhu**  
**nām rājā-Ø da-sē coñ-a.**  
 “In the southern region, there was a king by the name of  
 Vīrabāhu, who *was served* by all kings.”

- 94 **The non-past participle (verb noun).** As head of an attributive VP, it expresses an action that will be or is to be performed. This usage is comparatively rare.

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>khan-e</b>	<b>yā-ye</b>	<b>lhā-ye</b>	<b>māl-e</b>	<b>dayak-e</b>
“is to be seen”	“is to be done”	“is to be spoken”	“is to be necessary”	“is to be made”

- (10.4) खें चाय बेलस ...  
**khē-Ø cā-ye bela-s ...**  
 “when (he) was *washing* (his) face ...”

- (10.5) जिपनिस दुःख सुख ल्हाय थास म दु । (Jørgensen)  
**ji-pani-s duḥkha sukha lhā-ye thās-Ø ma du.**  
 “There is no place to speak of our sorrows and joys.”

In addition to its functions that have so far been discussed, the verb noun can form the head of a NP; of all the participial forms (in the sense of our definition – see above, § 34), it is the only one that can take case markers without automatically being grammaticalised as a converb. Note that in the oblique cases, the verb noun of derivative stems sometimes ends not in  $[-e]$ , but in  $[-ā]$ :

(10.6) छे पोसलपेयातं छु जिवनी माल ।

**che- $\emptyset$  posalape-yātā chu jībanī- $\emptyset$  māl-a?**

“What salary is required (*for your nourishing=*) in order to keep you fed?”

(10.7) दन्तन छेदलपाया अर्थ थ्व राजाया मन्त्री दन्ताघात नाम दव ।

**danta-n chedalapā-yā artha- $\emptyset$  – thwo rājā-yā mantri**

**dantāghāta nām- $\emptyset$  da-wo.**

“the meaning of *biting* (it) with (her) teeth is: that king has a minister by the name of Dantāghāta”.

**The relative participle.** This is formed by adding  $\{-kō\}$  (*varr.*  $\{-ko\}$ ,  $\{-ku\}$ ) to the zero grade stem of classes I-III, and to the first grade stem of classes IV and V. 96

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>se-kō</b>	<b>yā-kō</b>	<b>ha-kō</b>	<b>māla-kō</b>	<b>bhālapa-kō</b>
“what is learnt”	“what is done”	“what is brought”	“what is necessary”	“what is thought”

The relative participle has two functions: in attributive VPs, it can fill the same slot as the stative participle, expressing a state or action without overt temporal deixis. In contrast to the stative participle, however, the relative participle implies a degree of definitiveness. Apart from this, it can also be the head of a NP in the sense of a relative noun: “that which is done” etc. 97

(10.8) तोयुव्बेलान खको म्हंस यल यल गातं ।

**toyubelā-n kha-ko mhā-s yela yela gāt-ā.**

“Blisters appeared on (her) body *that the moonlight was shining on.*”

(10.9) अना मालको छेके इनाप याय ।

**anā māla-ko che-ke ināpa yā-ye.**

“There, I will tell you *what is needed.*”

- 98 **The agent noun.** While the relative participle refers to the patient of an action, the agent noun refers to the agent, expressing the notion “one who does”. It is formally identical with the stative participle. The (animate) generic particle is regularly added as nominaliser.

(10.10) लिथें जताधारी जुवम्हं दक्षिनावर्त्तनः पृथ्वी भ्रमलपाव जुले नगर छगुलिस वनं ।

**lithē jatādhāri ju-wo-mhā dakṣiṇābarta-n pṛthwī-Ø**  
**bhramalap-āwo ju-le nagara-Ø cha-guli-s won-ā.**

“Then, when the one who had become an ascetic was roaming the earth in the Southern region, he came to a town.”

(10.11) तीर्थस अस्ति षेपलपुम्हंयातं पुत्रकार्यं याकन थ्व पुत्र जुलं: ।

**tīrtha-s asti-Ø khepalap-u-mhā-yātā putrakārya-Ø yāk-a-n**  
**thwo putra-Ø jul-ā.**

“As for the one who carried (her) bones around the sites of pilgrimage, he has performed the office of the son and has therefore become (her) son.”

- 99 The formant {-go} (*var.* {-gu}) added to the second grade stem seems to express a similar notion; the references given in *DCN* as well as the examples found in *NVP* suggest that it is restricted to predicative use with the first person: **naye ma yelago** “(I am one who does not want to eat =) I don’t want to eat.”
- 100 **Causal converbs.** Classical Newari has two converbs that describe a positive or negative (adversative) causal relationship between the actions of the converb and main verb.
- 101 *The converb in {-ān}*: This is formed by adding the ergative marker {-n} to the stative or to the perfective participle. It describes an action as causing or being instrumental to the action of the main verb (“because ... does”, by doing”).

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>kān-a-n</b>	<b>yān-a-n</b>	<b>(dha-wo-n)</b>	—	<b>mocak-u-n</b>
<b>(kāy-ā-n)</b>	<b>yān-ā-n</b>	<b>dhay-ā-n</b>		
“because ... says”	“because ... does”	“because ... speaks”		“because ... kills”

NB – Note the irregularity in **yānan** besides the more regular (attested) form **yākan**.

(10.12) थ्व लुयके म जीवन छलपोलया समीपस वया ।

**thwo-Ø luyak-e ma ji-won chalpola-yā samīpa-s wo-yā.**

“*Because (I) have not been able to find this, I have come to you.*”

The adversative converb (“although ... does”) is formed by adding the emphatic marker {-ā} to the causal converb: **juye (jul-)** “to become” > **juy-ā-n-ā** “although ... becomes”; **dhāye (dhāl-)** “to speak” > **dhāy-ā-n-ā** “although .. says”; **soye (sol-, sot-)** “to look” > **soñ-a-n-ā** “although ... looks”.

102

(10.13) अनेक जत्नन सोयानं जे भण्डालस थथिंग्व रत्न लुयके म जिव ।

**anek jatna-n soy-ān-ā je-Ø bhaṇḍāra-s thathiṇa ratna-Ø luyak-e ma ji-wo.**

“*Although searching with a lot of effort, a jewel like this cannot be found in my store.*”

### Exercise 10

1) थथें राजान ल्हाया वचन डेडाव सालिकान धालं ।

**thathē rājān lhāyā bacan ñeñāwo śārikān dhālā.**

2) थ्व बेलस मृतकया शरीरस चोडः वेतालन राजासके धालं ।

**thwo belas mṛtakayā śārīras coṇa betālan rājāske dhālā.**

3) अहो आश्चर्य्य । समस्त वीरया सिनं वीर थ्व राजा । गथिंग्व महापुरुष थ्व । सिकन खा ल्हायानं त्रास संखा म दू ।

**aho āścarya! samasta bīrayā sinā bīra thwo rājā! gathiṇa mahāpurukha thwo! sikan khā lhāyānā trāsa-śāṅkhā ma du.**

4) जेन ल्हाया खं छेन डेडाव अत्यन्त सुख छे जायलपीव ।

**jen lhāyā khā chen ñeñāwo atyanta sukha che jāyalapiwo.**

5) भो सखा । बिल्वफल विवम्हं जेन सोय बौड हिव ।

**bho sakhā, bilbaphala biwomhā jen soye boṇa hiwo.**

6) भो राजन् । छे वशश जेपनि निम्हं जुरगो ।

**bho rājan, che baśas jepani nimhā julago.**





## Lesson 11

*Antecedent converbs in {-stunū} and {-senā li} – circumstantial converb in {-kā} – “to be”*

In addition to the antecedent converb in {-āwo} (see above, § 45), 103  
Classical Newari has two further converbs that mark an action as preceding the action of the main verb.

*Converb in {-(s)tunū}*: This is formed by adding the marker 104  
{-(s)tunū}, var. {-stunā} either to the zero grade stem or – more frequently – to the verb noun.

I	II	III	IV	V
(kha-stunū)	yā-stunā	dhā-stunā		
kha-ne-tunū		dhā-ya-tunū	—	—
kha-ne-stunū		dhā-ya-stunū		
“immediately after seeing”	“immediately after doing”	“immediately after speaking”		

NB – In this formation, the verbal noun marker is invariably spelt <ya> after a vowel; a spelling <ye> is not attested.

The action expressed by this converb immediately precedes the action 105  
of the following verb (“immediately after ...”).

(11.1) थथे धास्तुनं थ्व वेताल राजाया बोहोल तोलताव थ्व थायस सिंसल्पावृक्षया चोस  
चोन वनं ।

**thathē dhā-stunā thwo betāla-Ø rājā-yā bohōl-Ø tolat-ā-wo  
tha-wo thāya-s siṃsapābrkṣa-yā co-s con-a won-ā.**

“*As soon as (the king) had thus spoken, the vetāla left the king’s shoulder and went to resume his place on top of the siṃsapā-tree.*”

NB – The form **nāsāstunū** encountered in reading passage 9 seems to be contraction of **nasanestunū** “immediately after dawn” (**nasane** “to dawn”).

*Converb in {-ān(ā) li}*: This relatively frequent converb is formed by 106  
adding the postposition **li** “after, behind” either to the causal converb in {-ān} (see § 101 above), or to the zero grade stem of the verb + ERG

marker {-sen}; to either formation may be added the emphatic marker {-ā}.

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>wāñ-ā-n(ā) li</b>	<b>yāñ-a-n(ā) li</b>	<b>dhā-sen(ā) li</b>	—	—
“after going”	“after doing”	“after speaking”		

- 107 This converb emphasises the anteriority of the action somewhat: while making no statement about the amount of time that has lapsed between the action of the converb and that of the main verb, it implies that the former action is completed before the latter sets in (“after doing”).

(11.2) थ्व कन्या अग्निसंस्काल याडान लि छम्हं ब्राह्मनन जटाधारी जुयाव ... नाना देश  
भ्रमलपाव जुलं: ॥

**thwo kanyā-Ø agnisam̐skāra-Ø yāñ-an li cha-mhā brāhmaṇa-n  
jaṭādhārī-Ø juy-āwo ... nānā deśa-Ø bhramalap-āwo jul-ā.**

“After the girl’s obsequies had been performed, one of the  
brahmans became an ascetic ... and roamed various countries.”

NB – An analogous formation (ERG marker {-n} + emphatic marker {-ā} + li) can be used with pronominal stems: **thwonā li** “thereupon”.

- 108 **The circumstantial converb.** This relatively common converb characterises an action as being circumstantial to the action of the main verb (“in a way that ... does”). It is formed by adding {-ā} to the zero grade causative stem (see above, § 57), e.g. **khānakā** “in a way that ... sees”, **phuyakā** “in a way that ... is able” (**phaye** “to be able”).

(11.3) चतुर्दशीया रात्रिस मेवन म खनकं छलपोल जे समीपस बिज्याय माल ।

**caturdaśī-yā rātrī-s mewo-n ma khana-kā chalpol-Ø je-Ø  
samīpa-s bijyā-ye māl-a.**

“On the night of the fourteenth, you must come to me without  
anyone else seeing (you).”

- 109 **“To be”.** Classical Newari has three verbs that express the notion “to be”, **khaye** (**khat-**), **juye** (**jul-**), and **date** (**dat-**). Their distribution is roughly the same as in Modern Newari: **khaye** is used as copula verb with nominal and adjectival predicates in identificatory or descriptive sentences; **juye** is ingressive, i.e. it denotes coming into being or an

alteration of state (“to arise”, “to become”); **date** indicates existence and/or location (“there is/there once was ...”).

**khaye (khat-)** “to be”: The most frequently used form of this verb is the irregularly formed stative participle **khawo**, which is frequently contracted to **khu** (older variant **kho**); with NEG **ma** “not”, **khu** is invariably used. The use of **khaye** is optional (see above, § 24). Special note should be taken of **makhu** (*var.* **makhā**) “isn’t” as an emphatic particle tagged onto an affirmative sentence. Note also that the subject of **khaye** may be left unexpressed. 110

(11.4) सत्य छ भोजचंग खव धकं राजान धालं ।

**satya cha-∅ bhojacāga-∅ kha-wo dhakā rājā-n dhāl-ā.**  
“‘Truly you are discerning about food’, the king said.”

(11.5) वैश्य शूद्र जोग्य म खू । ब्राह्मन समान म खू । थ्वतेन क्षत्रि जोग्य धकं धालं ।

**baiśya śūdra-∅ jogya-∅ ma khu, brāhmaṇa-∅ samāna-∅ ma khu. thwoten kṣatrī-∅ jogya-∅ dhakā dhāl-ā.**  
“‘The vaiśya and the śūdra are not suitable, (and) the brahman is not equal (of varṇa); therefore, the kṣatriya is suitable’, (he) said.”

(11.6) जे ज्ञानी खव म खू ।

**je-∅ jñānī kha-wo makhu.**  
“‘I am learned (, innit).’”

(11.7) सुयानं म खु, जे थुका ।

**suyānā ma khu, je thukā.**  
“‘(She) is no one else’s (but) surely mine.’”

**juye (jul-)** “to become, arise”: Used predicatively, **juye** means “to arise, come into being”; as copula verb, it can be used with both nouns and adjectives in the sense “to become”, “to turn out”. The short form **ju** is relatively rare, and seems to be restricted to object sentences. In contrast to **khaye**, it cannot be left out. 111

NB – For the use of **juye** as auxiliary verb, see § 152 below.

- (11.8) थ्व पेम्हंस्यनं थथें धायाव राजाया संदेह जुरं ।

**thwo pe-mhā-sen-ā thathē dhāy-āwo rājā-yā sandeha-Øjul-ā.**

“When all four of them had thus spoken, [the king’s doubt arose =] the king *became doubtful*.”

- (11.9) तीर्थस अस्ति षेपलपुम्हंयातं पुत्रकार्यं याकन थ्व पुत्र जुलं: ॥

**tīrtha-s asti khepalapu-mhā-yātā putrakārya-Ø yāka-n  
thwo-Ø putra-Øjul-ā.**

“As for the one who carried (her) bones around the sites of pilgrimage, he has performed the office of a son and has therefore *become* (her) *son*.”

- (11.10) सज्यं भिंड म जुव ।

**sajyā-Ø bhiṇḍa-Ø ma ju-wo.**

“(The bedding did not turn out well=) The bedding *wasn’t* good.”

- 112 **date** (*dat-*) “*to exist*”: This verb can only be used predicatively, and not as copula verb. Like **khaye**, it has a short form **du** (*var. do*) that is regularly used with NEG **ma** “not”. Construed with the genitive case, **date** expresses the notion “to have”. In this usage, it can be omitted (see above, § 24).

NB – For the use of **date** + durative auxiliary **cone** see below, § 151.

- (11.11) थ्व देलाशान को संगू छपू दव ।

**thwo delāsā-n ko sāgu cha-pu-Ø da-wo.**

“There is a hair under that bedsheet.”

- (11.12) थ्व नगरस महाधनी देवस्वामी नाम ब्राह्मन दव । थ्वया पुत्र हरिस्वामी नाम ।

**thwo nagara-s mahādhanī debaswāmī nām brāhmaṇa-Ø  
da-wo. thwo-yā putra hariswāmī nām-Ø.**

“In this city, there was a very rich brahman by the name of Devaswāmī. He had a son called Hariswāmī (or: his son’s name was Hariswāmī).”

- (11.13) थ्व राजाया अनेग काल वाडनं पुत्रादि म दु ।

**thwo rājā-yā anek kāla-Ø wāñ-anā putrādi-Ø ma du.**

“Although a lot of time had passed, this king had no children.”

Placed after a finite verb, **date** can convey the notion “to be possible”: 113

(11.14) जे पुरुख जुरसा थ्व जस लाय दव ।

**je-Ø purukh-Ø jula-sā thwo jasa-Ø lā-ye da-wo.**

“If I were a man, I could attain that glory.”

### Exercise 11

- 1) धर्मदत्तयाके वाडान लि छन जे नि ।  
**dharmadattayāke wāñān li chan je ni.**
- 2) जेपनी विद्याधरपुलसं थथिंड सुन्दरी म दू ।  
**jepani bidyādharapurasā thathiña sundarī ma du.**
- 3) छेस्कल रूपवन्त विद्यावन्त महाकुलसंभव विवाहा यायं जोज्ञ खव ।  
**cheskala rūpabanta bidyābanta mahākulasambhaba bibāhā yāye yogya khawo.**
- 4) थथिंड अन्धकारस रात्रिस मेव सुनं म दु ।  
**thathiña andhakāras rātrīs mewo sunā ma du.**
- 5) राजपुत्रन धालं । आमो पकान विषसंजुक्त म खु धकं धायाव मन्त्रीपुत्रन धालं । छे प्रतीत म जुलसा सोहुन धकं खिचा नकाव खिचान नलं ।  
**rājaputran dhālā – ‘āmo pakwān biṣasaṃyukta ma khu’ dhakā dhāyāwo mantriputran dhālā – ‘che pratīta ma julasā sohuna’ dhakā khicā nakāwo khicān nalā.**
- 6) नस्तुनं खिचा सितं ।  
**nastunā khicā sitā.**
- 7) थनी प्रभात जुस्तुनं राजा मोयुव नो: थ्वतेन आव जे गना वने धकं खोया: ॥  
**thani prabhāta justunā rājā moyuwo no; thwoten āwo je ganā wone dhakā khoyā.**
- 8) राजाया अती भृषा जु खायव शीतल जल दव थायस वृक्षया छाया दले विश्राम यातं ।  
**rājāyā ati bhrṣā ju khāyāwo śītala jala dawo thāyas bṛkṣayā chāyā dale biśrāma yātā.**

### Notes

- 4) **mewo sunā**: “anyone else”; for indefinite pronouns see below, § 121.
- 5) **ma julasā**: conditional converb “if ... hasn’t become”; see below, § 115.
- 8) The first four words are the object of **khāyāwo**: “when (he) saw that ...” (cf. § 110); **biśrāma yātā**: the subject is not expressed; translate “they”.



## Lesson 12

*Conditional converbs in {-sā} and {-ñāwo} –the negative conditional converb in {-sanō} – conditional sentences – indefinite pronouns*

**Conditional converbs.** In Classical Newari, conditional sentences (“if ... , (then) ...”) are constructed by means of converbs: the action of the conditional clause is expressed through a conditional converb, and the action of the consecutive clause by means of a finite verb. There are several forms of the conditional converb (“if ... does”), the two most common of which will be introduced here.

*Converb in {-sā}*: This is by far the most common of the conditional converbs; it is formed by adding the conditional marker {-sā} to the second grade stem of classes I-III, and to the third grade stem of class V verbs.

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>wona-sā</b> “if ... goes”	<b>yāta-sā</b> “if ... does”	<b>bila-sā</b> “if ... gives”	—	<b>mocakala-sā</b> “if ... kills”

NB – The Class III verb **juye** “to become” has a variant **jusā** (besides regular **julasā**).

(12.1) जेपनिस्ता थ्व कन्या म बिलसा छन ड्वने जेपनिस्यं प्राण तोलते ।

**je-pani-stā thwo kanyā-∅ ma bila-sā chan-∅ ñhawone**  
**je-pani-sē prāṇa tolat-e.**

“If (you) *don't* give us this girl (in marriage), we will commit suicide in your presence.”

*Converb in {-ñāwo}*: This is formed by adding the SOC case marker {-wo} to the extended stem of the verb. Compared with the converb in {-sā}, the implication of a causal relationship between the two actions is weaker: “when”, rather than “if ... does”.

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>jona-ñāwo</b> “when ... seizes”	<b>data-ñāwo</b> “when ... exists”	<b>wola-ñāwo</b> “when ... comes”	—	<b>gācakala-ñāwo</b> “when ... caused to rain”



(12.2) ओ ब्राह्मन वनडाव विचित्र खं ल्हायाव बोध याडाव लि छोयिव ।

**wo brāhmana-Ø wona-nāwo bicitra khā lhāy-āwo bodha yān-āwo li choy-iwo.**

“*When that brahman goes*, he will persuade him by speaking fanciful words and send him back.”

NB – Another frequent formation (which seems not to be attested in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*) involves the *tatsama* {-**kāle**} “at the time of ~” added to the zero grade stem. In some contexts, the coincident converb in {-**nās**} can also have conditional force – see below, § 130.

117 *Converb in {-sanō}*: A negative conditional converb (“even if ... does”) is formed by adding the locative case marker {-**s(a)**} and the indefinite marker {-**nō**} (*var.* {-**nā**}) to the second grade stem of classes I-III, and to the third grade stem of class V verbs.

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>khana-sanō</b>	<b>data-sanō</b>	<b>jula-sanō</b>	<b>māla-sanā</b>	<b>mocakala-sanō</b>
“even if ... sees”	“even if ... exists”	“even if ... becomes”	“even if ... is necessary”	“even if ... kills”

NB – Irregular forms on record include **hanasenā** besides **hanasanō** “if ... happens” and **hawosanā** (besides regular **halasanō** “even if ... brings”).

(12.3) जे थव प्रान मोरसन्वं थ्वपनि रक्षरपे । (DCM)

**je-Ø thawo prāna-Ø mola-sanō thwo-pani-Ø rakṣalap-e.**

“I will protect them *even if my life is lost*.”

118 The conditional force of this converb is not particularly strong; more often than not, it is used as a functional equivalent of the adversative converb (see above, § 102):

(12.4) थ्या उपकार जेन सेया खे । येथेन सेरसनो थ्व लक्षा याय फवम्हं पुरुष त्रैलोक्यसं म दु ।

**thwo-yā upakāra-Ø je-n sey-ā khe. yethenā sela-sanō thwo-Ø rakṣā yā-ye pha-wo-mhā purukha-Ø trailokya-s-ā ma du.**

“I do know a remedy; *However, even though* (I) *know* (it), there is no man in all the three worlds capable of saving him.”

119 Note the following uses of the conditional converbs as conjunctions: (1) **chān dhālasā**, *varr.* **gathē dhālasā**, **gathen dhālasā** [“if (you) say why/how?”=] “because”, (2) **yethē julasanō**, *var.* **yethē jusē hanasanō** “nevertheless”:

- (12.5) हे वेताल । डेंड । राजा तव वीर । छान धारसा । गनानं सेवकन स्वामिसेवास  
प्राण त्वडतयिव ।

**he betāla-Ø, ñeña-Ø. rājā-Ø tawo bīra-Ø. chā-n dhāla-sā –  
ganānā sebaka-n swāmisebā-s prāṇa-Ø tolatay-iwo.**

“O vetāla, listen! The king is the greater hero. *Here’s why:*  
Under any circumstance, a servant will give up his life in  
service of his master.”

- (12.6) यथे जुरसनो जे म्हाच छम्हं । छेसकर स्वम्हं । थ्व जेन गर्थे बिय ।

**yethē jula-sanō je-Ø mhyāc cha-mhā-Ø; che-skala-Ø  
so-mhā-Ø; thwo-Ø je-n gathē biy-e?**

“*Nevertheless*, I (only) have one daughter; there are three of you;  
how can I give her (to you in marriage?)”

**Conditional sentences.** The construction of these is relatively straight- 120  
forward; characteristically, there is no morphological distinction between *realis* and *irrealis*, and only the narrative and/or communicative context indicates whether the condition for the action of the main clause has been met. Without such context, sentence (12.1) could also be translated as “If you *hadn’t* given us this girl, we *would have committed* suicide in your presence” – neither the form of the conditional converb, nor the morphological marking on the main verb is sufficient for a correct interpretation. Cf. the following examples:

- (12.7) जेन भस्म लक्षा म यातसा छन गथे म्वाचके ।

**je-n bhasma-Ø rakṣā-Ø ma yāta-sā cha-n gathē mwācak-e?**

“If I hadn’t kept (her) ashes, how *would you have revived* (her)?”

- (12.8) जे पुरुख जुरसा थ्व जस लाय दव ।

**je-Ø purukh-Ø jula-sā thwo jasa-Ø lā-ye da-wo.**

“If I were a man, I could attain that glory.”

In (12.7), the speaker *has* retained the ashes of the dead girl, and hence the addressee has been able to revive her with a magic spell (spoiler alert for one of the reading passages!). Yet the morphological marking on both verbs is identical with (12.1), where the father is still resisting the entreaties of the suitors. By the same token, the only indication that the condition in (12.8) is not met is the fact that the speaker is a girl.

**Indefinite pronouns.** These are formed on the basis of the inter- 121  
rogative stems **su-** “who?” and **chu-** “what?” with the indefinite marker

{-nā} (older variant {-nō}). The indefinite marker is preceded by any case markers, e.g. **su-nā** “anyone”, **su-yā-nā** “anyone’s”. In negated sentences, indefinite pronouns convey the notions “nobody” and “nothing”.

(12.9) जे राजा । सूयाकेनं भोक म फोया ।

**je-∅ rājā-∅, su-yāke-nā bhok ma phoy-ā.**

“I am a king, I haven’t (ever) bowed to anyone.”

(12.10) वीरवरनं ... छुनं म लेनकं खङ्ग जोडाव चान न्हिनं राजद्वारस चोन वानं ।

**bīrabala-n-ā ... chu-nā ma len-akā khaḍga-∅ joñ-āwo cā-n  
nhi-n-ā rājadvāra-s con-a wān-ā.**

“Vīrabala ... [not waiting for anything =] immediately took up his sword and went to stand at the king’s gate day and night.”

## Exercise 12

1) छन सत्य यातसा जे वचन छहती ल्हाय ।

**chan satya yātasā je bacan chahati lhāye.**

2) छेजे जोग्य खव खे । यथे खतसनं बबुन ददान म बियकं गथे काय ।

**cheje jogya khawo khe; yethē khatasanā babun dadān ma biyakā  
gathē kāye?**

3) हे पिता । जेतं स्वामि बिय जुरसा थथिंड ज्ञानी असा नाना ज्या सव असा शूल थ्व स्वतास  
छता गुण दवम्हं बिय माल ।

**he pitā, jetā swāmī biye julasā thathiña jñānī asā nānā jyā sawo asā  
śūra – thwo sotās chatā guṇa dawomhā biye māla.**

4) थ्व जन्मसं स्त्रीवध यातसा लिथु जन्मस गथे जुयु ।

**thwo janmasā strībadha yātasā lithu janmas gathē juyū**

5) थथिंड अन्धकारस रात्रिस मेव सुनं म दु ।

**thathiña andhakāras rātrīs mewo sunā ma du.**

6) सुयानं म खु, जे थुका । गथेन धालसा । जे मन्त्रबलन थुका म्वातं ।

**suyānā ma khu, je thukā. gathen dhālasā – je mantrabalan thukā  
mwātā.**

## Lesson 13

*Coincident converbs in {-le}, {-ñāsē}, {-tole}, and {-ñās} – reduplicating converb – terminal converb in {ma ... -tole(n)}*

**Coincident converbs.** Classical Newari has several ways of describing two actions as taking place simultaneously, only the more frequent of which will be introduced here. None of the coincident converbs seem to be attested for Class IV verbs.

*Converb in {-le}:* This is formed by adding {-le} (rarely: {-lē}) to the zero grade stem of the verb (first grade stem in verbs of Class V); note that Class III verbs lose stem-final -l. The ERG and SOC markers {-n} and {-wo} may be added to this form without apparent change in meaning, although this usage only seems to be attested for Class I verbs.

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>mha-le</b>	<b>yā-le</b>	<b>so-le</b>	—	<b>yācaka-le</b>
<b>mha-le-n</b>				
<b>mha-le-wo</b>				
“while dreaming”	“while doing”	“while seeing”		“while causing to do”

This converb usually describes an imperfective “background” action.

(13.1) पुरुखवो संबन्ध म दलें प्रान तोलते फव ।

**purukha-wo sambandha-Ø ma da-le prāṇa tolat-e pha-wo.**  
 “*While having* no connection to (this) man, she was able to give up her life (for him).”

(13.2) थ्व बेलस मदनवेश नाम विद्याधरन इन्द्र सेवलपे धकं वले चन्द्रमाया किलन खले विलासवती खंडाव चितस भालपलं ।

**thwo bela-s madanabeśa nām bidyādhara-n indra-Ø sebalap-e dhakā wo-le candramā-yā kirana-Ø kha-le bilāsabatī-Ø khañ-āwo citta-s bhālupal-ā.**  
 “Then, *when* a vidyādhara [came in order to=] was on his way to serve Indra, *while* the rays of the moon were shining, he saw Vilāsavatī and thought to himself.”

- 125 *Converb in {-ñāsē}*: This is formed by adding the ergative case marker {- *sē*} (*var.* {-*se*}) or {-*n*} to the extended stem. Note that {-*n*} seems not to be attested for verbs of Classes I and V, while Class II verbs appear to prefer {-*n*}.

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>tāna-ñā-sē</b>	—	<b>wola-ñā-sē</b>	—	<b>socakala-ñā-sē</b>
—	<b>yāta-ñā-n</b>	<b>wola-ñā-n</b>	—	—
“as ... was about to”	“as ... did”	“as ... came”	—	“as ... was made to search”

NB – The verb **soye** (**sol-**, **sot-**) has an interesting variant **sokanāsē** “if ... sees” (alongside the regular forms **solañāsē** and **solanāsē**) that seems to be based on the zero grade stem.

- 126 There is an ingressive element to this converb insofar as it usually implies that the second action sets in or occurs at the moment that the first action is completed, or while it is ongoing (“at the moment, that ...” “as ...”).

(13.3) मृतक जोने तानडास्यं मृतक था हालं ।

**mṛtaka-Ø jone tāna-ñāsē mṛtaka-Ø thā hāl-ā.**

“*When* (he) *was about to* seize the corpse, the corpse climbed upward.”

(13.4) छन्हुया क्षनस ओन बिलडास्यं राजाया लाहातन को तंडाव खण्ड खण्ड जुलं ।

**cha-nhu-yā kṣana-s wo-n bila-ñāsē rājā-yā lāhāta-n ko tañ-āwo khaṇḍa khaṇḍa jul-ā.**

“One day *when* he *gave* (him) the fruit, it fell from the king’s hand and shattered to pieces.”

(13.5) वानडास्यं लास चौलव नपा लातं ।

**wāna-ñāsē lā-sa caula-wo napā lāt-ā.**

“*As* (she) *went*, she met with a robber.”

- 127 *Converb in {-tole}*: This is formed by adding {-*tole*} (*varr.* {-*tola*}, {-*tote*}) to the zero grade stem, optionally followed by the ERG marker {-*n*}. In the text of NVP it is of rather rare occurrence, and seems not to be attested for Class V verbs.

