

# Is Bangani a V2 language?<sup>1</sup>

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## 1 Introduction

The West Pahari language Bangani, spoken in the western Garhwal Himalayas of Uttarakhand between the rivers Tons and Pabar, has been a topic of controversy (see Zoller 1999). The controversy relates mainly to the question of whether Bangani contains Indo-European but non-Indo-Aryan vocabulary or not. I would like to continue the discussion on remarkable aspects of Bangani with two more articles. This first one discusses a central aspect of Bangani syntax, namely the relatively common occurrence of the predicate in verb-second sentence position. The article thus tries to answer the question: is Bangani a V2 language?

In V2 languages (like German, Dutch, Icelandic etc.) the finite verb or the auxiliary occupies the second position of declarative main clauses (e.g. German *Er sieht sie* “he sees her”). V2 languages are further classified with regard to the syntactic behaviour of the predicate in subordinate clauses, in combination with modal verbs, etc. Among the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages, the V2 phenomenon has only parallels in Kashmiri (plus three small varieties in the vicinity of Kashmiri) and—as only pointed out quite recently (Sharma 2003)—in some tongues adjacent and linguistically closely related to Bangani. For instance, it is common to say in Kashmiri<sup>2</sup>

az **kor** mye baagas=manz **seer**<sup>3</sup>  
today made I.ERG garden=in walk  
“Today I took a walk in the garden”

and in Bangani (with a light verb<sup>4</sup> occupying the second sentence position):

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<sup>1</sup>I am grateful to Joan L. G. Baart and Ruth L. Schmidt for their suggestions and critical remarks.

<sup>2</sup>Throughout the article all grammatical phenomena being discussed are written in bold face. The presentation of the examples and the abbreviations used follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. See <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html>. For the list of abbreviations used in this article see p.142.

<sup>3</sup>Example from <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~pehook/kash.verb.html>.

<sup>4</sup>On the notion of light verbs see Miriam Butt and Wilhelm Geuder 2001 with further readings.

*tetkε er-ə*                      *seu*      *pakri*<sup>-5</sup>      *tiūε*  
*there see-M.SG.PST.PTCP*<sup>6</sup> *he*      *grab*      *they.ERG*  
 “They hunted him down there”

and in Outer Siraji (northwest of Bangan close to the Shimla district; see Sharma 2003: 57)

*o a kukkər*  
*this is dog*  
 “This is a dog”

Before looking into the details of Bangani V2 structures I would like to say some words on the relationship between Bangani and Kashmiri (a topic which will be taken up at several places in this and the forthcoming article). I would first like to point out that the West Pahari languages (of which Bangani is a member) are the—or are among the—closest relatives of Kashmiri. For instance, Kashmiri and West Pahari (but also Gypsy), have preserved the three OIA sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* as the two sibilants *ś* and *s*.<sup>7</sup> In addition to this I believe that from among all the West Pahari languages it is Bangani that has especially close affinities with Kashmiri despite the fact that Bangani is located at the eastern fringe of the West Pahari language and dialect area. Before I start discussing the V2 issue in more detail I would like to say that besides quite similar V2 patterns and interesting common vocabulary (discussed in the forthcoming article), there are additional remarkable parallels between Bangani and Kashmiri which are (almost) limited to these two languages.<sup>8</sup> I will name here four parallels, two of which will be discussed in greater detail later in this article.

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<sup>5</sup> This hyphen indicates here and below a main verb stem of a compound verb extended by *-i-*.

<sup>6</sup> As stated, the abbreviations used here follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. However, due to their very frequent occurrence, the rather clumsy forms M.SG.PST.PTCP, M.PL.PST.PTCP, and F.PST.PTCP are further abbreviated to M.S.PS.PT, M.P.PS.PT, and F.PS.PT.

<sup>7</sup>The Dardic languages have preserved all three sibilants; the rest of the Indo-Aryan languages have preserved only one.

<sup>8</sup> Actually Bangani is part of what I will call the Satlaj-Tons group of languages/dialects. Other members of this group seem to share at least parts of the linguistic phenomena discussed here. And besides Kashmiri there are some other languages in its vicinity which too share at least parts of these features. Kashmiri and Bangani are thus better understood as distinct representatives of two language complexes.

(1) Kashmiri and Bangani are NIA languages that do not require the oblique case (frequently followed by a postposition marker of the oblique case) for direct object personal pronouns in ergative constructions (discussed in more detail below p. 103). The only other NIA language known to me with this feature is Khaśālī, a language spoken directly southeast of Kashmiri (see Siddheshvar Varma 1938: 45).

Kashmiri (see Peter Edwin Hook and Omkar N. Koul 2002: 143):

*tyimav kyaazyi suuzu-kh tsi yoor?*  
*they.ERG why sent.M.SG-2.SG.NOM you.NOM here?*  
 “Why did they send you here?”

Bangani:

*gobruei dekh-ə seu*  
*Gabar.ERG see-M.S.PS.PT he.NOM*  
 “Gabar saw him”

(2) Kashmiri and Bangani share a type of discontinuous nominal construction which is, to my knowledge, not found in other NIA languages.

Kashmiri:

*tem-sund1 chu asyi makān2 baḍi pasand<sup>10</sup>*  
*he-of AUX us.DAT house.NOM very like*  
 “We like **his1 house2** very much”

Bangani:

*tesrə1 dekh-ə gār2 tiṇi*  
*his see-M.S.PS.PT house he.ERG*  
 “He saw **his1 house2**”

Also worth mentioning are two phonological features shared by both languages:

(3) Kashmiri and Bangani have practically identical consonant systems. Their stops display a threefold opposition, e.g. *p*, *ph*, *b*, i.e. both lack voiced aspirates. There are other Indo-Aryan (IA) languages showing the same

<sup>9</sup> The original glossing here and in other cases has been adapted to that of this article.

<sup>10</sup> See Bhatt 1994: 35.

threefold contrast (e.g. Panjabi and Shina), but it is remarkable that Bangani is surrounded on all sides by languages with a fourfold contrast.<sup>11</sup>

(4) Bangani does not have a phoneme *h*. Kashmiri has this phoneme, but it is remarkable that *h* has disappeared in initial position in its inherited core vocabulary. For example: Kashmiri *athi* “hand”, *ala* “plough”, *asun* “to laugh”, *aḍa* “bones”, etc. (OIA *hasta-*, *hala-*, *has-*, *haḍḍa-*), Bangani *āth*, *āl*, *asṇə*, *arkhə*. This suggests the assumption that Kashmiri, as well as Bangani once underwent loss of its inherited *h* phoneme, which was re-introduced into Kashmiri at a later stage.

Since the features (1) to (4) are, at least when taken together, limited to Kashmiri and Bangani, I want to formulate the following hypothesis:

Proto-Bangani was at some stage in the past spoken north-west to its present location, in the vicinity of the Kashmiri language area.

Besides the arguments presented in this article, further evidence corroborating this thesis will be provided in the forthcoming second article in which I will demonstrate the close relationship between the vocabulary of Bangani and those of the Dardic languages, especially Kashmiri. There I will also present Bangani vocabulary which appears to be of East Iranian provenance, plus additional vocabulary of possible Indo-European but non-Indo-Aryan origin.<sup>12</sup> All this is intended to suggest a route that was followed by Proto-Bangani until the present location.

The only V2 language hitherto known in the area has been Kashmiri (and a small group of nearby languages like the Shina of Gures, Upper Poguli and Watali).<sup>13</sup> Recently it has been shown that Bushahari (Simla district), and Inner and Outer Siraji (West Pahari languages spoken directly northwest of Bushahari) are V2 languages too (Sharma 2003). Moreover, Hans Hendriksen remarks (1986: 188) on Koci (a West Pahari dialect of Himachali spoken directly to the north of Bangani and south of Bushahari) and Koṭṭarḥi (spoken to the west of Koci): “In subordinate clauses the sentence verb is generally placed at the end, while its position

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<sup>11</sup> Already G. A. Grierson (1916: 377) discusses the common trend of loss of aspiration in West Pahari and Kashmiri. However, the West Pahari examples quoted by him seem to be largely limited to my Satlaj-Tons group; moreover, his examples show that the loss of aspiration in those languages and dialects has not been as complete as it has been in Bangani. Note also that Hans Hendriksen (1986: 7) shows a fourfold consonant opposition for Koṭṭarḥi and Koci, the language varieties most closely related to Bangani.

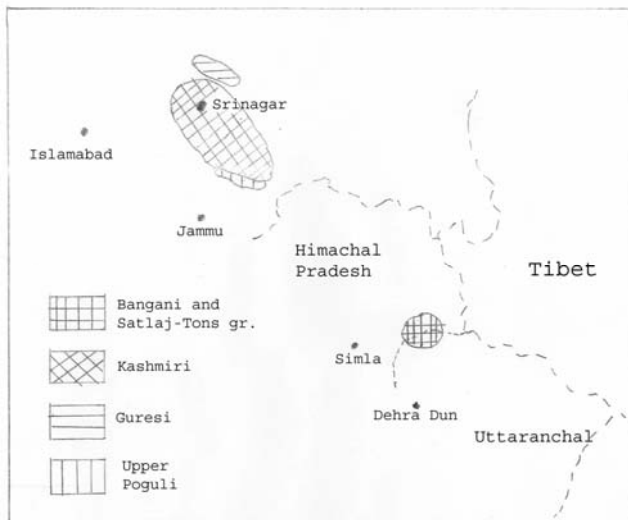
<sup>12</sup> There is no need to refer in this article to Georg van Driem’s dingy efforts on Bangani as he also failed, as expected, to recognize the V2 traits of Bangani (which he believes to be “irregular forms”!).

<sup>13</sup> See footnote 3 with the internet address where these languages are quoted. Watali is spoken in Doda district of Jammu and Kashmir state. Examples of V2 sentences in the Shina of Gures can be found in Bailey 1924: 251f.

is in the middle in main clauses, especially in Kc. [Koci]; there is greater liberty in main clauses in Ktg. [Kotgarhi].”

Inner and Outer Siraji, Bushahari, Kotgarhi, Koci and Bangani constitute *one* small but continuous geographic language/dialect continuum which I will call the Satlaj-Tons group, as it covers a language continuum between parts of the catchment areas of these two rivers (which are separated by a watershed). Recent enquiries by this author indicate that other languages in the vicinity, e.g. Deogarhi south of Bangani, Bawari-Jaunsari to its east, or other West Pahari languages further in the west do not seem to have this syntactic V2 feature.

Anvita Abbi, who confirmed my findings on the archaic vocabulary of Bangani (1997), has shown the existence of what she calls auxiliary raising in Bangani, a phenomenon closely connected with the issue of V2. She rightly points out that Bangani uses both V2 and V-last constructions, and she describes several differences in the syntactical behaviour of Bangani and Kashmiri. Then she concludes that V2 must have been the original word order, and V-last constructions might have developed through language contact. Finally she points out that the existence of V2 in Bangani indicates (old) language contact with Kashmiri (Abbi 2000: 48ff.). A similar opinion is expressed by Sharma (2003: 55 and 67) with regard to Outer Siraji and Kashmiri.



map 1. Location of languages.

Neither Kashmiri nor the Satlaj-Tons group display all the syntactical features typical for a canonical V2 language. Rather, the majority of their features coincide with those of other NIA languages which are of the V-last type. Finally I have to stress that this paper does not offer an exhaustive syntactic analysis of V2 in Bangani. The paper is quite non-technical and does not explain the syntactic movements on which the examples below are obviously based.

## 2 Remarks on word order

Normal spoken Bangani—as well as its oral texts—displays a great freedom in word order. The same is reported for Kashmiri (Bhatt 1994: 31). And whereas Hindi written narrative texts (for instance the short stories of Nirmal Varma) appear to have a more rigid SOV word order, a comparable freedom is found in Hindi oral texts (for instance, in Hindi films) or in written texts intended for oral performance (as in Hindi dramas). In Hindi, this opposition is related to concepts like written/narrative/formal versus oral/dialogic/informal. In texts belonging to the latter category, a pronoun, noun or a whole phrase might follow the verb, or there are instances where the verb appears at the beginning of a sentence.

In their discussion of discourse structures in Hindi/Urdu, Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (status 2005) point out (p. 1) that “differing possible word orders correspond to differing possible ways of packaging information.” They further state that (p. 2) “word order in Hindi/Urdu can only be fully understood through an acknowledgement and explication of the connection between word order and discourse functions,” and that (p.3) a “simplistic one-to-one correlation between position and function is rejected.”

Texts with a stricter word order—for formal Hindi it is Subject - Indirect Object - Direct Object - Adverb - Verb—alternating with texts with a freer word order is, perhaps, a trait characterizing many Indo-Aryan textual traditions. Vit Bubenik (1996: 131 ff.) mentions that, whereas word order was of a strict SOV type in Classical Sanskrit, it was much less rigid in Brahmana and Vedic Sanskrit, and in Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA). Here it suffices to say that Bubenik also relates change of word order in the latter languages with specific discourse strategies, and he shows that, contrary to the claims of Butt and King, there are cases of very direct correlations between word positions and their functions. For the moment we can thus say that the very free word order in Bangani and Kashmiri is perhaps the continuation of a typical trait which was once fairly widespread in OIA and MIA.

### 3 Bangani oral texts

Demonstrating the typical features of the Bangani verb phrase is perhaps best done with the help of an oral story, as this is an authentic reflection of how Bangani is used. However, wherever deemed necessary, additional material from interviews has been added.

The story which I have selected (and which is presented below beginning with section 13) is known under the name *burə-khurə sadəru* which means something like “the little old gentleman.” It relates the story of how god Mahāsu—actually four divine brothers named Boṭhə, Pəvasi, Bāśik and Tsaḷdə—came from Kashmir to Bangan and established a divine kingdom. The story was taped by me in April 1983 in Bangan in the village Jagta. The storyteller was Shri Sardar Singh Chauhan. He is no longer alive. He was a farmer and shaman. The language he uses represents normal traditional Bangani, i.e. unlike the language used by the professional bards during performance, it is in no way artificial. It thus can be taken as a specimen of normal traditional Bangani narration. The interested reader can compare the Bangani text passages of this article with an amusing story collected by Hans Hendriksen from the Koci dialect (1979: 42ff.). He will note that the syntactical patterns of Koci and Bangani are almost identical.

### 4 The Bangani predicate

I will now concentrate on sentences with the predicate consisting of a main verb (MV)<sup>14</sup> plus an auxiliary<sup>15</sup> or a light verb (LV)<sup>16</sup>, because they are more instructive than sentences with simple predicates. The light verbs comprise in Bangani, as in most other NIA languages, a fairly small closed group of so-called simple verbs (“give” would be a simple verb and “entrust” a complex verb; on the notion of simple [or underspecified] verbs see Butt and Lahiri [2002: 31] and Butt [2003: 3 and passim]). In verb phrases (VP) with light verbs or auxiliaries the light verb or auxiliary inflects according to gender and number, and the main verbs consist of a stem plus the ending *-i* (or *-ui* in case of verb stems ending with a

<sup>14</sup> Main verb here always means the semantic head in a complex predicate.

<sup>15</sup> Bangani uses an auxiliary *thə/the/thi* only in the past tense, and *əḷə/əḷe/əḷi* in the future. The paradigm of the present tense continues the Old Indo-Aryan synthetic system, e.g. *aū kərū* “I do”. However, in negative clauses (and occasionally elsewhere) the predicate consists of a participle, e.g. *aū na kərdə* “I don’t do”.

<sup>16</sup> Light verbs are also called vector verbs; and a combination of a main verb (stem) plus a light verb is called a compound verb. A compound verb is characterized by a *stable state* of predicate fusion. Compare Miriam Butt 2003: 16.

vowel).<sup>17</sup> Occasionally, the suffix *-iə* or *-ia* (or *-uiə* in case of verb stems ending with a vowel) is added to the main verb (see below section 10), which is usually the suffix for forming conjunctive participles.

Unlike other NIA languages, the predicate in the Satlaj-Tons group and in Kashmiri frequently has a discontinuous structure. This means that one finds, for instance in Bangani, other parts of speech between the two components of the predicate. In other NIA languages, for instance in Hindi, basically only negative or modal particles may appear between the two components. In the following sentence from the story (again discussed below) the object is bracketed by the two parts of the predicate:

(210) *tiṇi thə-ε dui gəɾε kəʃi-*  
*He.ERG put-M.P.PS.PT two horses harness-*  
 “He harnessed two horses”

It is also no problem for Bangani speakers to move the subject between the brackets formed by the components of the predicate, which leads to a shift of FOCUS from predicate to object: *thəε tiṇi dui gəɾε kəʃi-* “he harnessed two horses”.

Bangani discontinuous predicates of this type are only possible when the light verb or the auxiliary *precedes* the main verb. When the light verb or the auxiliary follows the main verb, only an emphatic particle or a negator can be inserted between the two components of the predicate. I therefore assert that a Bangani compound verb (CDV) can adopt two configurations, a tight configuration (TC) or a loose configuration (LC). In case of TC the components of the predicate occupy the same syntactic position; in case of LC the finite and the infinite components occupy two different sentence positions:

<i>loose configuration compound verb (LC.CDV)</i>	<i>tight configuration compound verb (TC.CDV)</i>
<i>LV ..... MV</i>	<i>MV-LV</i>
<i>thəε tiṇi dui gəɾε kəʃi-</i>	<i>tiṇi dui gəɾε kəʃi- thəε</i>

LC.CDV is perceived by native speakers of Bangani as the normal word order. Thus, if a speaker of Bangani who knows English would be asked to translate “he harnessed two horses” into Bangani, he or she would most likely say *tiṇi thəε dui gəɾε kəʃi*. Another example is English “he was here”, typically translated into Bangani as *seu thə etke* (he – was – here). So this is the normal or neutral (i.e. canonical) word order.

<sup>17</sup> Below I will use FV (finite verb) as an abbreviation both for auxiliaries and light verbs.



Note that in section 9 I will discuss a predicate construction which is neither a compound nor a conjunct verb.<sup>18</sup> I will call it *composite verb* (CEV) construction; it consists of an inflected verb plus one of a small group of simple local adverbs. As in case of light verbs in compound verb constructions, the local adverbs in composite verb constructions lose some of their semanticity as a result of verb-adverb fusion (compare above footnote 16). I will therefore call these adverbs *light adverbs*. I will show that Bangani compound verbs and composite verbs display similar syntactic asymmetries (with regard to tight and loose configurations), however in a mirror image way. Then I will go on to show in section 10 that there exists another predicate construction that parallels composite verb constructions: under specific syntactic conditions (again related to tight and loose configurations) a fusion can take place between a converb and a main verb. I will call this *combined verb* construction. In combined verb constructions the main verb takes on the semantic role of a light verb (i.e. it loses semanticity) and the converb (in the shape of a conjunctive participle) that of the main verb.

Conjunct and compound verbs are well-known phenomena in Indo-Aryan linguistics. The existence of what I call composite verb constructions (fusion of a verb and an adverb) in some NIA languages is much less common, but has been pointed out by Peter Hook for four small languages in Rajasthan and Sindh (2001: 124 f.; see also below section 9). Also the existence of so-called combined verb constructions (fusion of a conjunctive participle and a simple verb) seems to be very limited among NIA languages and has so far only been reported from Kohistani and Gilgiti Shina (Schmidt 2001: 438 and 445-447); but the construction is also found in Kashmiri (see examples in Kaul 2006: 28).<sup>19</sup> I will show in sections 9 and 10 that, as against conjunct and compound verbs which are characterized by stable states of component fusion, composite and combined verb constructions are characterized by unstable states of component fusion in Bangani. This means that under specified conditions component fusion can but must not take place; in other words, these adverbs and conjunctive participles can switch between a “full” and a “light” state.

