Some Grammatical Observations on Baṅgānī*

The purpose of our mission to Baṅgānī was to be able to provide independent attestation of the existence of vestiges of Kentum Indo-European in the Himalayas or, alternatively, to demonstrate their non-existence. We had hoped to be able to do the former, if only because that task would probably have proved less labour-intensive, but we did the latter (van Driem & Sharma 1996). It was not our goal to produce a description of Baṅgānī within the brief time we spent in Baṅgānī. In this article, however, we describe some grammatical features of Baṅgānī. This tentative description is no more than a minimalist grammatical sketch in which we describe some formal categories with an approximate characterization of their grammatical meanings. It is our hope that other linguists will go to Baṅgānī to produce a comprehensive description of this language, a task which will lead to the revision and improvement of the sketch we provide here.

1. Phonology

The Baṅgānī vowel and diphthong phonemes are /o, a, i, ï, u, ì, e, oi, o, au/.

The Baṅgānī /ɔ/ (hrasva 'a') most frequently has a rounded realization [ɔ], even more so than does Nepāli hrasva 'a', although the realizations [a ~ a ~ ɔ] are also heard, e.g. /rɔñdi/ [rɔñdi ~ rɔñdi] 'husbandless woman', the negative particle /nɔ/ [nɔ ~ na ~ na] 'not'. In fact, although the usual realization of the Baṅgānī /ɔ/ is rounded [ɔ], if we pronounce any word containing this vowel, e.g. the ablative postposition (-kɔi) 'with, from' (H. se), with too rounded or too closed a realization of the vowel, informants will correct us, pronouncing the vowel /ɔ/ emphatically as [a] or [a], e.g. [kai] or [kai], with an unrounded open vowel. Baṅgānī /ɔ/ is distinct from both


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It is our hope that a comprehensive descriptive grammar will be written of modern Baŋgānī, including a detailed study of the phonology and grammar. The description of the highly fascinating Indo-Aryan languages of the Himalayas (and, for that matter, the Nūristānī languages of the Hindu Kush as well) has too long been unjustly neglected by Indo-Iranian scholars and descriptive linguists alike. Zoller (1988: 177-8) describes some of the historical sound laws affecting Baṅgānī, a number of which also obtain for other Western Pāhārī languages. Baṅgānī historical phonology appears to be complex, and we hope that one day some scholar will devote an exhaustive study to this topic as well.

2. Nominal morphology

Nouns form their plurals differently depending on their class.

(1) There is a class of masculine nouns which form their plurals by a zero ending, e.g. māñuch, māñuch ‘man, men’, khozā, khozā ‘footprint, footprints’.

(2) There is a class of masculine nouns in {-e}, which ending is changed to {-e} in the plural, e.g. bākrī, bākrē ‘goat, goats’, ākhē, ākhe ‘eye, eyes’, śīṅgūṭ, śīṅgūṭe ‘horn, horns’, tārē, tāre ‘star, stars’, dōkrē, dōkrē ‘small field, small fields’.

(3) There is a class of feminine nouns which forms the plural by the ending {-e}, māś, māśē ‘buffalo, buffaloes’ chēwer, chēwerī ‘woman, women’. When the singular form of a noun of this class ends in {-i}, this ending is replaced by the ending {-e} in the plural, e.g. bākri, bākrē ‘she-goat, she-goats’, pīni, pīnīe ‘egg, eggs’.

(4) There is a class of feminine noun ending in a consonant which forms the plural in {-e}, e.g. bēr, bēre ‘sheep, sheep’, pāk, pāke ‘wing, wings’.

The oblique singular ending of class 1 masculine nouns ending in a vowel is zero, e.g. bārī rō ‘of the potter’. Class 1 masculine nouns ending in a consonant take the oblique ending {-e} before certain postpositions, e.g. gōr-e rō ‘of the house’, but they do not appear to decline when oblique but not followed by a postposition, e.g. bāndīre gōr ‘at the house of an infertile woman’. The oblique case of class 3 feminine nouns ending in {-i} is marked by zero, e.g. rōndī rō ‘of a husbandless woman’. The suffix {-e} is the oblique singular ending of...
both class 2 masculine nouns in {-o}, e.g. gôr-ô rô ‘of the horse’, cî-
gre-rô árkhô ‘backbone’ (another way of saying kînîrê ‘spine’ in Baṅ-
gâñî), and class 4 feminine nouns, e.g. bêr-ô rô ‘of the sheep’. The
oblique plural ending is {-u} for both masculine nouns, e.g. beru-rô
‘of cares’, and feminine nouns, e.g. bêru-rô ‘of sheep’, although
we have also recorded nasality in this ending, e.g. gânu-ke ‘to the
cows’.

Diminutives were derived in Baṅgâñî by the process of changing a
masculine noun in (-ô) into a feminine one in (-i), e.g. 3ôhi ‘thumb’ vs.
3ôhi ‘finger’, kînlô ‘termite’ vs. kînlî ‘ant’, bôrê ‘tail of a sheep or
goat’ vs. bôrî ‘small tail of a sheep or goat’, 3îngô ‘big stick’ vs.
3ôngî ‘twig, small stick’, 3êôî ‘big branch’ vs. 3êaî ‘small branch’,
têrô ‘star’, têri ‘pupil of the eye’. It is not clear whether the process
is still productive. Dropping the masculine ending (-ô) in nouns may
be a derivational process with augmentative meaning in Baṅgâñî,
e.g. kânô ‘thorn, fishbone’ > kân ‘arrow’.