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>wo-tole(-n)</b>	<b>da-tole-n</b> <b>dwā-tola</b> <b>dwā-tota</b>	<b>dhā-tole</b> <b>lhā-tola-n</b>	—	—
<i>“as long as ... goes”</i>	<i>“as long as ... exists”</i>	<i>“as long as ... speaks”</i>		

This converb describes an action as coextensive with the action of the main verb (“as long as ...”). 128

- (13.6) पुष्करिणी वंडाव सिमा कोस अन्न तयाव स्नान नित्यकर्मादि याडाव वतोलेन साचानन कालसर्प जोंड हरे ओया म्हथुन ओ अन्नस विष को टंन ।

**puṣkariṇī woñ-āwo simā ko-s anna-Ø tay-āwo snān nityakarmādi-Ø yāñ-āwo wo-tolen sēcāna-n kālasarpa-Ø joña ha-le wo-yā mhuthu-n wo anna-s viṣa-Ø ko tan-ā.**

“He went to the pond and put the food down at the foot of a tree. *While he* [went =] was away to perform the bathing and other rituals, a falcon seized a cobra, and from its mouth some poison fell down into that food.”

*Converb in {-ñās}*: This is formed by adding the LOC marker {-s} to the perfective participle or to the extended stem of the verb; it is relatively rare, and seems not to be attested for Class V verbs. 129

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>ñeñ-ā-s</b> —	<b>yāñ-ā-s</b> <b>(yāta-ñā-s)</b>	<b>(biy-ā-s)</b> <b>bila-ñā-s</b>	—	—
<i>“if ... asks”</i>	<i>“if ... does”</i>	<i>“if ... gives”</i>		

The examples given by Jørgensen seem to suggest an implied causal relationship between the action of the converb and the action of the main verb (see above, § 116): 130

- (13.7) सकले स्यातनास पिण्ड थव म द्यु । (Jørgensen)

**śakale syāta-nās piṇḍa-Ø tha-wo ma da-yu.**

“*When (they) kill all (of us)*, there will be no one to place the piṇḍa.”

- (13.8) धनवन्त जुलडास समस्त लोकनं मान्य यायुव । (Jørgensen)

**ghanabanta-Ø jula-ñās samasta loka-n-ā mānya-Ø yā-yuwo.**  
 “If (only) (he) is wealthy, all people will honour him.”

- 131 *Reduplicating converb*: This is formed by reduplicating the zero grade stem and adding the ergative/ instrumental marker {-n}, *varr.* {- sē}, {-N}. Again, it seems not to be attested for Class V verbs.

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>ñe-ñe-N</b>	<b>lwā-lwā-N</b>	<b>sō-so-N</b>	—	—
“while listening”	“while quarrelling”	“while seeing”		

- 132 There are frequent variants to this formation, too numerous to examine here in detail. The reduplicating converb generally characterises an action as ongoing, repetetitive – often with an implied causal relationship to the following action.

- (13.9) थ्व ख डेडें ड्हेर ओयकाओ चोनं । (DCM)

**thwo khā-Ø ñe-ñe-N ñhel-Ø woyak-āwo con-ā.**  
 “Listening to this matter, he fell asleep.”

- (13.10) थ्व खास स्यस्येनं उत्तर म बिलसा पंच महापातक छेता ।

**thwo khā-s se-se-n-ā uttara-Ø ma bila-sā pañca mahāpātaka-Ø che-tā.**

“If you don’t give the answer to the story *while knowing* (it), the five great sins will be on your head.”

- 133 **Terminal converbs**. With the NEG **ma**, the converb in {-tole} describes an action as taking place upon completion of the action expressed by the main verb (“until”).

- (13.11) ओ लिहा म वतोलेन छलपोलसके सीसे तय । (Jørgensen)

**wo-Ø lihā ma wo-tolen chalpola-ske si-sē ta-ye.**

“Until he comes back, I shall entrust (her) to your care.”

- 134 An action can be characterised as taking place before the action of the main verb with the formant {**ma ...-bala**} and the zero stem of the verb:

- (13.12) थ्व राजायातं सूर्य उदय म जुबल खें चाय बेलस लंख बिल वंड जनया हस्तसः

विचित्र बिल्वफल छगोड क्षान्तिशील नाम कापालिकन बिस्यं हलं ।

**thwo rājā-yātā sūryodaya ma ju-bala khē-Ø cā-ye bela-s  
lākha-Ø bila woñ-a jana-yā hasta-s bicitra bilbaphala  
cha-gol-Ø kṣāntiśīla nām kāpālika-n bi-sē hal-ā.**

“When this king washed his face [*before sunrise would occur*=] before sunrise, a kāpālika ascetic by the name of Kṣāntiśīla gave him a marvellous bilva fruit by the hand of the servant who handed the king the water.”

### Exercise 13

- 1) थ्व दाको सूर्य उदय म जुवलं माल ।  
**thwo dāko sūrya udaya ma jubalā māla.**
- 2) थ्व बेलस क्षुधा तृषान पीडलपाव लंख मालाव जुलडास्यं विचित्र सरोवर खानं ।  
**thwo belas kṣudhā-tṛṣān pīḍalapāwo lākh mālāwo julañāsē bicitra sarobara khānā.**
- 3) सोलडास्यं छग्वड २ बिल्वफलस पञ्च रत्न धाल दव ॥  
**solañāsē chagol chagol bilbaphalas pañca ratna dhāla dawo.**
- 4) इथु जन्मस ब्राह्मन जुले दूरदेशन म भिग्व प्रतिग्रह कायाव वले लास खुन स्यातं ।  
**ñhathu janmas brāhmaṇ jule dūradeśan ma bhiṅva pratigraha kāyāwo wole lās khun syātā.**
- 5) मन्त्रीन तत्क्षणं म्हाच स्मसानस बोनकाव हयाव विचाल याडाव सोलडास्यं त्रिशूल चिह्न दव ।  
**mantrīn tatkṣaṇānā mhyāc śmaśānas bonakāwo hayāwo bicāra yāñāwo solañāsē triśūla-cihna dawo.**
- 6) थ्व राजा छन्हुया दिनस मन्त्री सहितन सभा दयकं चोले राजद्वारस वीलवल नाम राजपुत्र राजपुत्री सहितन थेनं ।  
**thwo rājā chanhuyā dinas mantrī sahitan sabhā dayakā cole rājadwāras bīrabala nām rājaputra rājaputrī sahitan thenā.**

### Notes

- 2) **mālāwo julañāsē**: for the use of **juye** as auxiliary verb, see below, § 152.
- 4) **lā = lā**.
- 6) **dayakā cole**: **dayake** + **cone**; for the use of **cone** as auxiliary verb, see below, § 151.





## Lesson 14

*Relative sentences – some (more or less) irregular verbs – verb serialisation – auxiliary verbs (I)*

**Relative sentences.** It should have become clear by now that the scope for relative sentences in Classical Newari is rather small – at least in comparison with English or German. Generally speaking, Classical Newari (like Sanskrit, Nepali, or Hindi) uses attributive VPs in most instances where English (or, to a slightly lesser extent, German) would prefer relative clauses (see above, §§ 89-98). We have, in fact, encountered our first example of this already in Lesson 2: **thwo khu-n soy-ā rājā-∅** “this *by-the-thief-seen* king”, “this king *that the thief saw*”. Where relative sentences do occur, they largely follow the pattern found in most South Asian languages: (1) the relative clause usually precedes the correlative clause (although in some rare instances, the relative clause can be tagged onto a main clause), and (2) the relative pronoun (or adjective, or adverb) must have a corresponding correlative pronoun etc. in the correlative clause. 135

With inanimate referents, the slot of the relative pronoun is usually filled by the interrogative pronoun **chu-** “what?”. Animate referents, however, are usually only represented by the interrogative pronoun **su-** “who?” if a certain indefiniteness is implied: “anyone who”, rather than “the one who”. Definite animate referents are usually represented by the relative pronoun **gona-** (*var.* **gonakhu-**). The slot of the correlative pronoun is usually filled by the distant deictic pronoun **wo-** “that”. Note that the animate generic particle **-mhā** must be added to both pronouns, preceding any case markers. Not infrequently, however, the correlative pronoun is substituted by the adjective **thathiña** “such”, to which no generic particle is usually added: 136

(14.1) जेन छु याय माला ओ छन ल्हाव ।

**je-n chu-∅ yā-ye māl-ā wo-∅ cha-n lhāwo.**

[“*What* I have to do – *that* you tell me” =] “Tell me what I have to do.”

(14.2) ग्वनषुम्हं बजिल्हुयाया सरण हस्तस यल २ गातं । ओम्हं कोमलाङ्गी धाय ।

**gona-khu-mhā-∅ bajilhuyā-yā sala-n hasta-s yela yela gāt-ā, wo-mhā komalāṅgī dhāye.**

“*The one who* got blisters on her hand because of the sound of the rice-mortar – *that one* has (the most) delicate body.”

- (14.3) <थ्व> पृथ्वीमण्डलश सहस्र २ राजापनिस्यं ग्वनहं राजाया चरनकमलस सेवलपं चोंग्व । थथिंग्व राजा चक्रवर्ती श्रीवन्त विक्रमकेसरी नाम दस्यं चोंग्व ।

**thwo pṛthwīmaṇḍala-s sahasra sahasra rājā-pani-sē gona-mhā rājā-yā caraṇakamala-s sebalap-ā coṅ-a thathiṅa rājā cakrabartī śribanta bikramakeśarī nām-Ø da-sē coṅ-a.**

“There once was in this world a king, a splendid universal ruler by the name of Vikramakeśarin, at whose feet thousands and thousands of kings served.” [“At *whose* feet ... served – *such a* king ...”]

- (14.4) इन्द्र थें सर्वार्ङ्गसुन्दर गोनहंया विद्याधरीपनिस्यं गुणकीर्तना खं लहायुव ।

**indra-thē sarbāṅgasundara-Ø gona-mhā-yā bidyādhari-pani-sē guṇakīrtanā-Ø khā-Ø lhāy-uwo.**

“(He was) beautiful in all limbs like Indra, *whose* praises the celestial musicians (constantly) sing.”

- (14.5) थ्याके सुनानं लक्ष छि १००००० टंका बिय फयीव ओम्हा थ्व वेश्यान कायु ।

**thwo-yāke sunā-n-ā lakṣa chi ṭaṅkā- bi-ye phay-iwo wo-mhā-Ø thwo beśyā-n kā-yu.**

“This courtesan will accept *anyone who* can give her one lakh ṭaṅkā.”

- 137 Relative adverbs are usually formed on the basis of the stem **go-** (*var. ga-*) “which?”; the correlative adverb is represented either by **wo**, or by the corresponding adverb in **a-**, e.g. **gana** “where?” – **ana** “there”, **gathē** “how” – **athē** “thus” etc. Sentences of this type are exceedingly rare in the NVP.

- (14.6) गो कुन्हु छन विवाहा जुयुव ओ कुन्हु रात्रीस सकल अलंकालन तियाव स्वामिओ नपा सुरतसुख म यास्यं ... छन जे नपा लात वय माल ।

**go kunhu chan-Ø bibāhā juy-uwo wo kunhu rātrī-s sakala alaṅkāra-n tiy-āwo swāmī-wo napā suratasukha-Ø ma yā-sē ... cha-n je-Ø napā lāt-a wo-ye mā-a.**

“On the night of the day *on which* you will get married, you must wear all your jewellery and without having made love to your husband ... come to meet me.”

(14.7) गन छिमिस्यं हया अन तोरताव ताथिव ।

(Jørgensen)

**gana chi-mi-sē hay-ā ana tolat-āwo tāth-iwo.**

“Leave (them) where you have found (them).” [“Where you have found them – there leave them.”]

**Irregular verbs.** A handful of verbs do not conform readily to the rather neat regularity of Classical Newari verb morphology. Besides the oscillation of some verbs between the patterns of Classes II and III, there is a small group of dysyllabic verbs with invariable stem-final **-t**: **tolate** “to abandon”, **salate** “to call”. These verbs are closely aligned to the the verbs of Class V, showing the same pattern of stem gradation: **tolat-**, **tolata-**, **tolatal-**, **tolatala-**, **tolatalañā-**. The stative participle is formed with **{-u}** (*var.* **{-o}**) added to the zero grade stem, or with **{-wo}** added to the first grade stem. The verb **tāthe** “to leave behind” follows the same pattern. 138

	<b>tolate</b>	<b>salate</b>	<b>tāthe</b>
<i>perfective past</i>	<b>tolatal-ā</b>	<i>n.t.</i>	<b>tāthal-ā</b>
<i>perf. part.</i>	<b>tolat-ā</b>	<b>salat-ā</b>	<b>tāth-ā</b>
<i>coverb in {-āwo}</i>	<b>tolat-āwo</b>	<b>salat-āwo</b>	<b>tāth-āwo</b>
<i>stative part.</i>	{ <b>tolata-wo</b>	<b>sala-tu</b>	<b>tātha-wo,</b> <b>tāth-o,</b> <b>tāth-u</b>
<i>non-past</i>	{ <b>tolatay-u,</b> <b>tolatay-uwo,</b> <b>tolat-iwo</b>	<b>salatay-iwo</b>	<b>tāthay-u</b>
<i>imperative</i>	{ <b>tolat-ene</b> <b>tolat-ine</b>	<i>n.t.</i>	<b>tāth-i</b>
<i>cond. conv.</i>	{ <b>tolatala-sā</b> <b>tolatalañā-wo</b>	<i>n.t.</i>	<i>n.t.</i>
<i>coverb*</i>	<b>tolat-ā</b>	<b>salat-ā</b>	<b>tātha-sē</b>

\*) For the coverb in **{-sē}**, see below, § 148.

NB – The stem-final element **-tala-** is best explained as the morphologised verb **taye (tal-)** “to put”; the idiosyncrasies of stem gradation in Class V verbs are also best explained as instances of verb stems morphologised as derivational suffixes. See KANSAKAR (2005) and references therein.

139 **Verb serialisation.** Classical Newari makes ample use of a wide range of auxiliary verbs in order to express modality, aspect, *aktionsart*, or honorificity. Most of these auxiliary verbs are construed with either the verb noun, or with the coverb (see below, § 148), although the converb in {-**āwo**}, the perfective participle, the stative participle, the reduplicating converb, and the zero and second grade stems also occur. In this section, we will introduce the modal auxiliaries and those aspectual auxiliaries that are construed with the verb noun. Note that with the exception of **teyake** “to be about to”, all of the verbs presented here have retained their primary lexical meaning alongside their grammatical function, which suggests that the process of grammaticalisation was still at its early stages in the language of the late seventeenth century.

140 **jiye (jil-)** “to be able, to succeed”: The most frequently encountered form of this auxiliary verb is the stative participle **jiwo**.

(14.8) अनेक जतन सोयानं जे भण्डालस थथिंग्व रत्न लुयके म जीव ।

**anek jatna-n soy-ānā je-∅ bhaṇḍāra-s thathiṅa ratna-∅  
luyak-e ma ji-wo.**

“Even if one were to search with great effort, one *could not find* such a jewel in my treasury.”

141 **teye (tel-)** “to be allowed, proper”: Besides in its lexical meaning, this modal auxiliary can be used with NEG **ma** to form negative imperatives. Apart from the stative participle **tewo**, the most frequently encountered forms are the perfective past **telo** (also: **telā, tela**) and its irregular variant **tele** (the latter only with NEG **ma**).

(14.9) थ्व काय तेव ।

(Jørgensen)

**thwo-∅ kā-ye te-wo.**

“This *must be accepted*.”

(14.10) भो राजन् । अपसन्न जुय म टेरे । जेन खं कने ।

**bho rājan-∅, aprasanna ju-ye ma tel-e. je-n khā-∅ kan-e.**

“O king, *do not be displeased!* I shall tell (you) a story.”

(14.11) थ्वतेन छेजे थे चोने म तेलो ।

**thwoten cheje-Ø the con-e ma tel-o.**

“Therefore, *it is not proper* for us to stay here.”

**teyake** “to be about to”: Formally the causative of **teye (tel-)** “to put”, 142  
this verb is invariably used as an auxiliary describing an action as about  
to be performed. The verb **tene (var. tāne)** “to begin” can fulfil the  
same function.

(14.12) थथ्यं धायाव राजा सेवा धायाव वने तेयकरं ।

**thathē dhāy-āwo rājā-Ø sebā dhāy-āwo won-e teyakal-ā.**

“Having thus spoken, he paid his respects to the king and  
*turned to go.*”

(14.13) राजान थथिंड सुख राज्य छादरपाव सेवकया निमित्तिन थव प्राणतो तोरते  
तेयकव ।

**rājā-n thathiṇa sukha rājya-Ø chādalap-āwo sebaka-yā  
nimittin thawo prāṇa-tō tolat-e teyak-awo.**

“The king *was ready to part* even with his life for the sake of  
(his) servant, giving up such a happy reign.”

(14.14) मृतक जोने तानडास्यं मृतक था हालं ।

**mṛtaka-Ø jone tāna-ñāsē mṛtaka-Ø thā hāl-ā.**

“*When* (he) *was about* to seize the corpse, the corpse climbed  
upward.”

**dhune** “to finish”: This verb is mostly used as an aspectual auxiliary; 143  
it marks the action denoted by the preceding verb noun as completed,  
expressing the notion “already” (*cf.* H. **cuknā**, Np. **saknu**), although it  
is still also used in its lexical meaning. More often than not, the  
perfective past ends in {-o}. The causative **dhunake** is used in the same  
way with no appreciable difference in meaning.

(14.15) आमो खा जेन सेय धुनो ।

**āmo khā-Ø je-n se-ye dhun-o.**

“I *already know* that.”

(14.16) लिथे नय धुनकाव पुथी खुय भालपाव चोनं ।

**lithē na-ye dhunak-āwo ‘puṭhī-Ø khu-ye’ bhālap-āwo con-ā.**

“Then, *when he had finished eating*, he was considering to steal  
the book.”

- 144 **phaye** (*phat-*, *phal-*) “to be able”: The forms of this modal auxiliary oscillate between Classes II and III; the most frequently encountered form is the stative participle **phawo**:

(14.17) हे कोतवार । थ्व चौल बालछिन ङ्हा जोडाव बिय म फतसा छ सास्ति याय धकं  
राजान {आ}ज्ञा बिलं ॥

‘**he kotwāl-∅, thwo caura-∅ bālachi-n nhā jon-āwo ma phata-sā cha-∅ sāsti yā-ye’ dhakā rājā-n ājñā bil-ā.**

“‘Officer, if you cannot catch this thief within a fortnight, I will punish you’, the king said.”

- 145 **biye** (*bil-*) “to give”: Alongside its lexical meaning, this verb can also mean “to allow” if used with a preceding verb noun. With the converb in {-āwo}, it can be used to indicate that the action is performed for the benefit of someone else.\*

(14.18) छे पुत्री विवाहा याय बिहुन धकं फोनं ॥

‘**che-∅ putrī-∅ bibāhā yā-ye bi-huna’ dhakā phon-ā.**

“‘Allow us to marry your daughter’, they entreated.”

(14.19) थे बोड याडाव आदरन नकाव देनेयातं छ कोथास लासा लायाव बिलं ।

**the boñ-a yāñ-āwo ādara-n nak-āwo dene-yātā cha kothā-s lāsā-∅ lāy-āwo bil-ā.**

“He led him there and fed him respectfully, and prepared a bed (for him) in a room to sleep.”

- 146 **māle** “to be necessary”: As befits a verb that refers to a state rather than to an action, the most widely attested form of **māle** is the stative participle. With a preceding verb noun, it usually conveys the notion “must”. With NEG **mu** (never **ma**), it means that an action does not need to be performed.

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\*) In NVP, this usage is still rare; in most instances where **biye** is preceded by a converb in {-āwo}, it denotes an actual act of giving, e.g. **babun khaḍgan sir chedalapāwo bilasā śūdraka rājā mwāyiwō** “if the father cuts off his head with (his) sword and gives it (to the Goddess as an offering), King Śūdraka will be brought back to life”. The example in (14.19) (which is also quoted in JØRGENSEN 1941 § 164) is one of the few instances in the text of NVP for this more or less fully grammaticalised usage of **biye** (another will be encountered in the exercises!).

(14.20) थ्व दाकों सूर्य उदय म जुबलं माल ।

**thwo dākō-Ø sūrya-udaya-Ø ma ju-bal-ā māl-a.**

“All of this [*is necessary*=] has to happen before sunrise.”

(14.21) चतुर्दशीया रात्रिस मेंवन म खंनकं छलपोल जे समीपस बिज्याय माल ।

**caturdaśī-yā rātrī-s mewo-n ma khan-akā chalpol-Ø je-Ø samīpa-s bijyā-ye māl-a.**

“On the night of the fourteenth, you *must come* to me without anyone else seeing (you).”

(14.22) ओया इहलोकं परलोकं ङ्गाने मु माल । राजा ङ्गाने मु माल । थथे ङ्गाने मु मालसनं थ्व कन्या तोलतव ।

**wo-yā ihalok-ā paralok-ā ṅhān-e mu māl-a, rājā-Ø ṅhān-e mu māl-a. thathē ṅhān-e mu māla-sanā thwo kanyā-Ø tolata-wo.**

“He *didn't have to be concerned* with this world or with the next, he *didn't have to be concerned* about the king. *Although he didn't have to be concerned* in this way, the let this girl go.”



## Exercise 14

- 1) गोनषुम्हंन राक्षस मोचकाव कन्या हलं ओयाता थ्व कन्या बिय माला ।  
**gonakhumhān rākṣas mocakāwo kanyā halā woyātā thwo kanyā biye māla.**
- 2) भो राजकुमार । कातर जुय म तेव ।  
**bho rājakumāra, kātara juye ma tewo.**
- 3) कोटुवारन राजायाके धालं । हे देव । आभलन सहितन खु ज्वं हय धुनो धकं धालं ।  
**kotuwālan rājāyāke dhālā – ‘he deb, ābharāṇa sahitan khu jō haye dhuno’ dhakā dhālā.**
- 4) चतुर्दशीया रात्रिस मेंवन म खंनकं छलपोल जे समीपस बिज्याय माल ।  
**caturdaśīyā rātrīs mewon ma khanakā chalpol je samīpas bijyāye māla.**
- 5) भो राजपुत्र छ आमथे निलास जुय म तेव ।  
**bho rājaputra, cha āmathē nirāśa juye ma tewo.**
- 6) जे प्राणया निमित्तिन भोछिसं प्राणा तोलतव । थ्वतेन जेन ईश्वरीयातं थव शरीर बिय धकं खङ्ग जोडाव थव शिर छेदरे तेयकरं ।  
**‘je prāṇayā nimittin bhochisā prāṇa tolatawo. thwoten jenā īśwariyātā thawo śarīra biye’ dhakā khaḍga joṅāwo thawo sir chedalape teyakalā.**
- 7) पुरुखवो संबन्ध म दले प्राण तोलते फव ।  
**purukhawo sambandha ma dalē prāṇa tolate phawo.**
- 8) छलपोलया आज्ञा दतसा जेन म्वाचकं बिय ।  
**chalpolayā ājñā datasā jen mwācakā biye.**

## Notes

- 1) **mālā**: Bhp. variant of **māla**.
- 8) **mwācakā**: The auxiliary **biye** is here construed with the coverb, rather than with the verb noun; see below, § 147-149.

## Lesson 15

*Coverb in {-sē} – auxiliary verbs (II) – gāye “to suffice”*

In this lesson, we will be mostly concerned with further instances of verb serialisation. However, the auxiliaries introduced here are not construed with the verb noun, but mostly with the coverb. 147

**The coverb** is formed by adding a formant {-sē} (*var.* {-se}) or its allomorph {-ā} to the zero grade stem (Class IV: first grade stem). Note that class V verbs on the whole seem to prefer {-ā}, which is not attested for verbs of classes II-IV. 148

I	II	III	IV	V
<b>kha-sē</b>	<b>da-sē</b>	<b>bi-sē</b>	<b>ñhela-sē</b>	(see note)
<b>khañ-ā</b>	—	—	—	<b>khojalap-ā</b>
“seeing”	“existing”	“giving”	“laughing”	“searching”

NB – The only authentic example of a Class V verb with coverb marker {-sē} (added not to the zero grade stem, but to the first grade stem) that has come to my notice is **sumalapase** (**sumalape** “to remember”, *DCN s.v. sumarape*).

(15.1) हे देव । मिसा छम्हं खोस्यं चोडया खं जे खंडाव बेस्यं वंनं ।

**he deb, misā cha-mhā-Ø kho-sē coṅa-yā khā. je khañ-āwo be-sē won-ā.**

“Your majesty, it was the matter of a woman [being crying=] crying. When she saw me, she [went retreating=] retreated.”

In contrast to the converbs, whose main function it is to form the head of a subordinated VP, the coverb is usually only used in conjunction with an auxiliary verb. 149

NB – In some rare instances, the coverb can fulfil the same function as the circumstantial converb (§ 108); cf. (14.6) above: **swāmīwo napā surata-sukha ma yāsē ...** “without having made love to your husband ...”.

**Auxiliary verbs (II).** Whereas modal auxiliary verbs are usually construed with the verb noun, verbs construed with the coverb tend to be aspectual auxiliaries. 150

**cone** “to stay”: With the coverb, this verb functions as a durative auxiliary. Special note should be taken of the formation **dasē coṅa** 151

“there (once) was”, which is the default verb form in the incipit of a narrative (*cf.* Skr. **asti**). Note that this verb is rarely met with in the perfective past, the predominant verb form being the stative participle. The place of the coverb is frequently taken by the converb in {-**āwo**}.

- (15.2) बत्तिस लक्षण संयुक्त यौवन स्त्री छम्हं खोस्यं चोड खंडाव ओया समीपस  
वीरवलन धारं ।

**battīs lakṣaṇa saṃyukta yaubana strī cha-mhā-Ø kho-sē  
coñ-a khañ-āwo wo-yā samīpa-s bīrabala-n dhāl-ā.**

“When he saw a young woman endowed with the thirty-two auspicious signs *crying*, Vīrabala spoke.”

- (15.3) कांचनपुर नाम नगरस धर्मध्वज नाम राजा दस्यं चोड ।

**kāñcanapura nām nagara-s dharmadhvajā nām rājā-Ø  
da-sē coñ-a.**

“In a city called Kāñcanapura, *there once was* a king called Dharmadhvajā.”

- (15.4) थ्व वेलस राजान द्वारिकया ख्वाल सोस्यं चोनं ।

**thwo bela-s rājā-n dwārikayā khwāl sosē conā.**

“Then the king was perusing the gatekeepers face.”

- (15.5) थथिड कुलीन थ्व राजाया थ्वलतती वस्तु नयाव चोडा ।

**thathiña kulīna thwo rājā-yā thwoletati bastu-Ø nay-āwo  
coñ-ā.**

““We *have been* [eating=] receiving so many things from this noble king.””

- 152 **juye (jul-)** “to become”: As an auxiliary, this verb has two different, seemingly contradictory functions. With the coverb, it expresses perfective aspect, with the stative participle, it forms a periphrastic stative tense. Note that the stative participle is frequently followed by emphatic **-tō** (§ 75). More often than not, the perfective past tense of **juye** when used as an auxiliary takes the marker {-**o**}. As with **cone**, the place of the coverb is frequently taken by the converb in {-**āwo**}.

- (15.6) दक्षिनावर्त्तन पृथ्वीस भ्रमलपं जुयाः ॥

**dakṣiṇābarta-n pṛthwī-s bhramalap-ā juy-ā.**

“I *have wandered* the earth in the South.”

- (15.7) ओ ब्राह्मणन विलासवतीव नपां सुख भुक्तलपं काल हंड जुलोः ॥  
**wo brāhmaṇa-n bilāsabatī-wo napā sukha-Ø bhuktalap-ā kāla-Ø hāñ-a jul-o.**  
 “This brahman [*was spending* =] spent (his) time in enjoyment together with Vilāsavatī.”
- (15.8) थ्व राजान अनेक सामन्त मन्त्री सहितन चतुर्दिगसं समुद्रसिमा पृथ्वीया ईश्वर जुयाव परम राज्य सुख भुक्तलपं काल हंड बिज्याकत्वं जुलो ॥  
**thwo rājā-n anek sāmanta-mantrī sahita-n caturdiga-s-ā samudrasīmā pṛthwī-yā īśwara-Ø juy-āwo parama rājya-sukha-Ø bhuktalap-ā kāla hañ-a bijyāka-tō jul-o.**  
 “After this king, together with (his) many vassals and ministers, had become the rule of the four corners of the world up until the ocean’s shore, he [*was spending* =] spent his time enjoying the highest pleasure of (his) rule.”
- (15.9) लिथें जताधारी जुवम्हंन दक्षिनावर्त्तनः पृथ्वी भ्रमलपाव जुले नगर छगुलिस वनं ।  
**lithē jaṭādhārī juwo-mhā-n dakṣiṇābarta-n pṛthwī-Ø bhramalap-āwo ju-le nagara cha-guli-s won-ā.**  
 “Then, *when* the one who had become an ascetic *was roaming* the earth in the Southern region, he came to a town.”

**taye (tal-)** “*to put*”: Along with its lexical meaning, this verb functions 153  
 (1) as a resultative auxiliary (similar in function to H. **rakhnā**); (2) as a means for expressing the notion “to end up doing s.th.”. Besides the coverb in {-āwo}, the stative participle can stand in for the coverb.

- (15.10) हे मन्त्री । थ्व वीरवल बोडाव जीवनि बियाव ति ।  
**he mantrī-Ø, thwo bīrabala-Ø boñ-āwo jībanī-Ø biy-āwo ti-Ø.**  
 “O minister, summon this Vīrabala and *give* (him) an employment!”
- (15.11) थथें थ्व स्वम्हंस्यन कयंगल याडाव ब्रह्महत्याया भयन छम्हायातं म बिस्यं तलंः ॥  
**thathē thwo so-mhā-sen kayāgal yāñ-āwo ... cha-mhā-yātā ma bi-sē tal-ā.**  
 “When he saw the three of them quarrelling like this, ... he *ended up giving* (her in marriage) to none.”

(15.12) ज्ञानी शिल्पि शूल थ्व स्वम्हंस छम्हयाता बिय धकं अङ्गीकाल याड तया ।

**‘jñānī śilpī śūra thwo somhās chamhāyātā biye dhakā aṅgīkāra yāṅa tayā.’**

“‘I have promised to give her (in marriage) to one of the three: one who is learned, one who is dexterous, (or) one who is valiant.’”