## 5 Topological fields

Sentences of the type of the preceding section are the reason why I will present the Bangani sentences using the model of topological fields. It is frequently used in German linguistics because German displays similar

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<sup>18</sup> A conjunct verb consists of a noun or adjective plus a simple verb.

<sup>19</sup> Note also Chris Taylor’s 2006 report on the occasional use of conjunct participles as full verbs in Sinhala.

discontinuous phenomena (see Höhle 1986, Debusmann, Müller, and the grammars of the Institut für deutsche Sprache: <http://www.ids-mannheim.de>). The model describes the linear dimension of sentence structures.<sup>20</sup> It does not offer a comprehensive description of Bangani syntax because it doesn't say anything about dependency relationships. However this is not the aim of this paper and it suffices for our purpose of a graphic presentation of bracketing processes in Bangani.<sup>21</sup> The basic division between NP and VP is expressed in this model by distinguishing between the three topological fields (which can be occupied with NPs) and the two so-called sentence brackets (which are reserved for the VP). The topological fields are named pre-field (Vorfeld), middle field (Mittelfeld) and post-field (Nachfeld). Between pre-field and middle field appears the left sentence bracket (linke Satzklammer; abbreviated here l. s. bracket), and between middle field and post-field the right sentence bracket (rechte Satzklammer; abbreviated here r. s. bracket). The sentence brackets are of central importance for the topological structure of Bangani sentences. The brackets typically arise when the finite verb occupies the second position in a sentence. I illustrate the topological fields now with a few German sentences together with a literal English translation:

<b>pre-field</b>	<b>l. s. bracket</b>	<b>middle field</b>	<b>r. s. bracket</b>	<b>post-field</b>
	Hat Has	Maria einen Mann Mary a man	geliebt? loved?	
Johann John	hat has	ein Brot a bread	gegessen eaten	
Johann John	ist is	besser better	geschwommen swum	als sein Freund than his friend

If the predicate of a Bangani sentence consists of a main verb plus an auxiliary or light verb, the latter may appear before the main verb. See the following three examples from the story (with sentence numbers in parenthesis):

<sup>20</sup> Grewendorf has shown (1991: 217ff.) that this model is compatible with generative syntax.

<sup>21</sup> I will not discuss here the problems in connection with the so-called virtual bracket in case of sentences without two bracket parts. For a critique see Martine Dalmas and Hélène Vinckel 2006.

(87) *seu denə tiŋi səmzai* “He explained to him”

pre-field	l. s. bracket	middle field	r. s. bracket
<i>seu</i> he	<i>de-ŋə</i> give-M.S.PS.PT	<i>tiŋi</i> he.ERG	<i>səmzai-</i> explain-

(21) *tɛ tetkɛ ɛrə seu pakri tiūɛ* “Then they seized him there”<sup>22</sup>

pre-field	l. s. bracket	middle field	r. s. bracket	post-field
<i>tɛ tetkɛ</i> then there	<i>ɛr-ə</i> see-M.S.PS.PT	<i>seu</i> he	<i>pakri-</i> seize-	<i>tiūɛ</i> they.ERG

(101) *tiŋi denə baidi likhi* “He wrote (everything into) a register”

pre-field	l. s. bracket	middle field	r. s. bracket
<i>tiŋi</i> he.ERG	<i>de-ŋə</i> give-M.S.PS.PT	<i>baidi</i> register	<i>likhi-</i> write-

Permutation tests with the sentence *muĩ bialɛ pōthi pəri- ɛri* (I.ERG yesterday book read- see-F.S.PS.PT) “I read the book yesterday” show that, if the light verb precedes the main verb, a stable sentence bracket structure appears. Following word orders are possible:

*muĩ ɛr-i bialɛ pōthi pəri-*  
*bialɛ ɛr-i muĩ pōthi pəri-*  
*pōthi ɛr-i muĩ pəri- bialɛ*  
*pōthi ɛr-i bialɛ pəri- muĩ*

These are not all possible permutations but these examples, and the examples further above and below, suffice to tentatively suggest the following with regard to what can appear in which topological field and sentence bracket:

- The left bracket contains the finite verb.
- The pre-field may contain one phrase at the most; it can also be empty.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Normally, only one constituent is allowed to appear in the pre-field. One might interpret the *tɛ* “then” as a copula between sentences. Such problems, however, are not important in our context and therefore ignored.

- There seem to be no constraints on the number of phrases in the middle field and post-field.
- The right bracket may be empty, or it contains one element: the main verb.

The restriction to maximally one element inside the right bracket is illustrated with permutations with the following sentence: *muĩ tsaĩ pōthi pər-ŋi* (I.ERG wish.SBJV book read-F.S.INF) “I want to read the book”. If the sentence is put into past tense it is possible to say *muĩ tsaĩ thi pōthi pər-ŋi* (I.ERG wish.SBJV was.F.S book read-F.S.INF) “I (have) wanted to read the book”. But it is neither possible to say \**muĩ thi pōthi pər-ŋi tsaĩ* nor \**muĩ thi pōthi tsaĩ pər-ŋi*.

The neutral word order for Bangani demands that the auxiliary or light verb precedes the main verb. If the predicate consists only of one element then its neutral position is the second one. Thus compare

- a) *muĩ pər-i biaḷe pōthi*  
(I.ERG read-F.S.PS.PT yesterday book)
- b) *muĩ ēr-i biaḷe pōthi pər-i*  
(I.ERG see-F.S.PS.PT yesterday book read-)
- c) *muĩ biaḷe pōthi pər-i ēr-i*  
(I.ERG yesterday book read- see-F.S.PS.PT)

All three sentences mean “I read the book yesterday”. A crucial difference between a) on the one and b) and c) on the other side is this: b) and c) express that the action has come to an end (perfective aspect), whereas a) does not express this. And a crucial difference between b) and c) is this: in case of b) the speaker is aware of the whole development of the event until its end, whereas in case of c) he or she takes note only of the end of the event. It is thus obvious that the opposition between b) and c) is related to the category of *evidentiality* (see Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon 2003, and Elena Bashir 2006). The “evidential” character of b) is further explicated by my language consultants as follows: sentences with two sentence brackets [like b)] typically characterize an event that has found a successful completion, even though that was not clear before. The sentence *muĩ ēr-i biaḷe pōthi pər-i* might thus be “hermeneutically” translated as: “Having planned (in advance) to read

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<sup>23</sup>An apparent breach of the rule that the pre-field can only be occupied by one constituent seems to be present in the following sentence (the only one in the whole story, sentence 50):

*kuḷu-kāśmīr tē tiṅi eśo bi de-ŋo seu səmzai-*  
Kullu-Kashmir then he.ERG so also give-M.S.PS.PT he explain-  
“(Regarding) Kullu-Kashmir he also advised him thus”

It is probably a construction that somehow went wrong.

the book I succeeded yesterday in doing it.” Obviously, this construction also expresses *purposefulness* which a) and c) do not.

The movement of the dependents of the predicate (e.g., subject, object, circumstantial) to different sentence positions doesn’t seem to be subject to restrictions apart from those formulated above. The topological fields are connected with the category of focus, as already indicated above on p. 91. Focus correlated with sentence positions holds also true for sentences with predicates consisting of one element [see above on page 94 example a)], for instance for imperative sentences. The neutral word order for “give the book to the girl” is Bangani *pōthi de tshēuri=kē* (book give.IMP girl=to); in a Hindi-like construction like *pōthi tshēuri=kē de* focus is centred on “girl”.

## 6 Word order in various sentences types

*Complement clauses:* The last sentence (101) of the preceding section is part of a complement construction which begins thus: *ješoi seu ašo, tiŋi...* “As he came, he (wrote everything)...”. This example shows that in Bangani temporal complement constructions the FV of the main predicate, unlike in German, is not automatically fronted into verb-first position.

Traditional Bangani syntax does not know subordination in indirect speech of the type “he said that he...” Instead it uses report of statements which is facultatively introduced with the conjunction *zə*. Real subordination occurs rarely in Bangani. The following example shows both report of statement (without conjunction) and a subordinated complement clause within the statement:

(86) *te tiū bolə, “se goi amū zāŋi bāt, zə kəiluei tho tu šikai.”*<sup>24</sup> “Then they said: “The matter became known to us that Kailu has instructed you.”<sup>25</sup>

pre-field	l. s. bracket	middle field	r. s. bracket	post-field
<i>se</i> <i>zə kəiluei</i>	<i>go-i</i> <i>tho</i>	<i>amū</i> <i>tu</i>	<i>zāŋi-</i> <i>šikai-</i>	<i>bāt</i>
this that Kailu.ERG	go-F.S.PS.PT was.M.S	us.DAT you	know- teach-	thing

<sup>24</sup> The sentence ends here, but not the speech.

<sup>25</sup> Kailu is a guardian deity of Mahasu. Note also that the main clause is so to say framed by *se* and *bāt* “the matter”. It is presently unclear to me whether this is a discontinuous noun phrase or an inverted theme rheme relationship. In any case, such constructions are quite common in spoken Bangani and in its oral literatures.

In contrast to German the Bangani and the Kashmiri auxiliary must not fall into the same final syntactic position as the main verb in case of a complement clause (see Raina 2002: 119). However, as in German, the verb phrase then marks the end of the clause and no NP is allowed to appear in the post-field. This is shown by the following permutation test conducted with Bangani speakers:

*goi amū zāṇi bāt, zō kōiluei thō tu ts□kaśe śikai* “The matter has become known to us that Kailu has taught you the bad news (ts□kaśe)”

But not: \**goi amū zāṇi bāt, zō kōiluei thō tu śikai ts□kaśe*

In independent Bangani sentences, the normal position of the object is after the verb (see below). In relative clauses, both in Kashmiri and German the verb must appear at the end (Hook and Koul, p. 1; see the internet address in the references). Not so in Bangani. There, however, the same rule as above obtains, and no NP is allowed to appear in the post-field.

Example: *ziṇi zatkei deṇō ḍōl uṣṭai...* “The son who threw the stone (he)...”

pre-field	l. s. bracket	middle field	r. s. bracket
<i>ziṇi zatkei</i>	<i>de-ṇō</i>	<i>ḍōl</i>	<i>uṣṭai-</i>
which.ERG son- ERG	give-M.S.PS.PT	stone	throw-

Again one is not allowed to say \**ziṇi zatkei deṇō uṣṭai ḍōl* or \**ziṇi zatkei uṣṭai deṇō ḍōl*. However, both sentences are correct Bangani when the relative pronoun *ziṇi* is exchanged with the personal pronoun *tiṇi*. The same rule holds also true for temporal adverbial clauses: *zō zatkei deṇō ḍōl uṣṭai* “When the son threw the stone...” But not \**zō zatkei deṇō uṣṭai ḍōl*.<sup>26</sup> All this suggests perhaps that the post-field actually only exists at the level of the sentence, and not at the level of the clause. This makes the post-field in Bangani look similar to what some theories of grammar call a right-dislocated position, which is a position that exists at the sentence level, not at the clause level.

That the Bangani auxiliary (or a light verb) must not move to the end of a clause in case of a complement clause is perhaps connected with the discourse function of bringing temporal, local, truth-conditional or other operators into prominence. Each of the above examples with auxiliary or light verb appearing before the main verb is potentially a temporal or causal subordinate clause. Thus, the above (see p. 93) *tiṇi deṇō boidi likhi-*

<sup>26</sup> The word *zō* not only marks report of statements, but functions also as a temporal adverb “when”.

(he.ERG give-M.S.PS.PT register write-) “he wrote (everything into) a register” can (depending on context) also mean “when he had written (everything into) a register, (then)...” or “because he had written (everything into) a register, ...”

Bangani sentences with auxiliary or light verb appearing before the main verb do not require the complementizer *zə* “when, because, if” to introduce a temporal or causal subordinate sentence. However, if an auxiliary or light verb does *not* appear before the main verb, then *zə* is obligatory: *zə tiṇi bəidi likhi- deṇə* “when he had written (everything into) a register, (then)...” A similar discourse function is illustrated with the two English sentences “You will have to pay if something should happen” and “You will have to pay should something happen”.

*Embedded clauses:* A short look at two examples with embedded clauses shows a similar behavior for Bangani and Kashmiri (and German etc.). The verb has to appear at the end. Note, however, that auxiliaries can appear here but no compound verbs are allowed:

It is possible to say *se pōthi, zə muī biāḷe pəṛ-i, thi atshi* (the book, which I.ERG yesterday read-F.S.PS.PT, was good) “the book which I read yesterday was good”, but it is neither possible to say \**se pōthi, zə muī biāḷe pəṛi- ēr-i, thi atshi* nor \**se pōthi, zə muī ēr-i biāḷe pəṛi-, thi atshi*.

With regard to auxiliaries it is possible to say *zə ḍakt̄ēr, zesri davai aū kha-ū thə, seu dili thə ḍei- go-ə* (the-one-who doctor, whose medicine I eat-1.SG.PRS was, he Delhi was go- go-M.S.PS.PT) “the doctor, whose medicine I have taken, had gone to Delhi”. But it is again not possible to say \**zə ḍakt̄ēr, zesri davai aū thə kha-ū, seu dili thə ḍei- go-ə*.

*Alternative questions:* Unlike German or Kashmiri (see Kashi Wali, Omkar N. Koul and Ashok K. Koul 2002: 91) the verb must not be placed at the end. A sentence like “if Ram gives the book to Radha” can be said in Bangani both as *zə rām rāde=kē pōthi de* (if Ram Radha=to book give.3.SG.PRS) or as *zə rām rāde=kē de pōthi*. In the second variant there is focus on “book”.

*Non-finite verb clauses:* What has been said in the preceding paragraph also holds true here, again unlike German and Kashmiri (see Kashi Wali, Omkar N. Koul and Ashok K. Koul loc.cit.). A sentence like “he told Radha to give the book to Ram” can be said in Bangani both as *tiṇi bol-ə rāda=ari rām=kē pōthi de-nne=khi* (he.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT Radha=to Ram=to book give-OBL.INF=for) or as *tiṇi bol-ə rāda=ari rām=kē de-nne=khi pōthi*. Also here there is focus on “book” in the second variant.

*Yes-no questions:* They contrast with declarative sentences with regard to word order. A declarative sentence like *tu de-lə doti gəɾɛ* (you go-2.SG.FUT tomorrow home) “you will go home tomorrow” is changed into a yes-no question as follows: *de-lə tu doti gəɾɛ* or *doti de-lə tu gəɾɛ* mean both “do you go home tomorrow?”

### 7 Constituent fronting

Constituent fronting is limited to one constituent in case of predicates with three arguments. In this respect as well, Bangani is similar to Kashmiri (see Bhatt 1994: 42):

*zatke=kɛ de-ŋi pōthi tiŋi*  
*son=to give-F.S.PS.PT book he.ERG*  
 “He gave a book to the son”

But not: \**zatke kɛ pōthi deŋi tiŋi*

This rule also generally holds true for transitive verbs with two arguments and the predicate appearing in two sentence brackets. A typical example:

(210) *tiŋi thəɛ dui gəɾɛ kəsi* “He harnessed two horses”

pre-field	l. s. bracket	middle field	r. s. bracket
<i>tiŋi</i>	<i>thə-ɛ</i>	<i>dui gəɾɛ</i>	<i>kəsi-</i>
he.ERG	put-M.P.PS.PT	two horses	harness-

Whether the subject appears before the verb and the object after it, or vice versa, (sometimes, and not only with imperatives, the verb appears also initially) is a matter of great freedom and apparently also of discourse strategies. Besides a substantial number of cases where FV occupies the left sentence bracket, there are also not a few cases where FV appears after the main verb. The same holds true also in Kashmiri (see Bhatt 1994: 42 example 22 b). Let me point out again that there is a marked difference in the syntactic behaviour between these two possibilities in Bangani: when the FV appears after the main verb, it remains tied to it and a NP can never appear between main verb and FV. It is only possible, as for instance in Hindi, to insert a negator or an emphatic particle between the two.



a) l. s. bracket	middle field	r. s. bracket
1. light verb/auxiliary	(NP)	main verb
2. main verb-light verb		
3. *main verb	*NP	*light verb/auxiliary

### 8 Excursus: Ergative of personal pronouns

In the above Bangani ergative constructions with personal pronouns, it is remarkable that the object appears in the absolutive case, i.e. it is grammatically unmarked and thus identical with the nominative. Thus a construction like *kailuei tho tu síkai* (see above p. 85) still allows one to recognize the old basic meaning “You have been (a person) taught by Kailu”. Here Bangani differs from practically all NIA languages which have to have an object case marker in case of pronouns (Masica 1991: 342f.) or pronouns plus nouns. The only exceptions known to me are Kashmiri and Khasáli (see above p. 85). Masica quotes the following Kashmiri example (1991: 477): *tse onuthas bi yōr* “You brought me here” (-*th-* = 2<sup>nd</sup> Sg.Agent, agreeing with *tse* “you”; -*as* = 1<sup>st</sup>. Sg.Patient, agreeing with *bi* “I”). Additional examples are given by Hook and Koul (2002), where they point out (p. 143) that, as in Bangani, explicit marking for direct object personal pronouns is not required “in the simple past and perfect tenses”. However, there exists a difference between ergative constructions in Bangani and Kashmiri: Marking or non-marking of ergative pronominal object in Bangani is optional (and the feminine pronoun has identical forms both for ergative and oblique). But Bangani differs from Kashmiri and from Hindi in that the verb shows agreement with the pronominal object even when this object appears in the oblique/accusative case. Thus, both *tiāi síka-i tiāi* (she.ERG(AGENT) teach-F.PS.PT she.ACC(PATIENT)) and *tiāi síka-i se* (she.ERG(AGENT) teach-F.PS.PT she.NOM(PATIENT)) mean “she taught her”. In this, Bangani resembles Gujarati (Miriam Butt and Ashwini Deo, see the internet address in the references). In the non-ergative tenses a pronominal object must always have an object marker: *se síkā tiāi* “she teaches her”, but not \**se síkā se*.

### 9 Composite verbs with “light” adverbs

As do most other NIA languages, Bangani uses conjunct verbs consisting of a noun or adjective plus the FV (Masica 1991: 368), and it uses compound verbs consisting of a main verb stem plus the ending *-i* (or *-ui* in case of verb stems ending with a vowel) plus a light verb. In addition, Bangani makes extensive use of FV plus one out of a group of half a dozen or so local adverbs for the formation of predicates. I call these formations *composite verbs*. Their grammatical function appears to be basically the

same as that of compound verbs, i.e. they typically express an *aktionsart*. In the story, only the following three adverbs occur in such constructions: *oru* “hither”, *poru* “there”, *dāni* “down”. As in the case of light verbs, these adverbs lose their original meaning to some extent when used in composite verb constructions. The constructions frequently express the intensive or violent course of an action, in other cases an action that is beneficial either for the subject or the object:

*tē zāṅg-ə seu poru*  
 then kill-M.S.PS.PT he there  
 (21) “Then (they) **slaughtered** (killed intensively) him”

*tē aũ es oru zāṅg-ũ*  
 but I him hither kill-1.SG.PRS  
 (22) “But I **slaughter** (kill intensively) him”

*tiṇi la-a teṣe dāni phāṣi-*  
 he.ERG attach- M.S.PS.PT so down cut-  
 (223) “He **hacked** (them) **through** (cut down intensively) like...”