Declinable adjectives such as áprô ‘own’ and the genitive suffix rô
agree for case, number and gender with its head noun, e.g. mero
‘my’ [m. sg.], mere ‘my’ [m. sg. obl., m. pl.], merî ‘my’ [f.]. Alongside
genitive (-rô), there exists a separate adjectival genitive ending (-ô),
e.g. boîţô-kô bâî ‘brother’s wife’s brother’, par-kô ‘last year’s’. Post-
positions are indeclinable, e.g. corpô-âugi ‘beneath the càrpaî’,
corpô-môî ‘on top of the càrpaî’, sinduî-di ‘inside the chest’, zôle-
di ‘inside the bag’, dôle-âugi ‘under the stone’.

The main Baṅgâñî pronominal forms are listed in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>absolutive</th>
<th>ergative</th>
<th>genitive</th>
<th>accusative</th>
<th>ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>aû</td>
<td>mûû</td>
<td>mero</td>
<td>muke</td>
<td>mukô</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 pl.</td>
<td>âme</td>
<td>âme</td>
<td>âmáro</td>
<td>âmôî</td>
<td>âmôî</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tôî</td>
<td>têrôô</td>
<td>taûêî</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>tume</td>
<td>tume</td>
<td>tumáro</td>
<td>tumêî</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 sg. m. vis.</td>
<td>cu</td>
<td>iji</td>
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<td>3 sg. f. vis.</td>
<td>ce</td>
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<td>3 pl. vis.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>îûwe</td>
<td>îûro</td>
<td>îûêî</td>
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<td>3 sg. m. invis.</td>
<td>seu</td>
<td>tiîni</td>
<td>tisôo</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 sg. f. invis.</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>fêî</td>
<td>fêrôô</td>
<td>fêêîô</td>
<td>fêêîô</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 pl. invis.</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>tiîwe</td>
<td>tôîro</td>
<td>tôîêîô</td>
<td>tôîêîô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who/what</td>
<td>kûin/kâû</td>
<td>kûûî</td>
<td>kosêô</td>
<td>kosêêî</td>
<td>kosêêî</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Pronouns

Baṅgâñî third person pronouns obligatorily specify whether or not
the referent is visible to the speaker at the moment of speaking. Not

listed in Table 1 are the plural inanimate third person forms że
‘these’ [vis.], seze ‘those, these’ [invis.], the declensions of which
were not recorded. The third person forms are also used attributively
as demonstratives, e.g. iî suî gânu-ke ‘to these cows which have
calved’, khûnde sônîê tît ‘that Khund elder [erg.]’.

The case labelled ‘accusative’ in the table above fulfils the same
dative and accusative functions as the Hindî forms in ko and the
Nepâlî forms in làî, e.g. muke de ‘give [it] to me’, isî pî ‘hit him’. The
truncated form of the pronouns before the accusative ending (-ks)
and the ablative ending (-kôî) is the form which the pronouns take
before other postpositions as well, e.g. (-mâî) ‘on, at’ (H. par), mu-
mâî ‘on me’, am-mâî ‘on us’. The accusative and ablative forms
kakê and kakôî were given as possible alternatives for the regular
interrogative forms kosê ‘whom, to what’ and koskô ‘from/with
whom, from/with what’. However, like Hindî and unlike Nepâlî,
Baṅgâñî does not differentiate between kûn ‘who’ and kâ ‘what’ in
the oblique cases.

Under the heading ‘genitive’ in Table 1, the masculine singular
forms in (-ô) are listed. The masculine plural ending is (-e), and
the feminine ending is (-i), e.g. tumârô [m. sg.], tumârê [m. pl.],
tumârî [f.] ‘your (plural)’, mero [m. sg.], mero [m. pl.], merî [f.] ‘my’, etc.
The forms ërô, ëre and ëri were given as optional alternatives for the
visible third person singular genitive forms isrô [m. sg.], isre [m. pl.]
and isrî [f.].

Other interrogative pronouns and adverbs include the locational
kitkê ‘where’, kitkôî ‘whence’, kînde ‘whither’, kelâ ‘why’, and keth-
ki ‘howcome’, e.g. seu kethkî åô ‘howcome did he come?’. The deic
adverbs corresponding to interrogative kitkê ‘where’ are itke
‘here’, titkê ‘there’, and interrogative kitkê ‘where’ also has corre-
spanding genitive forms kitkero [m. sg.], kitkere [m. pl.], kitkerî [f.]
‘from where, wherefrom’.

Emphatic forms are formed by adding the suffix (-i) (cognate with
H. hî), e.g. kelâi ‘why’ (emp.) [cf. kelî ‘why’], e.g. seu kelâi åô ‘just
why did he come?’. When a form ends in /i/ already, the emphatic
suffix has the allomorph (-ai), reminiscent of Nep. (-ai), koliîroî
‘breakfast’ (emp.) [cf. koliîrî ‘breakfast’].

The ergative forms of pronouns are listed in Table 1. The ergative
ending in nouns is (-ei), e.g. suîgrei ‘pig’ (erg.) [< suîgur], rikhei
‘bear’ (erg.).
Some Baṅgāṇī cardinal numerals are listed in Table 2.