- 154 *bijyāye (bijyāt-)* “to come (hon.)”: Besides its lexical meaning, this verb has the function of forming honorifics (“to deign to do s.th.”, but better left untranslated)– either with the coverb, or with the stative participle. Note that {-**tō**} is frequently added to the stative participle, possibly as a (further) honorific marker:

(15.13) थ्वते अमुल्य रत्न सोस्यं बिज्याडाव लस तास्यं बिज्याकटों ॥

**thwo amūlya ratna-∅ so-sē bijyāṅ-āwo rasa tā-sē bijyāk-a-tō.**

“When he [deigned to see=] saw this priceless jewel, he [deigned to rejoice=] rejoiced.”

(15.14) लिथें थ्वस खंडाव महा हर्षमान याड बिज्याकटों: ॥

**lithē thwo-s khaṅ-āwo mahā harṣamāna yāṅ-a bijyāk-a-tō.**

“Then, when he saw this, he rejoiced mightily.”

- 155 *yene* “to lead”: According to JØRGENSEN (1941 § 165), this verb can be employed as an auxiliary in two different functions: (1) With the coverb, it can indicate “a motion towards, or away from the subject”. I have not been able to find an example for this usage in the NVP, although there is at least one instance where *yene* is construed with the stative participle in this sense. (2) With the reduplicating coverb, *yene* forms an iterative; this usage seems not to be attested in the text of NVP.

(15.15) राजायाके इनाप याडाव जे बोंड यंडा धकं धायाव द्वारीकन राजायाके गोचर

याडाव बोंड यडा वीलवलन राजा सेवा धायाव यिनाप यातं ।

**‘rājā-yāke ināpa yāṅ-āwo je-∅ boṅ-a yeṅ-ā’ dhakā dhāy-āwo dwārika-n rājā-āke gocara yāṅ-āwo boṅ-a yeṅ-ā bīrabala-n rājā-∅ sebā dhāy-āwo ināpa yāt-ā.**

“‘I will announce you to the king and fetch you’, the gatekeeper said, and when he had been brought before the king, Vīrabala [having been fetched] paid homage to him and spoke.”

**wone** “to go”: According to Jørgensen, **wone** can be used as an auxiliary to denote recent completion; however, the date from the NVP does not support this assumption. Where **wone** is construed with the coverb, it seems to indicate motion (as in some usages of H. **jānā**). When construed with the second grade stem, it is perhaps best interpreted as “to go (in order) to”.

(15.16) जे खंडाव बेस्यं वनं ।

**je khañ-āwo be-sē won-ā.**

“When (she) saw me, she[*went retreating*=] retreated.”

(15.17) रुद्रशर्मा नाम ब्राह्मनयाके नल वनः ॥

**rudraśarmā nām brāhmaṇa-yāke nala-Ø won-ā.**

“He *went* to a brahman by the name of Rudraśarman (*in order*) to eat.”

**woye** (**wol-**) “to come”: Again the usage of this verb as recorded in NVP does not conform to the function ascribed to it by Jørgensen (which is otherwise well attested). With the second grade stem, it seems to mean “to come to do”, “to end up doing”, whereas the coverb in (15.20) is best interpreted as a variant of the circumstantial converb (see above, §148).

(15.18) सबरन धाव तास्यं वया ।

(Jørgensen)

**śabara-n dhā-wo tū-sē woy-ā.**

“I have just heard what the mountaneer said.”

(15.19) लिथे अती दुःख तायाव मृतक को तिंड हयाव ओया सरीरसं राजा जुत वलं ।

**lithē ati duḥkha tāy-āwo mṛtaka-Ø ko tiñ-a hay-āwo wo-yā śarīra-s rājā-Ø juta-Ø wol-ā.**

“Later, when it was badly hurt, the king threw it down and came to sit astride its body.”

(15.20) राजान धालं । ‹भो कापालिक ।› छन खं डेने धकं अती लस तास्यं वया धकं ।

**rājā-n dhāl-ā – ‘bho kāpālika-Ø, cha-n khā-Ø ñene dhakā ati rasa tū-sē woy-ā’ dhakā.**

“The king spoke: ‘O kāpālika, I will gladly come (there) in order to hear your story.’”

- 158 *haye* (*hal-*) “to bring, carry”: Jørgensen ascribes to this verb a similar function to *yene* (§ 154). In addition to this, there are some instances in NVP where *haye* seems to function as an iterative auxiliary (“to keep doing”). In either context, the place of the coverb can be taken by the stative participle or by the converb in {-*āwo*}.

(15.21) थ्व बेलस छम्हासेन थ्व स्त्री सलतलं । हे स्त्री । थना वायो धकं सलताव हलं ।

**thwo bela-s cha-mhā-sen thwo strī-Ø salatal-ā – ‘he strī-Ø, thanā wāy-o’ dhakā salat-āwo hal-ā.**

“Then one (of them) called to that woman: ‘O woman, come here’, he *called out*.”

(15.22) थ्व राजायातं सूर्य उदय म जुबल खें चाय बेलस लंख बिल वंड जनया हस्तसः

विचित्र बिल्वफल छगोड क्षान्तिशील नाम कापालिकन बिस्यं हलं ।

**thwo rājā-yātā sūrya-udaya-Ø ma ju-bala khē cā-ye bela-s lākh-Ø bila won-a jana-yā hasta-s bicitra bilbaphala cha-gol-Ø kṣāntiśīla nām kāpālīka-n bi-sē hal-ā.**

“When this king washed his face before sunrise, a *kāpālīka* ascetic by the name of *Kṣāntiśīla* *used to give* him a marvellous bilva fruit by the hand of the servant who handed the king the water.”

- 159 *gāye* (*gāt-*) “to suffice”: Special mention should be made of the idiomatic usage of *ma gāka* [“doesn’t suffice”=] “won’t do” construed with the zero grade stem.

(15.23) भो राजन् । जेछे नेम्हं म वं म गाक ला ।

**‘bho rājan-Ø, jechhe ne-mhā-Ø ma wo-Ø ma gāk-a lā?’**

“O king, [will the two of us not going not do=] do we both (really) *have to go*?”

## Exercise 15

- 1) हे राजा । जेन म्वाचकं हय ।  
**'he rājā, jen mwācakā haye.'**
- 2) थथे धास्तुनं थ्व वेताल राजाया बोहोल तोलताव सिंसल्यावृक्षया चोस चोन वनं ॥  
**thathē dhāstunā thwo betāla rājāyā bohola tolatāwo  
siṃsapāvṛkṣayā cos cona wonā.**
- 3) थथ्यं धायाव वीरवर बोडाव जीवनि बियाव तरं ।  
**thathē dhāyāwo bīrabala boṇāwo jībanī biyāwo talā.**
- 4) भो राजन् । एकान्तस जेन इनापे धकं धायाव सभास लोक समस्तं चेलाव वंड जुलो ।  
**'bho rājan, ekāntas jen ināpe' dhakā dhāyāwo sabhās loka samastā  
celāwo woṇa julo.**
- 5) थ्व बेलस छम्हासेन थ्व स्त्री सलतलं । हे स्त्री । थना वायो धकं सलताव हलं ।  
**thwo belas chamhāsen thwo strī salatalā – 'he strī, thanā wāyo'  
dhakā salatāwo halā.**
- 6) भो महाराज । थ्व नदीतील समीपस सिंसल्यावृक्षया उत्तर साखास मृतक पुरुष दोलायमान  
याड चोंग्व । मौन याडाव जोंड हय माल ।  
**bho mahārāja, thwo nadītīra samīpas siṃsapāvṛkṣayā uttara  
śākhās mṛtaka purukha dolāyamāna yāṅa coṅa. mauna yāṅāwo  
joṅa haye māla.**
- 7) जमुनाया तीरसः ब्रह्मस्थान नाम ग्राम दस्यं चोड । थ्व ग्रामस थव २ कर्मस चोड  
ब्राह्मनपनीस आश्रम दव । थ्व ग्रामस अग्निस्वामी नाम ब्राह्मन बसलपं चोडः ॥  
**jamunāyā tīras brāhmasthāna nām grāma dasē coṅa. thwo grāmas  
thawo thawo karmas coṅa brāhmaṇapanis āśrama dawo. thwo  
grāmas agniswāmī nām brāhmaṇa basalapā coṅa.**
- 8) छन्दुया क्षणस उद्धानमण्डपस इन्दुलेखाओ सुरतसुख याड बिज्यातं ।  
**chanhuyā kṣaṇas ujhānamaṇḍapas indulekhāwo suratasukha yāṅa  
bijyātā.**





## Reading Passages

The *nāgarī* text follows the orthography of the MS; merely the punctuation has been modified for the benefit of the reader. Text that has been restored from other MSS is given in <, { marks words and/or syllables that should be deleted; portions of text that are not found in any of the other MSS are given in []. The transcription follows the rules outlined above, but morpheme boundaries have not been indicated. The first few reading passages are extensively annotated, but in subsequent reading passages, notes have been kept to a minimum in the spirit of didactic progression.

### 1. The frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A (1a–6a)

ॠथ्व,१ पृथ्वीमण्डलश सहस्र २ राजापनिस्यं ग्वनहं राजाया चरनकमलस सेवलपं चोंग्व  
थथिंग्व राजा चक्रवर्ती श्रीवन्त विक्रमकेसरी नाम<sup>2</sup> दस्यं चोंग्व । विविध इन्द्रनील मरकत  
पद्मराग वज्र वैदूर्य मुक्ता रत्न समुहन कुबेरया सम्पती थें दयका । इन्द्र थें सर्वाङ्गसुन्दर 3  
गोनहंया विद्याधरीपनिस्यं गुणकीर्तना खं ल्हायुव । थ्व राजान अनेक सामर्थ<sup>3</sup> मन्त्री सहितन  
चतुर्दिसं समुद्रसिमा पृथ्वीया ईश्वर जुयावो परम राज्य सुख भुक्तरपं काल<sup>4</sup> हंड बिज्याकत्वं  
जुलो ॥ थ्व राजायातं सूर्य उदय म जुबल खें चाय बेलस लंख बिल वंड जनया हस्तसः<sup>5</sup> 6  
विचित्र बिल्वफल छगोड क्षान्तिसील नाम कापालिकन बिस्यं हलं । थ्व से खंडाव हर्षमानन  
थव जनयाके,<sup>6</sup> लव ल्हास्यं तलं । दिनप्रति थथें बियाव ह्युव ॥

1) restored from MSS BD – 2) MS *add.* **rājā** – 3) the other MSS read **sāmanta** – 4) MS *a.c.* **kala** – 5) in Newari MSS, **visarga** is frequently employed as a punctuation mark – 6) restored from MSS BD

thwo pṛthwīmaṇḍalas sahasra sahasra rājāpanisē gonamhā rājāyā  
caraṇakamalas sebalapā coṇa, thathiṇa rājā cakrabartī śrībanta  
bikramakeśarī nām dasē coṇa. bibidha indranīla marakata padmarāga  
bajra baiḍūrya muktā ratna samūhan kuberayā sampatti thē dayakā;  
indra thē sarbāṅgasundara, gonamhāyā bidyādharīpanisē guṇakīrtanā  
khā lhāyuwo. thwo rājān anek sāmārtha mantrī sahitan caturdigasā  
samudrasīmā pṛthwīyā īśwara juyāwo parama rājyasukha bhuktalapā  
kāla haṇa julo. thwo rājāyātā sūryodaya ma jubala khē cāye belas lākh  
bila woṇa janayā hastas bicitra bilbaphala chagol kṣāntīśīla nām  
kāpālikan bisē halā. thwo se khaṇāwo harṣamānan thawo janayāke lawo  
lhāsē talā. dinapratī thathē biyā[wo] hayuwo.

## Notes

- 1-2 the first sentence (**thwo** **pr̥thwīmaṇḍalas ... dasē coṅa**) is syntactically unusual, and seems to be rather closely modelled on the corresponding passage in the “Nepali” recension of Jambhala-datta’s Sanskrit text (JVP<sub>N</sub>)–**gonambhā ... thathiṅa** §§ 135, 136 – **sebalapā coṅa** § 151
- 2-3 **bibidha ... samūhan** should be read as a *tatpuruṣa* compound: “a mass of various jewels like sapphire, ...”; formations of this kind are not uncommon in the more highly Sanskritised registers of CN
- 4 **sāmartha** “capable”; if the *v.l.* **sāmanta** “vassal” is adopted, **sāmanta-mantrī** would have to be read as a *dvandva* compound “vassals and ministers” (as is the case in JVP<sub>N</sub>)
- 6-7 the syntax of this sentence is again unusual, and is modelled closely on the corresponding sentence in JVP<sub>N</sub> – **bisē halā** § 158 – **lawo lhāsē talā** § 153
- 8 **biyā(wo) hayuwo** §§ 49, 158; the non-past is here used to reinforce habitual aspect, and has no temporal deixis

2. The frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A (*cont’d*)

- छन्हुया क्षणसः ओन बिलडास्यं राजाया लाहातन को टंडाव खण्ड २ जुलं । थ्व सेया दुवने अमुल्य २ पञ्च रत्न खंडाव अती हर्षमान जुयावः आदेश बिलं । भो मन्त्री । अती आश्चर्य्यं । अनेक जत्नन सोयानं जे भण्डालस थथिंग्व रत्न लुयके म जीव । कार्य म दयकं थथिंग्व अमुल्य रत्न छुया बियुवः । बिचित्र रत्न बिवया जे मनश तव कार्ज दयिव । इपाया छनके तया बिल्वोफल शकलं हिव धकं । ओ पुरुखन<sup>2</sup> हयावो फोदलपं सोलडास्यं छगोड
- 6 २ बिल्वफलस पंच रत्न धाल दवो ॥ थ्वते अमुल्य रत्न सोस्यं<sup>3</sup> बिज्याडाव लस तास्यं बिज्याकटो ॥

1) MS *a.c.* *aścaryya* – 2) MS *a.c.* *puruṣakhana* – 3) MS *a.c.* *solasyā*

chanhuyā kṣaṇas won bilaṅāsē rājāyā lāhātan ko taṅāwo khaṇḍa khaṇḍa julā. thwo seyā duwone amūlya amūlya pañca ratna khaṅāwo ati harṣa-māna juyāwo ādeśa bilā – ‘bho mantrī, ati āścarya! anek jatnan soyānā je bhaṅḍāras thathiṅa ratna luyake ma jiwo. kārya ma dayakā thathiṅa amūlya ratna chuyā biyuwo? bicitra ratna biwoyā je manas tawo kārja dayiwo. ṅhapāyā chanake tayā bilbaphala sakalā hiwo’ dhakā. wo purukhan hayāwo pholalapā solaṅāsē chagol chagol bilbaphalas pañca ratna dhāla dawo. thwote amūlya ratna sosē bijyāṅāwo rasa tāsē bijyākatō.

## Notes

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | <b>bilāñāsē</b> §§ 125-126  | fruits and examining what is inside them, “examining by splitting”.  |
| 3 | <b>soyāñā</b> § 102 – <b>kārya ma dayakā</b> § 108; here and in the next sentence, <b>kārya</b> is perhaps best translated as “obligation”                  | Most MSS agree on this reading, MS E has the <i>v.l.</i> <b>thva se sakalyā tapa chyāñāva sorañāsya</b> ( <b>tapa chyāye</b> “to smash”) |
| 4 | <b>biwoyā</b> § 98  |  |
| 5 | <b>hiwo</b> § 66 – <b>pholalapā solañāsē</b> the combination coverb + <b>soye</b> is unusual; it seems to indicate the unity of the action of splitting the | 5-6 <b>chagol chagol bilbaphalas</b> “in each (single) bilva fruit”  |
|   |   | 6 <b>sosē bijyāñāwo</b> § 154  |

3. The frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A (*cont'd*)

[थ्व बेलस] थ्व जन आदेश बिलं: । भो सखा । बिल्वफल बिवम्हं जेन सोय बोंड हिव धकं । थर्थे पिहा वयाव कापालिक बोंड यडावो इनाप यातं ॥ हे देव । थ्वम्हं कापालिक बिल्वफलया दाता । थ्वतेन छलपोलस्यं मालको आदेस प्रसन्न जुसने । लिथे थ्वस खंडाव 3  
महा हर्षमान याड बिज्याकटों: ॥ कापालिकन राजायातं आशिर्व्वीद बिलं । राजा<sup>1</sup> रस तास्यं बिज्याकटों: ॥ राजान कापालिक आदेश बिलं: । भो कापालिक । छु निमित्तन ता दतो बिल्वफल तोहोन अमुल्य रत्न बिया । पुन कापालिकन धालं । भो राजन् । एकान्तस जेन 6  
इनापे धकं धायाव सभास लोक समस्तं चेलाव वंड जुलो: । थ्व बेलस राजासके धालं । भो राजन् । क्षान्तिशील नाम कापालिक जोगी जे । दक्षिनावर्त्तन पृथ्वीस भ्रमलपं जुया: ॥ मृतक वेताल सिद्ध याय निमित्तन उत्तरसाधक [याय धकं] महापुरुष बीर खोजलपं जुया । 9  
थ्व लुयके म जीवन छलपोलया समीपस वया । थ्वतेन छलपोलसेन सावधानन डेड बिज्यातसा जेन इनाप याय: ॥

थथ्यं धायाव राजान धालं । भो कापालिक । जेन सावधानन डेने मखा धकं आदेश बियाव 12  
छन मालको ल्हाव धायाव कापालिकन ल्हालं । भो महाराज । दक्षिनस्मसानस<sup>2</sup> जे चोने । चतुर्दशीया रात्रीस मेवन म खानकं छलपोल जे समीपस: बिज्याय माल । अना मालको छेके इनाप याय धकं: । जे वय खे धकं राजास्यं ल्हायाव कापालिक दक्षिनस्मसानस 15  
वनं:3 ॥

1) MS *a.c.* **rāja** – 2) MS **masānasa** – 3) MS **conāḥ**

[thwo belas] thawo jana ādeśa bilā – ‘bho sakhā, bilbaphala biwomhā jen soye boña hiwo’ dhakā. thathē pihā woyāwo kāpālika boña yeñāwo ināpa yātā – ‘he deb, thwomhā kāpālika bilbaphalayā dātā. thwoten chalpolasē mālako ādeśa prasanna jusane.’ lithē thwos khañāwo mahā harṣamāna yāna bijyākatō. kāpālikan rājāyātā āśīrbāda bilā. rājā rasa tāsē bijyākatō. rājān kāpālika ādeśa bilā – ‘bho kāpālika, chu nimittan tā dato bilbaphala tohon amūlya ratna biyā?’ puna kāpālikan dhālā – ‘bho rājān, ekāntas jen ināpe’ dhakā dhāyāwo sabhās loka samastā celāwo woña julo. thwo belas rājāske dhālā – ‘bho rājān, kṣāntiśīla nām kāpālika jogī je. dakṣiṇābartan pṛthbīs bhramalapā juyā. mṛtaka betāla siddha yāye nimittin uttarasādhaka yāye dhakā mahāpurukha khojalapā juyā. thwo luyake ma jiwon chalpolayā samīpas wayā. thwoten chalapolasen sābadhānan neña bijyātasā jen ināpa yāye.’

thathē dhāyāwo rājān dhālā – ‘bho kāpālika, jen sābadhānan neña makhā’ dhakā ādeśa biyāwo, ‘chan mālako lhāwo’ dhāyāwo kāpālikan lhālā – ‘bho mahārāja, dakṣiṇāśmaśānas je cone. caturdaśīyā rātrīs mewon ma khānakā chalpol je samīpas bijyāye māla. anā mālako cheke ināpa yāye dhakā.’ – ‘je woye khe’ dhakā rājāsē lhāyāwo kāpālika dakṣiṇāśmaśānas wonā.

## Notes

- |     |   |    |   |
|-----|---|----|---|
| 2   | tathē ... ināpa yātā the subject of this sentence is the king’s servant   |    | in an interrogative sentence with 2 <sup>nd</sup> person subject (§§ 35, 48)  |
| 3   | prasanna jusane: {-sane} is an HGH imperative formant of relatively rare occurrence, see JØRGENSEN 1941 § 143; the phrase is here used as a honorific equivalent of bihune – thwos can be used as a honorific pronoun, cf. Np. yahā | 8  | bhramalapā juyā § 152; juyā past conjunct in a declarative sentence with 1 <sup>st</sup> person subject   |
| 5-6 | tā dato ... biyā: as the adverb tā dato indicates, the act of giving is durative; the perfective participle biyā is not used in its aspectual sense, but as the past conjunct form  | 9  | mṛtaka betāla ... khojalapā juyā: this sentence contains two subordinated final clauses, ... yāye nimittin, ... yāye dhakā (§ 55); uttarasādhaka yāye dhakā “in order to make (the mahāpurukha) my uttarasādhaka” |
|     |   | 10 | ma jiwon § 101  |

4. The frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A (cont’d)

राजानं कृष्णचतुर्दशी कुन्हुया रात्रीसः खङ्ग जोडाव याकातं<sup>1</sup> मेवन म खानकं स्मसानस कापालिकया समीपस बिज्याक । कापालिकन राजा बिज्याक खंडाव हर्षमानन राजाया<sup>2</sup>

- 3 स्तुति यातं: ॥ भो महाराज । छे परम सात्विक महावीर चक्रवर्ती । खङ्गसहाय याडन

चतुर्दशीया भयंकर रात्रीस जे समीपस स्मसानस बिज्याक ॥ राजान धालं । रभो  
 कापालिक ।<sup>3</sup> छन खं डेने धकं अती लस तास्यं वया धकं धायाव<sup>4</sup> क्षान्तिशीलन धालं ।  
 जेन थनीः मृतक सिद्ध साधलपे । छे उत्तरसाधक जुय माल {धकं} । थथ्यं साधलपान छेंजें 6  
 सिद्धिबल लाय धकं धायाव जोगीया वचन डेडाव राजा विक्रमकेशरी हर्षरोमांचितदेह  
 याडाव क्षान्तिशीलयातं आदेश बिलं । भो कापालिक । छन ययागुली साधलपीव । छन<sup>5</sup>  
 उत्तरसाधक जुयाव जेन छु याय माला ओ छन ल्हाव धकं धायाव कापालिकन धालं । भो 9  
 महाराज । थ्व नदीतील समीपस सिंसल्पावृक्षया उत्तर साखास मृतक पुरुष दोलायमान  
 याड चोंगव । मौन याडाव जोड हय माल । थना नाना विधि<sup>6</sup> विचित्र पूजामण्डलस हयकाव  
 छेंजें सिद्धि साधलपे धकं धायाव राजास्यं खड्ग धलरपाव अती अन्धकालस सिंसल्पावृक्षया 12  
 समीपस बिज्याकत्वं ॥

1) MS *yākāta*, restored from MSS BD – 2) MS *rājāyātā* – 3) restored from MSS BD  
 – 4) MS *a.c. dhayāva* – 5) MS *je*, reading of MS B adopted – 6) the other MSS read  
*nānāvidha* “various”

*rājānā kṛṣṇacaturdaśī kunhuyā rātrīs khaḍga jōṇāwo yākātā mewon ma  
 khānakā śmaśānas kāpālikayā samīpas bijyāka. kāpālikan rājā bijyāka  
 khānāwo harṣamānan rājāyā stuti yātā – ‘bho mahārāja, che parama  
 sātṅwika mahābīra cakrabartī. khaḍgasahāya yānan caturdaśīyā  
 bhayaṅkara rātrīs je samīpas śmaśānas bijyāka.’ rājān dhālā – ‘bho  
 kāpālika, chan khā nene dhakā ati rasa tāsē woyā’ dhakā dhāyāwo  
 kṣāntīśīlan dhālā – ‘jen thani mṛtaka siddha sādhalape. che uttara-  
 sādḥaka juye māla. thathē sādhalapān chejē siddhibala lāye’ dhakā  
 dhāyāwo jogīyā bacan nēnāwo rājā bikramakeśarī harṣaromāñcitadeha  
 yānāwo kṣāntīśīlayātā ādeśa bilā – ‘bho kāpālika, chan yeyāguli  
 sādhalapiwo. chan uttarasādḥaka juyāwo jen chu yāye māla wo chan  
 lhāwo’ dhakā dhāyāwo kāpālikan dhālā – ‘bho mahārāja, thwo nadītira  
 samīpas śiṃśapābrkṣayā uttara śākhās mṛtaka purukha dolāyamāna  
 yāna coṅa. mauna yānāwo jōṅa haye māla. thanā nānā bidhi bicitra  
 pūjāmaṅḍalas hayakāwo chejē siddhi sādhalape’ dhakā dhāyāwo rājāsē  
 khaḍga dhalalapāwo ati andhakāras śiṃśapābrkṣayā samīpas bijyākatō.*

## Notes

5 *rasa tāsē woyā* § 157

8 *chan yeyāguli sādhalapiwo* §§ 60,  
87

5. The frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A (cont'd)

- मृतक जोने तानडास्यं मृतक था हालं । थ्व खंडाव हास्य याडाव राजान आदेश बिलं । अरे रे मृतक । छाडान था बेया । जेन सिमं गयाव छ को काय धकं धायाव सिमा गयाव मृतकः
- 3 च्सेस्यं तया खिपोत खङ्गन छेदलपाव को ताड हलं । थ्व मृतकन को तंडाया बेथा त्वहोन हालाव खोयाव ल्हालं । भो पुरुष । जेन छनके छु याडाः । थथिंड एकान्त बनस सिमास चोंडाः । निराऽपराधी जे । थथे को ताड हयाव दुःख नका जे । जे अस्ति आदीन समस्तं
- 6 चूर्ण जुलो {धकं धायाव}१ ॥ थ्व बचन डेडाव राजा सिमान कोहा वयाव जोने तानडास्यं मृतक सिमाचो वनंः ॥ पुनः राजा सिमा२ थं हायाव को ताड हलंः । थम क्हा बिज्यास्तुनं मृतक था हालं । थथे बालं बालं राजान३ दुःख नकलंः ॥ लिथे अती दुःख तायाव मृतक
- 9 को तिंड हयाव ओया सरीरसं राजा जुत वलं । थ्व बेथान खोयाव चोंग { ॥ थ्व बेलस}४ मृतक राजानः बोहोल्स तयाव कापालिकया समीपस वने तेयकलंः ॥

1) this formula is reduntant, and is missing in the other MSS – 2) MS *a.c.* si – 3) restored from MS B – 4) this formula is missing in the other MSS, and is probably a dittography from the following sentence

**mṛtaka jone tānañāsē mṛtaka thā hālā. thwo khañāwo hāsya yañāwo rājān ādeśa bilā – ‘are re mṛtaka, chāñān thā boyā? jena simā gayāwo cha ko kāye’ dhakā dhāyāwo simā gayāwo mṛtaka cesē tayā khipot khaḍgan chedalapāwo ko tāña halā. thwo mṛtakan ko tañyā byathā tohon hālāwo khoyāwo lhālā – ‘bho purukha, jen chanake chu yañā? thathiña ekānta banas simās coñā. niraparādhī je. thathē ko tāña hayāwo duḥkha nakā je. je asthi ādīn samastā cūrṇa julo.’ thwo bacan neñāwo rājā simā kohā woyāwo jone tānañāsē mṛtaka simāco wonā. punaḥ rājā simā thā hayāwo ko tāña halā. thama kohā bijyāstunā mṛtaka thā hālā. thathē bārā bārā rājān duḥkha nakalā. lithē ati duḥkha tāyāwo mṛtaka ko tiña hayāwo woyā śarīrasā rājā juta wolā. thwo byathān khoyāwo coñā mṛtaka rājān bohola tayāwo kāpālikayā samīpas wone teyakalā.**

## Notes

- 1 **jone tānañāsē** §§ 125-126, 142  
 3 **cesē tayā khipot** §§ 91, 153 – **ko tāña halā** § 158; here, **hayē** is clearly not used as an iterative auxiliary – **ko tañyā byathā bohon** “pretending to be hurt from [being thrown down=] the fall”

- 5 **samastā** § 27  
 9 **ko tiña hayāwo** § 158; **tiña** is a further variant of **teña, tāña** – **juta wolā** § 157

6. The frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A (*cont'd*)

थ्व बेलस मृतकया शरीरस चोडः वेतालन राजासके धालं । भो राजन् । जेछे नेम्हं म वं म  
गाक ला । म वा म गातसा<sup>1</sup> डायाम चायकेयातं जेन खं ल्हायः ॥ छेन डेहुनः । थर्थिंड  
प्राण म दो मृतकन छु खं ल्हायुव भालपे म तेवः ॥ जेन समस्त खां सेयाः खङ्गविद्यां सया 3  
धकं (धायाम)<sup>2</sup> बेतालन चित्तस भालपलंः ॥ अहो आश्चर्य्यं । समस्त वीरया सिनं वीर थ्व  
राजा । गर्थिंयव महापुरुष थ्व । सिकन खा ल्हायानं त्रास संखा म दू । थथे भालपाव वेतालनः  
राजासके ल्हालं । जेन ल्हाया खं छेन डे{न}डाव अत्यन्त सुख छे जायलपीव । थ्व खास 6  
स्यस्येनं उत्तर म बिलसा पंच महापातक छेता । अज्ञानं मौन यातसा छे बस्य जे ॥ उत्तर म  
बीव राजायाके कथा त्वहोन मौनभंगयाके भालपाव धालं । भो राजन् । सावधानन डेड  
बिज्याहुन ॥ 9

1) reading of MSS EK adopted; MS A reads *jeche nemhā ma wā ma gāka, wānā ma cāyake., nāyā ma cāyake, yātā jena khā lhāye* – 2) restored from MS B

*thwo belas mṛtakayā śarīras coṅa betālan rājāske dhālā – ‘bho rājan, jeche nemhā ma wō ma gāka lā? ma wā ma gātasā nāyā ma cāyakeyātā jen khā lyāye. chen nehuna.’ ‘thathiṅa prāṇa ma do mṛtakan chu khā lhāyuwo bhālope ma tewo. jen samasta khā seyā, khaḍgabidyā sayā’ dhakā dhāyāwo betālan cittaś bhālapālā – ‘aho āścarya! samasta bīrayā sinā bīra thwo rājā. gathiṅa mahāpurukha thwo! sikan khā lhāyānā trāsa śāṅkā ma du.’ thathē bhālapāwo betālan rājāske lhālā – ‘jen lhāyā khā chen neñāwo atyanta sukha che jāyalapiwo. thwo khās sesenā uttara ma bilasā pañca mahāpātaka chetā. ajñānā mauna yātasā che baśya je.’ – ‘uttara ma biwo rājāyāke kathā tohon mauna bhaṅga yāke’ bhālapāwo dhālā – ‘bho rājan, sābadhānan neṅa bijyāhuna.’*