Hook (2001: 124f.) points out that the following languages spoken in southern and western Rajasthan and in south-eastern Sindh lack the compound verb altogether and instead make use of constructions I have called here composite verbs: Bhitrauti, Gondwari, Pindwari, and Thari. He refers also to eastern Himachali (Koci and Koṭṭarḥi) as a language area where instead of compound verbs composite verbs are used. But in Koci and Koṭṭarḥi the same situation prevails as in Bangani: in order to realize *aktionsarten* all three languages make use of compound verbs (with light verbs) and of composite verbs (with “light” adverbs). The considerable geographical distance of Bangani and Eastern Himachali to the languages in Rajasthan and Sindh suggests independent origins for this construction. It is however remarkable that Bhitrauti of Rajasthan uses just the two adverbs *paru* “away” and (*u*)*ru* “hither” for its composite verb constructions, which are the same adverbs used for the same purpose in Bangani and Eastern Himachali. There are obviously the following correspondences:

compound verb with light verb	composite verb with “light” adverb
main verb plus <i>de-</i> “give” main verb plus <i>jā-</i> “go”	main verb plus <i>poru/paru</i> “away”
main verb plus <i>le-</i> “take” main verb plus <i>ā-</i> “come”	main verb plus <i>oru/(u)ru</i> “hither”

The “light” adverb *poru* (with basic meaning “away”) is used much more frequently in Bangani than the other adverbs. This parallels the situation with the light verbs: “go” is much more frequently used than “come” (also in Hindi and other NIA languages).<sup>27</sup> There might be a universal base to this, because a subject typically acts towards an object, whereas reflexivity is less typical.

Interestingly, light verbs and “light” adverbs show a kind of complementary distribution in Bangani (or at least in our story). Consider the following examples, where the first has a “light” adverb, the second a full, and the third again a “light” adverb:

*oru-ari*    *ε*    *lɔr-ε*    *thə*    *seu*    ***poru***  
*others-with*<sup>28</sup> *then* *fight-3.SG.PRS* *was.M.S* *he* *there*  
 (201) “He used to fight **intensively** with the others”

*bεlε,*    ***oru***    *kela nε*    *dē-ndə*    *tu*    *ĩ*  
*dear one, hither why not give-M.P.PRS.PT* *you* *it*  
 (135) “My dear, why don’t you give it (= the sword) **back**”<sup>29</sup>

*ādi-ād*    *bakriε*    ***poru***    *kha-i*    *tiŋi*  
*half-half* *goats* *away eat-F.S.PS.PT* *he.ERG*  
 (168) “He **devoured** (ate intensively) around half of the goats”

The examples show that composite verbs formed with “light” adverbs display a very similar asymmetric word order pattern as compound verbs formed with light verbs—however, in a mirror image way: the “light” adverb keeps a tight configuration with the (main) verb only when it precedes it, but in case of light verbs it is just the other way round. The second example shows that when it doesn’t directly precede the (main) verb, it is inadvertently a full adverb. And the first example is one of an LC with another word appearing between verb and adverb. As pointed out, when the adverb follows the (main) verb, it may (but must not always) be a light adverb. Compare (from above p. 91)

<sup>27</sup> I can not estimate at this moment the relative occurrence of “give” and “take”.

<sup>28</sup> Bangani *oru* “another (one)” is homonymous with *oru* “hither”.

<sup>29</sup> This sentence is an example for the fact mentioned in the first footnote that in negative sentences in the present tense the verb does not have a finite ending, but has the form of a participle.

“he harnessed two horses”

<b>loose configuration compound verb (LC.CDV)</b>	<b>tight configuration compound verb (TC.CDV)</b>
LV ..... MV	MV-LV
<i>thæ tiŋi dui gɔɛ kɔ́sɪ-</i>	<i>tiŋi dui gɔɛ kɔ́sɪ- thæ</i>

versus

“he devoured the goats”

<b>tight configuration composite verb (TC.CEV)</b>	<b>loose configuration composite verb (LC.CEV)</b>
LADV-MV	MV.....LADV
<i>bakriɛ poru-khai tiŋi</i>	<i>bakriɛ khai tiŋi poru</i>

In case of a loose configuration composite verb the main verb occupies the left sentence bracket and the light adverb the right. Note, however, that both in case of loose configuration compound and composite verb constructions the finite component is located in the left sentence bracket. The first example from above (sentence 201) would be structured according to the topological fields in the following way (the sentence has been slightly simplified):

“Then he fought intensively”

pre-field	l. s. bracket	middle field	r. s. bracket
<i>tɛ</i>	<i>lɔɔ</i>	<i>seu</i>	<i>poru</i>
Then	fight- M.P.PS.PT	he	there

Generalised we get the following contrasts:<sup>30</sup>

a) Main verb and light verb:

l. s. bracket	middle field	r. s. bracket
1 light verb/auxiliary	(NP)	main verb
2 main verb - light verb		
3 *main verb	*NP	*light verb/auxiliary

Versus

<sup>30</sup>In the following tables the parenthesis around an NP indicate its optional occurrence.

b) Verb and light adverb:

<b>l. s. bracket</b>	<b>middle field</b>	<b>r. s. bracket</b>
4 verb	(NP)	light adverb
5 light adverb-verb		
6 *light adverb	*NP	*verb

In Bangani it is not possible that a light verb follows a main verb from which it is separated by an NP, and if an adverb appears before its verb and is separated from it by an NP then it inadvertently functions as a full adverb.

So far we have seen that a Bangani main verb can be modified either by a light verb or a light adverb.<sup>31</sup> But Bangani has another construction where a conjunctive participle fuses with the finite verb. In this case the conjunctive participle loses its function as converb (i.e. dependency on a finite verb and sequencing of events) and takes on the role of the *main verb*, while the original main verb now functions like a finite *light verb*.

### 10 Combined verbs with “light” main verbs

Converbs in Bangani either appear (in a complex sentence) before or after the finite verb. In the former case they do not affect the status of the finite verb and they usually realize temporal precedence: one event occurs before another, and in most cases there is just one agent or subject for both converb and finite verb. In the latter case, if the converb appears after the main predicate, a change of grammatical function and semantic role facultatively takes place, provided that (a) both verbs are either transitive or intransitive, and that (b) the finite verb is a simple verb.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, this simple main verb must express either an “away” or a “hither” movement, and the only verbs I have found fulfilling all these conditions are “to give”, “to bring”, “to take” and “to go”. The similarity

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<sup>31</sup>The latter resembles to some extent German sentences where the predicate contains a preverb as in the following example: *der Bus fährt den Mann um* (the bus knocks over the man). Here the preverb *um* (infinitive *umfahren*) occupies the right sentence bracket.

<sup>32</sup>This “transitivity restriction” is stricter than in case of normal compound verbs where it is possible in Bangani to have a transitive main verb and an intransitive light verb. That predicate fusion takes places only facultatively, depending on the context, is clear when compared with Hindi, where the same holds true: a sentence like *usne kitāb likh dī* can mean either “having written a book he gave it (to s.o.)” or “he wrote a book (for s.o.)”.

with the characterization of light verbs and especially with the light adverbs is obvious.<sup>33</sup>

In the first example below, the conjunctive participle *khətəm kəriə* “having finished” functions as a converb: it precedes the finite verb *rəə* “stayed”, and the finite verb consequently retains its status:

*khatam kər-iə*      *tɛ*    *rə-ə*                      *məndrəth məsu*  
*finished make-CP*    *then live-M.S.PS.PT*    *Mahendrath Mahasu*  
 (26) “Having killed (the giant), Mahasu lived in Mahendrath”<sup>34</sup>

In the next example from the story, the finite (intransitive) verb *ā* “come” is followed by the intransitive conjunctive participle *naūi-douiə* “having bathed”. Also here no predicate fusion occurs, even though *ā* is a simple verb. The converb expression as a whole is intransitive<sup>35</sup> and describes an event prior to the event of the main verb, even though the converb is syntactically in a postpositive position with regard to the main verb:

*rāt biā-li*                      *tetiē=khi etkɛ*    *ā*                      *naūi-dou-iə*  
*night end-3.SG.FUT then=for here come.IMP bathe-wash-CP*  
 (209) “Exactly when it’s early morning, come here after taking a shower”

However, if “to come” of this sentence is exchanged with “to go”, predicate fusion is possible and we get a *combined verb* with a “light” finite verb and a conjunctive participle as main verb:

*seu go-ə*                      *naūi-dou-iə*  
*he go-M.S.PS.PT bathe-wash-CP*  
 “He has washed himself”

Instead of the expected meaning “he went (away) after taking a shower” the actual meaning “he has washed himself” is a result of a semantic role reversal between main verb and converb. The results of the predicate fusion that has taken place in this example can be made clear with the following table:

<sup>33</sup>Above I have pointed out that fused predicates with light adverbs are preferably constructed with *poru* “away”.

<sup>34</sup>Mahendrath is a village in Bangan.

<sup>35</sup>Note that *naūi-douiə* is a kind of echo formation—very typical for all IA languages—built from the intransitive verb *naiŋə* “to bathe” and the transitive verb *doŋə* “to wash”. This compound is as a whole intransitive, and the first verb has the same suffix *-ui* as main verbs ending in a vowel (the nasalization of the vowel is an effect of the preceding nasal consonant), and *-uiə* is the suffix for conjunctive participles. Thus, *naūi-douiə* means basically “having bathed, having washed (oneself)”.

	main verb	conjunctive participle
grammatical function	head	dependent
semantic state	light	full
semantic structure	+ simple	any

In the next example [sentence (7) from the text] a transitive conjunctive participle follows the grammatical main verb which is a transitive simple verb:

*tes=ke māśu=rē dāñe dē-ñe məntr-iə*  
 him=to pulse=Gen seeds give-M.P.PS.PT cast spell on-CP

This sentence can be translated in two ways:

- “Having cast a spell on pulse seeds (they) gave (them) to him”
- “They cast a spell on pulse seeds for him”

It is crucial to note that if the converb *məntriə* precedes the main verb, the sentence has *only* the meaning “having cast a spell...” In other instances of our story, the *combined verb* interpretation of a simple main verb followed by a transitive conjunctive participle is quite unambiguous:

*kuḷu-kāśmīr māsu śuñ-ε, tiū=kai de-u, tiū=kai bōr āñ māñg-iə*  
 Kullu-Kashmir Mahasu hear-3.SG.PRS them=to go-IMP them=from boon  
 bring-IMP ask-CP

(38) “One hears that there is Mahasu in Kullu-Kashmir, go to them<sup>36</sup>  
 (and) arrange a boon”

*əgəñike seu bōnda-i tε añ-ə deñ-ia māsu=ke*  
 first he promise-FOC then bring-M.S.PS.PT give-CP Mahasu=to  
 (186) “Then he first made good his promise with Mahasu”

The text does not contain even one example of intransitive main verb and converb displaying predicate fusion, but such sentences are used in Bangani:

*seu go-ə sut-iə*  
 he go-M.S.PS.PT sleep-CP  
 “He drifted away into sleep”

<sup>36</sup> They are four brothers.

This differs from the compound verb form

seu *go-a* *suti-*  
*he go-M.S.PS.PT sleep-*  
 “He fell asleep”

The above discussed constructions are used in Bangani much less frequently than those where conjunctive participles function as converbs that precede the finite verbs. Moreover, the number of “light main verbs” used in the text appears to be clearly smaller than the number of light verbs used in the other compound verbs. But we can extend now the above table from p. 102:

a) Main verb and light verb:

<b>l. s. bracket</b>	<b>middle field</b>	<b>r. s. bracket</b>
1 light verb/auxiliary	(NP)	main verb
2 main verb-light verb		
3 *main verb	*NP	*light verb/auxiliary

Versus

b) Verb and light adverb:

<b>l. s. bracket</b>	<b>middle field</b>	<b>r. s. bracket</b>
4 verb	(NP)	light adverb
5 light adverb-verb		
6 *light adverb	*NP	*verb

Versus

c) (Finite) “light main” verb and conjunctive participle

<b>l. s. bracket</b>	<b>middle field</b>	<b>r. s. bracket</b>
7 “light main” verb-CP		
8 *”light main” verb	*NP	*CP

As in case of the above line 6 marked with asterisks, the structure of the last line 8 reflects a possible Bangani sentence, but also here no predicate fusion takes place (except under rarely occurring very specific circumstances, see below section 11). The tables show the following regularities:

- a) and b) allow two word orders for the realization of semantic fusion, c) allows only one
- In a) and b) one word order for semantic fusion implies tight configurations [in a) following the main verb, in b) preceding it],



whereas the other word order for semantic fusion implies loose configurations and placement of the concerned components into the two sentence brackets

- c) allows NPs appearing between the two components undergoing predicate fusion only if the NP and the *semantic* main component (the conjunctive participle) form one semantic unit, i.e. when they are something like a conjunct verb (apparently this happens very rarely, but for an example see below in section 11).

## 11 Noun phrases

If Bangani displays marked differences in its VP with most of the rest of NIA, the question suggests itself, whether there are also differences with regard to its NPs. This is the topic of the next section.

a) Genitive phrases: Bangani displays two movement patterns which can lead to discontinuous genitive phrases. The first one is the familiar type which is also widely used in Hindi, for instance in *mair̄ne ghar dekhā uske bāp kā* “I saw the house of his father”. Here the dependent part of the genitive phrase *uske bāp kā ghar* has been moved to the end of the sentence. Our story contains similar examples:

*t̄ep̄e d̄ekh-ε z̄o t̄sh̄oriare t̄iūre taŋg-ɔnde ul̄t̄e*  
*then see-3.SG.PRS that skins their hang-M.P.PRS.PT inverse.M.Pl*  
 (184) “Then (he) sees that their skins have been hung up inside out”

In this example the dependent *t̄iūre* “their” appears directly after its head *t̄sh̄oriare* “skins”. But there are also cases where other words appear between the two components, which thus can be understood as another type of loose configuration. The next example is with the genitive phrase *iūr̄o b̄ond̄ēṅ* “their promise” and involves a finite verb “give” and the light adverb *poru* “there”; so here there are in fact two loose configurations—*b̄ond̄ēṅ ... iūr̄o* and *d̄ē-nde ... poru*—which are interlaced with each other:

*b̄ond̄ēṅ d̄ē-nde iūr̄o poru*  
*promise give-M.P.PRS.PT their there*  
 (116) “Had they given their promise” (i.e. had they given a promise to them, namely to the Mahasu brothers, then...)

In all cases discussed so far the dependent part of the genitive phrase, which precedes its head by default, is backed somewhere after the head. In Hindi it is generally shifted after the verb, in Bangani shift before or after the verb seems to occur roughly equally often. There is, however, another

possibility of movement in Bangani which is used quite frequently, and which cannot be used in Hindi:

*tetke aḡoṇike boṭhe māsu=di laḡ-i phaḷi, **boṭhe māsu=ri** binu-i lāt*  
*there first Botha Mahasu=in touch-F.S.PS.PT ploughshare.F Botha*  
*Mahasu=GEN stab-F.S.PS.PT leg.F*

(10) “There the ploughshare first hit Botha Mahasu, it stabbed Botha Mahasu’s leg”

The function of this shift is illustrated with the following two sentences:

*phaḷi boṭhe māsu=ri lāt binu-i*  
*ploughshare.F Botha Mahasu=GEN leg stab-F.S.PS.PT*  
 “The ploughshare stabbed into Mahasu’s leg”

Versus

*phaḷi **boṭhe māsu=ri** binu-i lāt*

The bold faced and underlined last word of the second sentence shows the location of FOC(us). Thus, this operation serves to introduce a discourse function. Discontinuous genitive phrases of this second type are again also found in Kashmiri (Bhatt 1994: 35):

*tem=sund chu asyi **maka n** baḍi pasand*  
*he=of is.AUX us.Dat house.NOM very like*  
 “We like **his house** very much”

Bhatt sees in this construction a symptom of nonconfigurationality in Kashmiri (after arguing against the nonconfigurational character of Kashmiri on pp. 33-37).

b) Attribute phrases: our story contains only two sentences with a verb breaking up an attribute phrase into a discontinuous construction. But first I present a few simple attribute phrases collected from my language consultants illustrating such movements. Here, too, the bold faced and underlined words show that the effect is FOC(us). The word that is not underlined is the dependent component of the phrase:

*seu **purane** māz-ε okhēr*  
*he old.M.PL clean-3.SG.PRS pots*  
 “He cleans the **old pots**”

*seu **goro** māz-ε okhēr*  
*he dirty clean-3.SG.PRS pot*  
 “He cleans the **dirty pot**”

seu *tati*      *ísq̄l-ε*                      *āg*  
*he hot.F.SG extinguish-3.SG.PRS fire*  
 “He puts out the **hot fire**”

Here now the first example from the story [again FOC(us) is bold faced and underlined]:

*iar-ε, amē ni es sūne=rə*    *ie cāṅ-dε the*      *toluāṭə*  
*friends-VOC we but this.OBL gold=GEN this make-M.P.PRS.PT were.M.PL*  
*sword*

(131) “Hey friends, we should have made **this sword** from (out from) this gold”

Here the *cāṅde the* “should have made” has been placed between the pronoun and the noun. The next and last example from the story is a little more complicated:

*purāṇε tε gīṅ-ə*      *lāṅke biṛ-ie*  
*old so take.IMP clothes wear-CP*  
 (128) “So let’s put on **old clothes**”

It is more complicated because it is not a simple verb that moves “into” the attributive phrase *purāṇε lāṅke* “old clothes”, but there is again a kind of interlacing between NP and VP (compare above p. 107 sentence 116), leading to two discontinuous (or loosely configured) phrases. In section 10 it was said that in case of predicate fusions involving conjunctive participles normally no NPs can appear between the two verbal components. In fact, this is only possible where the intervening NP forms a semantic unit with the VP, in other words when the whole resembles a conjunct verb-like form.

In conclusion to this section we may say that Bangani shares with Kashmiri not only V2 traits and discontinuous VP constructions but also specific discontinuous NP constructions not used in other IA languages. The use of such discontinuous NP constructions realizes the discourse function FOC(us). Their construction looks similar to the above-described construction of discontinuous VPs with light verbs or auxiliaries.

## 12 Is Bangani a V2 language?

Predicate fusion and the emergence of compound verbs in Indo-Aryan is the result of a special case of clause combining (see Hopper and Traugott 1993: 168ff.): when a conjunctive participle co-occurs with a simple finite verb, the finite verb might bleach into a light verb and the participle become the main verb through semantic role inversion. In contrast to other Indo-Aryan languages, in Bangani predicate fusion only occurs

when the conjunctive participle *follows* the main verb, as examples above have demonstrated. From this we conclude that this is the original canonical word order for Bangani. Since the position of the light verb in the sentence corresponds with the position of the auxiliary, we conclude that Proto-Bangani was originally a V2 language. For speakers of Bangani, SVO is still perceived to be the normal unmarked word order. V2 is obligatory in temporal and causal subordinate sentences when no conjunctions are used, and it is at least not disallowed in complement sentences.