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<td>ek</td>
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<td>pāc</td>
<td>chō</td>
<td>sāt</td>
<td>āṭh</td>
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<td>gyārā</td>
<td>bārā</td>
<td>terā</td>
<td>caudā</td>
<td>pondrā</td>
<td>sojā</td>
<td>sotrā</td>
<td>oṭhārā</td>
<td>uṇjī</td>
<td>bīś</td>
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<td>teiś</td>
<td>cobiś</td>
<td>poccīś</td>
<td>chobbīś</td>
<td>ṭottāś</td>
<td>ṭhānīś</td>
<td>uṉōtiś</td>
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<td>pacāś</td>
<td>ek śo</td>
<td>dui śo</td>
<td>cīn śo</td>
<td>ek bār</td>
<td>ek lākh</td>
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</table>

Table 2: Numerals

3. Verbal morphology

There appear to be many tenses, both synthetic and periphrastic, and a wide variety of other verbal constructions in Baṅgāṇī. The present sketch is far from exhaustive.

The ending of the infinitive is (-n), e.g. ṛuṇa 'to come', pūrgārna 'take out, remove', sibha 'sew'. Baṅgāṇī infinitives are treated as masculine nouns in (-a) and take their oblique form in (-e), e.g. gomne-rita 'for calculations, for counting'. It appears that the infinitive can have a feminine form in (-i) to agree with a complement in the type of construction zimī bi pāṭi gompuṇi chewer bī bīgaṭi 'one has had to suffer not only the loss of one's land, but [one's] wife has also been chased away' (see item 6 in Section 4). The oblique infinitive can be used, very much like in Nepāli, to cite a proposition as such, tinī muke piasā deṇe 'will he give me money?', muṇ tambha piasā deṇa 'am I to give you money?'.

The singular imperative consists of the bare stem of the verb, e.g. puru deu 'go over there', uru ā 'come here', boṣ 'sit down, stay', uru de 'give [it] here', phīwo 'untie [it]', ṛe 'take [it]', khā 'eat', piu 'drink', kṣr 'do it', urgār 'buy it', bec 'sell it', ḍō 'burn it'. The negative imperative is formed with the particle no 'not' preceding the verb, e.g. tu ḍō wa naktā, aṁ no ḍōna 'you either eat or don't eat. I [at any rate] will not eat'. The plural imperative, which also serves as the polite imperative, takes the ending (-o), e.g. boṣo 'sit down', koro 'do it', urgāro 'buy it', beco 'sell it', khāo 'eat', uru āo 'come here' (the plural imperative form āso 'come!' is also attested, with the alternative stem āś). The ending (-o) of the plural imperative may cause a preceding vowel to elide, e.g. deo 'go', aro 'take [it]', pio 'drink'. The honorific imperative ending is (-ie), e.g. no kori 'don't do it'.

The static present tense of the verb 'to be' is (-e), e.g. khub-e 'it's all right' (H. ḍhākāi), dūss-e 'it is the sun', konāil-e 'it is an ear'. The plural form is nasalized (-e), e.g. eu kān-e 'who is he [invisible]?', e kān-e 'who are they [visible]?', seu kān-e 'who is he [not visible]?', se kān-e 'who are they [not visible]?'. The verb 'to be' is either left out or realized as zero in sentences of the following type, eu kā 'what is this?', eze kā 'what are these?', seu kā 'what is that [not visible]?', seze kā 'what are those [not visible]?'.

The dynamic or inchoative present of the verb 'to be' is apparently an unconjugable form ōndi (Nep. huncha, hundai cha), e.g. riśō ōndi 'he is angry', śiṭa ōndi 'it is ripe'. The present tense of other Baṅgāṇī verbs is formed by the endings (-n)do in the masculine singular, (-n)de in the masculine plural, and (-ndi) in the feminine, e.g. aū (tu, eu, seu) ḍendō (khāndo, etc.) 'I [m.] (you [m. sg.], he [vis.], he [invis.]) go/goes (eat/eats, etc.)', āme (tume, e, se) ḍendō (khāndo, etc.) 'we [m.] (you [m. pl./hon.], they [m. vis.], they [m. invis.]) go/goes (eat/eats, etc.)'. The verb 'to be' is either left out or realized as zero in sentences of the following type, eu kā 'what is this?', eze kā 'what are these?', seu kā 'what is that [not visible]?', seze kā 'what are those [not visible]?'.

The dynamic or inchoative present tense is translated into Hindi by present tense forms such as maṅ khāṅā hā 'I am eating', etc. The Baṅgāṇī suffix (-ndo) is evidently cognate with the Nepāli morpheme -ndo -nda) in present participle form and present negative forms. The Baṅgāṇī negative present tense is formed by infixation of the negative suffix (-nā), e.g. khāṇḍina [m. sg.], khāṇḍino [m. pl.], khāṇḍinā [f.], 'do/does not eat', ḍendino [m. sg.], ḍendino [m. pl.], ḍendiino [f.] 'do/does not go'. Periphrastic negative forms also occur and are formed by the negative particle no 'not', which may either precede or follow the verb, e.g. tu no ḍendō 'you [m. sg.] will not go', aū ḍendō no 'I [m.] shall not go', āme no khāṇḍi 'we [f.] shall not eat', chewer no khāṇdi '[my] wife will not eat'.