## Notes

- 1-2 *ma wō ma gāka lā* § 159  
2 *nāyā ma cāyakeyātā* [“for not causing to feel the walk” =] “in order (for us) not to get tired from walking”  
2-3 *thathiṅa ... lhāyuwo* object sentence of *bhālope ma tewo*: [“one should not think: what kind of story

- ... ?” =] “one shouldn’t be surprised”, “why should I be surprised” etc.; *prāṇa ma do mṛtakan* §§ 93, 112; *ma tewo* § 141  
4 *samasta bīrayā sinā bīra* § 71  
5 *lhāyānā* § 102  
6 *sesenā* 132



7. The second story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A (18b–21b)

पुनः राजा विक्रमकेशरीन थ्व वेताल वाड खंडाव पुनरपि राजान सिंसल्पावृक्षस गयाव मृतक बोहोलस तयाव वने तेयकलं: ॥ {पुनर्बाद} बोहोलस चोड मृतकन पुनर्बाद

3 राजायाके ल्हालं ॥ भो राजन् । जेके विश्वास या । जेन ल्हाया खं डेड ॥

जमुनाया तीरसः ब्रह्मस्थान नाम ग्राम दस्यं चोड । थ्व ग्रामस थव २ कर्मस चोड ब्राह्मनपनीस आश्रम दव । थ्व ग्रामस अग्निस्वामी नाम ब्राह्मन बसलपं चोडः ॥ थ्वया पुत्री

6 मन्दावती नाम । {थ्व मन्दावती नामनः ॥} थ्वया रूप जौवन खंडाव जुवा ब्राह्मन स्वम्हंसेन कन्याया बबूयाके धालं ॥ छे पुत्री विवाहा याय बिहुन धकं फोनं ॥ कन्याया बबून धालं । छेस्कल रूपवन्त विद्यावन्त महाकुलसम्भव विवाह यायं जोज्ज खवः । यथे जुस्य हन्नस्यनं जे

9 म्हाव छम्हं दता । छेस्कल श्वम्हं दव । थ्व जेन गथे बिय धालंः ॥ लिथे छम्हास्यन धालं । थ्व कन्या जेता बिडान धालं । मेव नेम्हानं धालंः । हे विप्र । जेपनिस्ता थ्व कन्या म बिलसा छन डूवने जेपनिस्स्यं प्राण तोलतेः । थ्व हत्या छनताः ॥ थथे थ्व स्वम्हंस्यन कयंगल याडाव

12 ब्रह्महत्याया भयन छम्हायातं म बिस्यं तलंः ॥

थ्व बेलस दैवजोगन थ्व कन्या मृत्यु जुलंः ॥ थ्व कन्या अग्निस्संकाल याडान लि छम्हं ब्राह्मनन जटाधारी जुयाव ओया भस्मन थव देह लेपलपाव नाना देश भ्रमलपाव जुलंः ॥

15 मेव ब्राह्मन छम्हं कन्याया अस्ति जोडाव नाना तीर्थ वनं । मेव छम्हं कन्याया भस्म घसाहन सुयाव श्मशानस चोनं ॥

लिथे जताधारी जुवम्हं दक्षिनावर्तनः पृथ्वी भ्रमलपाव जुले नगर छगुलिस वनं । रुद्रशर्मा

18 नाम ब्राह्मनयाके नल वनंः ॥ ब्राह्मनन दजीव खे धकं खंछी विश्राम नी याहुन धकं धालं ॥ थ्व बेलस खोस्यं चोड काय खंडाव क्रोधन अग्निकुण्डस धोक फेलकं छोलं । थ्व खंडाव अभ्यागत जताधारीन धालं ॥ गथिंड अकार्य यातं । चाण्डाल पाय थथिंड ब्राह्मन थ्व ।

21 थतेन नय म यलगोः धायाव वने तेयकलंः । थ्व खंडाव गृहस्थ ब्राह्मनन थव मन्त्रपुठी जोडाव सिद्धमन्त्रन काय म्वाचकलं । थ्व खंडाव पाहान विस्मय चालं । लिथे नय धुनकाव पुथी खुय भालपाव चोनं । धाया थें रात्रीस खुयाव हयाव स्मसानस वनं ॥

24 न्हपाया ब्राह्मनपनी स्वम्हं थे नी मुडाव पुस्तकस चोड मन्त्रया प्रभावन मन्दा{ल}वती म्वाचकलंः ॥ थ्व म्वाडाव स्वम्हासेन ओनं जे २ धकं धायाव थथे ल्वातं ॥ छम्हान धालं । सुयानं म खु, जे थुका । गथेन धालसा । जे मन्त्रबलन थुका म्वातं धकं ॥ मेवम्हानं धालं ।

27 जेन भस्म लक्षा म यातसा छन गथे म्वाचके । थ्वतेया अर्थन जे जुला ॥ मेवम्हानं धालं ।

छनं म खु, ओयां म खु । जे थुकाः । गथेन <धा>लसा । नाना तीर्थस ओया अस्ति खेपलपान थुका म्वातं । थ्वतेया निमिर्त्तिन जे जुला धालं ॥ थथ्ये सोम्हा कचालन ल्वाडाव ओया पुरुख व्यक्त म दू ॥

30

॥ थ्वगुली खं<स><sup>2</sup> वेतालन राजायाके ल्हालं । हे राजन् । थ्व कन्याया पुरुष स्वम्हंस गोम्हा धकं । छिन कंने माल धकं धायाव राजान आदेश बिलं । प्राण बिवम्हं थ्वया पुरुष म खू । बबु थुका धकं ॥ तीर्थस अस्ति षेपलपुम्हंयातं पुत्रकार्य याकन थ्व पुत्र जुलंः ॥ भस्म लक्षलपं चोडम्हंया स्त्री जुलं धकं धालंः ॥ थथे धास्तुनं थ्व वेताल राजाया<sup>3</sup> बोहोल तोलताव सिंसल्पावृक्षया चोस चोन वनं ॥

33

1) The MS reads *sālasā* – 2) restored from MSS BE – 3) MS A reads *rājāya*, restored from MSS BDE

**punaḥ rājā bikramakeśarīn thwo betāla wāna khañāwo punarapī rājān siṃsapābr̥kṣas gayāwo, mṛtaka boholas tayāwo wone teyakalā. boholas coṇa mṛtakan punarbāra rājāyāke lhālā – ‘bho rājan, jeke biśwāsa yā. jen lhāyā khā ñeṇa.**

jamunāyā tīras brahmasthāna nām grāma dasē coṇa. thwo grāmas thawo thawo karmas coṇa brāhmaṇapanis āsrama dawo. thwo grāmas agni-swāmī nām brāhmaṇa basalapā coṇa. thwoyā putrī mandābatī nām. thwoyā rūpa-jaubana khañāwo jubā brāhmaṇa somhāsen kanyāyā babuyāke dhālā – “che putrī bibāhā yāye bihuna” dhakā phonā. kanyāyā babun dhālā – “chekala rūpabanta bidyābanta mahākulasambhaba, bibāhā yāye yogya khawo. yethē jusē hanasenā je mhyāc chamhā datā. cheskala somhā dawo. thwo jen gathē biye?” dhālā. lithē chamhāsen dhālā – “thwo kanyā jetā biñāna” dhālā. mewo nemhānā dhālā – “he bipra, jeganistā thwo kanyā ma bilasā chan ṇhawone jeganisē prāṇa tolate. thwo hatyā chanatā.” thathē thwo somhāsen kayāgal yāñāwo brahmahathyāyā bhayan chamhāyātā ma bisē talā.

thwo belas daibajogan thwo kanyā mṛtyu julā. thwo kanyā agnisamskāra yāñān li chamhā brāhmaṇan jaṭādhārī juyāwo woyā bhasman thawo deha lepalapāwo nānā deśa bhramalapāwo julā. mewo brāhmaṇa chamhān kanyāyā asti jonāwo nānā tīrtha wonā. mewo chamhān kanyāyā bhasma ghasāhan suyāwo śmasānas coṇa.

lithē jaṭādhārī juwomhān dakṣiṇābarttan pṛthwī bhramalapāwo jule nagara chagulis wonā. rudrasārmā nām brāhmaṇayāke nala wonā. brāhmaṇan “dajiwo khe” dhakā “khāchi biśrāma ni yāhuna” dhakā dhālā. thwo belas khosē coṇa kāya khāñāwo krodhan agnikuṇḍas dhok phelakā cholā. thwo khañāwo abhyāgata jaṭādhārīn dhālā – “gathiṇa

akārya yātā. cāṇḍāla pāya thathiña brāhmaṇa thwo. thaten naye ma yelago” dhāyāwo wone teyakalā. thwo khañāwo gṛhastha brāhmaṇan thawo mantraputhi joñāwo siddhamantran kāya mwācakalā. thwo khañāwo pāhān bismaya cālā. lithē naye dhunakāwo puthi khuye bhālapāwo conā. dhāyā thē rātrīs khuyāwo hayāwo śmaśānas wonā.

nhapāyā brāhmaṇapani somhā the ni muñāwo pustakas coña mantrayā prabhāban mandābatī mwācakalā. thwo mwāñāwo somhāsenā “wonā je, wonā je” dhakā dhāyāwo thethe lwātā. chamhān dhālā – “suyānā ma khu, je thukā. gathen dhālasā – je mantrabalan thukā mwātā” dhakā. mewomhānā dhālā – “jen bhasma rakṣā ma yātasā chan gathē mwācake? thwoteyā arthan je julā.” mewomhānā dhālā – “chanā ma khu, woyā ma khu. je thukā. gathen dhālasā – nānā tīrthas woyā asti khepalapān thukā mwātā. thwoteyā nimittin je julā” dhālā. thathē somhā kacālan lwāñāwo woyā purukha bekta ma du.’

thwogulī khās betālan rājāyāke lhālā – ‘he rājan, thwo kanyāyā purukha somhās gomhā dhakā chin kane māla’ dhakā dhāyāwo rājān ādeśa bilā – ‘prāṇa biwomhā thwoyā purukha ma khu. babu thukā dhakā. tīrthas asti khepalapumhāyātā putrakārya yākan thwo putra julā. bhasma rakṣa-lapā coñamhāyā thwo strī julā’ dhakā dhālā. thathē dhāstunā thwo betāla rājāyā bohola tolatāwo sisapārḥṣayā cos cona wonā.

## Notes

- 1 **thwo betāla wāna khañāwo:** in CN, object sentences are not subordinated by means of a conjunction, but are simply placed before the *verbum sentiendi* without intervening **dhakā**
- 7 **bibāhā yāye bihuna** § 145
- 8 **yogya:** the spelling ⟨jñ⟩ for /gy/ is not uncommon in Newari MSS, reflecting the pronunciation of ⟨jñ⟩ that is still current today – **datā** PERF.PST (Bhp. var.)
- 10 **biñāna** § 67
- 11 **thwo hathyā chanatā:** [“this killing (is) for you” =] [“this killing will be on your head”]
- 12 **ma bisē talā** § 153
- 13-14 **chamhā brāhmaṇan jaṭādhārī juyāwo:** although **juye** is intransitive, the act of becoming an ascetic is volitional; hence, **brāhmaṇa-n** is marked for ERG
- 16 **ghasāhan suyāwo:** a *hapax legomenon* of unclear derivation, but probably related to **ghayasuye** “to collect”; translate “collected ..., and”
- 17 **bhramalapāwo jule** §§, 123-124, 152
- 19 **thwo belas ... cholā:** subject of this sentence is the host, Rudraśarman; in other MSS, it is the child’s mother – **dhok phelakā cholā:** **choye** here seems to be used as an (otherwise not attested) resultative auxiliary, and can be left untranslated
- 21 **naye ma yelago** § 99
- 25 **wonā je:** here, **-nā** functions as a topicaliser: “as far as she is concerned, (she is) mine”; see JØRGENSEN (1941) § 202
- 26 **suyānā ma khu** § 121
- 28 **chanā ma khu, oyā ma khu** § 74
- 32-34 **prāṇa biwomhā, khepalapumhāyātā, rakṣalapā coñamhāyā** §§ 87, 98

8. The fourth story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS E (21b–25b)

पुनः राजान मृतक जोंडाव वय तेयकरं । पुनर्व्वार मृतकन राजायाके ल्हालं । भो राजन् । अवधानन डेहुने । जेन खं ल्हाय ।

थ्व पृथ्वीमण्डलस सकल राजलक्षण संयुक्त श्रीवन्त सूद्रक धाया नाम राजा दस्यं चोंड । 3  
थ्व राजा छन्हुया दिनस मन्त्री सहितन सभा दयकं चोले राजद्वारस वीलवल नाम राजपुत्र  
राजपुत्री सहितन थेनं । थ्वस थेंडाव द्वारियाके ल्हालं । भो द्वारिक । थ्व राजाया अनेक गुण  
डेडाव थ्व राजा सेवरपे धकं दक्षिणदेशन जेपनि वया । राजायाके इनाप याडाव जे बोंड 6  
यंडा धकं धायाव द्वारीकन राजायाके गोचर याडाव बोंड यडा वीलवलन राजा सेवा धायाव  
यिनाप यातं । हे देव । जे राजपुत्र जीवनी अर्थी<sup>1</sup> । छलपोलया गुण खं डेडाव दक्षिणदेशन  
वया । छलपोलस्यन जे पोसलपे माल । थ्व वेलस राजान द्वारिकया ख्वाल सोस्यं चोनं । 9  
द्वारिकन राजाया अभिप्राय सेयाव वीरवलयाके धारं । हे वीरवल । छे पोसरपेयातं छु छु  
माल । धाहुने धायाव वीरवलन धारं । हे द्वारिक । दिनप्रतिं सुवर्णं प्ल १२५ थ्वले धारे  
जेपनिस्त बिय माल । द्वारीकन मन्त्रीपनिस्के धारं । थथ्यं डेंडाव राजास्यं धारं । छन राजा 12  
सेवरपेयातं छु छु सामग्री दव । कटकाय गुल्ट दव । छाय धारसा न्हिन थुलि गथे तुचके ।  
थथ्यं डेंडाव वीरवलन ल्हारं । हे राजन् । जे मेवता सामग्री म दु । खङ्ग छपु<sup>2</sup> लाहात नेपावो  
थ्वते दव । थ्व डेंडाव मन्त्रीपनिस्स्यं धारं । थ्वलेततिन सुनान बियिव । बेगतन धाव । थ्व 15  
डेंडाव वीरवरन धारं । जे राजपुत्र । पुनर्व्वार ल्हाय म सया । छलपोलया प्रताप वृद्धि जुय  
माल । जे मेले वाने । थ्व अनन्त पृथ्वीस जे पोसरपे फव छम्हं म दयिव रा । थथ्यं धायाव  
राजा सेवा धायाव वने तेयकरं । 18

द्वारतों थेंड वेलस राजान मन्त्रीयाके धारं । हे मन्त्री । थ्व वीरवल बोडाव जीवनि बियाव  
ति । थथ्यं म तरसा छेजेस अकीर्त्ति जुयुव<sup>3</sup> । थथ्यं धायाव वीरवर बोंडाव जीवनि बियाव  
तरं । वीरवरनं जीवनि सुवर्णं प्ल १२५ थ्व कायाव थव वास वंडाव देवयातं ब्राह्मणयातं 21  
भिक्षकयातं बिया नलेंकोन<sup>4</sup> थम<sup>5</sup> खरच याडाव छुनं म लेनकं खङ्ग जोडाव चान न्हिनं  
राजद्वारस चोन वानं ।

1) MS *jepani arthī*, restored from MS B (MS A reads *jīvanīrarthī*) – 2) MS *khaḍga chapuvo*, restored from MS A – 3) MS *juyāva*, restored from MS A – 4) MS *nalēko*, reading of MS A adopted – 5) MS *thava*, reading of MS A adopted

**punaḥ rājān mṛtaka joṇāwo woye teyakalā. punarbāra mṛtakan rājāyāke lhālā – ‘bho rājan, abadhānan nēhune, jen khā lhāye.**

thwo pṛthwīmaṇḍalas sakal rājālakṣaṇa saṃyukta śrībanta śūdraka dhāyā nām rājā dasē coṇa. thwo rājā chanhuyā dinas mantrī sahitan sabhā dayakā cole rājadwāras bīrabala nām rājaputra rājaputrī sahitan thenā. thwos theñāwo dwāriyāke lhāla – “bho dwārika, thwo rājāyā anek guṇa nēñāwo thwo rājā sebalape dhakā dakṣiṇadeśan jepani woyā.” – “rājāyāke ināpa yāñāwo je boṇa yeñā” dhakā dhāyāwo dwārikan rājāyāke gocara yāñāwo boṇa yeñā bīrabalan rājā sebā dhāyāwo ināpa yātā – “he deb, je rājaputra jībanī arthī. chalpolayā guṇa khā nēñāwo dakṣiṇadeśan woyā. chalpolasen je posalape māla.” thwo belas rājān dwārikayā khwāl sosē conā. dwārikan rājāyā abhiprāya seyāwo bīrabalayāke dhālā – “he bīrabala, che posalapeyātā chu chu māla? dhāhune” dhāyāwo bīrabalan dhālā – “he dwārika, dinapratī subarṇa pala 125 thwole dhāle jepanista biye māla.” dwārikan mantrīpaniske dhālā. thathē nēñāwo rājāsē dhālā – “chan rājā sebalapeyātā chu chu sāmagrī dawo? katakāya guli dawo? chāya dhālasā nhin thuli gathe tucake?” thathē nēñāwo bīrabalan lhālā – “he rājan, je mewotā sāmagrī ma du. khaḍga chapu lāhāt nepāwo – thwote dawo.” thwo nēñāwo mantrīpanisē dhālā – “thwoletatin sunān biyiwo? bektan dhāwo!” thwo nēñāwo bīrabalan dhālā – “je rājaputra. punarbāra lhāye ma sayā. chalpolayā pratāpa bṛddhi juye māla. je mele wāne. thwo ananta pṛthwis je posalape phawo chamhā ma dayiwo lā?” thathē dhāyāwo rājā sebā dhāyāwo wone teyakalā.

dwāratō theña belas rājān mantrīyāke dhālā – “he mantrī, thwo bīrabala boñāwo jībani biyāwo ti. thathē ma talasā chejes akīrti juyūwo.” thathē dhāyāwo bīrabala boñāwo jībanī biyāwo talā. bīrabalanā jībanī suvarṇa pala 125 thwo kāyāwo thawo bāsa woñāwo debayātā brāhmaṇayātā bhikṣakayātā biyā nalekon thama kharac yāñāwo chunā ma lenakā khaḍga joṇāwo cān nhinā rājadwāras cona wānā.

#### Notes

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 7  | <b>boṇa yeñā:</b> attribute to <b>bīrabalan;</b> should be left untranslated  | interpreted along the lines of “what I mean is this:”  |
| 13 | <b>guli:</b> in Newari MSS, the sequences /li/ and /le/ are occasionally spelt ⟨ḷ⟩ – <b>chāya dhālasā</b> [“if one says why” =] “because” is perhaps best | 14 <b>mewotā, chapu, nepāwo</b> §§ 41, 88<br>19-20 <b>biyāwo ti</b> §§ 65, 153                               |
|    |   | 22 ... <b>biyā nalekon thama kharac yāñāwo</b> “after he had himself spent (money) on the food given to ...” |

9. The fourth story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS E (cont'd)

लिथ्यं रात्रिस राजसेवीपनि सेवा धायाव थव थव छे वानं । वीरवरनं राजाया आज्ञान थव  
 वास वनं । लिथ्यं राज सुद्रकन सुरतसंभोग याडाव अती परिश्रम जुयाव शीतल वायु सेवरपे  
 धकं प्रासाद थं हारं । थें थं हायाव अर्द्धरात्रिस दक्षिणदिशास स्त्री छम्हं विलाप याडा सर 3  
 तायाव राजान धारं । थना सु दव धायाव देपाल कटकन धारं । थथिंड अन्धकारस रात्रिस  
 मेव सुनं म दु । खङ्ग जोंडाव चोंड वीरवल छम्हं दव धकं धायाव वीरवल बोड हि धकं  
 धायाव बोड हरं । राजान आदेश बिरं । हे वीरवल । दक्षिणदिशास अती कलुणा विलाप 6  
 सर ताय दव । छन थ्व डेंडाव वा । राजाया आज्ञान सिरस तयाव वाने तेयकरं । राजानं  
 मनन भारपरं । थ्व गना वानिव खस । जे नं थ्वया लिव लिव सोर वने धकं । राजा तों  
 वानं । 9

बत्तिस लक्षण संयुक्त यौवन स्त्री छम्हं खोस्यं चोड खंडाव ओया समीपस वीरवलन धारं ।  
 हे स्त्री । छ छु निमित्तिन<sup>2</sup> खोया । दुःखया छु हेतु<sup>3</sup> । छ सुया स्त्री धकं धारं । छन मनोरथ  
 जेन सिद्धयके । छ छु यलं ल्हाव । स्त्रीन धारं । सुद्रक राजायाके राजलक्ष्मी ता काल सुखन 12  
 चोडा । थनि नासास्तुनं राजा मोयिवो नो । थ्वया निमित्तिन आव जे गना वाने धकं खोया ।  
 थ्वया खं डेंडाव वीरवलन धारं । हे भगवती । छेन राजा मोयिव सेवम्हं थ्वया उपाय दव  
 ला<sup>4</sup> छेन सेय फव खे । राजलक्ष्मीन धारं । थ्वया उपकार जेन सेया खे । येथेनं सेरसनों थ्व 15  
 लक्षा याय फवम्हं पुरुष त्रैलोक्यसं म दु । थ्व डेंडाव वीरवलन धारं । यथेनं धाहुने । अथिंड  
 पुरुष दयके जियिव । राजलक्ष्मीन धारं । हे वीरवल । डेड । थथिंड पुरुष माल । थमं  
 राजपुत्र । ओया स्त्री राजपुत्री । थव पुत्र मामन तुतिस जोंडाव<sup>5</sup> बबुन चसं जोंडाव भगवतीया 18  
 अग्रस बबुन खङ्गन शिर छेदरपाव बिरसा सुद्रक राजा म्वायिव । थ्व दाकों सूर्य उदय म  
 जुबलं माल । थ्व डेंडाव वीरवलन ल्हालं । भो देवी । छे वाञ्छा जेन याय मखा । थथ्यं  
 धायाव थव वासनं देवी अन्तर्द्धानं जुरं । राजा तों ओन म खंनकाव लिव लिव वानं । 21

1) MS *add. thava* – 2) MS *nirtina* – 3) sentence restored from MS A; MS E reads *chu hena* 4) MS *chan rājā moyiva seyāmhā thvayā upakāra seva lā. chen dhāyā khava*, restored from MSS AD – 5) MS *jōniva*, restored from MSS AD

**lithē rātris rājasebīpani sebā dhāyāwo thawo thawo che wānā. bīrabalanā rājāyā ājñān thawo bāsa wonā. lithē rājā śūdrakan suratasambhoga yānāwo ati pariśrama juyāwo śītala bāyu sebalape dhakā prāsāda thā hālā. thathē thā hāyāwo ardharātris dakṣiṇadīśās strī chamhān bilāpa yānā sal tāyāwo rājān dhālā – “thanā su dawo?” dhāyāwo depāl katakan dhālā – “thathiṇa andhakāras rātris mewo sunā ma du. khaḍga jōnāwo**

coṅa bīrabala chamhā dawo” dhakā dhāyāwo “bīrabala boṅa hi” dhakā dhāyāwo boṅa halā. rājān ādeśa bilā – “he bīrabala, dakṣiṇadiśās ati karuṇā bilāpa sal tāye dawo. chan thwo ṅeṅāwo wā.” rājāyā ājñān siras tayāwo wāne teyakalā. rājānā manan bhālapalā – “thwo ganā wāniwo khas? je nā thwoyā liwo liwo sola wone” dhakā rājā tō wānā.

battīs lakṣaṇa saṃyukta yaubana strī chamhā khosē coṅa khañāwo woyā samīpas bīrabalan dhālā – “he strī, cha chu nimittin khoṃyā? duḥkhaṃyā chu hetu? cha suṃyā strī?” dhaka dhālā. “chan manoratha jen siddhayake. cha chu yelā lhāwo.” strīn dhālā – “sūdraka rājāyāke rājalakṣmī tā kāl sukhan coṅa. thani nāsāstunā rājā moyiwo no. thwoyā nimittin āwo je ganā wāne dhakā khoṃyā.” thwoyā khā ṅeṅāwo bīrabalan dhālā – “he bhagabatī, chen rājā moyiwo sewomhā thwoyā upāya dawo lā chen seye phawo khe.” rājalakṣmīn dhālā – “thwoyā upakāra jen seyā khe. yethenā selasanō thwo rakṣā yāye phawomhā purukha trailokyasā ma du.” thwo ṅeṅāwo bīrabalan dhālā – “yethenā dhāhune. athiṅa purukha dayake jiyiwo.” rājalakṣmīn dhālā – “he bīrabala, ṅeṅa. thathiṅa purukha māla. thamā rājaputra. woyā strī rājaputrī. thawo putra māman tutis joṅāwo babun casā joṅāwo bhagabatīyā agras babun khaḍgan sir chedalapāwo bilasā sūdraka rājā mwāyiwo. thwo dākō sūrya udaya ma jubalā māla.” thwo ṅeṅāwo bīrabalan lhālā – “bho debī, che bāñchā jen yāye makhā.” thathē dhāyāwo thawo bāsanā debī antardhāna julā. rājā tō won ma khañakāwo liwo liwo wānā.

#### Notes

- 4 **depāl katakaṅ**: although **depāl** (MN **dyapā**.) is lexicalised as “temple guardian”, it should be translated in this context as “bodyguard”
- 8 **nā**: see note on reading passage 7, line 24 – **liwo liwo**: the reduplication conveys the idea of “close behind”, **liwo liwo wone** “to follow s.o. closely”
- 13 **nāsāstunā** seems to be contraction of **nasanestunā** (**nasane** “to dawn”); other MSS have **prabhāta justunā** “as soon as day breaks”
- 14-15 **chen ... phawo khe**: The syntax of this sentence is remarkable; **rājā moyiwo sewomhā** is an attribute to **chen**, and should normally precede, rather than follow it. **thwoyā upāya dawo lā** is best interpreted as an object sentence of the following **seye phawo kha** “you might surely know if there is ...” .