See the following clause oppositions with examples from the story:

V2 clauses	V-last clauses
<i>tɪŋi ēr-ə kām kəri-</i> <i>he.ERG see-M.S.PS.PT work make-</i> “he has completed the work” or “when/because he had completed the work”	<i>tɪŋi kām kəri-ēr-ə</i> <i>he.ERG work make-see-</i> M.S.PS.PT “he has done the work”
<i>tetkɛ ēr-ə seu pakɾi- tiūɛ</i> <i>there see-M.S.PS.PT he grab- they.ERG</i> “they have hunted him down” or “when/because they had hunted him down”	<i>tetkɛ seu pakɾi-ēr-ə</i> <i>tiūɛ</i> <i>there he grab-see-M.S.PS.PT</i> <i>they.ERG</i> “there they have grabbed him”
<i>seu go-ə āśi- bitrɛ</i> <i>he go-M.S.PS.PT come- inside</i> “he has walked inside” or “when/because he had walked inside”	<i>seu āśi-go-ə bitrɛ</i> <i>he come-go-M.S.PS.PT inside</i> “he has gone inside”
<i>kəilu-ei thə tu śikai-</i> <i>Kailu-ERG was you teach-</i> “Kailu had instructed you” or “when/because Kailu had instructed you”	<i>kəilu-ei tu śikai- thə</i> <i>Kailu-ERG you teach- was</i> “Kailu had taught you”

Both Kashmiri and Bangani use not only V2 sentences, but quite frequently also V-last sentences. We have seen above (sections 5 and 6) that there are rules governing the position of the predicate in different sentences types. They are, however, not identical for Kashmiri and Bangani. Variation of the position of the predicate in main clauses has been explained as due to a very free word order (Bhatt 1994 for Kashmiri) or as the effect of interference from surrounding SOV languages on SVO languages (Abbi 2000 for Bangani, Sharma 2003 for Outer Siraji). Abbi (ibid.) interprets these variations as an indication of redundant structures.

This factor certainly plays a role (for instance, predicate structures like verbstem + *goə*, apparently copying Hindi structures of the type *khā gayā*, are spreading quickly in Bangani). However, I maintain that in Bangani the opposition between V2 and V-last in constructions with light verbs or auxiliaries is a *systematic* one expressing grammatical difference.

The opposition between V2 and V-last in the case of complex predicates is related to the category of *evidentiality* or, perhaps more accurately, to *epistemic modality*. Even though in both cases, as the examples above once more have illustrated, a past event is seen as completed, only in the case of V2 do the sentences express a kind of résumé of the whole event. And only in case of V2 is the action seen as having been conducted *purposely*, but sometimes also with a certain degree of uncertainty regarding the outcome of the action. This is also the reason why my language consultants characterize V2 constructions as expressing “(unexpected) achievement” or “surprise”. In other words, Bangani V2 can also include a *mirative* dimension. Note however, that the mirative dimension, wheresoever it is found in these Bangani sentences, is not connected with knowledge/non-knowledge of an event, but with the “happy end” of an action, which is not taken for granted.

### 13 Introductory remarks to the text

The content of this text is remarkable insofar as it is a hitherto unknown Rajput version of the story of the coming of the four divine Mahasu brothers from Kashmir to Bangan. The sentences 1 to 33 are a short synopsis of the standard story as it has been published in various places (see Atkinson 1973, Ibbetson et al. 1911, Rose 1986). The remaining sentences 34 to 236 present a very different version of the events. The initial synopsis claims that Mahasu has come due to the efforts of a Brahmin in order to liberate the area from a man-eating giant. I have shown elsewhere (Zoller forthcoming) that this story apparently has been built on story patterns taken from the Mahabharata with a twofold aim: demonstrating that Mahasu is the rightful successor of the Pandavas of the Mahabharata, and demonstrating the superiority of the Brahmins. In the Rajput version, on the other hand, Mahasu is brought by the old gentleman, apparently a kind of feudal lord or small king. Also the reason for asking Mahasu to come is different: the old gentleman has seven wives who are all without offspring, also his cattle is without offspring. Other parts of the story are constructed according to typical and widespread Himalayan hero stories.

## 14 Original text with interlinear rendering

1. *tsāria māsu kuḷ-kāsmīr=di poida ə-ε, tε se māṅdarēth aṅ-ε.*

All-four Mahasus Kulu-Kashmir=in born become-M.P.PS.PT, then they Mahendrath bring-M.P.PS.PT.

2. *seu bāmēṅ ḍe-ə kuḷu-kāsmīr=khi.*

That Brahmin go-M.S.PS.PT Kulu-Kashmir=for.

3. *māṅdarēth ēk rākas poida ə-ə, tiṅi sārē māṅuch khai- go-ε the.*

Mahendrath one giant born become-M.S.PS.PT, he.ERG all men eat- go-M.P.PS.PT were.

4. *zε tiṅi rāks-ei sāri zanta khai- er-i thi, tε seu bāmēṅ kuḷu-kāsmīr=khi tshār-ə.*

When that.ERG giant-ERG all people eat- see-F.P.PS.PT was, then that Brahmin Kulu-Kashmir=for send-M.S.PS.PT.

5. *tε tiūre sāte kā: kailu, kəpla, kailāth, šerkuṛia, iε tsār bīr tsār māsu=rε.*

Then them with what: Kailu, Kapla, Kailath, Sherkuria, iε these four guardian-deities four Mahasus=GEN.

6. *tε tete=koi seu bāmēṅ aś-ə gərə.*

Then there=from that Brahmin come-M.S.PS.PT home.

7. *tes=ari kā bol-ə, tes=ke māsu=rε daṅε **de-ṅε məntr-iə** ki, “iū tu gai-ū=koi khiya-ya, tε tiū gai-ū=rε dui baštu ə-ε.”*

Him=to what say-M.S.PS.PT, him=with black-gram=GEN seeds give-M.P.PS.PT ensorcel-CP that, “These.OBL you cows-OBL=to feed-IMP, then those.OBL cows-OBL=GEN two calves become-3.PL.PRS.”

8. *εśo bi tiūε boli- de-ṅə māsu-ε ki “ek-i rāt-i=di ə-lε, rāt se ə-lε. rati tu tiū ā|=ke lā-ā: sune-ri phaḷi cāṅ-ε, tsāndi=rə āḷ| cāṅ-ε, tε m□ndrəth bā-ā tes ḍokhr-ei.”*

So also they.ERG say- give-M.S.PS.PT Mahasus.ERG that “One.EMP night-OBL=in be-3.PL.FUT. In-the-morning you that.OBL plough=for attach-IMP: gold=GEN ploughshare make-IMP, silver=GEN plough make-IMP, then Mahendrath plough-IMP that.OBL field-OBL.”

9. *tiṅi bāmaṅ-ei rati ugār-ε se boḷēd, tε giṅ-ε bā-ṅε=khi, tε bā-ṅε=khi giṅ-ε.*

That.ERG Brahmin-ERG in-the-morning release-M.P.PS.PT those oxen, then bring-M.P.PS.PT plough-INF.OBL=for, then plough-INF.OBL=for bring-M.P.PS.PT.

10. *tεtke ḍgəṅike boḥe māsu=di lag-i phaḷi, **boḥe māsu-ri binu-i lāt**, seu tε go-ə jεṛə.*

There first Botha Mahasu=in attach-F.S.PS.PT ploughshare, Botha Mahasu=GEN pierce-F.S.PS.PT foot, he then go-M.S.PS.PT lame.

11. *boḥe=basiε nikaḷ-ə pəvasi, **tesrə binu-ə kān**.*

Botha=after emerge-M.S.PS.PT Pavasi, his pierce-M.S.PS.PT ear.

12. *tε nikaḷ-ə bāšik, **tesrə binu-ə ākhə**.*

Then emerge-M.S.PS.PT Bashik, his pierce-M.S.PS.PT eye.

13. *tε nikaḷ-ə tsāldə, tes=di na lag-i kethike na.*

Then emerge-M.S.PS.PT Calda, his=in not attach-F.S.PS.PT somewhere not.

14. *tsār bai mənḍrēth pərkəṭ u-ε, tε pərkəṭ u-ε.*

Four brothers Mahendrath manifest become-M.P.PS.PT, then manifest become-M.P.PS.PT.

15. *tε rāks-ei sāri dunia kəri- er-i thi khatam.*

Then giant-ERG whole world make- see-F.S.PS.PT was.F.S finished.

16. *tε lag-ə mənḍrēth ēk tāl, tes=di rə-ε thə seu rākēs.*

Then attach-M.S.PS.PT Mahendrath one pond, it=in stay-3.SG.PRS was.M.S that giant.

17. *tes=di bāz-i bādīū=ri bebōsí.*

It=in become-F.S.PS.PT all.OBL=GEN helplessness.

18. *te kailu-ei kōpla-i te de-ṇi phāl tes tāl-e=di.*

Then Kailu.ERG Kapla.ERG then give-F.S.PS.PT jump that.OBL pond-OBL=in.

19. *te boga-ḡ seu rākēs, bagi-bag-io seu rākēs te de-ḡ paṅgle.*

Then chase-M.S.PS.PT that giant, chase-chase-CP that giant then go-M.S.PS.PT Pangla.OBL.

20. *tete=khi pōtshōnike kailu, kōpla, kōilāth, śerkuria bi pōr-ε.*

There=for after Kailu, Kapla, Kailath, Sherkuria also fall-M.P.PS.PT.

21. *te tetke ēr-ḡ seu pakri- tiūe, pakri-ḡ te zaig-ḡ seu poru.*

Then there see-M.S.PS.PT he seize- they.ERG, seize-M.S.PS.PT then kill-M.S.PS.PT he there.

22. *tesrḡ jidolḡ tshuṭ-ḡ pōrε=kōi.*

His heart escape-M.S.PS.PT there=from.

23. *te lag-ḡ ḡake=pāre, ḡake=pāre=kōi de-ḡ seu nōi-nōi= di pōtshōi.*

Then attach-M.S.PS.PT stone=on, stone= on=from go-M.S.PS.PT he river-river=in back.

24. *te de-ḡ tipu=pāre, te tetke bōṅ-ε tesrḡ jibaḷu.*

Then go-M.S.PS.PT Tipu=over, then there become-M.P.PS.PT his Jibalu.

25. *se tete=kōi ḡore aś-ε ki “amū rākēs khatam kōri- go-ḡ.”*

They there=from home come-M.P.PS.PT that “We.ERG giant finished make- go-M.S.PS.PT.”

26. *khatam kōr-io te rḡ-ḡ mōndrēth māsu.*

Finished make-CP then stay-M.S.PS.PT Mahendrath Mahasu.

27. *teti=basiε tiūe kā kōr-ḡ ki “εbe ame apapke=khi iε bāt-iε, ketke kuṅzo rḡ-εlo, ketke kuṅzo rḡ-εlo.”*

That=after they.ERG what make-M.S.PS.PT that “Now we ourselves=for this divide-1.PL.FUT, where who stay-3.SG.FUT, where who stay-3.SG.FUT.”

28. *ḡṇḷi te de-ṇḡ boṭhe=ke: “boṭhdḡ rāz”.*

Hanol then give-M.S.PS.PT Botha=for: “Sitting kingdom”.

29. *tsāḷde=ke de-ṇḡ “tsāḷdḡ rāz”.*

Calda=for give-M.S.PS.PT “Moving kingdom”.

30. *povasi=ke de-ṇḡ pāśi bīl, baśik-ε=ke de-ṇi śaṭi bīl, povasi=rḡ thān ḡ-ḡ debēṅ.*

Pavasi=for give-M.S.PS.PT Panshi side, Bashik-OBL=for give-F.S.PS.PT Shati side, Pavasi=GEN residence become-M.S.PS.PT Devavana.

31. *teti=basiε iūe eś-eśḡ tōi kiḡ,<sup>37</sup> te tsāḷdḡ te εbe eśḡ: śaṭi=di bi de, paśi=di bi a-a.*

That=after they.ERG so-so decision make-M.S.PS.PT, then Calda then now so: Shati=in also go.3.SG.PRS, Pashi=in also come-3.SG.PRS.

32. *ḡḡḡ te de śiaie=zaū, ube de besāre=di=zaū, tsāḷde=ke te εbe “tsāḷdḡ rāz”, povasi=ke śaṭi bīl.*

Ahead then go.3.SG.PRS Shiaie=till, up go.3.SG.PRS Besar=in=till, Calda=for then now “Moving kingdom”, Pavasi=for Shati side.

33. *boṭhdḡ rḡ-ε ḡṇḷi, tetke tshoṭ-ēṅ iε bāde apri loṭi-pōṭi.*

Botha stay-3.SG.PRS Hanol, there leave-3.Pl.PRS they all own riches-property.

<sup>37</sup>Here Hindi instead of Bangani kōrḡ.



\*

34. *tə kuḷu-kāśmīr=kəi zə āṅ-ε, buɾε-khuɾε sādaru-ei āṅ-ε, tiṅi keśε āṅ-ε?*

Then Kulu-Kashmir=from who bring-M.P.PS.PT, old.OBL-elderly.OBL gentleman-ERG bring-M.P.PS.PT, he.ERG how bring-M.P.PS.PT?

35. *tesri koi santān ne nōthi nāthi.*

His any issue no not-is not-is.

36. *tə tes=khi thi sāt thi rāṅie tes=khi.*

Then him=for were.F.PL seven were.F.PL queens him=for.

37. *tiūε rāṅi-ū kā bol-ə ki “dan-dōlat tε ām=ke moktə, par olād nōthi.”*

Those.ERG queens-ERG what say-M.S.PS.PT that “riches but us=with plenty, but issue not-is.”

38. *tīε kāṅtsheɾi tshēuɾi-ei bol-ə eśə ki “kuḷu-kāśmīr māsu śuṅ-ε, tiū=kāi de-u, tiū=kəi bōr āṅ māṅg-ia.”*

That.ERG youngest woman-ERG say-M.S.PS.PT so that “Kulu-Kashmir Mahasu hear-3.SG.PRS, them=to go-IMP, them=from boon bring.IMP request-CP.

39. *tε tiṅi bol-ə eśə ki “aū keś-keśə de-ū, mēre tε de-ī de-i na.”*

Then he.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT so that “I how-how go-1.SG.PRS, my but go-F.S.PS.PT.EMP go-3.SG.F.PRS not.”<sup>38</sup>

40. *tiū bol-ə eśə ki “eśə kər, śāmēr kər ḍr dīṅgə kər.”*

That.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT so that “so make.IMP, luggage make.IMP and stick make.IMP.”

41. *seu tho būrə, seu buɾə-khuɾə sādu.*

He was old, this old-elderly gentleman.

42. *tεbe kiə tiṅi teś-teśə.*

Then make-M.S.PS.PT<sup>39</sup> he.ERG so-so.

43. *tε ādi bāte=di mil-ə teske unεke=rə bāt.*

Then half way.OBL=in meet-M.S.PS.PT him Unaka=GEN Bhatt.

44. *tiṅi bāmaṅ-ei bol-ə ki “buɾε-khuɾε sādru-a, tu eśə bōl mū=ari ki tu ketke lāg-ə dei-?”*

That.ERG Brahmin-ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that “Old-elderly gentleman-VOC, you so speak.IMP me=to that you where attach-M.S.PS.PT<sup>40</sup> go-?”

45. *seu bol-ε ki “aū kinde de-ū, aū de-ū kuḷu-kāśmīr=khi māsu=kāi.”*

He say-3.SG.PRS that “I where go-1.SG.PRS, I go-1.SG.PRS Kulu-Kashmir=for Mahasu=to.”

46. *tiṅi bol-ə “mu=ke dan-dōlat sab-kutsh, khāli olād nōthi.”*

He.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT “me=to riches-possessions everything, only issue is-not.”

47. *tε tiṅi bāmaṅ-eī bol-ə ki “tu keś-keśə de tetke?”*

Then that.ERG Brahmin-ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that “you how-how go.2.SG.PRS there?”

48. *tiṅi bol-ə “εbe jeśə bi de-ūle, par aū de-ū-ī de-ū.*

He say-M.S.PS.PT “now however go-1.SG.FUT, but I go-1.SG.PRS-EMP go-1.SG.PRS

49. *tiṅi bāmaṅ-eī tes=khi mantar kər-ε, tε seu kuḷu-kāśmīr pōi ts-<sup>41</sup> ā-ə.*

<sup>38</sup>The whole phrase with genitive subject in Hindi: *merā to jāyā hī nah jātā*.

<sup>39</sup>Here Hindi *kiə* instead of Bangani *kərə*.

<sup>40</sup>This is the basic meaning of the verb *lāṅṅə* respectively *laṅṅə*. It is, however used in Bangani to realize inchoative aktionsart.

<sup>41</sup>The final *-i-*, normally to be expected here, probably disappeared due to the following vowel.

That.ERG Brahmin.ERG him=for mantras make-M.P.PS.PT, then he Kulu-Kashmir arrive- come-M.S.PS.PT.

50. *kūlu-kāśmīr te tiṇi eśō bi de-ṇō seu sōmzai-* ki “*er-ε kōilu ā-ndo bāre, er-ε seu taū oru khā.*”

Kulu-Kashmir then he.ERG so also give-M.S.PS.PT he explain- that “Look-IMP Kailu come-M.S.PRS.PT outside, look-IMP he you.OBL here eat.3.SG.PRS.”

51. *tes=khi eśō kor-ε: ēk te de pām̄ts juṇe=rō rōṭ, ēk de khāru.*

Him=for so make-IMP: one then give.IMP five (times) 20kg=GEN bread, one give.IMP ram.

52. *jeśō-i seu kūlu-kāśmīr de-ṇō, teśō-i māsu-ei bol-ṇō, māsu=rō tho, kā, zāgrō, zāgre=ri tsōth thi tādu, “bele iār, eś zāgr-ei poru puz-ule.”*

As-EMP he Kulu-Kashmir go-M.S.PS.PT, then-EMP Mahasu-ERG say-M.S.PS.PT, Mahasu=GEN was, what, night-wake, night-wake-GEN fourth was then, “Dear friend, so night-wake-ACC there celebrate.1.M.PL.FUT.”

53. *jeśe-i se khōṛe uzi-ṇe teśe-i “bele iār, mōṇchāṇ tshuṭ-i, bele kōilu-a, tu de-u bāre, mōṇchāṇ tshuṭ-e.”*

As-EMP they upright get-up-M.P.PS.PT then-EMP “Dear friend, smell-of-humans escape-F.S.PS.PT, Kailu-VOC, you go-IMP outside, smell-of-humans escape-3.SG.PRS.”

54. *kōilu-ei bol-ṇō zo “etke kā mōṇchāṇ tshuṭ-ε, etka-i kūṇ āś-ε.”*

Kailu.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that “here what smell-of-humans escape-3.SG.PRS, here.EMP who come-3.SG.PRS.”

55. *de-ṇō kōilu bāre, tiṇi ēk muṅgrō kiō<sup>42</sup> śāt mōṇe=rō.*

Go-M.S.PS.PT Kailu outside, he.ERG one club make.M.S.PS.PT sixty maunds=GEN.

56. *jeśō bāre de-ṇō, seu phēr-oū dē-nde lāg-ṇō-i.*

As outside go-M.S.PS.PT, he rounds.OBL give-M.P.PRS.PT attach-M.S.PS.PT-EMP.

57. *tiṇi buṛe-khuṛe sādaṛu-ei teske āt zōṛ-ei tes=ari bol-ṇō “mū te tu na khā, taū=khi de-ū, ēk te de-ū phirue śiṅge=rō khāṛu, ēk de-ū pām̄ts juṇe=rō rōṭ, tu meri ziān bōtsā-u.”*

That.ERG old.OBL-elderly.OBL gentleman.ERG his hands unite-CP him=to say-M.S.PS.PT “Me but you not eat.IMP, you=to give-1.SG.PRS, one then give-1.SG.PRS turned.OBL horns.OBL=GEN ram, one then give-1.SG.PRS five (times) 20kg=GEN bread, you my life save-IMP.”