The Baṅgāṇī present progressive tense is formed by combining the present tense form in (-ndo) with the auxiliary lāṅndi. Both main verb and auxiliary inflect for person and gender of subject. The aux-
iliary has the form lägw̃d in the masculine singular, lägw̃de in the masculine plural and lägi̱ndi in the feminine. The main verb endings are as described in the preceding paragraph (i.e. -(n)d̃ in the masculine singular, -(n)d̄ in the masculine plural, and -(n)d̃i in the feminine), e.g. a̱ (tu, eu, seu) ānd̄ lägw̃d ‘I [m.] am (you [m.sg.] are, he [vis.] is, he [invis.] is) coming’, ām̂e (tume, e, se) ānd̄ lägw̃de ‘we [m.] (you [m.pl./hon.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) are coming’, a̱ (tu, eu, seu) k̃hāndo lägw̃d ‘I [m.] am (you [f.sg.] are, she [vis.] is, she [invis.] is), we [f.] are (you [f.pl./hon.] are, they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) are coming’; a̱ (tu, eu, seu) k̃hāndo lägi̱ndi ‘I [f.] am (you [f.sg.] are, she [vis.] is, she [invis.] is), we [f.] are (you [f.pl./hon.] are, they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) are eating’, ām̂e (tume, e, se) k̃hāndo lägw̃de ‘we [m.] (you [m.pl./hon.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) are eating’, a̱ (tu, eu, seu) k̃hāndo lägi̱ndi ‘I [f.] am (you [f.sg.] are, she [vis.] is, she [invis.] is), we [f.] are (you [f.pl./hon.] are, they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) are eating’, a̱ (tume, e, se) k̃hāndo lägw̃de ‘we [m.] (you [m.pl./hon.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) are eating’. This Bangáñi tense is translated into Hindī by present progressive forms such as māt khāh raḥa hā ‘I am eating’, etc.

Bangáñi future tense 1 is formed by the suffix -(l̄) in the masculine singular, -(l̄) in the masculine plural and -(l̄) in the feminine, e.g. ḍlo (cf. Nep. holā), e.g. kā ḍlo ‘what will be?’, keṣo ḍlo ‘how will it be?’, īk āmp ‘will be’ [m.pl.], tu ās̄a ‘you may go’, bān̂e ‘we‘ll make’, bōl ‘will speak’ [m.pl.], k̃hāl̄i ... bāk̃rī bere ‘... sheep and goats [f.] will eat...’. We have attested few forms in this tense and we were unable to ascertain the precise meaning of this future tense. We cannot therefore say whether this Bangáñi tense expresses a ‘possible future’ like the cognate Nepālī tense. However, the Bangáñi future in -(l̄) in the masculine singular, -(l̄) in the masculine plural and -(l̄) in the feminine, e.g. a̱ (tu, eu, seu) ānd̄ lägw̃d ‘I [m.] am (you [m.sg.] are, he [vis.] is, he [invis.] is) coming’, ām̂e (tume, e, se) ānd̄ lägw̃de ‘we [m.] (you [m.pl./hon.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) are coming’, a̱ (tu, eu, seu) k̃hāndo lägw̃d ‘I [m.] am (you [f.sg.] are, she [vis.] is, she [invis.] is), we [f.] are (you [f.pl./hon.] are, they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) are coming’; a̱ (tu, eu, seu) k̃hāndo lägi̱ndi ‘I [f.] am (you [f.sg.] are, she [vis.] is, she [invis.] is), we [f.] are (you [f.pl./hon.] are, they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) are eating’, a̱ (tume, e, se) k̃hāndo lägw̃de ‘we [m.] (you [m.pl./hon.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) are eating’, a̱ (tu, eu, seu) k̃hāndo lägi̱ndi ‘I [f.] am (you [f.sg.] are, she [vis.] is, she [invis.] is), we [f.] are (you [f.pl./hon.] are, they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) are eating’, a̱ (tume, e, se) k̃hāndo lägw̃de ‘we [m.] (you [m.pl./hon.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) are eating’. This Bangáñi tense is translated into Hindī by present progressive forms such as māt khāh raḥa hā ‘I am eating’, etc.

Baṅgāñi future tense 2 is formed by the suffix -(l̄), first person singular -(l̪), first person plural -(l̪), non-first person singular -(l̪) and non-first person plural -(l̪). It is not understood which lexical or morphophonological factors determine which allomorph of these endings a given verb will take, e.g. a̱ ās̄u ‘I’ll come’, ām̂e ās̄i ‘we’ll come’, tu (eu, seu) ās̄e ‘you [sg.] (he [vis.], he [invis.]) will come’, tu (eu, seu) ās̄e ‘you [pl./hon.] (they [vis.], they [invis.]) will come’ (Note that the Baṅgāñi verb ān̂g ‘come’, which exhibits stem aternation (ā ~ ā), occurs only as the stem (ā) in the future tenses), tebre ās̄e ‘he’ll come afterwards’; a̱ roṭi yā bāt khāh ‘I shall eat bread or cooked rice’, ām̂e bāt khāh ‘we shall eat rice’, tu (eu, seu) bāt khāh ‘you [sg.] (he [vis.], he [invis.]) will eat rice’, tu (eu, seu) bāt khāh ‘you [pl./hon.] (they [vis.], they [invis.]) will eat rice’; a̱ d̄eī ‘I’ll go’, ām̂e d̄eī ‘we’ll go’, tu (eu, seu) d̄eī ‘you [sg.] (he [vis.], he [invis.]) will go’, tu (eu, seu) d̄eī ‘you [pl./hon.] (they [vis.], they [invis.]) will go’, k̃n̂ d̄eī ‘who will go?’, sāre d̄eī ‘all will go’, kīnde d̄eī ‘where are you going’ (H. khāh jā rahe ho?), kīnde d̄eī ‘who is going?’. Baṅgāñi future 2 is the correct choice of tense for formulating questions of the type a̱ d̄eī? ‘shall I go?’.