10. The fourth story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS E (cont'd)

वीरवलन सरताव स्त्रीया पुत्रया अग्रस येया वृत्तान्तर खं कानं<sup>1</sup>। पुनः वीरवलन ल्हालं।  
 झेझे राजपुत्र। थथिड कुलीन थ्व राजाया थ्वलतती<sup>2</sup> वस्तु नयाव चोडा। थ्व राजा म्वाचके  
 म फतसा जेपनिथिंड सेवक चोडाया छु प्रयोजन। थ्व खं डेंडाव ओया पुत्रन धारं। भो 3  
 पितः। थ्वतेन भगवतीयातं जे बिडान<sup>3</sup>। थथ्यं डेंडाव म्हाचन धार। जन्मान्तरस पाप याडा  
 फलन जे मिसा जन्म जुर वया<sup>4</sup>। जे पुरुख जुरसा थ्व जस लाय दव। थथ्यं धायाव परिवार  
 सहितन भगवतीसके वानं। 6

भगवतीया अग्रस वीरवरन धारं। हे देवी। थ्व पुत्र छेतं काहुने। राजसुद्रक रक्षा याय माल।  
 थथ्यं धायाव मामन तुति जोडाव बबुन चसं जोंडाव खङ्गन सिर छेदलपाव बिरं। लिथें  
 वीरवरं ओया स्त्रीं पुत्रीं [थ्व स्वम्हासेनं]<sup>5</sup> थव थव शिर छेदरपाव बिरं। थ्व समस्तं राजान 9  
 खंडाव अती करुणा चायाव वीरवलया स्वामीसेवा खंडाव मनन भारपरं। गथिंड पुरुख  
 थ्व। जे प्राणया निमित्तिन भोछिसं प्राणा मोचकव<sup>6</sup>। थ्वतेन जेन ईश्वरीयातं थव शरीर बिय  
 धकं खङ्ग जोंडाव थव शिर छेदरपे तेयकरं। लिथ्यं महा हास्य याडाव भगवतीन आदेश 12  
 बिरं। हे राजन्। जे संतुष्ट जुरगो। छन अथ्यं संने म तेरे। छन वर फोड धायाव राजान  
 आदेश बिरं। जेतं मेवता<sup>7</sup> वल म यव। थ्वपनि भोछिं म्वाचकं प्रसन्न जुय माल धकं धायाव  
 भगवतीन धारं। हे राजा। जेन म्वाचकं ह्य। छ थव वास वनि धकं धायाव राजा थव 15  
 वास वनं। वीरवल भोछिं म्वाडाव थव वास वनं।

लिथें वीरवल राजद्वारस वयाव धारं। हे देव। मिसा छम्हं खोस्यं चोडया खं। जे खंडाव  
 बेस्यं वनं। राजान धालं। आमो जेन सेरगो। थव गृह वंडाव विश्राम याव। लिथ्यं संतिकुन्हु 18  
 राजाद्वारस वीरवल वरं। ओ खंडाव [राजान] रात्रिया समस्त वृत्तान्तर खं मंत्रिपनिसके  
 ल्हालं। ओपनिस्यं डेडाव अती कौतुक चालं। लिथ्यं राजान वीरवरयातं अनेक हस्ती अश्व  
 ग्राम भण्डार आदिन समस्तं बियाव दक्षिणदिशास राजा याड तरं। 21

थ्व खंस वेतालन राजायाके सेयकरं। सूद्रक राजाओ वीरवलओ ग्वम्हं वीर। थथ्यं धाया  
 डेडाव राजान आदेश बिरं। हे वेताल। डेंड। राजा तव वीर। छान धारसा। गनानं सेवकन  
 स्वामिसेवास प्राण लडतयिव। राजान थथिंड सुख राज्य छादरपाव सेवकया निमित्तिन थव 24  
 प्राण तों तोरते तेयकव। थ्वतेन राजा तव वीर। थथ्यं धास्तुनं वेताल थव थास चोन वानं।



1) MS *kānā*, reading of MS A adopted – 2) MS *thvalo dato*, reading of MS A adopted – 3) MS *biyāva*, restored from MSS AD – 4) MS *vava*, reading of MSS AD adopted – 5) MS *om.*, restored from MS A – 6) MS *tolava*, reading of MS A adopted – 7) MS *mētā*, reading of MS A adopted

**bīrabalan salatāwo strīyā putrayā agras yeyā bṛttāntar khā kānā. punaḥ bīrabalan lhālā – “jhejhe rājaputra. thathiṇa kulīna thwo rājāyā thwole-tati bastu nayāwo coṇā. thwo rājā mwācake ma phatasā jeganithiṇa sebaka coṇāyā chu prayojana?” thwo khā ṇeṇāwo woyā putran dhālā – “bho pitā, thwoten bhagabatīyātā je biyāna!” thathē ṇeṇāwo mhyācan dhāla – “janmāntaras pāpa yāṇā phalan je misā janma jula woyā. je purukha julasā thwo jasa lāye dawo.” thathē dhāyāwo paribāra sahitan bhagabatīske wānā.**

**bhagabatīyā agras bīrabalan dhālā – “he debī, thwo putra chetā kāhune. rāja sūdraka rakṣā yāye māla.” thathē dhāyāwo māman tuti joṇāwo babun casā joṇāwo khaḍgan sir chedalapāwo bilā. lithē bīrabalā oyā strī putrī [thwo somhāsenā] thawo thawo sir chedalapāwo bilā. thwo samastā rājān khaṇāwo ati karuṇā cāyāwo bīrabalayā swāmisebā khaṇāwo manan bhālapalā – “gathiṇa purukha thwo. je prāṇayā nimittin bhochisā prāṇā mocakawo. thwoten jenā īswariyātā thawo śarīra biye” dhakā khaḍga joṇāwo thawo sir chedalape teyakalā. lithē mahā hāsya yāṇāwo bhagabatīn ādeśa bilā – “he rājān, je santuṣṭa julago. chan athē sane ma tele. chan bara phoṇa” dhāyāwo rājān ādeśa bilā – “jetā mewotā bara ma yewo. thwopani bhochī mwācakā prasanna juye māla” dhakā dhāyāwo bhagabatīn dhālā – he rājā, jen mwācakā haye. cha thawo bāsa woni” dhakā dhāyāwo rājā thawo bāsa wonā. bīrabala bhochī mwāṇāwo thawo bāsa wonā.**

**lithē bīrabala rājādwāras woyāwo dhālā – “he deb, misā chamhā khosē coṇayā khā. je khaṇāwo besē wonā.” rājān dhālā – “āmo jen selago. thawo gṛha woṇāwo bīsrāma yāwo.” lithē sātikunhu rājādwāras bīrabala wolā. wo khaṇāwo rājān rātriyā samasta bṛttāntar khā mantripaniske lhālā. wopanisē ṇeṇāwo ati kautuka cālā. lithē rājān bīrabalayātā anek hastī aśwa grāma bhaṇḍāra ādin samastā biyāwo dakṣiṇadiśās rājā yāṇa talā.’**

**thwo khās betālan rājāyāke seyakalā – ‘sūdraka rājāwo bīrabalawo gomhā bīra?’ thathē dhāyā ṇeṇāwo rājān ādeśa bilā – ‘he betāla, ṇeṇa. rājā tawo bīra. chān dhālasā – ganānā sebakān swāmisebās prāṇa tolatayiwo. rājān thathiṇa sukha rājya chādalapāwo sebakayā nimittin thawo prāṇa tō tolate teyakawo. thwoten rājā tawo bīra. thathē dhāstunā betāla thawo thās cona wānā.**

## Notes

- 2 **thathiṇa kulīna thwo rājāyā:** the order of determiner and adjective within the NP is usually inverted if the adjective is accompanied by an adverb
- 5 **janma jula woyā** § 157
- 15 **woni** § 66
- 22 **rājāwo bīrabalawo gomhā bīra:** “between the king and Vīrabala, which one is (more) heroic?”
- 23 **tawo** § 71 note

11. The eleventh story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS E (38b–39b)

पुनरपि राजान मृतक हरडास्यं वेतालन धारं । भो राजन् । अपसन्न जुय म टेरे । जेन खं कंने । डेड । कांचनपुर नाम नगरस धर्मध्वज नाम राजा दस्यं चोड । थ्व राजाया परम रूपयौवन संयुक्त स्वम्हं राणी दव । इन्दुलेखा तारावती मृगाङ्कवती थ्व स्वम्हं नाम । 3

छन्हुया क्षणस उज्जानमण्डपस इन्दुलेखाओ सुरतसुख याड बिज्यातं । लिथ्यं राजान क्रीडलपा बेलस शिरस चोड पद्मपुष्पया पत्र को टंडाव शरीरस जुतं । थ्व जुडा वेगन अती मुर्छा जुयाव चोनं । थ्व बेलस राजानं वैद्य आदिन बोंडाव सीतोपचाल याडाव तव संदेहन 6 म्वाचकं तरं । लिथ्य थव पलिजनन लिचकाव राज्यगृह यंडाव निदान याचकरं ।

थ्वन लि! छन्हुया क्षणस स्फतिकप्रासादस तारावतीओ क्रीडा याडा बेलस चंद्रमाया तोयुव्-बेलान [*sic!*] तारावतीया म्हंस खयाव तोयुव्बेलान खको शरीरस<sup>2</sup> यल यल गातं । राजान 9 कौतुक चायाव वैद्य बोनकाव उपचाल यातं ।

लिथ्यं छन्हुया क्षणस मृगांकवतीओ शृङ्गारकथा याडा बेलस दूरस बजिल्हुया सब्द तायाव मृगाङ्कवतीया लाहातस यल २ गातं । थथ्यं जुव खंडाव राजा विस्मय चारं । 12

थ्व खंस वेतालन राजायाके सेयकरं । भो महाराजा । थ्व स्वम्हंस सुया कोमल शरीर । थ्व डेडाव राजान धारं । भो वेताल । डेड । ग्वनषुम्हं बजिल्हुयाया सरण हस्तस यल २ गातं ओम्हं कोमलाङ्गी धाय । गथेन धारसा । ओपनि निम्हंस शरीरओ संबन्ध दव । थ्वया शरीरओ 15 संबन्ध म दु । सर ताया मात्रन थ्वतेन थ्वया अती कोमल शरीर जुं । थथ्यं धास्तुनं वेताल थव थायस वंनं ॥

1) MS *a.c.* lithyā – 2) MS śarīrayā

punarapi rājān mṛṭaka halañāsē betālan dhālā – ‘bho rājān, aprasanna juye ma tele. jen khā kane, ñēna! kāñcanapura nām nagaras dharmadhwaḥa nām rājā dasē coṅa. thwo rājāyā parama rūpayaubana saṃyukta somhā rāñī dawo. indulekhā tārābatī mṛgāñkabatī, thwo somhā nām.

chanhuyā kṣaṇas ujhānamaṇḍapas indulekhāwo suratasukha yāna bijyātā. lithē rājān krīḍalapaḥa belas siras coṅa padmapuṣṭpayā patra ko tañāwo śarīras jutā. thwo juñā began ati mūrchā juyāwo conā. thwo belas rājānā baidya ādin boñāwo śītopacāra yāñāwo tawo sandehan mwācakā talā. lithē thawo pariḥanan licakāwo rājyagrha yeñāwo nidāna yācakalā.

thwonā li chanhuyā kṣaṇas sphaṭikaprāsādas tārābatīwo krīḍā yāñā belas candramāyā toyubelān tārābatīyā mhās khayāwo toyubelān khako śarīras yela yela gātā. rājān kautuka cāyāwo baidya bonakāwo upacāra yātā.

lithē chanhuyā kṣaṇas mṛgāñkabatīwo śṛṅgārakathā yāñā belas dūras bajilhuyā śabda tāyāwo mṛgāñkabatīyā lāhātas yela yela gātā. thathē juwo khañāwo rājā bismaya cālā.’

thwo khās betālan rājāyāke seyakalā – ‘bho mahārājā, thwo somhās suyā komala śarīra?’ thwo ñēñāwo rājān dhālā – ‘bho betāla, ñēna. gonakhumhā bajilhuyāyā salan hastas yela yela gātā, womhā komalāṅgī dhāye. gathen dhālasā – wopani nimhās śarīrawo sambandha dawo. thwoyā śarīrawo sambandha ma du. sal tāyā mātran, thwoten thwoyā ati komala śarīra julā.’ thathē dhāstunā betāla thawo thāyas wonā.

## 12. The closing of the frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS B (105a–108b)

- वेतालन धारं । हे विक्रमादित्य राजा छ । जे अती संतुष्ट जुरगो । थ्वतेन थ्व कापालिक बलि बियाव छन सिद्धि साधरपिन । हनो<sup>1</sup> जेन छता उपदेश बिय । डेड । जे मस्तकस मतं<sup>2</sup>
- 3 च्यायुव । मण्डलपूजा याडाव दण्डप्रणाम याव धकं छ कापालिकन हायुव । छन भोक पूरडास्यं छन शिर छेदरपाव ओन सिद्धि लायुव । थ्वतेन छन दण्डप्रणाम याव धकं हातडास्यं छन थथें धाव । जे राजा । सूयाकेनं भोक म फोया । जे म सया । छन नि याव ।
- 6 छन याडा सोयाव जेन याय मखा धकं धा{या}व । लिथें ओन भोक पूरडास्यं छन ओया मस्तक छेदरपाव ताल वेताल सिद्धि काव । थथें धायाव वेतालन मृतक म्हं तोडताव वनं ।

- लिथें राजान सिक जोंडाव कापालिकयाके वनं । कापालिकन अनेक प्रकारण मण्डरपूजा
- 9 याडाव राजायाके धारं । हे राजन् । थ्व मण्डरस दण्डप्रणाम याव । थ्व डेडाव राजान धारं ।

भो कापालिक । जे म सया । छन नि याडाव केंडान । थ्व वचन डेडाव कापालिकन दण्डप्रणाम यातडास्यं राजान ओया शिर छेदरपाव देवयातं बलि बिरं । थ्व बेलस आकाशन पुष्पवृष्टि जुरं । देव दुंदुभिवाद्यादिन जुरं । थ्व बेरस ताल वेताल वयाव धारं । भो राजन् । 12 छे वशश जेपनि निर्हं जुरगो । थर्थे सिद्धि लाडाव महा आनन्दन विक्रमादित्य राजा थव राज्य बिज्याडाव समस्त पृथ्वीया राजां जयरपाव सुःखन बिज्याकटों जुरों ॥

1) MS *honā* – 2) MS *metā*, corrected from MS A – 3) MS *debana*, corrected from MS A

**betālan dhālā** – ‘he bikramāditya rājā cha, je ati santuṣṭa julago. thwoten thwo kāpālīka bali biyāwo chan siddhi sādhalapina. hanō jen chatā upadeśa biye, nēna. je mastakas matā cyāyuwo. maṇḍalapūjā yānāwo “daṇḍapraṇāma yāwo” dhakā cha kāpālīkan hāyuwo. chan bhok pulañāsē chan sir chedalapāwo won siddhi lāyuwo. thwoten “chan daṇḍapraṇāma yāwo” dhakā hātañāsē chan thathē dhāwo – “je rājā, suyākenā bhok ma poyā. je ma sayā. chan ni yāwo. chan yānā soyāwo jen yāye makhā” dhakā dhāwo. lithē won bhok pulañāsē chan woyā mastaka chedalapāwo tāla-betālasiddhi kāwo.” thathē dhāyāwo betālan mṛtaka mhā tolatāwo wonā.

**lithē rājān sika jōnāwo kāpālīkayāke wonā. kāpālīkan anek prakāran maṇḍalapūjā yānāwo rājāyāke dhālā** – “he rājān, thwo maṇḍalas daṇḍapraṇāma yāwo!” thwo nēnāwo rājān dhālā – “bho kāpālīka, je ma sayā. chan ni yānāwo keñāna.” thwo bacan nēnāwo kāpālīkan daṇḍapraṇāma yātañāsē rājān woyā sir chedalapāwo debayātā bali bilā. thwo belas ākāśan puṣpabrṣṭi julā. deb dundubhibādyādin julā. thwo belas tāla-betāla woyāwo dhālā – “bho rājān, che baśas jepani nimhā julago.” thathē siddhi lānāwo mahā ānandan bikramāditya rājā thawo rājya bijyānāwo samasta pṛthwīyā rājā jayalapāwo sukhan bijyākatō julō.



## Key to the exercises

### Exercise I

*The following is a transliteration of the text of MS A according to IATS conventions; note that /b/ and /v/ are both represented by <v>.*

|| athaḥ ekādasa vetāla ||

|| lithe thava thāyasaṃ, coṇa vetāla, narapatīna, hayakalaṃ,, halañā-  
syaṃ,, vetālana dhālaṃ,, bho mahārāja,, aprasanna juya ma tevaḥ || jena  
khaṃ kāne, ñehune,, || kāṃcanapūla, nāma, nagara dasyaṃ coṇa,, thva  
nagarayā, rājā, dharmmadhvaja nāma, dava,, thva rājāyā, parama  
rūpa,,jauvana, saṃjukta thvasa, svahmā rānī dava,, chahmaṃyā nāma,  
indulekhā,, chahmaṃyā tāravatī, chahmāyā mṛgāṅkavatī, thva svahmā-  
sa nāmaḥ || chahnuyā kṣanasa,, ujhāna,mandapasa,, indulekhāvo surata,  
sukha yāna vijyātaṃ, lithe, rājāna, krīdālapā velasa, thava saṃpolasa  
coṇa padmapuṣpayā, hala ko taṃñāva, hmāsa juñāva,, padmapuṣpayā  
hala, juka, mātrana,, atīmurchā juyāva conaṃḥ,, thva velasa, rājāna  
vaitya ādina, voñāva, sītopacāla yāñāva, saṃkatana coṇa, mvācaka-  
laṃḥ || lithe, thava parijanana, licakāva, rājakula yaṃñāva nidāna  
yācakalaṃ || thvanaṃ li,, chahnuyā kṣanasa,, phatikaprāsādasa, tārā-  
vatīva, krīdālapā velasa,, candramāyā, tejana, tārāvatīyā, sarīrasa kha-  
yāva, toyuvelāna khako,, hmāsa yala 2 gāñāva, valaṃ,, thva khaṃñāva,,  
rājā kaustuka cāyāva, vaidya vonakāva, upacāla yācakalaṃ || lithe,  
chahnuyā kṣanasa,, mṛgāṅkavatīvo, śṛṃgāra,kathā yāñā velasa,, dūrasa,  
vajīhlūyāyā śabda tāyāva,, mṛgāṅkavatīyā,, lāhātasa, yala 2 gātaṃ,,  
thathe juva khaṃñāva, rājā vismaya cālaṃḥ || || thva khaṃsa,  
vetālana, rājāyāke seyakalaṃ, bho mahārāja,, thva svahmāsa, suyā  
komalasarīra, dhakaṃ || thva ñeñāva, rājāna dhālaṃḥ,, bho vetāla, ñeña,,  
gonaṣuhmaṃyā,, vajīhluyā śalana, yala 2 gālaṃ,, ohmaṃ komarāṅgī  
dhāya dhakaṃ | chāñāna, dhālasā,, opanī, nehmasaṃ, śarīravo,  
saṃvamdha dava,, thvayā sarīo, saṃvadha ma du,, lasa juko ñeñā  
mātrana, thathe juva,, thvatenā, thvayā, atī, komarāṅgī, sarīra julā,  
dhakaṃ dhālaṃ,, thathe uttara vistunaṃ, vetāla, thava thāyasaṃ cona  
vanaṃ || ||

|| iti ekādasa vetālaḥ samāptaḥ || 11 ||

## Exercise 2

- 1) **thwo-yā putrī-Ø je-Ø.** “I am his daughter.”
- 2) **je-Ø putra-Ø ati jubāla-Ø.** “My son is a terrible gambler.”
- 3) **thwo rājā-yā rāñi-Ø somaprabhā nām mahādebī-Ø.** “The consort of this king was the great queen by the name of Somaprabhā.” Or: “This king had a consort, the great queen Somaprabhā.”
- 4) **thwo-yā sakhā-Ø buddhiśārīra nām mantri-yā putra-Ø.** “His friend was the son of a minister by the name of Buddhiśārīra.” Or: “He had a friend by the name of Buddhiśārīra, the son of a minister.”

## Exercise 3

- 1) **rājā-sē** (ERG) **kāpālīka-Ø** (ABS) **ādeśa bilā.** “The king spoke to the ascetic.”
- 2) **thwo bela-s** (LOC) **rājā-ske** (LOC) **dhālā.** “[At that time=] then (he) spoke to the king.”
- 3) **rājā-n-ā** (ERG, EMPH) **kṛṣṇacaturdaśī kunhu-yā** (GEN) **rātrī-s** (LOC) **khadga-Ø** (ABS) **joñ-āwo yākatā mewo-n** (ERG) **ma khānakā śmaśāna-s** (LOC) **kāpālīka-yā** (GEN) **samīpa-s** (LOC) **bijyāk-a.** “As for the king, on the night of the new moon day he took his sword and went alone, unseen by anyone else, to the ascetic in the cremation ground.”  
(**kāpālīkayā samīpas** = Skr. **kāpālīkasya samīpe**)
- 4) **thwo khā-Ø** (ABS) **ñeñ-āwo mantriputra-n** (ERG) **rājakumāra-yāke** (LOC) **lhāl-ā.** “When he heard this story, the son of the minister spoke to the prince.”
- 5) **cha-nhu-yā** (GEN) **kṣana-s** (LOC) **padmāvatī-n** (ERG) **rājaputra-yāke** (LOC) **ñeñ-ā.** “[On the moment of one day=] one day, Padmāvati asked the prince.”
- 6) **thwo-guli khā-s** (LOC) **rājā bikramāditya-yā** (GEN) **bohola-s** (LOC) **coñ-a betāla-n** (ERG) **rājā-yāke** (LOC) **seyakal-ā.** “[At that speech=] When (he had told) this story, the *vetāla* that was on King Vikramāditya’s shoulder spoke to the king.”

## Exercise 4

- 1) **lā-s caura-wo napā lāt-ā.** “On the way, she met a robber.”
- 2) **cha-nhu-yā dina-s daibayoga-n candanapura nām nagara-Ø then-ā.** “One day, he chanced to reach a city called Candanapura.”
- 3) **lithē kandarpa nām baniyā-wo sudina kunhu bibāhā-Ø yāt-ā.** “Later, on an auspicious day, she got married to a merchant by the name of Kandarpa.”

- 4) **kāpālika-n harṣamāna-n rājā-yā stuti-Ø yāt-ā.** “The kāpālika (made the praise of the king=) praised the king joyfully.”
- 5) **je-n samasta khā-Ø-N sey-ā, khaḍgabidyā-Ø-N say-ā.** “I (have learnt=) know all things, I have mastered the weapon-lore.”
- 6) **cha-nhu-yā kṣaṇa-s rājaputra-n thwo śuka-yāta praśna-Ø yāt-ā.** “One day, the prince asked this parrot.”

### Exercise 5

- 1) **thwo khañ-āwo hāsyā yāñ-āwo rājā-n ādeśa-Ø bil-ā.** “When he saw this, the king laughed and said.”
- 2) **thwo bela-s mṛtaka-Ø rājā-n bohola-s tay-āwo kāpālika-yā samīpa-s won-e teyakal-ā.** “Then, the king took the corpse upon his shoulder and set off towards the kāpālika.”
- 3) **rājā-n kṛṣṇacaturdaśī kunhu-yā rātrī-s khaḍga-Ø joñ-āwo śmaśāna-s kāpālika-yā samīpa-s bijyāk-a.** “On the night of the new moon day, the king took his sword and went to the kāpālika in the cremation ground.”
- 4) **thwo khañ-āwo pāhān-Ø bismaya cāl-ā.** “When he saw this, the guest was amazed.”
- 5) **śikhara deśa-yā karṇotpala nām rājā-Ø da-wo.** “The country Śikhara had a king by the name of Karṇotpala.”
- 6) **thwo ñeñ-āwo thwo dharmadatta-Ø lāvaṇyabati-yāke woñ-āwo thawo kārya-Ø lhāl-ā.** “When he heard this, this Dharmadatta went to Lāvaṇyavatī and told (her) of his business.”

### Exercise 6

- 1) **bho mahārāja-Ø, dakṣiṇaśmaśāna-s je-Ø con-e.** “O king, I will be in the southern cremation ground.”
- 2) **anā māla-ko-Ø che-ke ināpa yā-ye.** “There, I will tell you what is required.”
- 3) **‘je-Ø wo-ye khe’ dhakā rājā-sē lhāy-āwo kāpālika-Ø dakṣiṇaśmaśāna-s won-ā.** “‘I will certainly come’, said the king, and the kāpālika went off to the southern cremation ground.”
- 4) **chan-Ø nhawone je-pani-sē prāṇa-Ø tolat-e.** “We will commit suicide in your presence.”
- 5) **thwo-Ø woñ-āwo sādeśa-Ø biy-āwo wo-pani-s khā-Ø kān-ā.** “She went, gave the presents, and told their story.”
- 6) **thwo gṛha-s che-skal-Ø sukha-n bāsa yā-huna.** “Please live happily in this house.”



- 7) **chalpola-sen sābadhāna-n ñeñ-a bijyāta-sā je-n ināpa yā-ye.** “If you will kindly listen carefully, I will humbly tell (you).”
- 8) **bho purukha-Ø, je-n chana-ke chu-Ø yāñ-ā?** “O man, what have I done to you?”

### Exercise 7

- 1) **cha-n siddhi-Ø sādha-lap-ina.** “You will attain magic powers.”
- 2) **wo nagara-s mahādhanī hiraṇyagupta nām baniyā-Ø basa-lap-o.** “In that town, there lived a very wealthy merchant called Hiraṇyagupta.”
- 3) **he sakhe, thwo kanyā-Ø su-Ø? ganā-n wol-ā? su-yā putrī-Ø? chu-Ø nām-Ø? thwo gathē seya-k-e?** “O friend, who is this girl? where has she come from? What is her name? How will you find out?”
- 4) **thwo khā-s betāla-n rājā-yāke seya-kal-ā.** “At this (point in) the story, the vetāla instructed the king.”
- 5) **thwo khañ-āwo gṛhastha brāhmaṇa-n thawo mantraputhī-Ø joñ-āwo siddhamantra-n kāya-Ø mwāca-kal-ā.** “When he saw this, the householder brahman took his book of magic spells and brought the boy back to life.”
- 6) **thwo kanyā-Ø agnisamskāra yāñ-ān li cha-mhā brāhmaṇa-n jaṭādhārī-Ø juy-āwo wo-yā bhasma-n thawo deha-Ø lepa-lap-āwo nānā deśa-Ø bhrama-lap-āwo jul-ā.** “After the girl’s obsequies had been performed, one (of the) brahmans became a jaṭādhārī ascetic, smeared his body with her ashes, and (took to an existence of) wandering many countries.”
- 7) **lithē rājā sūdraka-n suratasambhoga yāñ-ān atī pariśrama juy-āwo sītal bāyu-Ø sebalap-e dhakā kawosī-Ø thā hāl-ā.** “Later, when King Sūdraka was thoroughly exhausted from love-making, he went up to the rooftop terrace in order to take the cool air.”

### Exercise 8

- 1) **cha-n māla-ko lhā-wo.** “Tell (me) what you need.”
- 2) **che-n ñe-huna.** “(Please) listen.”
- 3) **cha-n soy-āwo ñeñ-āwo wā-yo.** “Look, listen, and come!”
- 4) **bho rājan, je-ke biśwāsa yā-Ø.** “O king, trust me!”
- 5) **brāhmaṇa-n “daj-iwo khe” dhakā “khāchi biśrāma-Ø ni yā-huna” dhakā dhāl-ā.** “The brahman said ‘All right’, and said: ‘Please rest for a while.’”
- 6) **kāpālīka-n anek prakāra-n maṇḍalapūjā-Ø yāñ-āwo rājā-yāke dhāl-ā – “he rājan, thwo maṇḍala-s daṇḍapraṇāma-Ø yā-wo!”**

**thwo ñeñ-āwo rājā-n dhāl-ā** – “**bho kāpālika-Ø, je ma say-ā. cha-n ni yāñ-āwo keñ-āna.**” “The kāpālika performed various kinds of pūjā in the maṇḍala, and spoke to the king: ‘O king, prostrate yourself in this maṇḍala!’ When he heard this, the king spoke: ‘O kāpālika, I don’t know (how to do that). You do it and show me!’”

### Exercise 9

- 1) **thwo-guli khā-s betāla-n rājā-yāke lhāl-ā.** “(At this very speech=) At this point in his narration, the *vetāla* spoke to the king.”
- 2) **he dwārī-Ø, dinapratī subarṇa pala sala chiwo niya ñā-Ø – thwote ji-te bi-ye māl-a.** “O gatekeeper, one hundred and twenty-five *palas* of gold every day – that much (you) should give me.”
- 3) **thani śuklapakṣa-yā daśamī-Ø, thwoten ñā-nhu khu-nhu ni wānak-e.** “Today (is) the tenth day of the bright fortnight, therefore I will let five to six days pass.”
- 4) **cha-nhu-yā kṣana-s thwo-pani ne-mhā-Ø ahala-Ø won-e dhakā sala-Ø gay-āwo bana-Ø duhā won-ā.** “One day, the two of them mounted (their) horses and went into the woods to go hunting.”
- 5) **sarobaratīra-s che-n khañ-ā-mhā rājaputra-pani-Ø jeche-s then-o.** “The princes you have seen on the banks of the pond have arrived at our place.”
- 6) **he rājan-Ø, je-Ø mewo-tā sāmagrī-Ø ma dū. khaḍga cha-pū-Ø hātha ne-pā-wo thwote da-wo.** “O king, I have no other implements. One sword with two hands – that’s all I have.”

### Exercise 10

- 1) **thathē rājā-n lhāy-ā bacan-Ø ñeñ-āwo śārikā-n dhāl-ā.** “When it had heard the words thus spoken by the king, the mynah bird spoke.”
- 2) **thwo bela-s mṛtaka-yā śārīra-s coñ-a betāla-n rājā-ske dhāl-ā.** “Then the *vetāla* that was in the body of the dead man spoke to the king.”
- 3) **aho āścarya! samasta bīra-yā sinā bīra-Ø thwo rājā-Ø! gathiña mahāpuruḥka-Ø thwa-Ø! sika-n khā-Ø lhāy-ānā trāsa-śāṅkhā-Ø ma du.** “How wonderful! (More heroic than all heroes=) the greatest hero of all is this king! What a great man he (is)! Although he hears a corpse speak, (there is=) he has no fear or doubt.”
- 4) **je-n lhāy-ā khā-Ø che-n ñeñ-āwo atyanta sukha-Ø che-Ø jāyalap-iwo.** “When you hear the story I told, (immense joy will be produced of you=) you will be immensely gladdened.”

- 5) **bho sakhā-Ø, bilbaphala-Ø bi-wo-mhā je-n so-ye boñ-a hi-wo.** “O friend, fetch the one who gave (me) the bilva fruits so that I may see him.”
- 6) **bho rājan, che baśa-s je-pani ni-mhā jula-go.** “O king, the two of us have come into your power.”

### Exercise 11

- 1) **dharmadatta-yāke wāñ-ān li chan-Ø je-Ø ni.** “After I have gone to Dharmadatta I will be yours.”
- 2) **je-pani-Ø bidyādharpura-s-ā thathiña sundarī-Ø ma du.** “(Even) in our city of celestial musicians there isn’t such a beautiful woman.”
- 3) **che-skala-Ø rūpabanta-Ø, bidyābanta-Ø, mahākulasambhaba-Ø, bibāhā yā-ye yogya-Ø kha-wo.** “You are handsome, learned, from good families, (and thus) suitable for marriage.”
- 4) **thathiña andhakāra-s rātrī-s mewo su-nā-Ø ma du.** “In such [darkness (and) =] a dark night, there is no one else there.”
- 5) **rājaputra-n dhāl-ā – ‘āmo pakwān-Ø biṣasamyukta-Ø ma khu’ dhakā dhāy-āwo mantriputra-n dhāl-ā – ‘che-Ø praṭīta-Ø ma jula-sā so-huna’ dhakā khicā-Ø nak-āwo khicā-n nal-ā.** “The prince spoke: ‘This dish is not poisoned.’ When (he) had thus spoken, the minister’s son spoke: ‘If you don’t believe me, look!’ He fed (the dish to) a dog, and the dog ate (it).”
- 6) **na-stunā khicā-Ø sit-ā.** “As soon as it had eaten, the dog died.”
- 7) **thani prabhāta-Ø ju-stunā rājā-Ø moy-uwo no; thwoten āwo je-Ø ganā won-e dhakā khoy-ā.** “Today, as soon as day breaks, the king will die. [Where shall I go now? That’s why I am crying=] I am crying because I don’t know where to go now.”
- 8) **rājā-yā ati bhṛṣā ju khāy-āwo śītala jala-Ø da-wo thāya-s brkṣa-yā chāyā-Ø da-le biśrāma-Ø yāt-ā.** “When (he) saw that the king was very exhausted, (they) rested [where there was shadow =] in the shadow of a tree at a place where there was cool water.”

### Exercise 12

- 1) **cha-n satya-Ø yāta-sā je-Ø bacan-Ø cha-hati lhā-ye.** “If you promise (me something), I will speak (only) once.”
- 2) **cheje-Ø jogya-Ø kha-wo khe; yethē khata-sanā babu-n dadā-n ma biya-k-ā gathē kā-ye?** “We are surely suitable (for each other); even though we are –without my father and brother giving (me to you in marriage), how can you take (me in marriage)?”

- 3) **he pitā-Ø, je-tā swāmī-Ø bi-ye jula-sā thathiña – jñānī-Ø asā nānā jyā-Ø sa-wo asā sūra-Ø – thwo so-tā-s cha-tā guṇa da-wo-mhā-Ø bi-ye māl-a.** “O father, if you must give me a husband, (he should be) like this: knowledgeable or knowing many trades or valiant – give me one who has one of these three virtues.”
- 4) **thwo janma-s-ā strībadha-Ø yāta-sā lithu janma-s gathē juy-u?** “If (I) commit the killing of a woman in this life – what will it be like in the next life?”
- 5) **thathiña andhakāra-s rātrī-s mewo su-nā ma du.** “In such a dark night, there is no one else there.”
- 6) **su-yā-nā ma khu, je-Ø thukā. gathe-n dhāla-sā – je-Ø mantrabala-n thukā mwāt-ā.** “She is no one’s but surely mine. Here’s why: It was the force of my magic spell that brought her to life.”