58. *te tiṇi kā kor-ṇō?*

Then he.ERG what do-M.S.PS.PT?

59. *ēk tes=khi khār khōṇ-i, tebe pā-ṇō tethu tōle ḍr eśō bol-ṇō ki “ethu-i tōle rō-ε be, tu er-ε, ebe śerkuria ā bāre, er-ε seu taū poru khā. zo aū ā-ūle taū=ke, aū uktsāl-ule te uzi-a, teti zaū rō-ε rōṅge.”*

One him=for hole dig-F.S.PS.PT, then place-M.S.PS.PT there down and so say-M.S.PS.PT that “here.EMP down stay-IMP PART.DISRESP, you see-IMP, now Sherkuria come.3.SG.PRS outside, see-IMP he you.OBL there eat.3.SG.PRS. When I come-1.SG.FUT you=to, I unearthen-1.SG.FUT then rise-IMP, then till stay-IMP silent.”

60. *de-ṇō seu bitre “bele tsāl-ṇō-tsāl-ṇō, pūz-o es zāgre.”*

Go-M.S.PS.PT he inside “Dear go-IMP-go-IMP, worship-IMP this.OBL night-wake.OBL.”

61. *uzu-ε se khōṛe, ā-ā dēli=ke=zaū, “bele iār, mōṇtshāṇ tshuṭ-e.”*

<sup>42</sup>Here Hindi *kiō* instead of Bangani *kōṛō*.

Get-up-M.P.PS.PT they upright.M.PL, come-M.P.PS.PT threshold=to=till, “Dear friend, smell-of-humans escape-3.SG.PRS.”

62. *tē lāg-ε bol-dε śerkuria=ari* “*śerkuria, bāre de-u tu; kailu-ei khai- go-i būr.*”

Then attach-M.P.PS.PT speak-M.P.PRS.PT Sherkuria=to “Sherkuria, outside go-IMP you; Kailu-ERG eat- go-F.S.S.PS.PT bribe.”

63. *kailu-i lāg-ə rōś, tiñi bol-ə* “*śerkuria, de-u bāre, muī riśpot khai- go-i, tu tē na khā.*”

Kailu-OBL.EMP attach-M.S.PS.PT anger, he.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT “Sherkuria, go-IMP outside, I.ERG bribe eat- go-F.S.S.PS.PT, you then not eat.2.SG.PRS.”

64. *māsu-ei bi bol-ə eśo tes=ari ki* “*śerkuria, tu de-u bāre, iñi amū=ari zāli lai- go-i.*”

Mahasu-ERG also say-M.S.PS.PT so him=to that “Sherkuria, you go-IMP outside, he.ERG us=to lie attach- go-F.S.S.PS.PT.”

65. *śerkuria bāre āś-ə, tiñi ēk tē tīp-ə seu muñgrə-i śāṭ mənə=ra.*

Sherkuria outside come-M.S.PS.PT, he.ERG one then lift-M.S.PS.PT that club-ACC sixty maund=GEN.

66. *jeśi tiñi ēk śēr de-ñi, teśə-i ərə-śuko sab zəl-ə.*

As.EMP he.ERG one whistle give-F.S.PS.PT, then-EMP green-dry all burn-M.S.PS.PT.

67. *duji śēr de-ñi tiñi, tetra ie zə dōkə bi cuṭ-ə, nəi-gāre bi ā-i.*

Second whistle give-F.S.PS.PT he.ERG, then this which mountain also break-M.S.PS.PT, rivers-brooks also come-F.P.PS.PT.

68. *tebe de-ə seu bitre ki* “*ebe tē tāsoli əi- go-i ā-li tumū. muī tē ərə-śukə bi də-ə, dōke ie bi dāl-ε.*”

Then go-M.S.PS.PT he inside that “Now then satisfaction be- go-F.S.PS.PT be-3.SG.F.FUT you.OBL. I.ERG then green-dry also burn-M.S.PS.PT, mountains they also throw-M.P.PS.PT.”

69. *tə tiūe bol-ə ki* “*sətsə bol-ə eñi, ebe kūñ etke.*”

Then they.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that “True say-M.S.PS.PT he.ERG, now who here.”

70. *tebe se bāre=khi uzu-ε ki* “*poru puz-ə zāgr-ei,*” *bāre=khi uz-ui se dāli=kε=zaū ā-ā, tebe phir-ε əzi bitr-ei.*

Then they outside=for rise-M.P.PS.PT that “there worship-IMP night-wake-ACC,” outside=for rise-CP they threshold=for=till come-M.P.PS.PT, then turn-M.P.PS.PT again inside-EMP.

71. *tiñi kailu-ei phir kā?*

That.ERG Kailu-ERG then what?

72. *lāte=kai bāre ki* “*əzi kā se? muī tē būr kha-i, iñi tē na kha-i būr? dōke bi dāli- go-ε, ərə-śukə bi dāi- go-ə.*”

Leg=with outside that “Again what they? I.ERG then bribe eat-F.S.PS.PT, he.ERG then not eat-F.S.PS.PT bribe? Mountains also break- go-M.P.PS.PT, green-dry also burn- go-M.S.PS.PT.”

73. *jeś-ei tiñi se lāt-a=kai bāre pā-ā, se bāre de-ñe pat-, aphu tes māñche=ke de-ə.*

As-EMP he.ERG that leg-OBL=with outside throw-M.S.PS.PT, they outside give-M.P.PS.PT throw-, himself that.OBL man.OBL=to go-M.S.PS.PT.

74. “*kā-ře, uzi-ndə kela na tu? ebe āñi- go-ε muī se bāre. āt zōr iū=kai, tebe jeśə bi bol-ñə tāi teśə bol.*”

“What-DISRESP, stand-M.S.PRS.PT why not you? Now bring- go-M.P.PS.PT I.ERG they outside. Hands fold.IMP them=before, then as also speak-INF you.OBL so speak.IMP.”

75. *seu buṛə-khuṛə sādaru tebe go-ə ət- khəṛə tiū=kai.*

That old-elderly gentleman then go-M.S.PS.PT be- upright them=before.

76. *təbe lāg-e se pūtsh-de* “*kile tu ā-ə, kā taū tsaī, kā dukhe taū?*”

Then attach-M.P.PS.PT they ask-M.P.PRS.PT “Why you come-M.S.PS.PT, what you.OBL wish.SBJV, what sufferings you.OBL?”

77. *tiṇi bol-ə* “*ōr nōthi na mū kuts dukh na.*”

He.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT “Else not-is not me.OBL any sorrow not.

78. *bēṛ-bakri mu=ke, dan-dōlat sab-kuts mēre, khāli bēṭi-bēṭa ne ə-nde, tole ie gae, tiüre bi kuts na ə-nde.*

Sheep-goats me=with, wealth-riches all-everything my, only daughters-sons not be-M.P.PRS.PT, downstairs these cows, their also anything not be-M.P.PRS.PT.

79. *mēri tshēurie, tiüre bi kuts na ə-nde, bele kuts na ə-nde tiüre.*”

My wives, their also anything not be-M.P.PRS.PT, dear anything not be-M.P.PRS.PT their.”

80. *tiū bol-ə ki* “*ēbe kā kər-ε? tu te buṛə, buṛe=rε ketke əieṇə<sup>43</sup>?*”

They.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that “Now what do-2.SG.PRS? You but old, old.OBL=GEN where can?”

81. “*bele na, ia te mēre bēṭi-bēṭa de-ə ə-ṇe, ia te aū ethike mər-ū, aū kho-ū tumarə thān.*”

“Dear no, either then my daughters-sons give-IMP be-OBL.INF, or then I here.EMP die-1.SG.PRS, I spoil-1.SG.PRS your residence.”

82. *təbe montr-ε tiüre tsəlu=rε dāṇe, māsu=rε dāṇe.*

Then ensorcell-M.P.PS.PT they.ERG paddy=GEN seeds, pulse=GEN seeds.

83. “*bele, tsəlu=rε dāṇe te de-ia āpri tshēuri-ū=khi, māsu=rε dāṇe de-ia gai-ū=khi, te tēri sōntān ə-li.*”

“Dear, paddy=GEN seeds then give-IMP own wives-OBL=for, pulse=GEN seeds give-IMP cows-OBL=for, then your offspring be-3.SG.F.FUT.”

84. *te tshār-ə seu gərε.*

Then send-M.S.PS.PT he home.

85. *tiṇi bol-ə* *zə* “*aū keś-keśə de-ū gərε, mēre=sāte kəilu-i tshār-ə.*”

He.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that “I how-how go-1.SG.PRS home, my=with Kailu-ACC send-IMP.”

86. *te tiū bol-ə* “*se go-i amū zāni- bāt, zə kəilu-ei thə tu śikai-.jā-rε kəilu-a, poru tshōr es.*”

Then they.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT “That go-F.S.PS.PT us know- matter, that Kailu-ERG was you teach-. Go.IMP-DISRESP Kailu-VOC, there discharge.IMP him.”

87. *seu de-ṇə tiṇi sōmzai- zə* “*tu mū=khi khāru kər-ε ēk phirua śiṅge=rə, pām̄ts juṇe=rə tsapṛə de.*”

He give-M.S.PS.PT he.ERG explain- that “You me=for sheep make-IMP one turned horns=GEN, five (times) 20kg=GEN bread give.IMP.”

88. *phūkr-ə seu tiṇi pā-ə gər=ke.*

Blow-M.S.PS.PT he he.ERG throw-M.S.PS.PT house=to.

89. *jeśə-i seu gər=ke pōi ts-ə, teśə-i se tsəlu=rε dāṇe te de-ṇe āpri tshēuri-ū=khi, māsu=rε dāṇe gai-ū=khi.*

As-EMP he home=at arrive-M.S.PS.PT, then-EMP those paddy=GEN seeds then give-M.P.PS.PT own wives-OBL=for, pulse=GEN seeds cows-OBL=for.

90. *bās, te tiū tshēuri-ū=rε te ə-ε be bēṭe-bēṭa sāt, tiū gai-ū=rε ə-ε bāṣṭu.*

Enough, then those.OBL women-OBL=GEN then become-M.P.PS.PT sons-sons seven, those.OBL cows-OBL=GEN become-M.P.PS.PT calves.

91. *buṛe-khurε sādaru=rə thə bai ēk - pōtia sāb, seu rə-ε thə tes=koi baīdi.*

<sup>43</sup> The correct word form here is not quite clear.

Old.OBL-elderly.OBL gentleman=GEN was brother one – Patia Sahib, he live-3.SG.PRS was him=from separate.

92. *tiñi bol-ə āpṛe nukru-tsākru=ari ki “mērə ēk buṛə bai thə, de-ə dei seu ziūdia ki mōri-go-ə. amū tēri somālē ne ki<sup>44</sup> na.”*

He.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT own servants-menials=to that “My one old brother was, go-IMP please he alive or die- go-M.S.PS.PT. We.ERG his care.OBL not make-F.S.PS.PT not.”

93. *teṛe tshār-ε tiñi dui zəṇe.*

Then send-M.P.PS.PT he.ERG two people.

94. *se āś-ε nōzikṛe bi āś-ε tiū bi dēkh-ε zə bitṛe seze sāt mōrēd, ziūri gūze bi lāmi-lāmi.*

They come-M.P.PS.PT near also come-M.P.PS.PT they.ERG also see-M.P.PS.PT that inside those seven men, whose moustaches also long-long.

95. *tiūe tes=ari ne ni bol-ə-i na, bāg-du rə-ε vāpas.*

They.ERG him=to<sup>45</sup> not not say-M.S.PS.PT-EMP not,<sup>46</sup> run-PRS.PT stay-M.P.PS.PT back.

96. *te bol-ə tes=ari zə “tu gəṇ-ε ni tesri ləṭi-pəṭi khā-ṇə, par eśe tetke sāt zə tēri ləṭi-pəṭi se khā-le.”*

Then say-M.S.PS.PT him=to that “You say-2.SG.PRS PART his.F possessions-riches eat-INF, but such there seven who your.F possessions-riches they eat-3.PL.M.FUT.”

97. *“bele, se kūṇ?”*

“Dear, they who?”

98. *tiū bol-ə, “se ni tesre bēta, tes buṛe-khuṛe sādaṛu=re.”*

They.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT, “They PART his sons, that.OBL old.OBL-elderly.OBL gentleman=GEN.”

99. *te tiñi kər-ə eśə, tiñi buṛe-khuṛe sādaṛu-ei: ēk te bās-ə be baiṇə māsu=khi, pāmṛts sēr bās-ə sunə, ēk bās-i kəṛa, ēk bās-i kalka-kōrnāl ki “ie tum=khi.”*

Then he.ERG do-M.S.PS.PT so, that.ERG old.OBL-elderly.OBL gentleman-ERG: one then promise-M.S.PS.PT PART drum Mahasu=for, five kg promise-M.S.PS.PT gold, one promise-F.S.PS.PT cauldron, one promise-F.S.PS.PT wind instrument-alpenhorn that “they you=for.”

100. *tsār māsu=khi tsār tsīze ə-i.*

Four Mahasus=for four things become-F.P.PS.PT.

101. *te gər=ke jeśə-i seu āś-ə, tiñi de-ṇə bōidi likhi-, seu bōidi likhi- de-ṇə.*

Then home=for as-EMP he come-M.S.PS.PT, he.ERG give-M.S.PS.PT register write-, that register write- give-M.S.PS.PT.

102. *poru de-nne=khi bisrui- mər-ə.*

There give-OBL.INF=for forget- die-M.S.PS.PT.

103. *tiūe, tesṛe bēṭi-bēta-ūe, se bōi ne ni dēkh-i na, zə kā likh-əndə.*

They.ERG, his daughters-sons-ERG, that register not not see-F.S.PS.PT not,<sup>47</sup> that what write-M.S.PRF.PT.<sup>48</sup>

104. *tebe kā zəbe ḍūb-ṇe=khi āś-ēṇ na dūs?*

Then what when drown-OBL.INF=for come-3.Pl.PRS PART days?

<sup>44</sup> Here Hindi *kī* instead of Bangani *kōri*.

<sup>45</sup> Correct instead of *tes=ari* “him-to” would be *tiū=ari* “them-to”.

<sup>46</sup> Triple negation.

<sup>47</sup> Triple negation.

<sup>48</sup> Corresponds to Hindi *likhā huā*.

105. *se tsīz poru na de-ui na.*

Those things there not give-F.P.PS.PT.PASS not.

106. *teti=bāsie tiṇi potia sāib-ei bol-ə zə “iār-ε, aū te khai- go-ə oru-ai, zeti aū iū oru=khi de-ū, teti tumε āpre kha-o.*

That=after that.ERG Patia Sahib-ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that “friends-VOC, I then eat-go-M.S.PS.PT others-ERG, as-much I these.OBL others=for give-1.SG.PRS, that-much you.PL yourself eat-IMP.

107. *ja-o, oru ā-ṇə ətā-ia tiū.*

Go-IMP, here bring.IMP call-CP them.

108. *aū gəṇ-ū thə ni tēri loṭi-pəṭi khā-ṇə, par ī mēri loṭi-pəṭi te khā-le poru.”*

I say-1.SG.PRS was PART your possessions-riches eat-INF, but this.OBL my possessions-riches then eat-3.Pl.M.FUT there.”

109. *tebe tshār-ε tiṇi se māṇuts, tiūε āṇ-ε se oru ətā-ia.*

Then dispatch-M.P.PS.PT he.ERG they men, they.ERG bring-M.P.PS.PT they here call-CP.

110. *te tetke zə se oke the, tiṇi lā ɔnde, bəzīr, se te gāre poru.*

Then there who they others were, he.ERG attach- be-M.P.PS.PT.PASS, minister, they then remove-M.P.PS.PT there.

111. *tiūri zāga=di lā-ā se, matlab sārə kārəbār tiū=kai de-ṇə tiṇi.*

Their place=in attach-M.S.PS.PT they, that-is all dealings them=for give-M.S.PS.PT he.ERG.

112. *āphu the se bure, seu teeri tsheur.*

Themselves were they old, he his wife.

113. *zəbe tiūε sārə kārəbār sanbāl-ə, te zə se tetke the, se nukēr, tiūε sūts-ə zə “iār-ε, iūε sādaruəto-ūε te amε khai- go-ε.*

When they.ERG all dealings manage-M.S.PS.PT, then who they there were, those servants, they.ERG think-M.S.PS.PT that “friends-VOC, these.ERG gentleman-fellows-ERG then we eat- go-M.P.PS.PT.

114. *bele εsə kər-īṇ: iū=khi sunə-tsāndi=rə te am=ke pətə, tali-ū=rə bi am=ke pətə, tsōri kər-de-īṇ amε.*

Dear so do-1.PL.PRS: them.OBL=for gold-silver=GEN then us=to known, keys-OBL=GEN also us=to known, theft do-PRS.PT.OBL go-1.Pl.PRS we.

115. *ketke, ebe ku jāṇi,<sup>49</sup> la-i be iūε māsu-ε.*

Where, now who knows, attach-F.S.PS.PT PART these.ERG Mahasus-ERG.

116. *zə bəndēṇ dē-nde iūrə poru, te kela lag-di thi ie ku jāṇi<sup>50</sup>, seu bənd bisru-ə poru.”*

If promise give-M.P.PRS.PT their there, then why attach-F.S.PRS.PT was.F that who knows, that promise forget-M.S.PS.PT there.”

117. *tiūε keśə kər-ə, zə dūre giṇ-ε gōru tāpre=di, tepe ṭhaṭu-ε tetke zə “etra amε tsōri kər-īṇ.”*

They.ERG how do-M.S.PS.PT, that far-away bring-M.P.PS.PT cattle meadow=in, then decide-M.P.PS.PT there that “today we theft make-1.PL.PRS.”

118. *se aś-ε rāt, tepe giṇ-ə sārə tsōri kər-ia poru, kuts na tshōr-ə tetke.*

They come-M.P.PS.PT night, then take-M.S.PS.PT all theft do-CP there, anything not leave-M.S.PS.PT there.

119. *dujje aś-ε se, tepe bol-ə pətia sāb=ari zə “amε te beimān the, par ie te tēre āpre the.*

<sup>49</sup> An irregular subjunctive, widespread in NIA.

<sup>50</sup> See preceding footnote.

Next-day come-M.P.PS.PT they, then say-M.S.PS.PT Patia Sahib=to that “We then dishonest were, but they then your own were.

120. *εbe tu khazāno dekh- de-i: asti tīnde kā ki kuts nōthi? am=ke εśo zaṇu-ο ki iūe kuts na tshōr-ο tetke.*”

Now you treasury look- give-IMP: is therein what or anything not-is? Us=to so known-M.S.PS.PT.PASS that they.ERG anything not leave-M.S.PS.PT there.”

121. *dujje ni de-ο seu, se bi de teere=sāte.*

Next-day PART go-M.S.PS.PT he, they also go-M.P.PS.PT him=with.

122. *dekh-ο tetke zo kuts nōthi, seu tsōri- go-ο thō aphu tiū.*

See-M.S.PS.PT there that anything is-not, that steal- go-M.S.PS.PT was oneself they.ERG.

123. *tiṇi tiū=ari bol-ο, “ja-ο, tume mēri lōṭi-pōṭi aṇ-ο, na te tumū aū khōtōm kōr-ū.” se de.*

He.ERG them=to say-M.S.PS.PT, “Go-IMP, you my possessions-riches bring-IMP, not then you.OBL I finished make-1.SG.PRS.” They go-M.P.PS.PT.