The inchoative past tense forms of the verb ‘to be’ are uth ‘was, became’ [m.sg.], uth ‘were, became’, [m.pl.] and feminine uth ‘was, were’ [f.] (H. huā, hue, huĩ). The masculine singular form /uɔ/ is pronounced [ʊɔ] in allegro speech. A past event or state is expressed by the forms thɔ ‘was’ [m.sg.], the ‘was, were’ [m.pl] and feminine thi ‘were’ [f.] (H. thā, the, thi).

The simple past tense of any other intransitive verb similarly inflects for number and gender of subject, i.e. m. sg. -(ɔ), m. pl. -(ɔ), f. -(ɔ), e.g. a̱ (tu, eu, seu) ād ‘I [m.] (you [m.sg.], he [vis.], he [invis.]) came’, ām̂e (tume, e, se) ād ‘we [m.] (you [m.pl./hon.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) came’, a̱ (tu, eu, seu) ād ‘I [f.] (you [f.sg.], she [vis.], she [invis.], we [f.], you [f.pl./hon.], they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) came’, rūr lāgɔ ‘the sun is shining’ (literally: ‘shine’ [f.] has made itself felt’; Nep. ghām lāgɔ), śel lāgɔ ‘it feels cold’ (literally: ‘coldness [m.] has made itself felt’; Nep. śel lāgɔ). The past tense suffix is realized as zero in some verbs, e.g. luɔ [< luɑ̃ ‘shed, moult’], perhaps to prevent a sequence of three vowels.

As in Hindī, the past of transitive verbs cannot inflect for number and gender of the subject because the subject goes into the ergative case, and oblique arguments are ‘shielded’ or ‘cloaked’ from verbal agreement. The past tense therefore agrees for number and gender with the object unless this too is shielded from verbal agreement, for example, by the accusative-dative suffix -(ke), e.g. nāl dēkhi ‘saw the rifle [f.]’, ini koliārī no khāh ‘he [vis.erg.] didn’t eat breakfast [f.]’,
piṭhāi lāi ‘applied ūkā [f.]’. When there is no overt object or only an oblique and therefore cloaked object, the verb takes the masculine singular ending (-ō) by default, e.g. mūi (āme, tāi, tume, ini, tini, ē, ēe, ēwe, tīwe) dekhō (khānsīkhā, etc.) ‘I (we, you [sg.], you [pl./hon.], he [vis.], he [invis.], she [vis.], she [invis.], they [vis.], they [invis.]) saw (ate food, etc.)’, mūi kīyo ‘I did’, āme kīyo ‘we did’.

The perfect past tense is formed by suffixation of the aspect morpheme (-i)g before the past tense suffix (-c ~ se ~ -o), e.g. mūi ‘he is dead’, aū (tu, eu, seu) āīgō ‘I [m.] (you [m. sg.], he [vis.], he [invis.]) came’, āme (tume, e, se) āīgīc ~ āīgoi ‘I [f.] (you [f. sg.], she [vis.], she [invis.], they [vis.], they [f. vis.]) came’. Note that Bāṅgāti āndī ‘come’, which exhibits a pattern of stem alternation (ā ~ āś), appears to be able to take both allomorphs in the plural and feminine. Kāngī has similar past tense forms, e.g. āigaudī ‘came’ [m. sg.], āigaudī ‘came’ [m. pl.], āigaudī ‘came’ [f. sg.], āigaudī ‘came’ [f. pl.]. The Bāṅgāti ending appears to derive from a fused construction of the Indo-Aryan past tense stem of ‘to go’, (go ~ g) attached to what must have been an inflected form of the verb stem in (-i), as in Nepāli constructions of the type bhāi gayo ‘it’s finished, it’s done’, āī sakyo ‘he came, he’s already here’. The past of transitive verbs does not inflect for number and gender of the ergatively ‘cloaked’ subject and takes the masculine singular ending (-i)gō if there is no uncloaked object with which to show agreement, e.g. mūī (āme, tāi, tume, ini, tini, ē, ēe, ēwe, tīwe) khānsīkhāgō ‘I (we, you [sg.], you [pl./hon.], he [vis.], he [invis.], she [vis.], she [invis.], they [vis.], they [invis.]) ate’ (H. khā-liyā, etc.).