### Exercise 13

- 1) **thwo dākō-Ø sūrya-udaya-Ø ma ju-bala-n māl-a.** “All of this [is necessary=] has to happen before sunrise.”
- 2) **thwo bela-s kṣudhā-trṣā-n pīdalap-āwo lākh-Ø māl-āwo jula-ñāsē bicitra sarobara-Ø khān-ā.** “Then, when (they) were tormented by hunger and thirst, as [water had become necessary=] they ran out of water, (they) beheld a beautiful pond.”
- 3) **sola-ñāsē cha-gol cha-gol bilbaphala-s pañca ratna-Ø dhāla da-wo.** “When (he) looked, there really were five jewels in every bilva fruit.”
- 4) **ñhathu janma-s brāhmaṇ ju-le dūradeśa-n ma bhiña pratigraha-Ø kāy-āwo wo-le lā-s khu-n syāt-ā.** “In a former life when he was a brahman, as he was coming (back) from a distant land where he had received an illegitimate gift, he was killed by a robber.”
- 5) **mantrī-n tatksaṇa-n-ā mhyāc-Ø śmaśāna-s bonak-āwo hay-āwo bicāra yān-āwo sola-ñāsē triśūla-cihna-Ø da-wo.** “The minister immediately had the daughter taken to the cremation ground, and when he inspected (her) and looked, there was the mark of the trident (on her thigh).”
- 6) **thwo rājā-Ø cha-nhu-yā dina-s mantrī-sahita-n sabhā-Ø dayak-ā co-le rājadwāra-s bīrabala nām rājaputra-Ø rājaputrī-sahita-n then-ā.** “When one day this king was holding court with his minister, a nobleman by the name of Vīrabala arrived at the king’s gate together with his noble lady.”

## Exercise 14

- 1) ‘gonakhu-mhā-n rākṣas-Ø mocak-āwo kanyā-Ø hal-ā wo-yātā thwo kanyā-Ø bi-ye māl-ā.’ “She must be given (in marriage) to the one who killed the ogre and brought the girl (home).”
- 2) ‘bho rājakumāra-Ø, kātara ju-ye ma te-wo.’ “O prince, don’t be a coward.”
- 3) kotuwāla-n rājā-yāke dhāl-ā – ‘he deb-Ø, ābharaṇa-sahitan khu-Ø jō ha-ye dhun-o’ dhakā dhāl-ā. “The constable spoke to the king: ‘Your majesty, I have already [seized and brought=] arrested the thief together with the jewellery.’”
- 4) ‘caturdaśī-yā rātrī-s mewo-n ma khana-k-ā chalpol-Ø je-Ø samīpa-s bijyā-ye māl-a.’ “On the night of the fourteenth you must come to me without anybody else seeing you.”
- 5) ‘bho rājaputra-Ø, cha-Ø āma-thē nirāśa ju-ye ma te-wo.’ “O prince, you don’t have to lose hope!”
- 6) ‘je-Ø prāṇa-yā nimitti-n bhochi-s-ā prāṇa-Ø tolata-wo. thwote-n je-n-ā īśwarī-yātā thawo śarīra-Ø bi-ye’ dhakā khaḍga-Ø joṅ-āwo thawo sir-Ø chedalap-e teyakal-ā. “‘For the sake of my life (he) has taken the life of (his) entire family. Therefore, I will sacrifice my body to the goddess’, and he took his sword and was about to to cut off his own head.”
- 7) purukha-wo sambandha-Ø ma da-le-n prāṇa-Ø tolat-e pha-wo. “[Not having =] althoug (she) has no connection to (this) man, she is [able =] prepared to lay down her life (for him).”
- 8) ‘chalpola-yā ājñā-Ø data-sā je-n mwācak-ā bi-ye.’ “[If your command exists =] If you will give the command, I will revive (him).”

## Exercise 15

- 1) ‘he rājā-Ø, je-n mwācak-ā ha-ye.’ “O king, I will revive (them).”
- 2) thathē dhā-stunā thwo betāla-Ø rājā-yā bohōl-Ø tolat-āwo śiṃsapābrkṣa-yā co-s cona-Ø won-ā. “As soon as he had thus spoken, the *vetāla* left the king’s shoulder and went to stay at the top of the *śiṃsapā*-tree.”
- 3) thathē dhāy-āwo bīrabala-Ø boṅ-āwo jībanī-Ø biy-āwo tal-ā. “When he had thus spoken, he fetched Vīrabala and gave him a salary.”
- 4) ‘bho rājan-Ø, ekānta-s je-n ināp-e’ dhakā dhāy-āwo sabhā-s loka samastā-Ø cel-āwo woṅ-a jul-o. “‘O king, I will tell (you) in private’, he said, and all the people in the court retreated.”
- 5) thwo bela-s cha-mhā-sen thwo strī-Ø salatal-ā – ‘he strī-Ø, thanā wāy-o’ dhakā salat-āwo hal-ā. “Then one (of them) called the woman: ‘Hey woman, come over here!’, he called out.”

- 6) **bho mahārāja-Ø, thwo nadītīra-Ø samīpa-s śiṃsapāvṛkṣa-yā uttara śākhā-s mṛtaka purukha-Ø dolāyamāna yān-a coṅ-a. mauna yān-āwo joṅ-a ha-ye māl-a.** “O king, , by the banks of this river, there is a dead man hanging from the highest branch of a *śiṃsapā*-tree. You must fetch him while staying silent.”
- 7) **jamunā-yā tīra-s brāhmasthāna nām grāma-Ø da-sē coṅ-a. thwo grāma-s thawo thawo karma-s coṅ-a brāhmaṇa-pani-s āśrama-Ø da-wo. thwo grāma-s agniswāmī nām brāhmaṇa-Ø basalap-ā coṅ-a.** “On the banks of the Yamunā, there is a village called Brahmasthāna. In that village, there is an *āśrama* of brahmans each going about their own trade. In that village, there lived a brahman by the name of Agnisvāmin.”
- 8) **cha-nhu-yā kṣaṇa-s ujhānamaṇḍapa-s indulekhā-wo suratasukha yān-a bijyāt-ā.** “One day, (he) was making love with Indulekhā in the garden pavilion.”



# Translation of the Reading Passages

## 1. The frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A

There once was in this world a king, a splendid universal ruler by the name of Vikramakeśarin, at whose feet thousands and thousands of kings served. He possessed wealth like Kubera, (consisting) of great amounts of jewels (like) sapphires, emeralds, rubies, diamonds, beryls, and pearls; he was beautiful in all limbs like Indra, whose praises the *vidyādhārīs* (constantly) sing. This king had, accompanied by able ministers (or: by vassals and ministers), become the ruler of the earth in all quarters, up to the edge of the ocean, and (now) spent his time enjoying the supreme joy of his rule. To this king, a *kāpālika* ascetic by the name of Kṣāntiśīla used to give a marvellous *bilva* fruit by the hand of the person who handed him the water when he washed his face before sunrise.\* When he saw this fruit, he became glad and handed it to his servant. Every day, (the ascetic) kept giving (him a fruit) in this manner.

## 2. The frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A (cont'd)

One day when he gave (him) the fruit, it fell down from the king's hand and was shattered to pieces. When he saw five very precious jewels inside the fruit, he became very glad and spoke: 'O minister, how marvellous! Even if one were to search with great effort, one could not find such a jewel in my treasury. Why does (he) give (me) such a precious jewel, when he has no obligation (towards me)? I have a great sense of obligation towards the giver of a marvellous jewel.† Bring all the bilva fruits that I have previously placed with you!' The servant brought them, and when he split them open and examined them, there were indeed five jewels in each and every bilva fruit. When he saw those precious jewels, (the king) rejoiced.

## 3. The frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A (cont'd)

He spoke to his servant: 'My friend, fetch the giver of the *bilva* fruits so that I may see him!' Then, when he came back and brought the *kāpālika*, he spoke: 'Your majesty, this *kāpālika* is the giver of the *bilva* fruits. May it please you

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\*) The translation of this sentence is rather too literal; a somewhat freer rendition would be: "When this king washed his face before sunrise, a *kāpālika* ascetic by the name of Kṣāntiśīla gave him a marvellous *bilva* fruit by the hand of the servant who handed the king the water."

†) Literally, "the giver of a marvellous jewel has a great obligation in my mind." MS D reads लल विचित्र बिबोया जेके तवो कार्ज दयुवो, lit. "the giver of a marvellous jewel has a great obligation in me".



to say what should be done.’\* Then, when he looked upon him, he became very glad. The *kāpālika* blessed the king. The king rejoiced. The king spoke to the *kāpālika*: ‘O *kāpālika*, wherefore have you been giving me (such) precious jewels in the guise of *bilva* fruits for (such) a long time?’ Again, the *kāpālika* spoke: ‘O king, I will tell (you) in private’, and all the people in the assembly withdrew. Then he spoke to the king: ‘O king, I am a *kāpālika* yogi by the name of Kṣāntiśīla. I have wandered the earth in the South. I have been searching for a great man who can be my assistant in order to obtain a corpse (inhabited by) a *vetāla*. Since I have not succeeded, I have come to you. Therefore, if you will be so good as to listen carefully, I will tell (you).’

When he had thus spoken, the king said: ‘O *kāpālika*, I will surely listen carefully.’ Then he spoke: ‘Say what (it is that) you need.’ The *kāpālika* said: ‘O king, I will be at the southern cremation ground. On the night of the fourteenth, you must come to me without anyone else seeing you. There, I will tell you what I require.’ – ‘I will surely come’, the king said, and the *kāpālika* went to the southern cremation ground.

#### 4. The frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A (cont’d)

On the night of the day of the new moon, the king took his sword and went alone, without anyone else seeing him, to the *kāpālika* in the cremation ground. When the *kāpālika* saw that the king had come, he praised the king joyfully: ‘O king, you are a most valiant hero and universal ruler. Lending the help of your sword, you have come to me in the cremation ground in the dreadful night of the new moon.’ The king spoke: ‘O *kāpālika*, I have come gladly in order to hear your story.’ Kṣāntiśīla spoke: ‘Today, I want to obtain a magic corpse. You must be (my) assistant. If we accomplish this, you and I will get *siddhi* powers.’ When he heard the words of the yogi, King Vikramakeśarin’s body hair bristled with joy, and he spoke to Kṣāntiśīla: ‘O *kāpālika*, you shall obtain what you desire. Tell me what I have to do as your assistant.’ The *kāpālika* spoke: ‘O king, by the banks of this river, there is a dead man hanging from the highest branch of a *śiṃśapā*-tree. You must fetch him while staying silent. By bringing him here into the complex *pūjāmaṇḍala* with manyfold rituals (or: the variegated complex *pūjāmaṇḍala*), we will obtain *siddhis*.’ When he had spoken, the king took up his sword, and in the deep darkness went towards the *śiṃśapā*-tree.

#### 5. The frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A (cont’d)

When (he) was about to seize the corpse, the corpse climbed upward. When he saw this, the king laughed and said: ‘Hey corpse, why do you flee upwards?’

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\*) Literally, “may you be pleased to command what is necessary”; a better translation would perhaps be “we await your orders”.

I will climb the tree and take you down’, and he climbed the tree, and when he had severed the rope that was binding the corpse with his sword, he threw him down. The corpse pretended to be hurt from the fall, and cried and wailed: ‘O man, what have I done to you? I was [so =] (just) staying alone on a tree in the woods. I am blameless! I got hurt when you threw me down like that. My bones and all are completely shattered!’ When he heard these words, the king came down from the tree, and as he was about to seize the corpse, it went to the top of the tree. Again, the king climbed up the tree and threw it down. As soon as he had climbed down himself, the corpse climbed up. In this manner, the king hurt it again and again. Later, when it was badly hurt, the king threw it down and sat astride its body. The king took the corpse that was wailing with pain on his shoulder, and proceeded to walk to the *kāpālika*.

#### **6. The frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A (cont’d)**

Then the *vetāla* that was in the body of the dead man spoke to the king: ‘O king, do the two of us (really) have to go? If we have to go, I will tell a story, so that we [don’t feel =] don’t get tired from the walk. Kindly listen!’ – [one should not think: What kind of story is ... going to tell =] Why should I be surprised that a corpse that is bereft of life is going to tell a story? I have learnt all things, I have mastered the art of swordfighting!’ When he had thus spoken, the *vetāla* thought to himself: ‘How wonderful! The greatest hero of all is this king! What a great man he (is)! Although he hears a corpse speak, he has no fear (or) doubt.’ Having thought this, the *vetāla* spoke to the king: ‘When you hear the story I told, you will be immensely pleased. If you don’t say the answer to the story [while knowing =] although you know it, the five great sins will be on your head. If out of ignorance you stay silent, I will be in your power.’ – [The not-answering king =] Since the king doesn’t answer, I will make him break his silence under the pretence of telling the king a story’ – thinking this, he spoke: ‘O king, please listen carefully!’

### 7. The second story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS A

When again king Vikramakeśarin saw that the *vetāla* had gone, the king once more climbed the *śiṃśapā*-tree, took the corpse onto his shoulder and went on his way. Again, the corpse on his shoulder spoke: ‘O king, have faith in me! Listen to the story I tell you!’

On the banks of the Yamunā, there is a village called Brahmasthāna. In that village, there is an *āśrama* of brahmans each going about their own trade. In that village, there lived a brahman by the name of Agnisvāmin. He had a daughter by the name of Mandāvatī. When they saw her beauty and youth, three young brahmans spoke to the girl’s father, and entreated him: “Allow (us) to marry your daughter!” The girl’s father spoke: “You are handsome, learned, from good families, (and thus) suitable for marriage. Nevertheless, I have (only) one daughter; there are three of you. How can I give her (to you in marriage)?” Then one of them spoke: “Give that girl to me!” The other two spoke: “O brahman, if you don’t give that girl (to us), we will commit suicide before your eyes. That killing will be on your head!” When the three of them quarrelled in this way, he ended up giving (her) to none of them out of fear of (the sin of) brahman-killing.

At that time, as fate would have it, the girl died. After performing the girl’s obsequies, one of the brahmans became an ascetic with matted hair, smeared his body with her ashes, and took to wandering many countries. Another one of the brahmans gathered the girl’s bones and went to many sites of pilgrimage. Another one collected her ashes and dwelt in the cremation ground.

Then the one who had become an ascetic while roaming the earth in the South came to a certain town. He went to eat at (the house of) a brahman by the name of Rudraśarman. The brahman said “certainly”, and “please rest for a while.” At that time, when he saw that (his) son was crying, he angrily pushed him into the fire-pit. When he saw this, the ascetic who had come there spoke: “What an atrocity he has committed! What a barbarous brahman he is! Therefore, I do not wish to eat (here)”, and he turned to leave. When he saw that, the householder-brahman took his book of spells, and with a magic spell brought the son back to life. When he saw that, the guest was amazed. Then, when he had finished eating, he decided to steal the book. Accordingly, in the night he stole (the book) and took it (with him) to the cremation ground.

The three brahmans from before gathered right there, and by the power of a spell contained in the book they brought Mandāvatī back to life. When she was alive again, all three of them quarrelled with each other, saying “she is mine, she is mine!” One of them said: “She is no one’s but mine! Here’s why: She surely came to life through the power of my spell.” Another spoke: “If I

hadn't guarded her ashes, how would you have revived her? Therefore, I (have become=) am the one!" Another spoke: "She isn't yours, she isn't his. (She) surely (is) mine. Here's why: She came to life because I have carried her bones around to many sites of pilgrimage. Therefore, I am the one." While the three of them quarrelled in this way, her husband (could) not be ascertained.'

When he had told (him) this story, the *vetāla* spoke to the king: 'O king, which one of the three is the girl's husband? You have to tell (me)!' When he had spoken, the king said: 'The one who gave (her) life is not the husband, because surely he is the father. As for the one who carried (her) bones around the sites of pilgrimage, he has performed the office of the son and has therefore become (her) son. She has become the wife of the one who guarded her ashes.' As soon as he had thus spoken, the *vetāla* left the king's shoulder and went to stay atop the *śiṃśapā*-tree.

### 8. The fourth story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS E

Again the king set out to fetch the corpse. Once more the corpse spoke to the king: 'O king, listen carefully, I will tell a story.

In this world, there (once) was a glorious king endowed with all the marks of a king named Śūdraka. One day, when this king was holding court with his ministers, a prince named Vīrabala arrived at the palace gate together with his princess. When arrived there, he spoke to the gatekeeper: "O gatekeeper, having heard of the virtue of this king, we have come from the southern country in order to serve this king." – "I will announce you to the king and lead (you to him)", the gatekeeper said, and when he had been brought before the king, Vīrabala paid homage to him and spoke: "O king, I am a son of kings looking for employment. Having heard an account of your virtues I have come from the southern land. You must [feed me=] take me into your service." Then the king was perusing the gatekeeper's face. The gatekeeper understood the king's intention and spoke to Vīrabala: "O Vīrabala, what is needed for feeding you? Kindly speak!" Vīrabala spoke: "O gatekeeper, you must give me each day the precise amount of 125 gold *palas*." The gatekeeper told (this to) the ministers. When he heard that, the king spoke: "What implements do you have for serving the king? How many soldiers do you have? What I mean is: [How will I =] Why should I spend that much every day?" When he heard this, Vīrabala spoke: "O king, I have no other implements. One sword with two hands – [that much=] that's all I have." When they heard this, the ministers spoke: "Who will give you this much? Explain!" When he heard this, Vīrabala spoke: "I am a son of kings. I don't know how to say it again. May your glory increase. I will go elsewhere. Isn't there someone in this boundless world capable of feeding me?" With these words he paid his respects to the king and turned to leave.

When he had reached the door, the king spoke to his minister: “O minister, fetch this Vīrabala and give him (his) salary. If we don’t do that, it will reflect badly on us.” When he had thus spoken, Vīrabala was fetched and given (his) salary. Vīrabala took this salary of 125 *palas* and went to his quarters; he had the gods, the brahmans, and the monks fed at his own expense and without delay he proceeded, sword in hand, to stand at the king’s gate day and night.

### 9. The fourth story of the *Vetūlapañcaviṃśati*, MS E (cont’d)

Later at night the king’s servants paid their respects and went each to his own quarters. Vīrabala, according to the king’s order, went to his own quarter. Then King Śūdraka, exhausted from lovemaking, went to the top of the palace in order to enjoy the cool air. When, having gone up there, he heard the sound of a woman wailing at midnight from the south, the king spoke: “Who is [here=] this?” When (he had thus) spoken, the [majesty-guarding =] guardian soldier spoke: “In such a dark night, there is no one else there. Only Vīrabala is there, sword in hand.” When (he had thus) spoken, (the king) spoke: “Fetch Vīrabala hither”, and he was fetched. The king spoke: “O Vīrabala, from the south the sound of pitiful wailing is heard. You go and listen (for it).” Keeping the king’s order in mind, he set off. The king thought to himself: “Where indeed will he go? I too shall follow him and have a look.” And so, the king went (after him).

When he saw a young woman endowed with the thirty-two auspicious signs crying, Vīrabala spoke (to her): “O woman, why are you crying? What is the reason of your distress? Whose wife are you?” And: “I will accomplish what you desire. Whatever you want, say it.” The woman spoke: “For a long time, I have happily been King Śūdraka’s chief queen. Today at daybreak, the king is about to die. For this reason, I don’t know where to go now – that’s why I’m crying.” When he heard her words, Vīrabala spoke: “My lady, if you know that the king will die, you will surely know if there is a means (to prevent it).” The queen spoke: “I do know the means (to prevent it). However, although I know it, there is no man in all the three worlds capable of saving him.” When he heard this, Vīrabala spoke: “Please say it anyway. It will be possible to find such a man.” The queen spoke: “O Vīrabala, listen. Such a man is needed: himself a son of kings, his wife a daughter of kings. If the mother holds (their) son by his feet and the father grabs him by the hair, and the father cuts off (the boy’s) head with his sword in the presence of the Goddess and [gives =] makes an offering of it, then King Śūdraka will be brought back to life. All this must happen before sunrise.” When he heard this, Vīrabala spoke: “Your majesty,

I will surely do what you desire.” When he had thus spoken, the queen disappeared into her abode. The king followed\* without letting himself be seen.

### 10. The fourth story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS E (cont’d)

Vīrabala called his wife and son and told them what was required (of them). Then Vīrabala spoke: “We are sons of kings. We have been [eating=] receiving so many things from this noble king. If we cannot bring this king back to life, then what is the point in having servants like us?” When he heard these words, his son spoke: “O father, if this is the case, sacrifice *me* to the Goddess.” When she heard this, the daughter spoke: “As a result of sins committed in a previous life I have been come to be born a woman. If I was a man, I would attain this glory.” When she had thus spoken, (Vīrabala) together with his family went to the Goddess.

Vīrabala spoke to the Goddess: “O Goddess, accept this boy (as an offering) to you. King Śūdraka must be saved.” When he had thus spoken, the mother grabbed him by his feet and the father grabbed him by his hair, and with his sword he cut off his head and gave it (to the Goddess). Then all three of them, Vīrabala and his wife and daughter, each cut off their own heads and gave them (to the Goddess). When the king saw all this, he felt great pity, and seeing Vīrabala’s loyalty, he thought to himself: “What a man he is! For the sake of my life (he) has taken the life of (his) entire family. Therefore, I, too will sacrifice my body to the goddess”, and he took his sword and was about to cut off his own head. Then the Goddess, laughing loudly, spoke: “O king, I am satisfied. Do not act like that. Ask for a boon!” The king spoke: “I want no other boon for myself. Please revive these, the entire family.” The Goddess spoke: “O king, I will revive (them). You go home!”, and the king went to his abode. Vīrabala and his entire family were revived and went to their abode.

Later, Vīrabala went [to the king’s gate=] to the king and spoke: “Your majesty, it was the matter of a woman crying. When she saw me, she retreated.” The king spoke: “That I know. Go home and rest.” Then, on the next day, Vīrabala came [to the king’s gate =] before the king. When he saw him, the king told the ministers all that had happened during the night. When they heard (it), they were greatly amazed. Then the king gave Vīrabala many elephants, horses, villages and (much) treasure, and made him king in the south.’

When he had told (him) this story, the *vetāla* spoke to the king: Which one is more heroic: King Śūdraka or Vīrabala?’ When he heard this, the king spoke:

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\*) The context of the preceding sentence would suggest that the king follows the queen; however, in the following paragraph it becomes clear that he followed Vīrabala.

‘O *vetāla*, listen! The king is the greater hero. Here’s why: Under any circumstance, a servant will give up his life in service of his master. The king gave up such a happy reign and was about to give up his life for the sake of his servant. Therefore, the king is the greater hero.’ As soon as he had thus spoken, the *vetāla* went (back) to his place.

### 11. The eleventh story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS E

When once more the king fetched the corpse, the *vetāla* spoke: ‘O king, don’t be cross. I’ll tell a story, listen!

In a city called Kāñcanapura, there once was a king by the name of Dharmadhvaja. This king had three queens who were endowed with utmost youth and beauty. Indulekhā, Tārāvātī, and Mṛgānkavatī – these were (their) three names.

One day, he was making love to Indulekhā in the garden pavillion. Then, when the king was in amorous sport, a petal of the lotus blossom on (his) head fell down and landed on her body. From the impact of the falling (petal) she fainted. Then the king had the doctor etc. summoned, and by performing a cooling treatment, he managed to revive her with great difficulty. Then, accompanied by her retinue, he had her led to the royal palace and (had her) looked after.\*

After that, one day when he was making love to Tārāvātī in the crystal palace, the light of the moon shone on Tārāvātī’s body, and blisters appeared on her body where it was struck by the moonlight. The king was amazed and summoned the doctor, and he cured her.

After that, one day when he was making love to Mṛgānkavatī, she heard from far the sound of a rice-mortar, and blisters appeared on Mṛgānkavatī’s hand. When he saw that happening, the king was much amazed.’

When he had told him this story, the *vetāla* spoke to the king: ‘O king, which of the three has the most delicate body?’ When he heard this, the king spoke: ‘O *vetāla*, listen. The one on whose hands blisters appeared because of the sound of the rice-mortar is to be called delicate of body. Here’s why: With the body of those (other) two, there was contact. With her body, there was no

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\*) Although in Skr., **nidāna** is more often than not used in the technical sense “diagnosis”, in CN **nidāna yāye** it is well attested in the meaning “to take care of s.o.”.

contact. She only heard the sound, therefore hers is the most delicate body.\*  
As soon as he had thus spoken, the *vetāla* went (back) to his place.

## 12. The closing of the frame story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, MS B

The *vetāla* spoke: ‘O you king Vikramāditya, I am very pleased. Therefore, you will acquire *siddhi* when you make an offering to this *kāpālika*.

I give you some more advice, listen: a lamp will be lit on my head. When the *maṇḍalapūjā* is being performed, the *kāpālika* will order you to prostrate yourself. When you perform the prostration, he will cut off your head and (thus) acquire *siddhi*. Therefore, when he orders you to prostrate yourself, you must speak thus: “I am a king, I haven’t (ever) bowed to anyone. I don’t know how to. You do it! When I have seen you do it, I will surely do it (too).” Then, when he bows down, you must cut off his head and acquire the *siddhi* of Tāla and Vetāla.” When he had thus spoken, the *vetāla* left the corpse and went away.

Then the king took up the corpse and went to the *kāpālika*. The *kāpālika* performed *maṇḍalapūjā* in various ways and spoke to the king: “O king, prostrate yourself in this *maṇḍala*!” When he heard this, the king spoke: “O *kāpālika*, I don’t know how to. You do it and show me!” When he heard these words, the *kāpālika* prostrated himself, and the king cut off his head and made an offering (of it) to the deity. At that moment, there was a rain of blossoms from the sky. The Deity appeared with the sound of drums etc. Then Tāla and Vetāla came and spoke: “O king, we are both at your command.” When he had thus acquired *siddhi*, King Vikramāditya happily went to his own kingdom, became the king of all the world, and lived happily (ever after).

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\*) That is to say, only from hearing the sound of the rice-mortar, her hands became blistered as if she had been working the implement herself.





# Index of Verb Forms

## Class I

**kāne** *vt* to tell, relate **kānā**, **kāne**

**kene** *vt* to show, demonstrate  
**kenā**, **keñāna**

**ko tane** *vi* to fall down **ko tañā**,  
**ko tañāwo**

**ko tāne** *vt* to throw down **ko tāña**  
**halā**, **ko tāña hayāwo**

**khane**, *var.* **khāne** *vt* to see  
**khanakā**, **khānakā**, **khañāwo**

**ñene**<sub>1</sub> *vt* to hear, listen **ñeñā**,  
**ñeñāwo**, **ñene**, **ñeña**, **ñeña**  
**bijyāhuna**, **ñeña bijyātasā**

**ñenez** *vt* to ask (of *loc*) **ñenā**

**ñhāne** *vt* to feel, experience  
**ñhāne mu māla**, **ñhāne mu**  
**mālasanā**

**cone** *vi* to stay, reside; be located  
**conā**, **coña**, **khāwo coña**, **khosē**  
**coña**, **joñāwo coña**, **dasē coña**,  
**nayāwo coña**, **basalapā coña**,  
**rakṣalapā coña**, **sebalapā coña**,  
**dolāyamāna yāña coña**, **cona**  
**wonā**, **cona wānā**, **dayakā cole**

**jone** *vt* to grasp, seize **joña**,  
**joñiwo**, **joñāwo**, **joñāwo coña**,  
**jone tānañāsē**, **joña haye māla**

**tene** (*var.* **tāne**) *vi* to begin **ko**  
**tiña hayāwo**, **jone tānañāsē**

**thene** *vi* to arrive **thenā**, **theno**,  
**theña**, **theñāwo**

**dhune** *vt* to finish doing s.th.  
**dhuno**

**phone** *vt* to ask for, beg **phonā**,  
**phoña**

**bone** *vt* to call, summon; to invite  
**boña**, **soye boña**, **boña yenā**,  
**boña yeñā**, **boña halā**, **boña hi**,  
**boña hiwo**, **boñāwo**

**mune** *vi* to meet, assemble; *vt* to  
collect **muñāwo**

**yene** *vt* to lead **boña yeñā**, **yeñāwo**

**lene** (*var.* **lane**) *vi* to wait, tarry  
**chunā ma lenakā**,

**wone** (*var.* **wāne**) *vi* to go **wonā**,  
**wānā**, **cona wonā**, **cona wānā**,  
**nala wonā**, **besē wonā**, **wāniwo**,  
**woni**, **bila woña**, **celāwo woña**  
**julo**, **wānā**, **woñāwo**, **wone**,  
**wāne**, **sola wone**, **wone**  
**teyakalā**, **wāne teyakalā**, **wowo**,  
**wonañāwo**, **wānañāsē**, **wānān li**,  
**wānanā**

**sane** *vt* to act **sane ma tele**

**hane** (*var.* **hāne**) *vi* to pass (time)  
**kāla haña julo**

## Class II

**gāye** (**gāt-**) *vi* to suffice **ma wo ma**  
**gāka**, **ma wā ma gātasā**

**khaye** (**khal-**, **khat-**) *vi* to be,  
exist **khawo**, **ma khu**,

**ceye** (**cet-**, **cel-**) *vt* to withdraw  
**celāwo woña julo**

**cyāye** (**cyāt-**) *vt* to light (a lamp)  
**cyāyuwo**

**chuye** (**chut-**) *vt* to put **chuñā**

**juye** (**jut-**) *vi* to perch; to land  
**jutā**, **juñā**, **juta wolā**,

**date** (**dat-**) *vi* to be, exist **datā**,  
**dawo**, **ma dayu**, **ma do**, **ma du**,  
**dayiwo**, **ma dayiwo**, **datasā**,  
**dasē coña**, **dayakā**, **ma dayakā**

**nāpā lāye** (**lāt-**) *vi* to meet **napā**  
**lātā**

**phaye (phat-, phal-)** *vi* to be able  
tolate phawo, posalape phawo,  
yāye phawomhā, mwācake ma  
phatasā  
**bijyāye (bijyāt-)** *vi hon* to go,  
come ñeña bijyāhuna, ñeña  
bijyātasā, rasa tāsē bijyākatō,  
sosē bijyāñāwo, suratasukha  
yāña bijyātā, harṣamāna yāña  
bijyākatō  
**mwāye (mwāt-)** *vi* to live, be  
alive mwātā, mwāyiwo,  
mwāñāwo  
**yāye (yāt-)** *vt* to do, make yātā,  
yāka, yākatō julo, yāye  
phawomhā, yākan, yāñan,  
yāñan li, yāñā, yāñāwo, yāñāwo  
talā, yāñan li, dolāyamāna yāña  
coña, yātasā, yātañāsē,

suratasukha yāña bijyātā,  
harṣamāna yāña bijyākatō  
**yela yela gāye (gāt-, gāl-)** *vi* to  
blister yela yela gātā  
**lāye (lāt-)** *vt* to get, obtain lāye,  
lāye dawo  
**lwāye (lwāt-)** *vt* to quarrel, to  
fight lwātā, lwāñāwo  
**lhāye (lhāt-, lhāl-)** *vt* to say,  
speak lhālā, lhāwo, lhāyāwo,  
lawo lhāsē talā,  
**salate** *vt* to call salatāwo  
**siye (sit-)** *vi* to die sitā  
**soye (sol-, sot-)** *vt* to look; to  
search soyāwo, soye, soye boña,  
sola wone, soyāñā, solāñāsē,  
sosē bijyāñāwo  
**hāye (hāt-)** *vt* to say; to tell s.o.  
to do s.th. hātañāsē