124. *tiū=kai thō māmlē kāphi ugā-ṇe=khi, zo kuts apke thō, seu kiō<sup>51</sup> aphu māmlē ugā-nde de.*

Them=with was matter much collect-OBL.INF=for, what ever own was, that make-M.S.PS.PT themselves matter.OBL collect-M.P.PRS.PT go-M.P.PS.PT.

125. *tetke lagi- go-ο pōto zo, “amarō rāza ai- go-ο māmlē ugā-ndo, beḷe εbe kā kōr-ε, māmlē te bōri rō-ο ḍ-ndo ugā-ṇe=khi.*

There attach- go-M.S.PS.PT known that, “Our king come- go-M.S.PS.PT matters collect-M.S.PRS.PT, dear now what make-2.SG.PRS, matter then much remain-M.S.PS.PT be-M.S.PRS.PT collect-OBL.INF=for.

126. *amare ne de-ī-ndo eti, baū māṭo bi de-ūle te bi ne bāz-dō pūrō.*

Our.OBL not give-M.S.PRS.PT.PASS so-much, even-if earth also give-1.PL.FUT then also not become-M.S.PRS.PT whole.

127. *εbe εś kōr-ο, de-nne te de-nne-i ja.*

Now so make-IMP, give-OBL.INF then give-OBL.INF-EMP must.IMP.

128. *purāṇe te giṇ-ο lāṅke bir-ie, ek līr agie tōḷe, ek līr pātshie tōḷe, tepe de-ο tiū=kai.*”

Old.M.PL then bring-IMP clothes.M.PL don-CP, one rag front-side.OBL, one rag back-side.OBL, then go-IMP them=to.”

129. *tiūe seu māmlō ṭhōṛ-ṭhōṛ de-ṇo, te bi tesre sunē-tsāndi lāik go-ο bāzi.*

They.ERG that matter little-little give-M.S.PS.PT, then also their.M.PL gold-silver fit go-M.S.PS.PT become-.

130. *aṇ-ο, tepe de-ṇo poru tī tsōri=rē bōdle, ḍe bi seu bōnd thō-ο bisri-i*

Bring-M.S.PS.PT, then give-M.S.PS.PT there that.OBL theft=GEN exchange.OBL, but still that promise remain-M.S.PS.PT forget-EMP.

131. *εbe zōbe seu pānts sēr sūno thō thō-ο ḍ-ndo, tiṇi ek-iei bol-ο zo, “iar-ε, ame ni es sūne-rō ie cāṇ-de the tōluāṭo.”*

Now when that five kg gold was keep-M.S.PS.PT be-M.S.PRS.PT, that.ERG one-ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that, “friends-VOC, we PART this.OBL gold=GEN this.F make-M.P.PRS.PT were.M.PL sword.”

132. *te tiūe tesri tōluār cāṇ-ṇe=khi sunār-ε=khe de-ṇi go-i ki, “esrō εśe tōluār cāṇ-u zo lōg bi bol-εḷe zo “kuṇi cāṇ-i ie tōluār.”*

<sup>51</sup> Here Hindi *kiō* instead of Bangani *kōrō*.

Then they.ERG his sword make-OBL.INF=for goldsmith-OBL=for give.F.INF go-F.S.PS.PT that, “His such sword make-IMP that people also say-3.PL.FUT that “who.ERG make-F.S.PS.PT that.F sword.”

133. *ješō-i seu sunār pāni dē-ndē lag-ə, tešō-i tiū sātia bai-iū=rə kāl likh-inə tethu=pāre.*

When-EMP that goldsmith finishing-touch give-M.S.PRS.PT.OBL attach-M.S.PS.PT, then-EMP those.OBL all-seven brothers-OBL=GEN time write-M.S.PS.PT that=on.

134. *zab kāl pər-ə, seu sunār dekh-e-dekh-e, poru na de-ei na tī tōluār.*

When time fall-M.S.PS.PT, that goldsmith see-3.SG.PRS-see-3.SG.PRS, there not give-3.SG.PRS-EMP that.OBL sword.

135. “*bele oru kela nē dē-ndō tu i?*”

“Dear here why not give-M.S.PRS.PT you this.OBL?”

136. “*bele giṅ-ə ni giṅ-ə, par tumarə kāl ethu=di likh-iū.*

“Dear take-IMP PART take-IMP, but your time this=on write-M.S.PS.PT.PASS.

137. *oke=ke nē de-iōṅ i, bilkul na, zə de-le tumē oke=ke, te tumē sātia khatam.*”

Others=to not give-JUSS this.OBL, absolutely not, if give-2.PL.FUT you others=to, then you all-seven finished.”

138. *tēbe tiūe kā sūts-ə, tiūe nokru-e, ziūe seu sūno tsōr-ə ki, “iar-e, zə ozi aś-ele se etke, te ie loṭi-poṭi lag-ṅi əzi bi tiū-i =re āthe.*

Then they.ERG what think-M.S.PS.PT, those.ERG servants-ERG, who that gold steal-M.S.PS.PT that, “friends-VOC, if again come-3.PL.FUT they here, then these possessions-riches attach-INF.F.SG again also their-EMP=GEN hands.

139. *teti kər-iə eśō bol-īn amē es=ari ki “poru kər tiū sātiaū khatam, iū tu thə-ei na ziūdo.*

That make-CP so say-1.PL.PRS we him=to that “there make.IMP those.OBL all-seven.OBL finished, these.OBL you keep-IMP.EMP not alive.

140. *zə thə-e tu ziūdo iū, te əzi bi tēri loṭi-poṭi poru khā-ṅi iūe.*”

If keep-2.SG.PRS you alive them.OBL, then again also your 2 possessions-riches there eat-INF.F.SG they.ERG.”

141. *ie əṭa-i tiṅi apri sāri pərza, “bele pholaṅe dūse zagrə, tumē tes=khi āi-o.”*

This.F summon-F.S.PS.PT he.ERG own whole subjects, “Dear such-and-such.OBL day.OBL night-wake, you.PL that.OBL=for come-IMP.”

142. *caṅ-ə zagrə, sab aśi- go-e, aphu bośi- go-e se māle tshapre=maī , potia sāb bi, tēri tshueṛ bi.*

Make-M.S.PS.PT night-wake, all come- go-M.PL.PS.PT, themselves sit- go-M.PL.PS.PT they up roof=on, Patia Sahib also, his wife also.

143. *lagi- go-ə seu māle=koi bol-də, “āri- go-ə dūs-ru, aṅi- go-e goru. kā dekh-e-i tumē? es koṭār-ei māṅg-o oru, es koṭār-ei māṅg-o iū=koi, tepe zāṅg-o iū.”*

Attach- go-M.S.PS.PT he up=from speak-M.S.PRS.PT, “set- go-M.S.PS.PT day-DIM, bring- go-M.PL.PS.PT cattle. What see-2.PL.PRS-EMP you? This.OBL sword-ACC demand-IMP here, this.OBL sword-ACC demand-IMP them=from, then kill-IMP them.”

144. *tiṅi jeśi se tōluār de-ṅi tiṅi, tēk-i se tōluār, teše-i phās-e se sātia bai.*

He.ERG as.EMP that sword give-F.S.PS.PT he.ERG, seize-F.S.PS.PT that sword, then-EMP cut-M.PL.PS.PT they all-seven brothers.

145. *te se kāṭ-e, te de teti=baśie tiūre gər=ke. zə tiūre ə- ə-ndi the gər=ke, se bi kāṭe.*

Then they cut-M.PL.PS.PT, then go-M.PL.PS.PT there=after their.OBL house=to. Who their be- be-M.PL.PRS.PT were home=at, they also cut-M.PL.PS.PT.

146. *te ēk kantshe-i kaṅtsheri tshueṛ thi, se thi doziati.*



Then one young-EMP young-type woman was, she was pregnant.

147. *se tsōr-i deuāl-ŋi-ei aprɛ gagrɛ=augi.*

She hide-F.S.PS.PT bard-woman-ERG own.OBL skirt.OBL=under.

148. *tīue zə sārɛ kāŋi- go-ɛ the, tɛ bol-ə zə, “əzi tɛ nɛ nəthi etkɛ koi iūrɛ.”*

Those.ERG who all cut- go-M.PL.PS.PT were, then say-M.S.PS.PT that, “Additional then not not-is here anyone them.GEN.”

149. *tɛ tīe deuāl-ŋi-ei bol-ə zə, “ōr nəthi ni koia na.<sup>52</sup> aū, aū tumari bi iūri bi, mū kāt-e-i tɛ kāt-ə poru.”*

Then that.ERG bard-woman-ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that, “Other not-is not any not. I, I yours also theirs also, me cut-2.PL.PRS-EMP then cut-IMP there.”

150. *es-ésə kər-iə tīe, sɛ kaŋtsheri tshɛuēr bətsai- go-i. tɛ se poru dɛ, sɛ tīe maice tshār-i.*

So-so make-CP she.ERG, that young-type woman save- go-F.S.PS.PT. Then they there go-M.PL.PS.PT, she she.ERG parents'-home send-F.S.PS.PT.

151. *tīū sātia bai-ū=khi - tiūri khāl gār-i, tɛ tāng-i ūlti tāng-ɛ tājɛ.*

Those.OBL all-seven brothers-OBL=for - their skins strip-F.PL.PS.PT, then hang-F.PL.PS.PT inversely balcony-OBL down.

152. *sɛ dɛ-i maice=di, sɛ əlkhu-i poru, tīrə u-ə bɛta, bɛta u-ə tīrə.*

She go-F.S.PS.PT parents'-house=in, she deliver-F.S.PS.PT there, her become-M.S.PS.PT son, son become-M.S.PS.PT her.

153. *tɛ ōr bəŋ-e-i na mīne=rə, bəŋse=rə, sɛu bəŋ-ə duse=rə.*

Then others grow-3PL.PRS-EMP PART months=of, years=of, he grow-M.S.PS.PT days=of.

154. *atsha, zə sɛu kuts bədirə jai- go-ə, tɛ lagi- go-ə sɛu dəŋu-kāmɔ khəl-dɛ.*

Well, when he little older go- go-M.S.PS.PT, then attach- go-M.S.PS.PT he bow-arrow playing-PRS.PT.OBL.

155. *tīū ōru=ri lag-e-i na, tesri phataphaŋ lag-i nišāne=di: “bele ka-ŋɛ, naū jət.”*

Those.OBL others.OBL=GEN<sup>53</sup> attach-F.S.PS.PT-EMP not, his quickly attach-F.S.PS.PT target=in: “Dear what-DISRESP, name call.IMP.”

156. *sɛu bol-ɛ, “aū kārə naū jət-ū?” “bele, kesə “kārə naū jət-ū”, bele kesə kārə, mā-bāp ɔ-lɛ tɛrɛ.”*

He say-3.SG.PRS, “I whose name call-1.SG.PRS?” “Dear, how ‘whose name call-1.SG.PRS’, dear what whose, mother-father be-3.PL.FUT your.PL.”

157. *sɛu as-ɛ aprɛ ije=kai, “bele ije, mā-bāpu=rə naū kā mɛrɛ?”*

He go-3.SG.PRS own mother=to, “Dear mother, mother-father=GEN name what my.PL?”

158. *“bele rāmɔŋɔria, mā nɛ aū tɛri, bāp nəthi na tɛrə. bele, muɪ kha-i kāmɔde=ri zəŋie, tɛ o-ə tu.”*

“Dear rascal.VOC, mother PART I your, father not-is not your. Dear, I.ERG eat-F.S.PS.PT mountaintop=GEN roots, then become-M.S.PS.PT you.”

159. *sɛu kā zə dɛ-ə dujje? dujje bi lā tɛši-tɛše. jət-ɛ sɛu naū zə kāmɔde=ri kumlie.*

He what when go-M.S.PS.PT next-day? Next-day also attach.M.S.PS.PT so-so. Call-3.SG.PRS he name who mountaintop=GEN shoots.

160. *sɛ bol-ɛŋ, sɛ ōr zə, “āmbɛ, kāmɔde=ri kumlie, amɛ aŋ-ŋɔ doti, tɛ de-ŋɔ tɛri ije=khi deiki, oji ɔ-lɛ tɛrɛ.”*

<sup>52</sup>Triple negation.

<sup>53</sup>Postposition is feminine because of feminine *dəŋu* “bow”.

They say-3.PL.PRS, those others that, “All-right, mountaintop=GEN shoots, we bring-1.PL.PRS tomorrow, then give-1.PL.PRS your mother=for little, more be-3.PL.FUT hers.”

161. *dujje seu bāz-ə kōliar-ai khām-də, “bēle na bōl mēre bāba=rə nāū.”*

Next-day he stop-M.S.PS.PT lunch-ACC eat-M.S.PRS.PT, “Dear PART tell.IMP my father=GEN name.”

162. *tepe bol-ə tiē zə, “rāmđuria, paṇi aṇ-ə muī nōi=koi ubaļu-ndo, te pi-ə seu, tepe u-ə tu.”*

Then say-M.S.PS.PT she.ERG that, “Rascal.VOC, water bring-M.S.PS.PT I.ERG river=from boil-M.S.PRS.PT, then drink-M.S.PS.PT that, then become-M.S.PS.PT you.”

163. *dujje bi dāl-ə tiṇi, te jət-ə teš-tešə nāū.*

Next-day also throw-M.S.PS.PT he.ERG, then call-M.S.PS.PT so-so name.

164. *tiūe bol-ə zə, “paṇi aṇ-iṇ ame sāri dūnia=rə goṭi- gaṭ-io, te pi-a-iṇ dei, əzi ə-le.”*

They.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that, “Water bring-1.Pl.PRS we whole world=GEN collect-collect-CP, then drink-CAUS-1.Pl.PRS little, more become-3.Pl.FUT.”

165. *tiṇi bi bol-ə tī=ari teš-i-tešə.*

He.ERG also say-M.S.PS.PT them=to so-EMP-so.

166. *tī=kai bāzi- go-ə muškil, “zə boli de-ū es=ari zə buṛe-kuṛe sadaṛu=rə kōnaḷə tu, te tiū=kai potə laḡ-ṇə, tiūe ieu bi poru kaṭ-ṇə. na bol-də, te ieu ne mān-də.”*

Her=to become- go-M.S.PS.PT difficult, “If say- give-1.SG.PRS him=to that old.OBL-elderly.OBL gentleman.OBL=GEN grandson you, then them=to whereabouts attach-INF, they.ERG he also there cut-INF. Not say-M.S.PRS.PT, then he not accept-M.S.PRS.PT.”

167. *te seu la-ə tiūe bəkrəvaḷə. te ek dūs kā ə-ə, zə bakrie kha-i bag-ei.*

Then he attach-M.S.PS.PT she.ERG goatherd. Then one day what be-M.S.PS.PT, that goats eat-F.S.PS.PT tiger-ERG.

168. *ād-i-ād bakrie poru kha-i tiṇi, ādi tiṇi gəre aṇ-i.*

Half-EMP-half goats there eat-F.S.PS.PT he.ERG, half he.ERG home bring-F.S.PS.PT.

169. *atsha, te ezi bāṭi tes=di laḡi- go-i kōṛ, potia sābe=di, kaṇṭshi ḍṭhi=di, ezi bāṭi laḡi- go-ə seu er-a-ndə- gəṇa-ndə.*

Well, then this direction him=in attach- go-F.S.PS.PT leprosy, Patia Sahib=in, little finger=in, this direction attach- go-M.S.PS.PT he look-CAUS-M.S.PRS.PT count-M.S.PRS.PT.

170. *tiū bol-ə zə, “tesri gāmd-i=rə khōz-e=rə mil-ēlə, tepe de taū=koi ieu kōṛ, es-ia ne ḡē-də.”*

He say-M.S.PS.PT that, “His smell-OBL=GEN trace-OBL=GEN meet-3.SG.FUT, then go-3.SG.PRS you=from this leprosy, so-EMP not go-M.S.PRS.PT.”

171. *atsha, ezi bāṭi tshari- go-ε tiṇi tes loṛ-de.*

Well, this direction send- go-M.PL.PS.PT he.ERG that.OBL search-M.PRS.PT.OBL.

172. *ezi baṭi la-ə tiūe muslia-i zə, “se bakrie kindε go-i?”*

This direction attach-M.S.PS.PT she.ERG reproach-F.S.PS.PT that, “Those goats where go-F.PL.PS.PT?”

173. *seu bol-ε zə, “ezi na pār nāḷe=di.” tiū bol-ə zə, “ie kele mər-i?”*

He say-3.SG.PRS that, “These PART across ravine=in.” She say-M.S.PS.PT that, “They how die-F.PL.PS.PT?”

174. *tiṇi bol-ə, “kə zaṇi te.”<sup>54</sup> “bēle te jā oru āṇ.” iṇi aṇ-i.*

He say-M.S.PS.PT, “Who know but.” “Dear but must.IMP here bring.IMP.” He.ERG bring-F.S.PS.PT.

<sup>54</sup> See above footnote 49.

175. “*əsi bi tetke kā?*” “*bele, birałto ek, őr nathi kuts na.*”

“Is also there what?” “Dear, tomcat one, other not-is anything not.”

176. *tüē er-ə sütsi-* *zo*, “*ieu te atshə birałto.*”

She.ERG see-M.S.PS.PT think- that, “This but nice tomcat.”

177. *seu de-ə əzi poru, dekh-ə seu bāg.*

He go-M.S.PS.PT again there, see-M.S.PS.PT that tiger.

178. *tepe süts-ə ešo zo*, “*es birałt-ei giñ-ü aū poru, tepe bol-ü tiū=ari zo iñi kha-i, aū kā kər-ü.*”

Then think-M.S.PS.PT so that “This.OBL tomcat-ACC bring-1.SG.PRS I there, then say-1.SG.PRS her=to that it.ERG eat-F.S.PS.PT, I what do-1.SG.PRS.”

179. *tek-ə seu bāg, te pa-ə kotshe=poru, te de-ə tiū=kai.*

Seize-M.S.PS.PT that tiger, then place-M.S.PS.PT jacket-bag=there, then go-M.S.PS.PT her=to.

180. *tiñi gaṛ-ə, tepe bol-ə zo*, “*ezo be seu birałta, iñi kha-i.*”

He extract-M.S.PS.PT, then say-M.S.PS.PT that, “This PART that tomcat, he.ERG eat-F.P.PS.PT.”

181. *tüē dekh-ə zo bāg, tepe bol-ə tes=ari zo*, “*poru-i giñ aṛe es birałte, am=ke ne tsai.*”

She.ERG see-M.S.PS.PT that tiger, then say-M.S.PS.PT him=to that, “There-EMP take-along.IMP own.OBL this.OBL tomcat.OBL, us=to not wished.SBJV.”

182. *atsha, tes bāg-ε chor-ia, zo gəre=khi a-ə, seu te mil-ε se zo potia sāb-ei the tshaṛ-ənde.*

Well, that.OBL tiger.OBL release-CP, who home=for come-M.S.PS.PT, he then meet-3.SG.PRS them who Patia Sahib-ERG were send-M.PL.PS.PT.PASS.

183. *tiñi bi go-ə tho lai- pəto aṛi ije=koi zo*, “*mere babae eše-eše zaṅge.*”

He.ERG also go-M.S.PS.PT was attach- known own mother=from that, “My fathers so.PL-so.PL kill-M.PL.PS.PT.”