The perfect tense of intransitive verbs is like a compound of the bare verb stem with the inchoative present of the verb ‘to be’ āndī, e.g. aū īte ikti ikti bi āndī ‘I’ve been here before’ (H. māi yahā pa-hale bhī āyā hī). The perfect tense of intransitive verbs is formed by the combination of the inconjugable perfect forms with the past tense of the form ‘to be’, tho [m.sg.], the [m.pl.], thi [f.], e.g. aū (tu, eu, seu) āndī tho ‘I [m.] (you [m. sg.], he [vis.], he [invis.]) had come’ (H. māi āyā thā, etc.), āme (tume, e, se) āndī the ‘we [m.] (you [m. pl.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) had come’ (H. ham āe the, etc.), aū (āme, tu, tume, e, se, e, se) āndī thi ‘I [f.] (we [f.] you

[f. sg.], you [f.pl.], she [vis.], she [invis.], they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) came’ (H. māi ātīthī, etc.), aū āndī the/thī ‘I have gone’ (H. māi gayā thā/gai thī), āme āndī the/thī ‘we have gone’ (H. ham gae the/gai thī).

No ‘perfect’ tense was elicited for transitive verbs. A pluperfect tense of transitive verbs is formed by combination of the simple past of the verb and the past tense of the form ‘to be’, tho [m.sg.], e.g. mūi (āme, tāi, tume, ini, tini, ē, ēe, ēwe, tīwe) khānsīkhā tho ‘I (we, you [sg.], you [pl./hon.], he [vis.], he [invis.], she [vis.], she [invis.], they [vis.], they [invis.]) had eaten food’ (H. khāyā thā). This pluperfect combination may also involve the perfective form of a main verb, e.g. mūi (āme, tāi, tume, ini, tini, ē, ēe, ēwe, tīwe) khānsīkhāgō tho ‘I (we, you [sg.], you [pl./hon.], he [vis.], he [invis.], she [vis.], she [invis.], they [vis.], they [invis.]) had eaten food’ (H. khā-liyā thā).

### Bāṅgāti word list

(-augi) postp., ‘under, beneath’
(-bāṣi) postp., ‘just like’
(-dī) postp., ‘in, inside, within’
(-i) sf., emphatic suffix; cf. H. hī
(-khi ~ khe) postp., ‘for, unto’
(-ko) sf., adjectival genitive ending
(-kai) postp., ‘with’
(-le) postp., ‘at’
(-māi) postp., ‘on, atop’
(-māti) postp., ‘on, upon’

(-ri) postp., ‘for, at’ [marking complements of ḫhono ‘await’]
(-ro) gen. postp., ‘of, from’
(-za) gen. postp., ‘until, up to, unto’
(ni) part., meaning unknown; cf. Nep. ni
(adamant particle)
(n) part., ‘not’
(pe) postp., ‘on, at’; H. par, pe
(re) part., possibly a reported speech or narrative particle; cf. Nep. re.

ā interj., ‘ alas’

\(^1\) Irregular ‘perfect’ and pluperfect forms of the verb ‘to go’ were elicited for which we have no explanation. These forms and their Hindi translations are: aū (āme, tu, etc.) gōde H. māi gayā, etc.), aū ni gōtho H. māi nāhi gayā thā), aū gōnii H. māi nāhi gayā, māi gayā nāhi), aū gōthi dēi H. māi gayā thā), āme gōthi dēi H. ‘we have gone’ (H. ham gae hāi). We also recorded what appear to be inceptive forms: aū ḫaṅgo ‘I start to go, to go out, set out to go now’, āme ḫāṅgo ‘we start to go, set out to go now’. Other types of verb form occur in our data for which we do not know the paradigm, e.g. cṣūrō ‘having licked’, zāmī ‘has become’.

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bāled n., ‘ox’
boły vi., ‘speak’
bolo vi., ‘speak’
bolo adj., ‘good, fine’
bonā n., ‘sister’s husband’
borbābā n., ‘father’s elder brother’
borbdā n., ‘elder brother’
borbdādī n., ‘elder sister’
bori bōtī n., ‘elder brother’s wife’
bordā n., ‘father’s elder brother’s wife’
bordā adj., ‘big’
borji n.f., ‘small tail of a sheep or goat’
borā n., ‘back’
m. n., ‘twenty-six’
m. n., ‘three hundred’
cāri n., ‘verandah’
cāri m., ‘twenty-four’
cānkhṛtu 1) n., ‘lightning, thunderbolt’;
2) vi., ‘to thunder, be ‘lightning-ing’
carkuri n., ‘bird’
cārto vi., ‘climb’
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cārāhi n., ‘graze, take out to pasture’
corno n., 1) ‘steal’; 2) ‘hide, conceal’
carpā n., ‘Indian cot’; H. càrpa
carlo vi., ‘cause or give to lick’
cāl n., ‘fireplace’; Nep. cākhā, cālo
dā n.f., ‘pain’
dēνo vi., ‘go’
dōng n., ‘small stick’
dōngo n., ‘big stick’
dūnde n., ‘ankle’
dohkhr n., ‘type of small field’
dōko n., ‘mountain’
dōl n., ‘stone’
dōno vi., ‘burn’
dōgan n., ‘thread’
dāno vi., ‘right (as opposed to left)’;
cf. bōs, sulta, uto
dān n., ‘paddy’
dān n., ‘alms, contribution’
dānd n., ‘tooth’
dār n., ‘molar’
dāri n., ‘beard’; cf. zāmo
dekhno vi., ‘see’
denyo vi., ‘give’
deu, dewo n., ‘deity’
dīn n.f., ‘married female relatives, particularly sisters collectively after they have been married into other families’; 
cf. Kāṅgī tān