### Class III

**kāye (kāl-)** *vt* to take, acquire  
kāwo, kāyāwo, kāyu  
**khaye<sub>1</sub> (khal-, khat-)** *vi* to be,  
exist khawo, ma khu  
**khaye<sub>2</sub> (khal-)** *vi* to shine  
khayāwo, khako  
**khuye (khul-)** *vt* to steal, to rob  
khuyāwo, khuye  
**khoye (khol-)** *vi* to weep, lament;  
to cry khoyā, khoyāwo,  
khoyāwo coña, khosē coña  
**gaye (gal-)** *vt* to ascend, to mount  
gayāwo  
**ñāye (ñāl-)** *vi* to walk ñāyā ma  
cāyakeyātā  
**cāye<sub>1</sub> (cāl-)** *vi* to awaken cālā,  
cāyāwo  
**cāye<sub>2</sub> (cāl-)** *vt* to wash cāye  
**ceye (cet-, cel-)** *vt* to bind cesē  
tayā  
**choye (chol-)** *vt* to send, despatch  
cholā, dhok phelakā cholā,  
choyiwo

**jiye (jil-)** *vi* to be able, to succeed  
luyake ma jiwo, luyake ma  
jiwon, dayake jiyiwo  
**juye (jul-)** *vi* to become julā,  
bhramalapāwo julā, julo, kāla  
haña julo, yākatō julo, woña  
julo, celāwo woña julo, julā,  
khojalapā juyā, bhramalapā  
juyā, bhramalapāwo juyā,  
bhramalapāwo jule, julago,  
julasā, ma julasā  
**taye (tal-)** *vt* to put; to act biyāwo  
talā, ma bisē talā, mwācakā  
talā, yāñāwo talā, lawo lhāsē  
talā, tayā, tayāwo, taye, ma  
talasā  
**tāye (tāl-)** *vt* to feel, perceive  
tālā, tāyā, tāyāwo, tāye, rasa  
tāsē bijyākatō  
**tiye (til-)** *vt* to wear tiyāwo  
**teye (tel-)** *vi* to be allowed,  
proper bhālape ma tewo, juye  
ma tele, sane ma tele

**dhāye (dhāl-)** *vt* to say, speak  
 dhālā, dhāyā, dhāyāwo, dhāye,  
 dhālasā, dhāstunā  
**naye (nal-)** *vt* to eat nalā, nayāwo,  
 nayāwo coña, naye, nala wonā,  
**phaye (phat-, phal-)** *vi* to be able  
 tolate phawo, posalape phawo,  
 yāye phawomhā, mwācake ma  
 phatasā  
**biye (bil-)** *vt* to give bilā, bila  
 wonā, biyāwo talā, biwo, bisē  
 halā, ma bisē talā, bilasā, ma  
 bilasā, bilanāsē  
**beye (bel-)** *vi* to run away; to  
 retreat besē wonā  
**boye (bol-)** *vi* to fly; to escape  
 boyā  
**moye (mol-)** *vi* to perish, die  
 moyiwo, moyuwo  
**yeye (yel-)** *vt* to wish, desire yelā,  
 ma yewo, ma yelago  
**yela yela gāye (gāt-, gāl-)** *vi* to  
 blister yela yela gālā  
**lāye (lāl-)** *vt* to spread out lāyāwo

## Class IV

**cele** *vi* to withdraw celāwo  
**māle** *vi* to be necessary māla,  
 kane māla, nhāne mu māla,  
 nhāne mu mālasanā, juye māla,

## Class V

**ināpe** *vt* to speak (humbly), to  
 request ināpe  
**kecake** *vt* to smear kecakalā  
**krīḍalape** *vt* to play; to make  
 love krīḍalapā  
**khanake** *vt* to cause to see, to  
 show ma khanakāo  
**khepalape** *vt* to carry around  
 khepalapān, khepalapu  
**khojalape** *vt* to search khojalapā  
 juyā

**lhāye (lhāt-, lhāl-)** *vt* to say,  
 speak lhālā, lhāwo, lhāyuwo,  
 lhāyā, lhāyāwo, lhāye, lhāyānā,  
 lhāsē talā  
**woye (wol-)** *vi* to come wolā, juta  
 wolā, wolā, woyā, rasa tāsē  
 woyā, woyāwo, woye, woye  
 teyakalā  
**saye (sal-)** *vt* to know sayā, ma  
 sayā  
**seye (sel-)** *vt* to know, understand  
 seyā, seyāwo, selasanō, selago  
**soye (sol-, sot-)** *vt* to look; to  
 search soyāwo, soye, soye boña,  
 sola wone, soyānā, pholalapā  
 solanāsē  
**haye (hal-)** *vt* to bring, carry; to  
 wear ko tāña halā, bisē halā,  
 boña halā, hayuwo, ko tāña  
 hayāwo, thiña hayāwo,  
 khuyāwo hayāwo, joña haye  
 māla, mwācakā haye, hiwo,  
 boña hi, boña hiwo, halanāsē  
**hāye (hāl-)** *vi* to climb hālā,  
 hāyāwo

joña haye māla, posalape māla,  
 bijyāye māla, biye māla, yāña  
 taye māla, yāye māla, mālako  
**hāle** *vi* to shout, to scream hālā

**cāyake** *vt* to cause to feel nāyā ma  
 cāyakeyātā  
**chādalape** *vt* to leave, abandon  
 chādalapāwo  
**chedalape** *vt* to cut, to sever  
 chedalapā, chedalapāwo,  
 chedalape, chedalape teyakalā  
**jayalape** *vt* to conquer, defeat  
 jayalapāwo  
**jāyalape** *vi* to be born, to arise  
 jāyalapiwo  
**tucake** *vi* to spend tucake

**teyake** AUX to be about to, to start doing s.th. **chedalape**  
**teyakalā**, **wone teyakalā**, **wāne**  
**teyakalā**, **woye teyakalā**, **tolate**  
**teyakawo**  
**tonake** vt to cause to drink  
**tonakāwo**  
**tolate** vt to give up, to abandon  
**tolatayiwo**, **tolatawo**, **tolatāwo**,  
**tolate teyakawo**, **tolate phawo**  
**dayake** vt to make; to acquire  
**dayake**, **dayake jiyiwo**, **dayakā**  
**cole**  
**dhalalape** vt to seize, grasp  
**dhalalapāwo**  
**dhunake** vt to finish doing s.th.  
**naye dhunakāwo**  
**dhok phelake** vt to push **dhok**  
**phelakā cholā**  
**dhyābalape** vt to think, consider  
**dhyābalapāwo**  
**nake** vt to feed **nakāwo**  
**posalape** vt to nourish, feed; to  
support **posalape**, **posalape**  
**phawo**, **posalape māla**  
**pholalape** vt to split, to crack  
open **pholalapā solanāsē**  
**basalape** vt to live, reside  
**basalapo**, **basalapā coṅa**  
**bhālapape** vt to think, consider  
**bhālapalā**, **bhālapāwo**, **bhālapape**  
**bhuktalape** vt to enjoy  
**bhuktalapā**

**bhramalape** vt to wander  
**bhramalapāwo julā**,  
**bhramalapāwo jule**,  
**bhramalapāwo juyā**  
**mocake** vt to kill, destroy  
**mocakawo**  
**mwācake** vt to revive, bring to  
life **mwācakalā**, **mwācake**,  
**mwācakā talā**, **mwācakā haye**,  
**mwācake ma phatasā**  
**yācake**, *var.* **yāke** vt to cause to  
do **yācakalā**, **yāke**  
**rakṣalape** vt to guard **rakṣalapā**  
**coṅa**,  
**licake** vt to (cause to) follow,  
accompany **licakāwo**  
**luyake** vt to find, procure **luyake**  
**ma jiwo**, **luyake ma jiwon**  
**lepalape** vt to smear **lepalapāwo**  
**wonake** (*var.* **wānake**) vt to  
summon **wonakāwo**, **wānake**  
**sādhalape** vt to accomplish, to  
obtain **sādhalapina**,  
**sādhalapiwo**, **sādhalapān**,  
**sādhalape**  
**siddhayake** vt to accomplish  
**siddhayake**  
**sebalape** vt to serve **sebalape**,  
**sebalapā coṅa**  
**seyake** vt to tell, instruct **seyakalā**,  
**seyake**  
**hayake** vt to cause to bring  
**hayakalā**, **hayakāwo**

## Glossary

The following glossary covers all vocabulary items with the specific meanings in which they occur in the example sentences, exercises, and reading passages of this coursebook; it includes a number of tatsamas (non-assimilated Sanskrit loanwords) and Sanskrit compounds that would not normally be included in a Newari dictionary, but that have here been included for the benefit of readers with no background in Sanskrit. Words that only occur in sample sentences taken from Jørgensen's Grammar or from the Dictionary of Classical Newari have been indexed as *J* and *DCN* respectively.

**akārya** *ni* misdeed [ts]  
**akīrti** *ni* infamy, bad reputation [ts]  
**agnikuṇḍa** *ni* fire pit [ts]  
**agnisaṃskāra** *ni* the funeral rites; ~  
**yāye** *vt* to perform s.o.'s obsequies  
(*abs*) [ts]  
**agras** *pp* in front of, before; *w/*  
*verba dicendi* to (*gen*) [<ts]  
**aṅgikāra** *ni* promise; ~ **yāye** *vt* to  
promise [ts]  
**ajñānā** *adv* unknowingly [<ts]  
**atī** *adv* extremely [ts]  
**atyanta** *adj* extreme [ts]  
**athiṅa** *adj* such, of that kind [~ MN  
*athe*]  
**athē** *adv* thus, in that way [MN *athe*]  
**ananta** *adj* endless [ts]  
**anā** *adv* there [MN *ana*]  
**anek**, *var.* **aneg** *adj* many [ts, MN  
*ane*:]  
**antardhāna** *ni* disappearance; ~  
**juye** *vi* to disappear [ts]  
**andhakāra** *ni* darkness [ts]  
**anna** *ni* meal, food [ts]  
**ap(r)asanna** *adj* displeased [ts]  
**abhiprāya** *ni* intention [ts]  
**abhyāgata** *nah* guest [ts]  
**abhyāsa** *ni* practice, study; ~ **yāye** *vt*  
to practise, study (*loc*) [ts]  
**amūlya** *adj* priceless, precious [ts]  
**arcanā** *ni* worship; ~ **yāye** *vt* to  
worship [ts]

**artha** *ni* meaning, import; **thwoteyā**  
**arthana** “this means, that ...” [ts]  
**ardharātrī** *ni* midnight [ts]  
**alaṅkāra** *ni* ornament(s), jewellery  
[ts]  
**aśwa** *na* horse; → **sala** [ts]  
**asā** *conj* if so; **asā ... asā ... conj** either  
... or ... [MN *aysā*]  
**asthi**, *var.* **asti** *ni* bone(s) [ts, MN  
*asti*]  
**ahala** *ni* hunt, hunting [MN *ahala*]  
**aho** Oh! ~ **āścarya** How wonderful!  
[ts, MN *ahwa*:]  
**ākāśa** *ni* space, ether; sky [ts]  
**ājñā** *ni* order, command [ts]  
**ātmā** *ni* soul [ts]  
**ādara** *ni* respect, courtesy; **ādarana**  
*adv* respectfully [ts]  
**ādi** *encl* etc.; **ādin** *ibid.* [ts]  
**ādeśa** *ni* order, permission; ~ **biye**  
(*bil-*) *vtc* *hon* to speak (to  
*loc/dat*) [ts]  
**ānanda** *ni* joy, bliss; ~ **yāye** *vt* to  
enjoy (oneself) [ts, MN *ānand*]  
**ābharāṇa** *ni* jewellery [ts]  
**āmo**, *var.* **āma** *pron* that (*near*  
*hearer*) [PTB \**a*, ON *amo*, MN  
*āma*, *āmu*]  
**āśīrbāda** *ni* blessing ~ **biye** *vtc* to  
bless (s.o. *dat*)  
**āścarya** *adj* wonderful, surprising  
[ts]  
**āśrama** *ni* hermitage [ts]

- āwo** *adv* now [MN ā:]
- ināpa** *ni* request, entreaty; ~ **yāye** *vtc* to speak (humbly), to request [tbh, ON **yināpra**, MN **ināp**]
- ināpe** *vt* to speak (humbly), to request [<tbh, ON **yināpe**, MN **ināpe**]
- indra** *n. pr.* the lord of gods [ts]
- indranīla** *ni* sapphire [ts]
- ihaloka** *ni* this world → **paraloka** [ts]
- iśwara** *nah* lord; ruler [ts]
- iśwarī** *nah* the Goddess [ts]
- ujhānamaṇḍapa** *ni* garden pavilion [ts]
- uttara**<sub>1</sub> *adj* topmost [ts]
- uttara**<sub>2</sub> *ni* answer [ts]
- uttaradiśā** *ni* the northern direction; **uttaradiśās** *adv* in the north [ts]
- uttarasādhaka** *nah* assistant (in a tantric ritual) [ts]
- upakāra** *ni* help; expedient [ts]
- upacāra** *ni* treatment; ~ **yāye** (**yāt-**) *vtc* to treat, to cure; → **śīta** [ts]
- upadeśa** *ni* advice [ts]
- upāya** *ni* means, expedient [ts]
- ekāntas** *adv* alone; in private [<ts]
- kacāla** *ni* quarrel; **kacālan** **lwāye** (**lwāt-**) *vt* to quarrel [NIA, ~ MN **kacawā:**]
- katak** (*var.* **katakāya**) *na* soldier [MN **kata:**?]
- katakāya** → **katak**
- kandarpa** *n. pr.*
- kanyā** *nah* girl, daughter; **kanyāratna** *nah* a jewel of a girl, a beautiful girl [ts]
- kamala** *ni* lotus [ts]
- kayāgal**, *var.* **kacāgal** *ni* quarrel; ~ **yāye** (**yāt-**) *vt* to quarrel [MN **kacīga:**]
- karuṇā** *ni* pity; ~ **cāye** *vi* to feel pity; *adj* pitiful [ts]
- karṇōtpala** *n. pr.*
- karma** *ni* work, occupation [ts]
- kāñcanapura** *n. pr.*
- kātara** *nah* coward [ts]
- kāne** *vt* to tell, relate [PTB \*ka?, ON **kāne**, MN **kāne**]
- kāpālīka** *nah* ascetic [ts]
- kāya** *na* son [ON **kāya**, MN **kāy**]
- kāye** (**kāl-**) *vt* to take, acquire; to take a girl in marriage; → **ko** [MN **kāye**]
- kārya**, *var.* **kārja** *ni* work, task; business; obligation [ts]
- kāla** *ni* time [ts]
- kālasarpa** *na* cobra [ts]
- kiraṇa** *ni* ray, beam of light [ts]
- kīrtanā** *ni* praise, panegyric [ts]
- kunhu** *adv* on the day [ON **kūnhū/ konhu**, MN **kunhu/ khunhu**]
- kubera** *n. pr.* the god of wealth [ts]
- kulīna** *adj* noble [ts]
- kṛṣṇacaturdaśī** *ni* the day of the new moon [ts]
- kecake** *vt* to smear [~ MN **kiye**]
- kene** *vt* to show, demonstrate [ON **kyāñe**, MN **kene**]
- ko** *adv* down, downwards; *pp* underneath (*abs/erg*) ~ **kāye** *vt* to take down; ~ **tane** *vi* to fall down; ~ **tene**, *var.* **tāne** *vt* to throw down [MN **kwa**]
- kotuwāl**, *var.* **kot(a)wāl** *nah* constable [NIA]
- kothā** *ni* room [NIA; MN **kwathā**]
- komala** *adj* soft, tender, delicate [ts]
- komalāṅgī** *adj* with delicate limbs [ts]
- kohā** *adv* downward; ~ **woye** (**wol-**) *vi* to come down (from *erg*) [MN **kwahā:**]
- kautuka** *ni* curiosity; ~ **cāye** (**cāl-**) *vi* to wonder [ts]
- kriḍalape** *vt* to play; to make love [<ts]
- kriḍā** *ni* play, dalliance; ~ **yāye** *vt* to make love [ts]

- krodhan** *adv* angrily, out of anger [ <ts ]
- kṣaṇa** *ni* moment; **kṣaṇamātran** *adv* only for a moment; **chanhuyā** **kṣaṇas** *adv* once, on one occasion; **tatkṣaṇan(ā)** *adv* immediately [ts]
- kṣatrī** *nah* kṣatriya [ts]
- kṣudhā** *ni* hunger [ts]
- khā** (*varr.* **kha**, Bhp. **khā**) *ni* speech, tale; words spoken [PTB \*ka, MN khā]
- khāchi** *adv* for a while, for a moment
- khaḍga** *ni* sword [ts]
- khaṇḍa** *ni* piece; ~ ~ **juye** *vi* to break to pieces [ts]
- khanake** *vt* to cause to see, to show; **ma khanakāwo** *adv* without being seen
- khane**, *var.* **khāne** *vt* to see [ON khāne/ khāne, MN khāne]
- khaye**<sub>1</sub> (**khal-**, **khat-**) *vi* to be, exist [MN khaye]
- khaye**<sub>2</sub> (**khal-**) *vi* to shine [MN khaye]
- kharac** *ni* expense; ~ **yāye** *vt* to spend; → **tucake** [NIA]
- khas** *evidential particle* indeed [MN kha:]
- khicā** *na* dog [PTB \*kwiy, MN khicā]
- kipot** *ni* rope [MN khipwa:]
- khu**<sub>1</sub> *num* six [MN khu]
- khu**<sub>2</sub> → **khaye**
- khū** *na* thief [MN khū]
- khuye** (**khul-**) *vt* to steal, to rob [PTB \*r-kuw, MN khuye]
- khe** *encl* ideed, certainly [MN khe/khe:]
- khē** → **khwāla**
- khepalape** *vt* to carry around [ <tbh ]
- khoyalape** *vt* to search [ <NIA ]
- khoye** (**khol-**) *vin* to weep, lament; to cry [MN khwāye]
- khwāl** *ni* face [ON khwāla, MN khwā:]
- gathiṇa** (*var.* **gathīgwo**) *interr* how, of what kind? [ON **gathenāgwā**, ~ MN **gathe**]
- gathē** *interr* how? °n **dhālasā** [“if spoken how”=] “for the following reason” [ON **gathyā**, MN **gathe**]
- ganā** *interr* where? [MN **gana**]
- ganān** *interr* where from? [MN **ganā:**]
- ganānā** *pron* anywhere [MN **ganānā**]
- gaye** (**gal-**) *vt* to ascend, to mount [MN **gaye**]
- gāye** (**gāt-**) *vi* to suffice; **ma ... ma gāka** [“it won’t do not to”=] (one) has to (*zero grade stem*) [MN **gāye**]
- gu** *num* nine [PTB \*d-kuw, MN **gū**]
- guṇa** *ni* quality; virtue [ts, MN **gun**]
- guli**<sub>1</sub> *interr* how many? [ON **gulṛ**, MN **guli**]
- guli**<sub>2</sub> *inanimate generic particle* [MN **gu**]
- gr̥ha** *ni* house [ts]
- gr̥hastha** *nah* house-father; the second stage of life [ts]
- gocara** *ni* range of perception; ~ **yāye** *vt* to bring to someone’s notice; to appeal to s.o. [ <ts ]
- gona-**, *var.* **gonakhu-** *rel pron* he/she who [MN **gumha**]
- gomhā** *interr* which one? [MN **gumha**]
- gol** *numeral classifier for round objects* [ts? ON **gwaḍa**, MN **gwa:**]
- grāma** *ni* village [ts]
- ghasāhan suye** *vt* to collect [MN ghaysuye]
- ghās** (*var.* **ghāc**) *ni* grass, fodder [tbh, MN **ghāy**]
- ñā** *num* five [PTB \*l-ṇa, ON **ñā**, MN **nyā**]
- ñāye** (**ñāl-**) *vi* to walk [MN **nyāye**]
- ñene**<sub>1</sub> *vt* to hear, listen [MN **nene**]
- ñene**<sub>2</sub> *vt* to ask (of *loc*) [MN **nene**]



- ñhathu** *adj* previous [MN **nhetha**]  
**ñhapā**, *var.* **nhapā** *adv* at first; previously; **ñhapāyā** *adj* previous; *adv* previously [ON **ñhāyā**, MN **nhēpā**:]  
**ñhawone** *pp* in front of, in the presence of (*gen*) [ON **ñhawane**, MN **nhē:ne**]  
**ñhā** *pp* before [MN **nhya**:]  
**ñhāne** *vt* to feel, experience [MN **nane**?]  
**ñhel**<sub>DCN</sub> *ni* sleep; ~ **woyake** *vi* to fall asleep [MN **nhya**:]  
**ñhele**<sub>DCN</sub> *vi* to smile; to laugh [MN **nhile**]  
**cāga** *adj* picky, discerning  
**cakrabartī** *nah* universal ruler; emperor [ts]  
**caturdaśī** *ni* fourteenth day of the moon phase [ts]  
**caturdiga** *ni* the four corners of the earth [ts]  
**candramā** *ni* the moon [ts]  
**carāṇa** *ni* foot [ts]  
**casā** *ni* the hair of the head [MN **sā**]  
**cā** *ni* night; **cān** **nhinā** *adv* night and day [ON **cā**, MN **cā**]  
**cāṇḍāla** *na* savage [ts]  
**cāyake** *vt* to cause to feel [MN **cāyke**]  
**cāye**<sub>1</sub> (**cāl-**) *vi* to awaken; → **karuṇā**, → **kautuka**, → **bismaya** [MN **cāye**]  
**cāye**<sub>2</sub> (**cāl-**) *vt* to wash [MN **cāye**]  
**citta** *ni* mind; **cittas** **bhālope** *vt* to think to oneself [ts, MN **citta**]  
**cintalape** *vt* to think [<ts]  
**cirakāla** *adv* for a long time; ~ **ni** **sē** *ibid.* [ts]  
**cihna** *ni* sign, mark [ts]  
**cūrṇa** *adj* crushed [ts]  
**ceye** (**cet-**, **cel-**) *vt* to bind [PTB \**ki*, \**ki-l*, MN **ciye**]  
**cele** *vi* to withdraw [MN **cile**]  
**co** *ni* top, peak [MN **cwa**]
- cone** *vi* to stay, reside; be located [ON **cwāje**, MN **cwane**]  
**cyā** *num* eight [PTB \**b-r-gyat*, MN **cyā**]  
**cyāye** (**cyāt-**) *vt* to light (a lamp) [ON **cyāye**, MN **cyāye**]  
**cha**<sub>1</sub> *pron* you (LGH) [MN **cha**]  
**cha**<sub>2</sub> *num* one [PTB \**kat*, MN **cha**]  
**chalpol** *pron* you (HGH) [MN **cha:pwa**:]  
**chahatī** (*var.* **chahuti**) *adv* once [~ MN **chaka**:]  
**chāñān** *interr* why? [~ MN **chāy**]  
**chādalape** *vt* to leave, abandon [<NIA]  
**chāyā** *ni* shadow, shade [ts]  
**chi** → **che**  
**chu** *interr* what? **chu** **nimittan** *interr* why? for what reason? [ON **cho**, MN **chu/chu**:]  
**chunā** *pron* something; → **lene** [MN **chū**]  
**chuyā** *interr* why? [~ MN **chāy**]  
**chuyāta** *interr* for what purpose?  
**chuye** (**chut-**) *vt* to put [MN **chuye**]  
**chē** *ni* house [PTB \**kim=kyim*, ON **chyā**, MN **chē**]  
**che**, *var.* **chi** *pron* you (MGH) [MN **chi**]  
**cheje**, *varr.* **jeche**, **jhejhe** *pron* we (*incl*) [MN **jhi**:]  
**chedalape** *vt* to cut, to sever [<ts]  
**choye** (**chol-**) *vt* to send, despatch; *AUX compl* [MN **chwaye**]  
**jaṭādhārī** *nah* an ascetic with matted hair [ts]  
**jatna** *ni* effort, exertion [ats]  
**jana** *nah* person [ts]  
**janma** *ni* birth; ~ **juye** *vi* to be born; **janmāntara** *ni* a previous birth [ts]  
**jamunā** *n. pr.* the Yamunā river [ats]  
**jayalape** *vt* to conquer, defeat [<ts]  
**jalakriḍā** *ni* water-play [ts]  
**jalapāna** *ni* drinking the water [ts]

- jaśaketu** *n. pr.*  
**jasa** *ni* fame, glory [tbh]  
**jāyalape** *vi* to be born, to arise [<ts]  
**ji** *num* ten [PTB \*gip, ON jī, MN jhi]  
**jīthi** *na* old woman [MN jīthi]  
**jiye** (**jil-**) *vi* to be able, to succeed  
 (VN) [MN jiye]  
**jībanī** *ni* livelihood; salary; ~**arthī**  
*adj* in search of a livelihood [ts]  
**juye**<sub>1</sub> (**jut-**) *vi* to perch; to land **jute**  
**woye** (**wol-**) *vi* to perch; to sit  
 astride (*loc*) [MN juye]  
**juye**<sub>2</sub> (**jul-**) *vi* to become; to appear;  
 AUX *perf* (*cov*), *stat* (*stat.ptc*); →  
**janma**; → **p(r)asanna** [MN juye]  
**juvā** *adj* young [ats]  
**je** *pron* I [MN jī]  
**jeche** → **cheje**  
**jepani** *pron* we (*excl*) [MN jipī]  
**jogī** *nah* yogi [ats]  
**jogya** *adj* worthy of, suitable for  
 (VN) [ts]  
**jone** *vt* to grasp, seize; **jō haye** (**hal-**)  
*vt* to arrest [ON jwāñe, MN jwane]  
**jñānī** *adj* learned [ts]  
**jiyā** *ni* work [MN jyā]  
**jhejhe** → **cheje**  
**ṭāṅkā** *ni* a currency unit [ts]  
**ḍākiṇī** *nah* ogress [ts]  
**tatkṣaṇan** → **kṣaṇa**  
**tane** → **ko**  
**taye** (**tal-**) *vt* to put; to act; AUX to  
 end up doing s.th. (*cov*) → **sir**  
 [ON te, MN taye]  
**tawo** *adj* big, great [MN ta:]  
**tā**<sub>1</sub> *adj* long (*temp*); ~ **kāl** *adv* for a  
 long time; ~ **dato** *adv* for a long  
 time [MN tauta]  
**-tā**<sub>2</sub> *num class abstract concepts*  
 [MN tā]  
**tāthe** (**tāthal-**) *vt* to leave behind;  
**sesē** ~ *vt* to entrust [ON sesyā tā]  
**tāne** → **tene**; → **ko**
- tāye** (**tāl-**) *vt* to feel, perceive [MN  
**tāye**]  
**tārābatī** *n. pr.*  
**tāla** → **betāla**  
**tīni**, *var.* **tuni** *emphasising particle*;  
**thani tuni** only today [MN **tīni**]  
**tiye** (**til-**) *vt* to wear [MN tiye]  
**tīra** *ni* riverbank [ts]  
**tīrtha** *ni* site of pilgrimage [ts]  
**tukhā** → **thukā**  
**tucake** *vi* to spend [< tuye, (**tut-**) “to  
 cost”]  
**tuti** → **tote**  
**tuni** → **tini**  
**tule** *pp* equal, comparable (*soc*) [ts]  
**ṭṛṣā** *ni* thirst [ts]  
**te-** → **taye**  
**tene**, *var.* **tāne** *vi* to begin; AUX to  
 be about to do s.th. → **ko** [MN  
**tene**]  
**teyake** AUX to be about to, to start  
 doing s.th. (VN)  
**teye** (**tel-**) *vi* AUX to be allowed,  
 proper; **ma tewo**, **ma tele** “one  
 mustn’t”, “don’t” (VN) [MN **teye**]  
**tō**<sub>1</sub> *pp* towards  
**-tō**<sub>2</sub> *emphatic clitic* [MN **tu**]  
**tote**, *var.* **tuti** *ni* feet [MN **tuti**]  
**tonake** *vt* to cause to drink [ON  
**twāñake**, MN **twā:ke**]  
**toyu** *adj* white; **toyubelā** *ni*  
 moonlight [MN **tuyu**]  
**tolate** *vt* to give up, to abandon; →  
**prāṇa** [ON **twarhate**, MN **twa:te**]  
**toho** *ni* pretext, pretence; **tohon** *pp*  
 under the pretext, in the guise of  
 (*abs*) [MN **twaha**]  
**trāsa** *ni* fear [ts]  
**triśūla** *ni* trident [ts]  
**trailokya** *ni* the three worlds [ts]  
**thathiña**, *var.* **thathīgwo** *adj* such,  
 of this kind [ON **thathyāgwa**, ~  
 MN **thathāe**]

**thathē** *adv* thus, in this way [ON **thathyā**, ~ MN **thathāe**]  
**thathen** → **thwoten**  
**thanā** *adv* here [MN **thana**]  
**thani** *adv* today; **thaniyā rātrisa** *adv* last night [MN **thani**]  
**thama**, *var.* **thamā** *pron* self [MN **tha:**]  
**thawo** *pron* one's own [MN **thawa**]  
**thā** (*var.* **thā**) *adv* up, upwards; ~ **hāye** (**hāl-**) *vi* to ascend (*loc*) [MN **thā**]  
**thā** → **thā**  
**thāye** (*var.* **thās**) *ni* place [tbh, MN **thāy**]  
**thās** → **thāye**  
**thiina** → **thē**  
**thukā**, *var.* **tukhā** *adv* clearly, of course  
**thuli** *adv* that much [ON **thvalr**, MN **thuli**]  
**the** *adv* there  
**thē**, *var.* **thīgwo**, **thiina** *pp* as, like (*abs*) [MN **thē:**]  
**thethe** *adv* each other, mutually [ON **thaithai**, MN **tha:tha:**]  
**thene** *vi* to arrive [MN **thene**]  
**thwo** *pron* this; **thwote** *anaphoric pronoun*: this, these (aforementioned); **thwos** there [MN **thwa**]  
**thwoguli** → **thwo**  
**thwote** → **thwo**  
**thwoten**, *var.* **thaten** *adv* therefore  
**thwole** *adv* this much, this many  
**thwoletati** → **thwole**  
**thwos** → **thwo**  
**dakṣiṇa** *ni* south [ts]  
**dakṣiṇadiśā** *ni* the southern direction; **dakṣiṇadiśās** *adv* from the south [ts]  
**dakṣiṇadeśa** *ni* southern country [ts]  
**dakṣiṇābarta** *ni* the South (of India) [ts]