184. *seu de-ə gər=ke, tepe dekh-ε zo tshoriare<sup>55</sup> tiūre taṅg-ənde ulṭe.*

He go-M.S.PS.PT home=to, then see-3.SG.PRS that skins their hang-M.PL.PRS.PT.PASS inversely.M.PL.

185. *tiñi ugaṛ-ə koṭhār, dekh-ə seu bənd.*

He open-M.S.PS.PT treasury, see-M.S.PS.PT that promise.

186. *te əgəṇike seu bənd-ai te aṇ-ə de-ña māsu=ke.*

Then first that promise-EMP then bring-M.S.PS.PT give-CP Mahasu=for.

187. *seu baiṇə bi, sunə bi, kornāl bi, seu kəṛa bi.*

That drum also, gold also, alpenhorn also, that cauldron also.

188. *seu aś-ə, teti=basiē tes=ke mili- go-ə se admi tetke.*

He come-M.S.PS.PT, that= after him=to meet- go-M.S.PS.PT those guys there.

189. *te lag-ε seu bol-de*, “*bele aū manuch, paṛ tumē ešo bol-ə ki tumē kūñ.*”

Then attach-M.S.PS.PT.OBL he say-M.S.PRS.PT.OBL, “Dear I man, but you so speak-IMP that you who.”

190. “*bele iar-ε, ame eš-eše potia sāb-ei tho-ε tshāri-*, *zo buṛe-khuṛe sadaṛu=rε koi bi mil-εle, se jā loṛ-ñe. tesri əṭhi=di kōṛ lag-əndi, seu kōṛ de teb-ei zo se mil-εle.*”

“Dear friend-VOC, we so-so Patia Sahib-ERG keep-M.PL.PS.PT send-, that old.OBL-elderly.OBL gentleman.OBL=GEN anyone meet-1.PL.FUT, those must.IMP search-OBL.INF. His finger=in leprosy attach-PS.PT.PASS, that leprosy go.3.SG.PRS then-EMP when they meet-1.PL.FUT.”

191. *tes buše śuṇ-ie əgəṇike laqi- go-ə rōś.*

<sup>55</sup>The suffix *-are* corresponds to Hindi *-vāle*.

That.OBL speech hear-CP first attach- go-M.S.PS.PT anger.

192. *tēpe sūts-ə tiṇi*, “*bēle, iū zaṅg-iə kā kər-ε.*”

Then think-M.S.PS.PT he.ERG, “Dear, these.OBL kill-CP what do-3.PL.PRS.”

193. *tēpe bol-ə eśə zə*, “*burε-khurε sādaru=rə kənaḷə aū, bēle tsāl-o tε ije=kai, tsāl-o gor=kε.*”

Then say-M.S.PS.PT so that, “Old.OBL-elderly.OBL gentleman.OBL=GEN grandson I, dear go-IMP then mother=to, go-IMP home=to.”

194. *bēle ijer-tje, eś-eśe aś-ε dui amū puts-dε zə burε-khurε sādaru=rε bi koi. se go-ε ne tshāri-mūi poru.*

“Dear mummy-mother, so-so come-M.PL.PS.PT two us.OBL ask-M.PL.PRS.PT whether old.OBL-elderly.OBL gentleman.OBL=GEN also any. They go-M.PL.PS.PT PART send- I.ERG there.

195. *ər tes=di kōr lag-əndi, zə tiūre ethurə mil-elə koi ərkhe=rə, tēpe dε seu kōr.*”

And him=in leprosy attach-PS.PT.PASS, if them.OBL his meet-3.SG.FUT any blood-relative=GEN, then go.3.SG.PRS that leprosy.”

196. “*bēle, tε tāi keśə bol-ə?*” “*bēle mūi ni eśə bol-ə zə aū.*”

Dear, then you.ERG how say-M.S.PS.PT?” “Dear I.ERG PART so say-M.S.PS.PT that I.”

197. *tēpe lagi- go-i se lēr-di zə*, “*bās, ebe kaṭ-ēṇ bε taū.*”

Then attach- go-F.S.PS.PT she weep-F.S.PRS.PT that, “Enough, now cut-3.PL.PRS PART you.OBL.”

198. “*bēle tu kela lēr-ε ije?*” “*bōlu zaṅg-ēṇ taū.*”

“Dear you why weep-2.SG.PRS mother?” “PART cut-3.PL.PRS you.OBL.”

199. *tēpe bol-ə tiṇi zə*, “*aū bε tiūrə guru ṭəkr-əndi bād-iū=rə.*”

Then say-M.S.PS.PT he.ERG that, “I PART their guru collide-PS.PT.PASS all-OBL=GEN.”

200. *tēpe dε-i se aṙre tes bai=kai*, “*bēle dada-rε, mu=kε tε tiṇi eś-eśi khāṁṭi kī<sup>56</sup> go-i.*”

Then go-F.S.PS.PT she own that.OBL brother=to, “Dear brother-DIM.VOC, me=to then he.ERG so-so cantrip make- go-F.S.PS.PT.”

201. *tetke eśε zə oru=ari tε ləṙ-ε thə seu poru, ek zəṇə thə durgurəgu, nau-ī thə teero durgurəgu.*

There so that others=with then fight-3.SG.PRS was he there, one man was Durguragu, name-EMP was his Durguragu.

202. *seu kā kər-ə thə, zə badi-ū=ri bebaśi jā thi, tε ləṙ-ε thə.*

He what make-M.S.PS.PT was, when all-OBL=GEN helplessness go was, then fight-3.SG.PRS was.

203. *seu ləṙ-ε thə goṙe=kai, seu goṙə kā, zə ek berε ube dε thə akāś=khi.*

He fight-3.SG.PRS was horse=with, that horse what, that one turn up go.3.SG.PRS was sky=for.

204. *zə seu mathe lag-ε thə, tēpe dε thə seu tēre pēte=augi.*

When he above attach-3.SG.PRS was, then go.3.SG.PRS was he his.OBL belly.OBL=under.

205. *dəni māte=di lag-e-i thə, seu māle cigarε=maī dε-ei thə.*

Down earth=in attach-3.SG.PRS-EMP was, he up back=in go-3.SG.PRS-EMP was.

206. *eś-eśə ləṙε thə seu goṙe=kai zə bebaśi ə-ε thi badi-ū=ri, tēpe ləṙε thə seu.*

So-so fight-3.SG.PRS was he horse=with that helplessness be-3.SG.PRS was others-OBL=GEN, then fight-3.SG.PRS was he.

<sup>56</sup>Hindi instead of Bangani *kəri*.

207. *atsha, zə seu māma teerə, seu bi thə zəŋe ezie.*

Well, who that uncle his, he also was know-3.SG.PRS so.EMP

208. *tiŋi bol-ə zə tiŋi māma-i, “amə bi kela dər-i, amə bi dui zəŋe na.”*

He.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that that.ERG uncle.ERG, “We also why fear-1.PL.PRS, we also two people not.”

209. *atsha, tɛ “eśə kor-ε tu: zə rati zətie=khi rāt biāl-i, tetie-khi etkə ā nau-ĩ- do-uoio.”*

Well, then “So do-2.SG.PRS you: that in-the-morning as-much-as=for night end-F.S.PS.PT, as-much-as=for here come.IMP bathe-CP- wash-CP.”

210. *tiŋi thə-ε dui goŋe kəsi- tetie=khi, ap=kə thə-i təluarie ki,<sup>57</sup> naŋgi təluarie.*

He.ERG keep-M.PL.PS.PT two horses harness- as-much-as=for, himself=with keep-F.PL.PS.PT swords make-, blank swords.

211. *duiā māma bāŋze tsəl- pəŋ-ε.*

Both uncle nephew.PL walk- fall-M.PL.PS.PT.

212. *goŋe ube uŋ-əŋ akās=khi, doni aś-əŋ mātə=maĩ.*

Horses up jump-up-3.PL.PRS sky=for, down come-3.PL.PRS earth=in.

213. *duiā zəŋe āpasi=maĩ lagi- go-ε bed-ində.*

Both people themselves=among attach- go-M.PL.PS.PT try-M.PL.PRS.PT.

214. *tiŋi māma-i bol-ə zə, “tu muĩ=di əlkheŋi lā-ā.”*

That.ERG uncle-ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that, “You me.OBL=in softly attach-IMP.”

215. *tiŋi bāŋz-ei zaŋ-ə, “zə tɛ aũ taũ=di na la-ndə, tɛ taĩ māma-i eśə zaŋ-ŋə, zə aũ liŋdār. tetia aũ lai- de-ũ taũ=di dui bəŋtālie.”*

That.ERG nephew-ERG notice-M.S.PS.PT, “If then I you.OBL=in not attach-M.S.PRS.PT, then you.ERG uncle-ERG so understand-INF, that I beaten. Comparatively I attach- give-1.SG.PRS you.OBL=in two strokes.”

216. *sɛ undarɛ=kə aś-e-i āde=di, tiŋi la-i tes=di ek bəŋtāli.*

They above=from come-M.PL.PS.PT-EMP half=in, he.ERG attach-F.S.PS.PT him.OBL=in on stroke.

217. *tiŋi bol-ə, “keŋɛ, taĩ kela la-i?” tiŋi bol-ə, tiŋi bāŋz-ei, “aphu-i nɛ lag-i uśia zaĩ.”*

He.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT, “What.DISRESP, you.ERG why attach-F.S.PS.PT?” He.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT, that.ERG nephew-ERG, “by-itself-EMP PART attach-F.S.PS.PT little like.”

218. *aś-ε teti=baśie doni, tɛb bol-ə tiŋi māma-i zə, “bas, ebe nɛ ār-de amə tiũ=koi.”*

Come-M.PL.PS.PT that=after down, then say-M.S.PS.PT that.ERG uncle-ERG that, “Enough, now not defeated-M.PL.PRS.PT we them=by.”

219. *tiũe tete=koi khəbər deŋi- go-i zə, “phəlaŋa dūse ā-nde,<sup>58</sup> tume tiār rə-io ə-i.”*

They.ERG there=from message give- go-F.S.PS.PT that, “such-and-such day.OBL come-M.PL.PRS.PT, you ready stay-IMP become-CP.”

220. *tiŋi eśə kər-ə: jeś-ei tetkə pəits-ε sɛ, teś-ei kəri- go-ə śuru.*

He.ERG so make-M.S.PS.PT: when-EMP there arrive-M.PL.PS.PT they, then-EMP make- go-M.S.PS.PT start.

221. *tiŋi māma-i bol-ə zə, “dəni bōs dəni.” tiŋi bol-ə, “na”, ər ād-i-ād kaŋi- go-ε sɛ. atsha, kaŋi- go-ε sɛ.*

That.ERG uncle-ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that, “Down sit.IMP down.” He.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT, “No,” and half-EMP-half cut- go-M.PL.PS.PT they. Well, cut- go-M.PL.PS.PT they.

<sup>57</sup>See preceding footnote.

<sup>58</sup>Present participle despite absence of negative particle.

222. *seu pōtia sāb, tesri tshēuēr māl-ei ḍe-iū tshāpre=maī, māḷe=kōi tamāše lām-ḍe lag-iū.*

That Patia Sahib, his wife at-the-top-EMP go-PS.PT.IMPS roof=in, above=from show.OBL attach-M.PL.PRS.PT attach-PS.PT.PASS.

223. *tiṇi lā teše ḍāni phaṣi- ješe ḡodu=zaī.*

He.ERG attach-M.S.PS.PT so down cut-through- like pumpkin=like.

224. *teḷe seu durgurāḡu tiṇi bol-ḡ, “merḡ iar-ε, tāi iε phaṣ-ε oru, a-u mū=ari=khi, a-u oru!”*

Then he Durguragu he.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT, “My friend-VOC, you.ERG they cut-through-M.PL.PS.PT here, come-IMP me=near=for, come-IMP here!”

225. *tiṇi bol-ḡ, “taū=ari=khi bi bḡṇ-iū aū.”*

He.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT, “you=near=for also prepare-PS.PT.IMPS I.”

226. *bās, teeri bilu phiri- ḡo-ε māsu, tiṇi seu bḡnd de-ṇḡ na puru.*

Enough, their side turn- ḡo-M.PL.PS.PT Mahasus, he.ERG that promise give-M.S.PS.PT there.

227. *dūe zḡṇḡ-ū ḍurka-ε se ḡore, te pai- ḡo-ε ube akās=khi.*

Both people.ERG drive-M.PL.PS.PT those horses, then throw- ḡo-M.PL.PS.PT up sky=for.

228. *jeṣ-ei māthe pḡits-ε, teṣ-ei pḡr-ε ḍuiā pēḷ-ε=augi.*

When-EMP at-the-top arrive-M.PL.PS.PT, then-EMP fall-M.PL.PS.PT both belly-OBL=under.

229. *jeṣ-ei āḍaḡe=ke aṣ-ε, teṣ-i lā-i tiṇi kēr-i=mātho.*

When-EMP halfway=for come-M.PL.PS.PT, then-EMP attach-F.S.PS.PT he.ERG neck-OBL=on.

230. *te ni kēr ek pḡše ḡr ṣḡrṛ oke pḡše.*

Then PART neck one side.OBL and body other.OBL side.OBL.

231. *atsha, teb kā kḡr-ḡ tiṇi, ḍe-ḡ pḡtia sāb-e=kōi.*

Well, then what do-M.S.PS.PT he.ERG, ḡo-M.S.PS.PT Patia Sahib-OBL=to.

232. *te sūts-ḡ, “zḡ te aū εs oru zaṇḡ-ū, te te mū=di bi kḡr lag-ṇḡ jeṣḡ iū=di lag-ḡ.”*

Then think-M.S.PS.PT, “If then I him here kill-1.SG.PRS, then PART me=on also leprosy attach-INF as him=in attach-M.S.PS.PT.”

233. *te tes aḡḡe nāna=khi te kḡr-ḡ be eṣḡ zḡ khurṣi=maī=kōi ḍāni boṣaḷ-ḡ.*

Then that.OBL own.OBL grandfather=for then make-M.S.PS.PT PART so that chair=in=from down place-M.S.PS.PT.

234. *tī nāni=khi kḡr-ḡ eṣḡ, naū thḡ tīrḡ saṅki-maṅki.*

That.OBL grandmother=for make-M.S.PS.PT so, name was her Sanki-Manki.

235. *seu kā bol-ε, naū ḡaḡ-ε tīrḡ, “sanki-ε-manki-ε, dekh-ṇḡ=ri atshi, pḡre pa-ū taū tāl-e=di, teḷe khā-li mātshi.”*

He what say-3.SG.PRS, name draw-3.SG.PRS her, “Sanki-VOC-Manki-VOC, look-INF=GEN good.F, there throw-1.SG.PRS you.OBL lake-OBL=in, then eat-3.SG.FUT fish.”

236. *tiṇi ṭip-i se, te pa-i tāl-e=di, rāz kiḡ<sup>59</sup> apu.*

He.ERG upheave-F.S.PS.PT she, then throw-F.S.PS.PT lake-OBL=in, reign make-M.S.PS.PT oneself.

<sup>59</sup>See preceding footnote.

## 16 Translation<sup>60</sup>

1. All four Mahasus were born in Kulu-Kashmir, (and) then one brought them to Mahendrath.
2. That Brahmin had gone to Kulu-Kashmir.
3. In Mahendrath a giant was born who had eaten up all people.
4. When that giant had eaten up all people, then one sent that Brahmin to Kulu-Kashmir.
5. Who was then with them (namely the Four Mahasus)? (The guardian deities named) Kailu, Kapla, Kailath and Sherkuria. These four guardian deities were with the Four Mahasus.
6. Then from there that Brahmin came home.
7. What had they told him? They gave him ensorcelled seeds of black gram (and said), "Feed them to the cows, (and) then the cows will get two calves."
8. Moreover the Mahasus said, "In just one night they will be born, they will be born at night; harness them in the morning to a plough: make a ploughshare of gold and make a plough of silver, then plough that field in Mahendrath."
9. The Brahmin released the oxen in the morning, then took them along for ploughing, for ploughing (he) took them along.
10. Over there the ploughshare first hit Botha Mahasu, Botha Mahasu's foot got pierced, and he became lame.
11. After Botha Mahasu emerged Pavasi, his ear got pierced.
12. Then emerged Bashik, his eye got pierced.
13. Then emerged Calda, he wasn't hit anywhere.
14. The four brothers manifested themselves in Mahendrath, (there) they manifested themselves.
15. Then the giant had finished the whole world.
16. In Mahendrath there was a pond in which lived the giant.
17. It was impossible for anyone to stay in it.
18. Then Kailu and Kapla jumped into that pond.
19. They chased the giant; running a long distance the giant reached (the village of) Pangla.<sup>61</sup>
20. Behind, in the same direction, hurried Kailu, Kapla, Kailath and Sherkuria.
21. Then they managed to seize him there, they seized and slaughtered him.
22. (But) his heart escaped from there.
23. It fell on a stone; from the stone it moved up along the rivers.
24. Then it went over to (the village of) Tipu<sup>62</sup>; then it became the demon-deity (named) Jibalu.
25. From there they turned home, "We have finished the giant."
26. After finishing him the Mahasus lived in Mahendrath.
27. What did they do after this? "We will now divide amongst ourselves: who will stay where, who will stay where."
28. Hanol was given to Botha Mahasu: the "Sitting Kingdom".<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> The translation stays fairly close to the original constructions and is therefore not very smooth English.

<sup>61</sup> A village in Himachal Pradesh.

<sup>62</sup> Also in Himachal Pradesh.

29. Calda was given the “Moving Kingdom”.<sup>64</sup>

30. Pavasi was given the Panshi area, and Bashik was given the Shati area; the residence of Pavasi became Devavana.<sup>65</sup>

31. Thereafter they decided that Calda would come both into the Shati and the Panshi area.

32. Ahead (i.e. downwards) he goes till Shyaya,<sup>66</sup> up he goes till Besar;<sup>67</sup> Calda has the “Moving Kingdom”, Pavasi has the Panshi area.

33. Botha stays in Hanol; there they keep all their property.<sup>68</sup>

\*

34. Then who brought (them) from Kulu-Kashmir? The old gentleman brought them. How did he bring them?

35. He didn't have any offspring at all.

36. He had seven, seven queens with him.

37. What did those queens say? “We have plenty all kinds of riches, but we don't have offspring.”

38. The youngest woman said, “(One) hears that (there are the four) Mahasus in Kulu-Kashmir, go to them and arrange from them a boon.”

39. He said, “How could I go, I cannot go at all.”

40. She said, “Make it so: prepare some provisions and take a (walking) stick.”

41. He was already old, the old gentleman.

42. Then he did it in this way.

43. Halfway he met upon the Bhatt (Brahmin) of (village) Unaka.<sup>69</sup>

44. The Brahmin said, “Hey old gentleman, tell me, whither have you set off?”

45. He said, “Whither I go? I go to Kulu-Kashmir to Mahasu.”

46. He said, “I have riches and everything, I only don't have offspring.”

47. Then the Brahmin said, “How do you (plan to) go there?”

48. He said, “In whichever way I will go, but I definitely go.”

49. The Brahmin made (some) mantras for him,<sup>70</sup> then he arrived in Kulu-Kashmir.

50. Regarding Kulu-Kashmir he advised him thus: “Watch out if Kailu comes out (and wants) to devour you.

<sup>63</sup>Hanol is the centre of the Mahasu kingdom. There is wordplay here with the name of Botha, which suggests meaning “sitting”. Botha Mahasu is lame and thus cannot move around.

<sup>64</sup>Until recently Calda Mahasu did not have an own temple, he was thus always moving.