ācē adj., ‘good’; cf. H. acchā
ādō n., ‘half’
āg n., ‘fire’
āgue adv., ‘next year’; Nep. āghu; cf. ezi
ādā n., ‘soul’
ākhi n., ‘eye’
ākpa n., v., apparently an infinitival form of an unidentified verb, part of the expression āmod-kākpa, an abusive term of address for farm animals, ‘good-for-nothing animal’
āmod pro., ‘our’
āme pro., ‘we’
āmke pro., ‘us’
āno vi., ‘come’
ānzā n., ‘intestines’
āpē adj., ‘one’s own’
ārkhe n., ‘bone’
āth num., ‘eight’
āti n., ‘hand’
aū pro., ‘I, me’
baḥbā n.m., ‘father’
baċhi n.f., ‘female calf’
bačhu n.m., ‘male calf’
baδel ‘cloud’
bagos vi., ‘run, run away, abscond’
baγu n., ‘fate’
baγur n., ‘wind’
baht n., ‘brother’
baṇo adv., ‘left’, cf. dāṅa, sulta, uṭg
baṣē n., ‘twenty-two’
baķri n.f., ‘she-goat’
baķro n.m., ‘he-goat’
bafti n., ‘own wife’
baδe adv., ‘outside’
baṇ n., unidentified plant species
baṅhā n., ‘leg, foot’
baṅdī n.f., ‘infertile woman’
baṅno vt., (baṅ + -no), with dissimilation for place of articulation in the nasal of the infinitival ending) ‘cook’
baṅvi., ‘plough’
baṅzi n., ‘sister’s daughter (male speaking)’
baṅzzo n., ‘sister’s son (male speaking)’
baṅdro vi., ‘tie’
baṅdro n., ‘monkey’

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dinwālī n.m., 'milch cow'
dūra vt., 'wash'
dūna n., 'bow'; cf. kānd
dūra vi., 'fear, be afraid'
dūrī n., 'ten'
dōti adv., 'tomorrow'
dūdī n., 'milk'
dūdī n., 'nipple'
dōūrī adv., 'far'
dūta n., 1) 'sun', 2) 'day'
dūzzi adj., 'second; other'
dui n., 'two'
dui ęō n., 'two hundred'
duiū pro., 'both'
dukhru n.m., 'tale of woe'; cf. Kāṅgṛī dukhṛā 'tale of woe'
dunīā n.m., 'world'
dupār n., 'afternoon'; cf. H. dopahar
durkīyo adv., 'quickly'
durkās n., 'run'
dūsānas n.f., 'bad old woman, cantankerous elderly woman'
dūwātī n., 'smoke'
e interj. 'oh'
e pro., 'they (visible to speaker)'
ee pro., 'she (visible to speaker)'
ek num., 'one'
ek dākh num., 'one dākh (i.e. one hundred thousand)'
ek žār num., 'one thousand'
ek ęō num., 'one hundred'
ekīsī num., 'twenty-one'
ero pro., vide īsro
esō adv., 'in this way, like this, in this manner'
eu pro., 'he (visible to speaker)'
eze pro., 'these (inanimate, visible to speaker)'
esti bile adv., 'on this side'; Nep. yatāpa-
ychī
esti sāl adv., 'this year'; cf. āuge, por
gābhrī n.f., 'female lamb'
gābhrī n.m., 'male lamb'
gāgūlī n., 'tuber of the species Calladium arumaciaceae'; Nep. pīndālu, H. arbi
gānu n., 'cow'
gānu n., 'reputation'
gānlī n., 'joint'
gāu n., 'grass, fodder'
gāvī n., 'village'
gē n., 'gums'
gītu n.f., 'pity, compassion'
gīlrī vt., 'claw, smear, wipe, rub, scrub, grate'; H. līnā, pācgha, rāgarā

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gītu n.f., 'pity, compassion'
gīlrī vt., 'claw, smear, wipe, rub, scrub, grate'; H. līnā, pācgha, rāgarā

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Some Grammatical Observations on Baṅgāntī