**daji(wo) khe** *excl* yes, of course, certainly  
**daṇḍapraṇāma** *ni* prostration; ~ **yāye** *vi* to prostrate oneself (in salutation) [ts]  
**date** (**dat-**) *vi* to be, exist; ... **dasē coṅa** “there (once) was ...” [MN **daye**]  
**danta** *ni* tooth [ts]  
**dantāghāta** *n. pr.*  
**dayake** *vi* to make; to acquire; → **sabhā**  
**dawo** → **date**  
**daśamī** *ni* the tenth day of a fortnight [ts]  
**dākō** *adj* all [MN **dākwa**]  
**dātā** *nah* giver [ts]  
**dinapratī** *adv* every day, daily [ts]  
**du**<sub>1</sub> *adv* inside; *pp* inside (*gen*) [ON **dū**, MN **du**]  
**du**<sub>2</sub> → **date**  
**dundubhibādyaḍin** *adv* “with the sound of drums etc.” [ts]  
**duwone** *adv* inside [MN **dune**]  
**duhā** *pp* into (*abs*) [MN **duhā:**]  
**duḥkha** *ni* pain, suffering; ~ **tāye** (**tāl-**) *vt* to feel pain; ~ **nake** *vi* to make suffer, to cause pain; ~ **naye** (**nal-**) *vt* to feel pain, to suffer [ts, MN **dukha**]  
**dūradeś(a)** → **deśa**  
**dūras** *adv* in the distance [ts]  
**depāl** *nah* temple guardian; royal guard [MN **dya:pā:**]  
**deb(a)** *nah* deity; majesty [ts, MN **de:**]  
**debaswāmī** *n. pr.*  
**debī** *nah* Goddess; majesty [ts]  
**delāsā** *ni* bedsheet → **lāsā** [MN **delāsā**]  
**deś(a)** *ni* country; **dūradeśa** *ni* a distant land [ts, MN **des/de:**]  
**deha** *ni* body [ts]  
**daib(yajogan)** *adv* as fate would have it [ts]

- do** → **date**
- dol** *num* thousand [MN **dwa:**]
- dolāyamāna** *adj* hanging; ~ **yāye** *vt* to hang [ts]
- dwāri** → **dwārika**
- dwārika** *nah* gatekeeper [ts]
- dhakā** = *encl marker of direct speech*; because [MN **dhakā:**]
- dhanadatta** *n. pr.*
- dhanabanta** *adj* wealthy [ts]
- dhane** *adj* fortunate, blessed [ts]
- dharmaadatta** *n. pr.*
- dharmaadhwaaja** *n. pr.*
- dhalalape** *vt* to seize, grasp [<tbh]
- dhāye (dhāl-)** *vt* to say, speak (to *loc*) [MN **dhāye**]
- dhāla**, *var.* **dhāle** *emphatic clitic* [MN **dhāla**]
- dhāle** → **dhāla**
- dhunake** → **dhune**
- dhune** *vt* to finish doing s.th.; *AUX* to have already done s.th. (*VN*) [MN **dhune**]
- dhok** *ni* push; ~ **phelake** *vt* to push [NIA]
- dhyābalape** *vt* to think, consider [<ts]
- nā**, *encl* too, also [MN **nā:**]
- nā**<sub>2</sub> → -**nō**
- nake** *vt* to feed → **duḥkha** [MN **nake**]
- napā** → **nāpā**
- naye (nal-)** *vt* to eat; → **duḥkha** [ON **ñe**, MN **naye**]
- nala** → **naye**
- nadī** *ni* river; °**tira** *ni* riverbank [ts]
- nasane** *vi* to dawn [MN **nasane**]
- nānā** *adj* various, different; °**bidha** *adj* *ibid.* [ts]
- nāpā**, *var.* **napā** *pp* together with (*soc*) ~ **lāye (lāt-)** *vi* to meet (with *soc*) [MN **nāpā:**]
- nām** *ni* name; *encl* called, by the name of ~ [ts, MN **nā:**]
- nāsāstunā** → **nasane**
- ni**<sub>1</sub> *emphatic clitic* [MN **ni**]
- niz** → **ne**
- nityakarmādi** *ni* the daily rituals *etc.* [ts]
- nidāna** *ni* care; ~ **yāye** *vt* to look after *s.o.* [ts]
- nimittan**, *var.* **nimittin** *pp* in order to (*VN*, *VN+gen*), for the sake of (*abs/ gen*) **thwoteyā nimittin** “for this reason ...” [ts]
- niraparādhī** *adj* innocent [ts]
- nirāśa** *adj* dejected, without hope [ts]
- nisē** *pp* since (*abs*) [MN **nisē:**]
- nītiśāstra** *ni* treatise on expedient behaviour [ts]
- ne**, *var.* **ni** *num* two [PTB \**g-nis*, ON **ne / nē**, MN **ni**]
- nepāl** *ni* the Valley of Nepal [MN **nepā:**]
- no** *imminence marker*: “about to” (*non-past*) [MN **na**]
- nō** *indefinite pronoun marker*
- nhapā** → **ñhapā**
- nhas** *num* seven [PTB \**s-nis*, ON **nhasa**, MN **nhay**]
- nhi** *ni* day; **nhin** daily; → **cān nhinā** [MN **nhi**]
- nhu** *num* class day; **chanhuyā kṣaṇas** *adv* one day [ON **nhū**, MN **nhu**]
- pakwān** *ni* dish; cooked food [ats, ≈MN **pakwā:**]
- pañca** *num* five [ts] → **nā**
- patra** *ni* leaf; petal [ts]
- padmanāla** *ni* lotus stalk [ts]
- padmapuṣpa** *ni* lotus blossom [ts]
- padmarāga** *ni* ruby [ts]
- padmābatī** *n. pr.*
- parama** *adj* the highest, utmost [ts]
- paraloka** *ni* the next world, the hereafter → **ihaloka** [ts]
- parijana** *nah* retinue [ts]

**paribāra** *ni* family [ts] → **bhochi**  
**parisrama** *ni* exhaustion; ~ **juye** *vi* to  
 become exhausted [ts]  
**pala** *ni* a measure of weight [ts]  
**-pā** *num class flat objects* [MN **pā**]  
**pāpa** *ni* iniquity [ts]  
**pāhān** *nah* guest [tbh, MN **pāhā:**]  
**piṇḍa** *ni* lump; a food-offering to  
 the deceased ancestors [ts]  
**pihā woye (wol-)** *vi* to come out  
 [MN **pihā:** **waye**]  
**-pu** *num class long objects and*  
*weapons* [MN **pu**]  
**pukhuli** *ni* pond [tbh, MN **pukhū**]  
**putra** *nah* son; °**kārya** *ni* the office of  
 a son (in the funeral rites); **putrādi**  
 [a son etc.=] offspring [ts]  
**putrī** *nah* daughter [ts]  
**puthi** → **mantra**  
**punaḥ**, *var.* **puna(r)** *adv* again  
 °**bāra** *adv* once more [ts]  
**puye** → **bhok puye**  
**purukha** *nah* man, human being;  
 servant; husband [ts]  
**puruṣa** → **purukha**  
**puṣkariṇī** *ni* pond; → **pukhuli** [ts]  
**puṣpabrṣṭi** *ni* a rain of blossoms [ts]  
**pustaka** *ni* book [ts]  
**pūjā** *ni* ritual, veneration [ts]  
**pṛthwī** *ni* the earth; **pṛthwimaṇḍala**  
*ibid.* [ts]  
**pe** *num* four [ON **pē** / **pyā**, MN **pi**]  
**poye** → **bhok puye**  
**posalape** *vt* to nourish, feed; to  
 support [<ts]  
**prakāra** *ni* way, manner [ts]  
**pratāpa** *ni* splendour, glory [ts]  
**pratigraha** *ni* gift [ts]  
**pratīta** *adj* credible; ~ **juye** *vi* to  
 believe, be convinced [ts]  
**prabhāba** *ni* influence, power;  
 efficacy [ts]  
**prayojana** *ni* occasion; purpose [ts]  
**praśna** *ni* question; ~ **yāye** *vt* to ask  
 [ts]

**p(r)asanna** *adj* happy, pleased; ~  
**juye** *vi* to become pleased; to give  
 (*hon.*) [ts]  
**prāṇa**, *var.* **prāṇā** *ni* breath; life; ~  
**tolate** *vt* to commit suicide [ts]  
**prāṇā** → **prāṇa**  
**-p(r)āya** *adj* having the quality of,  
 no better than (*abs*) [ts]  
**prāsāda** *ni* palace [ts]  
**phaye (phat-, phal-)** *vi* to be able  
 [MN **phaye**]  
**phala** *ni* fruit; result; **phalan** *pp* as a  
 result of (*gen*); → **se** [ts]  
**phelake** → **dhok**  
**phone** *vt* to ask for, beg [ON  
**phwāda**, MN **phwane**]  
**pholalape** *vt* to split, to crack open  
 [<tbh]  
**bacan** *ni* words, speech [ts, MN  
**bacā:**]  
**baji** *ni* husked rice; °**lhuyā** *ni* rice-  
 mortar [MN **baji**]  
**bajra** *ni* thunderbolt; diamond [ts]  
**bajramukuṭa** *n. pr.*  
**battīs** *num* thirty-two; ~ **lakṣaṇa** *ni*  
*the thirty-two auspicious signs on a*  
*person's body* [NIA]  
**bana** *ni* woods, forest; grove [ts]  
**baniyā** *nah* merchant [NIA]  
**babu** *nah* father [MN **bau**]  
**bara** *ni* boon [ts]  
**bala** *ni* power [ts]  
**bali** *ni* an offering; ~ **biye** *vt* to make  
 an offering [ts]  
**baśa** *ni* power [ts]  
**baśya** *adj* having power (over *gen*)  
 [ts]  
**basalape** *vi* to live, reside [<ts]  
**bastu** *ni* objects, goods [ts]  
**bāñchā** *ni* wish, desire [ts]  
**bāyu** *ni* air, breeze; ~ **sebalape** *vt* to  
 take the air [ts]  
**bārā bārā** *adv* again and again [ts]  
**bālaka** *nah* child [ts]

- bāsa** *ni* lodging; ~ **yāye** to lodge, reside [ts]
- bikramakeśarī** *n. pr.*
- bikramāditya** *n. pr.*
- bicāra** *ni* affair, concern; ~ **yāye** (yāt-) *vt* to consider, examine [ts]
- bicitra** *adj* colourful, variegated; beautiful [ts]
- bijyāye (bijyāt-)** *vi hon* to go, come; *AUX hon (cov, VN, stat.ptc)* [MN **bijyāye**]
- bidyā** *ni* knowledge, lore [ts]
- bidyābanta** *adj* learned [ts]
- bidyādhara** *nah* celestial musician; °**pura** *ni* the city of the celestial musicians [ts]
- bidyādhari** *nah* (female) celestial musician [ts]
- bidhi** *ni* way, manner; (instructions for a) ritual [ts]
- binu** *pp* without (*abs*) [tʰh]
- bipra** *nah* brahman [ts]
- bibāhā** *ni* marriage; ~ **yāye** (yāt-) *vt* to marry [ts]
- bididha** *adj* manifold [ts]
- biye (bil-)** *vt* to give (to *dat*); to give a girl in marriage [MN **biye**]
- bilāpa** *ni* wailing; ~ **yāye** *vt* to wail [ts]
- bilāsabatī** *n. pr.*
- bilbaphala** *ni* bilva fruit [ts]
- biśwāsa** *ni* trust, faith; ~ **yāye** (yāt-) *vt* to trust s.o. (*loc*) [ts]
- biśrāma** *ni* rest; ~ **yāye** (yāt-) *vt* to rest [ts]
- biṣa** *ni* poison; **biṣasamyukta** *adj* poisoned [ts]
- bismaya** *ni* amazement; ~ **cāye** (cāl-) *vi* to be amazed [ts]
- bīra** *nah* hero [ts]
- bīrabāhu** *n. pr.*
- buddhiśarīra** *n. pr.*
- br̥kṣa** *ni* tree; → **simā** [ts]
- br̥tāntar** *ni* report [~ts]
- br̥ddhā** *na* old woman; → **jithi** [ts]
- br̥ddhi** *ni* increase; ~ **juye** *vi* to increase [ts]
- bekta** *adj* certain, ascertained; **bektan** *adv* clearly, plainly [ts]
- bektan** → **bekta**
- bega** *ni* impact, severity [ts]
- betāla** *nah* corpse demon; **tāla** ~ **Tāla** and **Vetāla**, two helpful spirits in the service of King **Vikramāditya**; °**siddhi** *ni* the power over these spirits [ts]
- byathā** *ni* pain [ts]
- beye (bel-)** *vi* to run away; to retreat
- bela** *ni* time; **belas** *pp* at the time of ~ (*abs*); **thwo belas** *adv* at that time; then [ats, MN **bela**]
- beśyā** *nah* courtesan [ts]
- baidūrya** *ni* beryl [ts]
- baidya** *nah* medical doctor [ts]
- baiśya** *nah* vaiśya [ts]
- bodha yāye** *vt* to convince, persuade [<ts]
- bonake** *vt* to have s.o. summoned
- bone** *vt* to call, summon; to invite; **boṇa yene** *vt* to lead s.o.; **boṇa haye (hal-)** *vt* to fetch s.o. [MN **bwane**]
- boye (bol-)** *vi* to fly; to escape [MN **bwāye**]
- bohol** *ni* shoulder [ON **boharha**, MN **bwaha**:]
- byāpārī** *nah* merchant [ts]
- brahmahatyā** *ni* the sin of killing a brahman [ts]
- brāhmaṇa** *nah* brahman [ts]
- bhagabatī** *nah* lady; the Goddess [ts]
- bhaṅga yā(ca)ke** *vt* to cause to break [<ts]
- bhaṅḍāra** *ni* store room, treasury [ts]
- bhaya** *ni* fear [ts]
- bhayaṅkara** *adj* terrible [ts]
- bhasma** *ni* ashes [ts]

- bhālope** *vi* to think, consider; → **citta**, → **mana** [<ts]  
**bhikṣaka** *nah* (Buddhist) monk [ts]  
**bhīṇa**, *var.* **bhīgwo** *adj* good [MN bhī]  
**bhuktalape** *vt* to enjoy [<ts]  
**bhr̥ṣā** *adj* exhausted; ~ **juye** *vi* to become exhausted [ts]  
**bho** *vocative particle* [ts]  
**bhok puye** (**pul-**) *vt* to bow one's head [MN **bhwa: puye**]  
**bhochi** (*var.* **bhochī**) *na* family [MN **bhwachi**]  
**bhoj** *ni* food; **bhojacāga** *adj* discerning about food [ts, MN **bhway**]  
**bhramalape** *vi* to wander [<ts]  
**ma** NEG not [MN **ma**]  
**makhā** *encl* surely, certainly [MN **makhā**]  
**maṇḍal** *ni* circle; sacred diagram [ts, MN **mā:da:**]  
**matā** *ni* lamp [MN **mata**]  
**madanabeśa** *n. pr.*  
**mana** *ni* mind; **manan bhālope** *vi* to think to oneself [ats, MN **man**]  
**manoratha** *ni* wish, fantasy [ts]  
**mantra** *ni* magic spell; °**puṭhī** *ni* a book of spells; → **siddha** [ts]  
**mantriputra** *nah* minister's son [ts]  
**mantrī** *nah* minister, councillor [ts]  
**marakata** *ni* emerald [ts]  
**mastaka** *ni* head [ts]  
**mahā** *adj* great; *adv* very, extremely; °**kulasambhaba** *adj* born from a prominent family; °**debī** *nah* great queen; °**dhanī** *adj* very wealthy; °**purukha** *nah* a great man; °**pātaka** *ni* one of the five great sins; °**bīra** *nah* a great hero; °**rāja** *nah* great king [ts]  
**mātra** *encl* only [ts]  
**mānya** *adj* respectable; ~ **yāye** *vt* to honour [ts]  
**māle** *vi* to be necessary (VN) [MN **māle**]
- mitra** *nah* friend [ts]  
**miye**, *vt* to sell [MN **miye**]  
**misā** *na* woman [MN **misā**]  
**muktā** *ni* pearl [ts]  
**mukha** *ni* face → **khwāl** [ts]  
**mune** *vi* to meet, assemble; *vt* to collect [MN **mune**]  
**mūrchā juye** (**jul-**) *vi* to faint [<ts]  
**mūladCN** *ni* root; **mūlanā** *adv* principally [ts]  
**mṛtaka** *na(h)* corpse [ts]  
**mṛtyu** *ni* death; ~ **juye** (**jul-**) *vi* to die [ts]  
**mele** *adv* elsewhere [ON **melyā**, MN **mela**]  
**mewo** *pron* other, another [MN **me: mewo**]  
**mocake** *vt* to kill, destroy  
**moye** (**mol-**) *vi* to perish, die  
**mauna** *adj* silent ~ **yāye** *vt* to remain silent [ts]  
**mwācake** *vt* to revive, bring to life  
**mwāye** (**mwāt-**) *vi* to live, be alive [MN **mwāye**]  
**mhā**, *ni* body [MN **mha**]  
**-mhā** (*var* **-mhā**) *animate generic particle* [MN **mha**]  
**-mhā** → **mhā**  
**mhuthu** *ni* mouth [MN **mhutu**]  
**mhyāc**, *var.* **mhāc** *na* daughter [MN **mhye:**]  
**yākātā** *adv* alone [≈MN **yāka:**]  
**yāke** → **yācake**  
**yācake**, *var.* **yāke** *vt* to cause to do [MN **yāke**]  
**yāye** (**yāt-**) *vt* to do, make [MN **yāye**]  
**yethē** *adv* however much; ~ **jusē hanasanō**, *var.* **hanasenā** nevertheless; **yethenā** nevertheless [MN **yathe**]  
**yene** *vt* to lead [ON **yāne**, MN **yene**]  
**yeye** (**yel-**) *vt* to wish, desire [MN **yeye**]  
**yela yela gāye** (**gāt-**) *vi* to blister  
**yaubana** *ni* youth; *adj* youthful [ts]

- rakṣalape** *vt* to guard [<ts]  
**rakṣā yāye** (yāt-) *vt* to guard; to save [ts]  
**ratna** *ni* jewel [ts]  
**rasa** *ni* joy ~ **tāye** *vt* to become glad [<ts]  
**rākṣas** *na* demon, ogre [ts; MN rākhay]  
**rājakumāra** *nah* prince, son of a king [ts]  
**rājadwāra** *ni* palace gate; the presence of the king [ts]  
**rājan** → **rāja**  
**rājaputra** *nah* son of kings; nobleman [ts]  
**rājaputrī** *nah* noblewoman [ts]  
**rājalakṣaṇa** *ni* the mark of a king [ts]  
**rājalakṣmī** *nah* chief queen [ts]  
**rājasebī** *nah* royal servant [ts]  
**rājā** *nah* king; **rājan** *vocative* [ts]  
**rājya** *ni* kingdom; rule; overlordship; **rājyagrha** = **rājagrha** *ni* royal palace; **rājyasukha** *ni* the joy of kingship [ts]  
**rāṇī** *nah* queen [ts]  
**rātrī** *ni* night [ts]  
**rudraśarmā** *n. pr.*  
**rūpabanta** *adj* beautiful, handsome [ts]  
**rūpayaubana** *ni* beauty and youth [ts]  
**lākh** *ni* water [ON lākhwa, MN lā:]  
**lakṣa** *num* one lakh, a hundred thousand [ts]  
**lakṣalape** → **rakṣalape**  
**lakṣā** → **rakṣā**  
**lawo** → **lhāye**  
**lā** *interrogative particle* [MN lā]  
**lābaṇyabatī** *n. pr.*  
**lāye** (lāt-) *vt* to get, obtain [MN lāye]  
**lāye**2 (lāl-) *vt* to spread out [MN lāye]  
**lāsā** *ni* bed, bedding [MN lāsā]  
**lāhāt(a)** *ni* hand [PTB \*lak, ON lā / lāhātha, MN la + t̥bh]  
**li** *pp* behind; after (*gen*) [MN li]  
**licake** *vt* to (cause to) follow, accompany  
**lithu** *adj* later, subsequent  
**lithē** *adv* later, thereupon [ON lithya, ~ MN lipā]  
**liwo** *adv* behind; **liwo liwo** *adv* behind  
**lihā woye**1 *vi* to return [MN lihā woye]  
**luyake** *vt* to find, procure [~ MN luyē]  
**lene**, *var.* **lane** *vi* to wait, tarry; **chunā ma lenakā** *adv* without delay [MN lane]  
**lepalape** *vt* to smear [<ts]  
**loka** *nah* people; the world [ts]  
**lwāye** (lwāt-) *vt* to quarrel, to fight [MN lwāye]  
**lhāye** (lhāt-, lhāl-) *vt* to say, speak (to *loc*); **lawā** ~ *vt* to hand over [MN lhāye]  
**wo** *pron* that (*distant*) [MN wa]  
**wone**, *var.* **wāne** *vi* to go [ON wāñe, MN wane]  
**wopani** *pron* those (*distant*) [MN wapī]  
**woye** (wol-) *vi* to come [ON waya, MN waye]  
**wānake** *vt* to let pass (time)  
**wāne** → **wone**  
**śaṅkā** *ni* doubt, fear [ts]  
**śabara**1 *nah* mountain-dweller [ts]  
**śabda** *ni* sound [ts]  
**śarīra** *ni* body [ts]  
**śākhā** *ni* branch [ts]  
**śimśapābr̥kṣa** *ni* śimśapā tree, *Dalbergia sissoo* ROXB. [ts]  
**śikhara** *name of a country*



- śilpī** *nah* artisan; *adj* skilful, dexterous [ts]
- śīta** *adj* cool; **śītopacāra** *ni* a treatment with cooling agents [ts]
- śītala** *adj* cool [ts]
- śuka** *na* parrot [ts]
- śuklapakṣa** *ni* the fortnight of the waxing moon [ts]
- śūdra** *nah* śūdra [ts]
- śūdraka** *n. pr.*
- śūra** *adj* heroic, valiant [ts]
- śṛṅgāra** *ni* love, lovemaking; °**kathā** *yāye* *vt* to exchange amorous words; °**sukha** *ni* the joys of lovemaking [ts]
- śmaśāna** *ni* cremation ground [ts]
- śrībanta** *adj* splendid, fortunate [ts]
- sā**, *var.* **sāgu** *ni* hair [MN **sā**]
- sāgu** → **sā**
- samyukta** *adj* endowed with (*abs*) [ts]
- sakala** *plural marker*; **sakalā** *adv* all [ts]
- sakhā** *nah* friend; **sakhe** *voc* [ts]
- sajyā** *ni* bedding [ats]
- satya** *ni* promise; ~ **yāye** *vt* to make a promise; *adv* truly [ts]
- sane** *vt* to act [MN **sane**]
- santuṣṭa** *adj* content, pleased [ts]
- sandeśa**, *var.* **sādeśa** (Bhp.) *ni* message; present [ts]
- sandeha** *ni* doubt, uncertainty; danger [ts]
- sabhā** *ni* royal court; ~ **dayake** *vt* to hold court [ts]
- samasta** *inanimate plural marker*; **samastā** *adv* all, entire [ts]
- samāna** *adj* equal [ts]
- samīpas** *pp* near, with; towards (*gen/abs*) [ts]
- samudrasīmā** *ni* the edge of the ocean; *adj* bordered by the ocean [ts]
- samūha** *ni* mass, great number; *inanimate plural marker* [ts]
- sampatti** *ni* wealth [ts]
- sambandha** *ni*, connection; contact (with *soc*) [ts]
- saye** (**sal-**) *vt* to know; to know how to do s.th. [MN **saye**]
- sarobara** *ni* lake; **sarobaratīra** *ni* the shore of a lake [ts]
- sarbāṅgasundara** *adj* “beautiful in all limbs” [ts]
- sal** *ni* sound, noise [MN **sa:**]
- sala**, *var.* **salā** *na* horse [PTB \**s-raj*, ON **śarhā**, MN **sala**]
- salate** *vt* to call [MN **sa:te**]
- sahasra** *num* a thousand [ts]
- sahāya** *ni* help, assistance; ~ **yāye** *vt* to help, assist [ts]
- sahita** *pp* together with (*abs*); **sahitan** *ibid.* [ts]
- sācān** *na* hawk [MN **satā:**]
- sātwika** *adj* valiant [ats]
- sādhalape** *vt* to accomplish, to obtain [<ts]
- sābadhānan** *adv* carefully [ts]
- sābitrī** *n. pr.*
- sāmagrī** *ni* implements [ts]
- sāmanta** *nah* vassal [ts]
- sāmartha** *ni* strength; ability; *adj* able [ats]
- sārikā** *na* mynah bird [ts]
- siṃha** *cn* *na* lion [ts]
- sika** *adj* dead; *na* a dead person → **siye**
- siddha** *adj* magical; *ni* magician; °**mantra** *ni* magic spell; ~ **yāye** *vt* to accomplish, to find [ts]
- siddhayake** *vt* to accomplish [<ts]
- siddhi** *ni* siddhi, magic power [ts]
- sinā** → **sinō**
- sinō**, *var.* **sinā** *PP* (more) than (*gen*) [ON **sinwā**]
- simā**, *var.* **simā** *ni* tree [PTB \**siṅ*, ON **sī**, MN **si** / **simā**]
- simā** → **simā**
- simāco** *ni* treetop → **co**, → **simā**

- siye (sit-)** *vi* to die [PTB \**siy*, ON *sica*, MN *siye*]
- sir** *ni* head; **siras taye** *vt* to keep in mind [NIA]
- sisē** → **tāthe**
- sītopacāra** → **upacāra**
- su** *interr* who? [MN *su*]
- sukha** *ni* happiness, enjoyment; **sukhan** *adv* happily; → **rājya** [ts]
- sunā** *pron* someone [MN *sū*]
- subarṇa** *ni* gold [ts]
- suye** → **ghasāhan suye**
- suratasambhoga** *ni* the joy of love-making [ts]
- suratasukha** *ni* the joy of lovemaking; ~ **yāye** to make love [ts]
- sūrya** *ni* sun; ~ **udaya** → **sūryodaya** [ts]
- sūryodaya**, *var.* **sūrya udaya** *ni* sunrise [ts]
- se** *ni* fruit [PTB \**sey*, ON *se*, MN *si*]
- sebaka** *nah* servant [ts]
- sebalape** *vt* to serve; → **bāyu** [<ts]
- sebā** *ni* service; ~ **dhāye** *vt* to pay one's respects → **svāmī** [ts]
- seyake** *vt* to tell, instruct (*loc*); to (cause to) know; to get to know
- seye (sel-)** *vt* to know, understand [MN *siye*]
- sō** *num* three [PTB \**g-sum*, ON *swā*, MN *swa*]
- somaprabhā** *n. pr.*
- soye (sol-, sot-)** *vt* to look; to search; **sola wone** *vt* to go to see [MN *swaye*]
- sauparṇikā** *n. pr.*
- stutī** *ni* praise; ~ **yāye** *vt* to praise (*gen/dat*) [ts]
- strī** *nah* woman; wife; **strībadha** *ni* the killing of a woman; → **misā** [ts]
- snān** *ni* (ritual) bath; ~ **yāye** *vt* to bathe [ts, MN *sanā*.]
- sphaṭīkaprāsāda** *ni* crystal palace [ts]
- svāmī** *nah* lord, master; husband; **svāmisebā** *ni* service rendered to the master; loyalty [ts]
- hatyā**, *var.* **hathyā** *ni* murder, killing [ts]
- hane<sub>1</sub>**, *var.* **hāne** *vt* to pass (time) [ON *hāne*, MN *hane*]
- hane<sub>2</sub>** *vi* to take place, to happen; **hanasanō** → **yethē** [ON *hāne*, MN *hane*]
- hanō**, *var.* **hanā** *adv* again, further [ON *hana*, MN *hānā*]
- hayake** *vt* to cause to bring
- haye (hal-)** *vt* to bring, carry; to wear; AUX *resultative (cov)* → **jone**; → **bone** [MN *haye*]
- harisvāmī** *n. pr.*
- harṣamāna** *adv* joyfully; ~ **yāye** *vt* to rejoice; **harṣamānan** *ibid.* [ts]
- harṣaromāñcitadeha yāye** *vt* to rejoice with the body hair bristling, to shudder with delight [ts]
- hasta** *ni* hand [ts] → **lāhāt**
- hasṭī** *na* elephant [ts]
- hāne** → **hane**
- hāye<sub>1</sub> (hāt-)** *vt* to say; to tell s.o. to do s.th. [MN *haye*]
- hāye<sub>2</sub> (hāl-)** *vi* to climb → **thā**
- hāle** *vi* to shout, to scream [MN *hāle*]
- hāsya yāye** *vt* to laugh [ts]
- hiraṇyagupta** *n. pr.*
- hiwo** → **haye**
- he** *vocative particle* [ts]
- hetu** *ni* cause, reason [ts]



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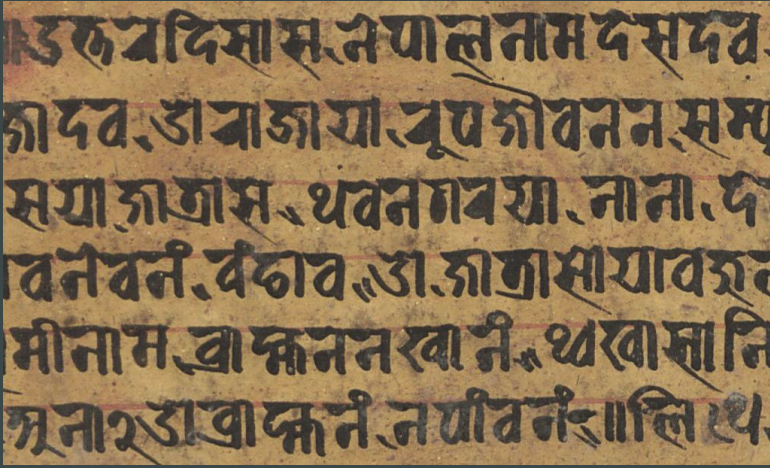
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