<sup>65</sup>The Panshi and the Shati areas are respectively located to the right and left of the river Tons. This dual designation is also found in some places in Himachal Pradesh and seems to be connected with moiety ideas related to the Pandavas and Kauravas of the Mahabharata. “Devavana” is a highly located wooden temple in the interior of Bagan.

<sup>66</sup>A place near the town of Kalsi.

<sup>67</sup>A place in Himachal Pradesh.

<sup>68</sup>The possessions which the Mahasus acquire during their journeys.

<sup>69</sup>In Himachal Pradesh.

<sup>70</sup>Probably either as a protection or as a means for quick transport.



51. Do (then) the following for him: on the one hand give him a bread of five (times) twenty kg; on the other give him a ram.”
52. The moment he went to Kullu-Kashmir, Mahasu said—it was that, how does one say, the night-wake of Mahasu, that time it was the fourth day of the night-wake—”Dear friends, let us finish the worship of the night-wake.”
53. The moment they got up (Mahasu said), “Dear friends, there is human smell, o dear Kailu, go outside, there is human smell.”
54. Kailu said, “How (is it possible that) here there is human smell; who (would venture to) come here?”
55. When Kailu went outside he had a club of sixty maunds (with him).
56. When he went outside he started to make a round.
57. The old gentleman spoke to him with folded hands, “(Please) don’t eat me, I give you (something): on the one hand I give you a ram with twisted horns, on the other I give you a bread of five (times) twenty kg, (but) spare my life.”
58. Then what did he do?
59. He dug a hole for him, placed him therein and said, “Stay here inside. Watch out, Sherkuria comes now outside, watch out that he (doesn’t) devour you. When I will come to you I will dig you up, (and) then get up. Keep quiet till then.”
60. When he went inside (he said), “Dear, come on, let’s worship the night-wake.”
61. When they got up and came to the threshold (they said), “Dear friends, there is (still) human smell.”
62. Then (they) started to say to Sherkuria, “Hey Sherkuria, (now) you go outside, Kailu has taken a bribe.”
63. Kailu got angry and said, “Sherkuria, go outside, I have taken a bribe, you (will) not take it.”
64. Also Mahasu told him, “Sherkuria, go outside, he has lied to us.”
65. When Sherkuria went outside he lifted that club of sixty maunds.
66. The moment he sounded a whistle, all green and dry (plants) burned.
67. When he sounded a second whistle, this time the mountains broke and the rivers and brooks rose.
68. Then he went inside, “Now you must be satisfied. I have burned the green and dry (plants) as well as I have crushed the mountains.”
69. Then they said, “He (Kailu) has spoken the truth, who (should be) here now.”
70. Then they got up for (going) outside, “Let’s complete the worship of the night-wake.” They got up for (going) outside (and) came until the threshold, then they again returned inside.
71. That Kailu, what (did he do) then?
72. With (his) foot (he sent them) outside, “What’s the matter, I have been bribed (and) he has not been bribed? The mountains have been crushed as well as the green and dry (plants) have been burned.”
73. The moment he threw them outside with (his) leg, when he put them outside, he went himself to that man.
74. “What’s the matter, why don’t you get up? Now I have brought them outside. Fold the hands before them, and then whatever you have to say, say it (to them).”
75. Then the old gentleman straightened himself up before them.
76. Then they started to ask (him), “Why have you come, what do you wish, what are your sorrows?”

77. He said, "Otherwise nothing, I don't have any sorrows.

78. I have sheep and goats, I have riches, everything, I only do not have daughters and sons; downstairs are the cows, they too have no (offspring).

79. My wives, they too have no (offspring), dear, they have absolutely no (offspring)."

80. They said, "What (will you) do now? After all you are old, where are (the descendants) of an old (fellow)?"

81. "No no, either you arrange for me daughters and sons or I (will) die right here on the spot (and) I (will thus) spoil your residence."

82. Then they ensorcelled paddy seeds (and) pulse seeds.

83. "Dear, give the paddy seeds to your wives (and) the pulse seeds to the cows, then you will get offspring."

84. Then (they wanted to) send him home.

85. He said, "How (can) I go home, send Kailu along with me."

86. Then they said, "That we have already known that Kailu has instructed you. Come on, o Kailu, discharge him."

87. Then he (Kailu) explained him, "Arrange for me a ram with twisted horns (and) give me a bread of five (times) twenty kg."

88. He blew and transported him home.

89. The moment he arrived at home he gave the paddy seeds to his wives (and) the pulse seeds to the cows.

90. All right, then those wives got seven sons (and) the cows got calves.

91. The old gentleman actually had one brother—Patia Sahib; he used to live separate from him.

92. He said to his servant folk, "I had an old (brother), go (and see whether) he is alive or dead. We have never looked after him."

93. Then he sent off two men.

94. They came into the vicinity (of the old gentleman); (when they) came (into the vicinity), they saw (that) inside there are seven men with very long moustaches.

95. They (the servants) didn't say anything to them (and) hurried back.

96. Then they said to him (the brother), "Actually you claim (that) you (want) to take possession of his riches, but there are seven such (fellows) who will appropriate your possessions."

97. "Dear, who are they?"

98. They said, "They are his sons, (the sons) of the old gentleman."

99. Then he did the following, the old gentleman: (the old gentleman) had promised one drum to Mahasu, (he) had promised five kg of gold, (he) had promised a cauldron (and he) had promised a wind instrument (and) an alpenhorn: "This (will be) for you."

100. For the Four Mahasus four items (were supposed) to be (given).

101. The moment he had come home he wrote (everything) into a register, into that register (he) wrote it.

102. (But he) forgot to give (the items) to them.

103. They, his daughters and sons, they did not look into that register what had been written (into it).

104. (So) what's then when (suddenly) bad days come?<sup>71</sup>

105. Those things were not given to them.

106. After that Patia Sahib said (to himself), "O friend, the others have got me; whatever I give to the others (the servants), that you (the seven brothers) get yourself."<sup>72</sup>

107. Go and fetch them.

108. I always thought to get your (the old gentleman's) possessions, but these my possessions they will seize."

109. Then he sent those men (his servants), they brought them (the seven brothers) here.

110. Then those others, who were there, (whom) he had employed, (he) sent away.

111. On their place he put them (the seven sons), that is, he entrusted all dealings on them.

112. They themselves (Patia Sahib and his wife) were (also) already old, he and his wife.

113. When they (the seven sons) managed all affairs, then they, the servants, they thought, "O friends, these gentleman-fellows have got us.

114. (Let us) do the following: we know where his gold (and) silver is, we also know where (his) keys are, let us do a robbery.

115. The Mahasus have led them on a wrong path."<sup>73</sup>

116. If (they) had kept (their) promise, then (they) had not led them on a wrong path; (they) have forgotten (to keep their) promise."

117. What did they do? (They) brought the cattle far away to a meadow, (and) then they decided: "Today we do the robbing."

118. They came in the night, then they robbed and took away everything, nothing was left behind there.

119. The next day they came (and) then said to Patia Sahib, "(Earlier) we have been dishonest, but they are your own (relatives)."<sup>74</sup>

120. Now have a look into the treasury: is there something in it or not? We have understood that they didn't leave behind anything there."

121. The next day he went (there), they too went with him.

122. (He) saw that there was nothing (left); they (the servants) had done the robbery.

123. He said to them (the seven sons), "Go, bring (back) my possessions, otherwise I (will) finish you." They went (away).

124. They had quite a lot of revenue to collect; that which belonged to them (to the seven sons), that (they) collected; (they) went themselves to collect revenue."<sup>75</sup>

125. Over there (all people) came to know, "Our king has come to collect revenue, o dear what to do now, the collection of revenue is long since overdue.

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<sup>71</sup>An idiom-like expression meaning more literally "What's then when days come (when one would like) to immerse?"

<sup>72</sup>The seven brothers are after all his nephews.

<sup>73</sup>Literally: Where, who knows (this) now.

<sup>74</sup>The servants try to put the blame for the robbery on the seven brothers.

<sup>75</sup>The story teller wants to say that in olden days the landlords were able to collect much revenue.

126. So much cannot be given by us; even if (we) will give (our) land it (will) not be enough.

127. Let's do now thus: (we) have to give (something) in any case.

128. Let's put on old clothes, one rag on the front side, one rag on the back side, then let's go to them."

129. They gave (them) only very little revenue, still it was equivalent to his gold (and) silver.

130. (The subjects) brought (the revenue), then (the seven brothers) returned (the revenue) in exchange for the robbery; still that promise remained forgotten.

131. Now when those five kg of gold were still left, one (of the seven brothers) said, "O friends, we should have made this sword of gold."

132. Then they gave it to a goldsmith to make a sword of (gold), "Make from it such a sword that the people will say 'Who has made this sword?'"

133. When that goldsmith began to forge (it), then the death of all those seven brothers got written on it.

134. When (the announcement of) the death appeared (on the sword), then the goldsmith, after looking (at it) for a long time, did not give that sword (to them).

135. "Dear, why don't you give it (to us)?"

136. "Dear, take it (if you want to) take it, but your death is written on it.

137. Don't give it to anybody else, under no circumstances; if you will give it to someone else, then all you seven (brothers) are finished."

138. Then what did they think, those servants who had stolen that gold? "O friends, if they will come here again, then these possessions have again to fall into their hands.

139. Before that happens<sup>76</sup> we (will) say to him, "Finish all those seven (brothers), don't leave them alive.

140. If you leave them alive, then again they have to snatch your possessions.""

141. He (Patia Sahib) called together all his subjects (and said), "Dear, on such and such day is a night-wake, come for (celebrating) it."

142. He prepared the night-wake, (and) all came; they themselves took a seat on the roof, Patia Sahib as well as his wife.

143. He started to say from above, "The day has set, the cattle has been brought, what do you see? Ask for this sword, ask for this sword from them, (and) then kill them."

144. As he (one of the brothers) gave that sword, (they) snatched that sword, then they killed all the seven brothers.

145. Then they killed (them), then, afterwards, they went to their house (the house of the brothers). Those who were their wives and children<sup>77</sup> they killed as well.

146. Then there was the youngest of all the women, she was already pregnant.

147. A female bard hid her under her skirt.

148. When they all had been killed, (they) said, "Nobody of them here is (still alive)."

149. Then the female bard said, "Otherwise nobody is (left). (Except) I, I belong to you as well as to them, if you (want to) kill me, then kill (me)."

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<sup>76</sup>Literally: having made that.

<sup>77</sup>Literally: Those who were their kept ones.

150. By doing so (she) saved that youngest woman. Then they (the servants) went away, (and) she (the female bard) sent (the woman) to the house of her parents.

151. For (= with) all the seven brothers (what did the servants before leaving?)—(they) peeled off their skins, (and) then hung (the skins) down inside out from the balcony.

152. She went to the house of her parents, she delivered there, she got a son, a son got she.

153. Then others actually grow (in terms) of months, of years; he grew (in terms) of days.

154. Well, when he had grown up a little bit, he started to play bow-and-arrow.

155. When the others did not hit, his (arrow) at once hit the target (so that the other children said), “Dear, call (your) name.”<sup>78</sup>

156. He says, “Whose name should I call?” – “Dear, what (means) “whose name should (I) call”?” Dear, what (means) “whose”?” (We guess that) you have parents.”

157. He comes to his mother, “Dear mother, what is the name of my parents?”

158. “O dear rascal, your mother am I, you don’t have a father. Dear, I have eaten roots from a mountain top, (and) then you came into being.”

159. What (did) he (do) when he went there next day? The next day they did exactly the same. He calls the name of the sprouts of a mountain top.

160. They say, those others, “How now, sprouts of a mountain top. Tomorrow we bring (such sprouts), then we give a little bit to your mother, (then) she will get more (children).”

161. The next day he refused to have lunch, “Dear, tell me the name of my father.”

162. Then she said, “O rascal, I brought boiling water from a river, then (I) drank it, then you came into being.”

163. The next day he again hit (the target), then (he) called (his) name so and so.

164. They said, “When we dam up and bring the water of the whole world, then (we) give (your mother) a little bit to drink, (then) there will be more (children).”

165. Again he told her so and so.

166. It had become difficult for her, “If I tell him that you are the grandson of the old gentleman, then they (the servants) must come to know it, (then) they must kill also him. If (I) don’t say it, then he doesn’t accept it.”

167. Then she made him a goatherd. Then one day what happened: a tiger ate (some of) the goats.

168. He devoured roughly one half of the goats, (the other) half he (the boy) brought home.

169. Well, on this side (in the meantime) he got leprosy, the Patia Sahib, on the little finger—on that side he started to enquire.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>On the Bishu festival in April in Bangan and surrounding areas a mock bow-and-arrow contest takes place. A man who has hit with his arrow the calf of another player praises himself and his lineage.

<sup>79</sup>“To enquire” instead of the more literate “looking-counting.” Patia Sahib went to a local Brahmin who used an oracle book in order to find out the cause for the leprosy.

170. He (the Brahmin) said, "(If you) will find (someone) whose smell (is like that of the seven brothers), then this leprosy goes away from you; just like that it will not go away."

171. Well, on this side he sent (some servants) to search such (a person).

172. On the (other) side she (the mother) reproached (the boy), "Where have those (other) goats gone?"

173. He says, "They are over there in the ravine." She said, "How have they died?"

174. He said, "Who knows?" – "Dear, then go and bring (them) here." He brought (them).

175. "What is there?" – "Dear, there is one small tomcat, otherwise there is nothing."

176. She thought, "This is a fine small tomcat."

177. Again he went over there, (and) saw that tiger.

178. Then he thought thus, "I bring that small tomcat here, (and) then I tell her that he has eaten (the goats); what (else) should I do."

179. (He) seized that tiger, then crammed (him) into (his) jacket pocket, then went to her.

180. He pulled (him) out, then (he) said, "This is that small tomcat; he has eaten (them)."

181. She saw that it's a tiger; then she told him, "Put away your small tiger, we do not need him."

182. Well, when he returned home after leaving the tiger, he met those whom Patia Sahib had sent.

183. He (the boy) had already come to know from his mother, "(They) killed my fathers so and so."

184. He went to (their old) house, then he sees that their skins have been hung up inside out.

185. (Then) he opened the treasury, (and) saw that promise (written in the register).

186. Then he first made good on the promise for Mahasu.

187. The drum as well as the gold, as well as the alpenhorn, as well as the cauldron.

188. He returned, (and) after this he met those men.

189. Then he started to say, "Dear, I am a man, but you please tell me who you are."

190. "O dear friend, Patia Sahib has sent us in such and such a way, so that we will meet anyone (who is a relative) of the old gentleman; (we) have to search them. There is leprosy on his small finger, the leprosy goes when (we) will meet them."

191. Having heard that speech he got angry in the beginning.

192. (But) then he thought, "Well, what is the use of killing them?"

193. Then he said, "I am the grandson of the old gentleman, dear, let (me) go to (my) mother, (and you) go home."

194. "Dear mummy-mother, two (fellows) have come in such and such way to ask us whether there is one belonging to the old gentleman. I have sent them back.

195. And he has leprosy; if they will meet anyone of his relatives, then that leprosy goes (away)."

196. "Dear, then how did you reply?" – "Dear, I only said that I am (such a person)."

197. Then she started to weep, "That's it, now (they) kill you (too)."

198. "Dear, why do you weep o mother?" – "Well, (they) kill you."

199. Then he said, "I encounter them as the guru of all of them."

200. Then she went to her brother, "Dear little brother, he has played such and such nasty tricks on me."

201. There it is so that if (the boy) would have (just) fought with the others (it would not have been a problem for him), (but) there was a man (named) Durguragu, his name was Durguragu.

202. What did he use to do? When the strength of all other (people) had gone, then (he) used to continue fighting.

203. He used to fight with a horse, the horse (was) so that at once it used to go to the sky.

204. When he reached the top, then he used to turn (himself) under its belly.

205. When (he) used to arrive down on the earth, he used to go up (again) on the back (of the horse).

206. So and so he used to fight with the horse that when all had become powerless, then he (still) used to fight.

207. Well, also his uncle used to know that (technique).

208. He said, his uncle, "Why should we be afraid, aren't we also two people?"

209. Well, then (he said as well), "Do it the following way: First thing in the morning come here after having taken a shower."

210. For that (occasion) he had harnessed two horses; with him (he) had kept two swords, blank swords.

211. Both the uncle and the nephew set out.

212. The horses jump up towards the sky, (and) come down onto the earth.

213. Both fellows started to try (to fight) with each other.

214. That uncle said, "Strike me softly."

215. That nephew understood, "If I don't hit you (properly), then you, the uncle, must think (about me) that I am defeated. (Better) than this is that I deal two blows on you."

216. When they came down midway from above, he dealt a blow on him.

217. He (the uncle) said, "Damned, why have you beaten (me)?" He said, the nephew (said), "It has hit by itself very slightly."

218. Thereafter (he) came down, then that uncle said, "That's it, now we won't be beaten by them."

219. They (uncle and nephew) sent from there a message, "(We will) come on that and that day, keep yourself ready."

220. He did it thus: the moment they arrived there, he started (to fight).

221. That uncle said, "Sit down, sit down!" – He said, "No," and roughly half (of the servants) were killed. Well, they were killed.

222. That Patia Sahib, (and) his wife had gone up onto the roof, from above they set the stage.

223. He (the boy) hacked (the enemies) through like pumpkins.

224. Then that Durguragu told him, "O my friend, you have cut (them) through, come to me, come here!"

225. He said, "For you I was born."

226. Well then, the Mahasus took side with him (the boy, because) he had kept that promise.
227. Both fellows goaded on the horses, then (they) jumped up to the sky.
228. When they arrived atop, both hung under the bellies (of the horses).
229. When they came midway (down), he (the boy) struck his neck.
230. Then the neck (fell off) on one side, (and) the body on the other side.
231. All right, what did he do then? (He) went to Patia Sahib.
232. Then (he) thought, “If I slaughter him (now), then the leprosy must affect me as it affected him.”
233. Then with his grandfather (Patia Sahib) he made it like this: he sat him down from his chair (onto the ground).
234. With his grandmother he did like this—her name was Sanki-Manki—
235. What does he say? He calls her name: “O Sanki-Manki, (your) appearance is good, (but) I throw (you) into the lake over there, then a fish will eat you up.”
236. He upheaved her, then threw (her) into the lake, (then he) ruled himself.

### Abbreviations

1 = first person

2 = second person

3 = third person

A = subject of a transitive sentence

ACC = accusative

AUX = auxiliary

CAUS = causative

CDV = compound verb

CEV = composite verb

CP = conjunctive participle

DAT = dative

DIM = diminutive

DISRESP = (usually a particle signalling) disrespect

EMP = emphatic particle

ERG = ergative

F = female

FOC = focus

FV = finite verb

IA = Indo-Aryan

IMP = imperative

IMPS = impersonal (past participle) of intransitive verbs

INF = infinitive

JUSS = jussive

LADV = light adverb

LC = loose configuration

l. s. bracket = left sentence bracket

LV = light verb



M = male  
 MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan  
 MV = main verb  
 NIA = New Indo-Aryan  
 NOM = nominative  
 NP = noun phrase  
 OBL = oblique case  
 PART = particle  
 PASS = passive  
 P or PL = plural  
 PRF = perfect  
 PRS = present (tense)  
 PS = past (tense)  
 PT = participle  
 r. s. bracket = right sentence bracket  
 S or SG = singular  
 SBJV = subjunctive  
 TC = tight configuration  
 VOC = vocative case  
 VP = verb phrase

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