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dinwālī n.m., 'milch cow'
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dūna n., 'bow'; cf. kānd
dūra vi., 'fear, be afraid'
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Some Grammatical Observations on Baṅgāntī
nāh n., ‘salt’
nanpo n.f., ‘block of salt’
3hi n.f., ‘finger’
3hō n.m., ‘thumb’
obre n., ‘ground floor, i.e. the area underneath a Baṅgānī house where livestock is kept’
oārī n., ‘cave’
adō n., ‘curves, small cave’
oga n., ‘sweet’
gōnō vt., ‘defecate’
gūlā n., ‘2nd p. pl. sg. of gūlō, ‘plant with green leaves, red stems, white flowers and black seeds, from which flour is ground’
gūlō adj., ‘next’
gōnīka adv., ‘first; ahead, in front; before’
gōnīka adj., ‘before, previously, already’
ṣerōnī vt., ‘put, keep’
yōkō adj., ‘light’
ṣānā vt., ‘lose, be defeated’
ṣānō adj., ‘green’
ṣānō vi., ‘laugh’
oth n., ‘lip’
thāhā n., ‘twenty-eight’
thāhārī n., ‘eighteen’
thāhū n., [poetic] ‘lips’
thānāl n., ‘palm of the hand’
pācī n., ‘five’
pācū adv., ‘in front, over there’
pācū n., ‘leaf’
pākō n., ‘wing’
pākāhī n., ‘arm’
pāle postp., ‘on thither side of (a mountain, river e.g. nīr-pāle ‘across the river’); Nep. pārī; cf. pāre, wāle
pālō adv., ‘nice, whole’
pānī n., ‘water’
pānō (pā – pār) vt., ‘get, win’
pāre adv., ‘across; yonder;’ cf. pāle
pāsī n., ‘the Pāsi side or right bank of the Tons River, i.e. Baṅgānī, as opposed to the Śājī side’
pāṣī n.f., ‘female kid’
pātō adv., ‘thin’
pēls n., ‘penis’
peł n., ‘belly’
phāl n., ‘fruit’
pharez adv., ‘the day before yesterday’
phōro vt., ‘untie, release (e.g. tied up animals’)
phuṣā n., ‘vagina’
pihī n.f., ‘egg’
pihōn vt., ‘grind, pound’
pihōn vt., ‘hit, beat, strike’
iṣīdīn n., ‘flour’
pihī n., ‘calves (as part of the body’
pīgō adj., ‘yellow’
pālā n., ‘body’
pīnō vt., ‘drink’
pītā n., ‘temple’
pīšān vt., ‘grind’
piṭhā n.f., ‘pākā n., ‘gall bladder’
pocā n., ‘fifty’
pocā n., ‘twenty-five’
pocāhā n., ‘in back, behind’
pochō adj., ‘younger [sibling]’
pochō n., ‘button’s’
pōnī adj., ‘sharp’
pōnīyā adj., ‘thin’
pōndā n., ‘fifteen’
por adv., ‘last year’; Nep. pohor; cf. auge, ezi sāl
porō n., ‘to have to, must, be obliged to’
pōrō vt., ‘read’
porko adj., [cf. por ‘last year’] ‘last year’s’
pormor n., ‘Parmeswara’
porō adj., ‘the day after tomorrow’
poreko adj., ‘seated’
pōrī n.m., ‘the Hindu month Pauṣa’
pōrān n., ‘eyelashes’
pāch n., ‘son’; cf. betā
pācūhā n., ‘ask’
pārgānō vt., ‘take out, remove’
pālānārū n., ‘toe’
punṣṣī n., ‘tail of animals other than sheep and goats’
burōjī adj., ‘old’
rāt n., ‘night’
rātī n., ‘morning’
rāto adj., ‘red’
Some Grammatical Observations on Bāṅgānī

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tatā pro., 'his (not visible to speaker)'
tāke adv., 'there'
tāi pro., 'those (animate, oblique, not visible to speaker)'
tāike pro., 'them (dative or accusative, not visible to speaker)'
tāiūke pro., 'their (not visible to speaker)'
tāiūwe pro., 'they (ergative, not visible to speaker)'
tāi pro., 'you (singular ergative)'
tālē adv., 'below, downstairs'; Nep. tal-la
tāli dātō pro., 'lower jaw'
tāli dānāwātī pro., 'dentition of lower jaw'
tu pro., 'you (singular)'
tumārā pro., 'your (plural or honorific)'
tumāke pro., 'you (plural or honorific, accusative or dative)'
tu pro., 'them (antecedent, not visible to speaker)'
u pro., 'his (not visible to speaker)'
u pro., 'those (animate, oblique, not visible to speaker)'
u pro., 'their (not visible to speaker)'
u pro., 'them (dative or accusative, not visible to speaker)'

zo pro., 'bag'
zo pro., 'burn'
zo pro., 'beard'; cf. dāri
zōn n., 'life'
zāṅ n., 'hip'
zāṅgpro vt. 'kill'
zāṅsē n., 'mosquito'
zāṅsīc v., [finite form] 'appears'
zā∅ n., 'pubic hair'
zā∅bū n., 'animal'
zā∅ adv., 'just as'
zā∅ rel. adv., 'just as, however, in whatever way, in which way, as if, as though'
zē∅nānī n.f., 'husband's elder brother's wife'
zē∅nānā n.m., 'husband's elder brother'
ze∅nī adv., 'as much as'
zhē b n., 'tongue'
zhēnā vi., 'win'
zhē∅ bī n., 'heart (the organ)'
zhēmīnī n.f., 'land, earth'
zhēmī n.m., 'heart, soul'; cf. zhē∅ bī
zhē∅ndūyā adj., 'alive'
zhē∅ n.m., 'Yamarāja, the god of death, ('the Grim Reaper')'
zhē∅ b n., 'bag'
zhē∅ bī vi., 'burn'
zhē n., 'root'
zhē r n., 'rain'
zhē n., 'louse, lice, Pediculus humanus'
zhē∅ n., 'smaller species of lice than Pediculus humanus'
zhē∅ n., 'moon'
zhē∅ n., 'body hair'
zhē∅ n., 'daughter's husband'
Driem, George van, and Suñū Rām Sharmā. 1996. 'In Search of Kentum Indo-Europeans in the Himalayas', Indogermanische Forschungen 101, 107-146.
