

Some Grammatical Observations on Baṅgāṇī*

The purpose of our mission to Baṅgāṇ 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 & Sharmā 1996). It was not our goal to produce a description of Baṅgāṇī within the brief time we spent in Baṅgāṇ. In this article, however, we describe some grammatical features of Baṅgāṇī. 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 Baṅgāṇ 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 Baṅgāṇī vowel and diphthong phonemes are /ɔ, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ɛ, e, ɔi, o, au/.

The Baṅgāṇī /ɔ/ (*hrasva* 'a') most frequently has a rounded realization [ɔ], even more so than does Nepālī *hrasva* 'a', although the realizations [a ~ a ~ ə] are also heard, e.g. /rəṇḍi/ [raṇḍi ~ rəṇḍi] 'husbandless woman', the negative particle /nɔ/ [nə ~ na ~ nɔ] 'not'. In fact, although the usual realization of the Baṅgāṇī /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. Baṅgāṇī /ɔ/ is distinct from both

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/o/, realized [o] (e.g. *zòr* 'rain' vs. *zòr* 'root'), and from /ā/ realized as [a:] (e.g. *àth* 'hand' vs. *àthnāl* 'palm of the hand').

In Baṅgānī there is a phonological contrast between the vowels /ε/ ~ /e/, e.g. *seu āśe* 'he [invis.] will come' vs. *se āśe* 'they [invis.] will come'; *tu ðee* 'you [sg.] will go', *tume ðee* 'you [pl./hon.] will go'. We have not been able to demonstrate either a phonological distinction /e/ ~ /ē/ or /o/ ~ /ō/, the existence of which is suggested by Zoller's phonetic transcriptions.

The opposition between /i/ and /ī/ seems to be neutralized in final, open syllables. We recorded the word *bī* 'too, also' as *bī̃*, but we believe that this was a phonetic effect of prosodic stress, and the length we perceived twice in the postposition ⟨-ri⟩ 'for, at', marking complements of the verb *thor̃no* 'wait', was, we believe, similarly a phonetic effect of metre (items 1 and 5 in Section 4, van Driem & Sharmā 1996).

Nasality of vowels is phonologically distinctive, but pre-consonantal nasals are often realized as nasalization of the preceding vowel, which may be facultatively lengthened, e.g. *mīnz̃o* [mī̃dz̃o (~ mī̃:dz̃o)] 'brain'.

The Baṅgānī inventory of consonant phonemes is basically the same as that of Hindī minus the voiced aspirates and /h/. In Baṅgānī, the voiced aspirates have lost their aspiration and /h/ has been lost, yielding a low tone, e.g. *dān* [< dhān] 'paddy' vs. *dāñ* [< dān] 'alms, contribution'; *āt* n., 'hand', *āsno* 'laugh', *ārāno* 'lose, be defeated'. In Baṅgānī, low tone now also occurs, for historical reasons not yet understood, in syllables where there has been no loss of aspiration, e.g. *phəl* 'fruit', *māchi* 'fish'. The occurrence of low tone is phonologically distinctive in Baṅgānī. The low tone may exhibit a predictable pattern of mobility in a single word, e.g. *māg* 'the Hindu month Māgh', *māgē ri* 'of Māgh', or in words related by derivation, e.g. *dūd* 'milk', *dūdī* 'nipple'.

Baṅgānī distinguishes /ɾ/ and /ɖ/ as distinct phonemes. Both occur in intervocalic position. Baṅgānī [ɾ] is not merely an intervocalic allophone of /ɖ/, e.g. *oḍār* 'cave', *oḍāṭo* 'crevice'.

The Baṅgānī palatal series (c, ch, z) are phonetically affricates, e.g. *cāṭno* [tsa:ṭno ~ tɕa:ṭno] 'lick', *chewer̃* [ts^hewer̃ ~ tɕ^hewer̃] 'woman wife', *zūn* [dzu:n] 'moon', *uziṇo* [udziṇo] 'get up', *gūnz̃e* [gū̃z̃e] 'moustache', *eze* [edze] 'these'.

The preceding is our analysis of Baṅgānī phonology in a nutshell.

It is our hope that a comprehensive descriptive grammar will be written of modern Baṅgānī, 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. *māṇuch*, *māṇuch* 'man, men', *khōzā*, *khōzā* 'footprint, footprints'.
- (2) There is a class of masculine nouns in ⟨-o⟩, which ending is changed to ⟨-ε⟩ in the plural, e.g. *bākr̃o*, *bākr̃ε* 'he-goat, he-goats', *ākha*, *ākhe* 'eye, eyes', *śingut̃o*, *śingut̃ε* 'horn, horns', *tār̃o*, *tār̃ε* 'star, stars', *ḍokhr̃o*, *ḍokhr̃ε* 'small field, small fields'.
- (3) There is a class of feminine nouns which forms the plural by the ending ⟨-ie⟩, *m̃ōis̃*, *m̃ōis̃ie* 'buffalo, buffaloes' *chewer̃*, *chewer̃ie* 'woman, women'. When the singular form of a noun of this class ends in ⟨-i⟩, this ending is replaced by the ending ⟨-ie⟩ in the plural, e.g. *bākr̃i*, *bākr̃ie* 'she-goat, she-goats', *pīni*, *pīnie* 'egg, eggs'.
- (4) There is a class of feminine nouns ending in a consonant which forms the plural in ⟨-ε⟩, e.g. *bēr̃*, *bēr̃ε* 'sheep, sheep', *pāk̃h*, *pāk̃he* 'wing, wings'.

The oblique singular ending of class 1 masculine nouns ending in a vowel is zero, e.g. *bār̃i r̃o* 'of the potter'. Class 1 masculine nouns ending in a consonant take the oblique ending ⟨-ε⟩ before certain postpositions, e.g. *g̃ōr̃-ε r̃o* 'of the house', but they do not appear to decline when oblique but not followed by a postposition, e.g. *bāṇḍi-r̃ε g̃ōr̃* 'at the house of an infertile woman'. The oblique case of class 3 feminine nouns ending in ⟨-i⟩ is marked by zero, e.g. *r̃ōṇḍi r̃o* 'of a husbandless woman'. The suffix ⟨-ε⟩ is the oblique singular ending of

both class 2 masculine nouns in {-o}, e.g. *gòr-ε rɔ* ‘of the horse’, *cī-grē-rɔ àrkho* ‘backbone’ (another way of saying *kiñrār* ‘spine’ in Baṅgāñī), and class 4 feminine nouns, e.g. *bèr-ε rɔ* ‘of the sheep’. The oblique plural ending is {-u} for both masculine nouns, e.g. *beru-rɔ* ‘of cares’, and feminine nouns, e.g. *bèru-rɔ* ‘of sheep’, although we have also recorded nasality in this ending, e.g. *gāiū-ke* ‘to the cows’.

Diminutives were derived in Baṅgāñī by the process of changing a masculine noun in {-o} into a feminine one in {-i}, e.g. *ṣṭho* ‘thumb’ vs. *ṣṭhi* ‘finger’, *kimlɔ* ‘termite’ vs. *kimli* ‘ant’, *bərgɔ* ‘tail of a sheep or goat’ vs. *bərgi* ‘small tail of a sheep or goat’, *ḍiṅgɔ* ‘big stick’ vs. *ḍiṅgi* ‘twig, small stick’, *śeātɔ* ‘big branch’ vs. *śeāṭi* ‘small branch’, *tārɔ* ‘star’, *tāri* ‘pupil of the eye’. It is not clear whether the process is still productive. Dropping the masculine ending {-o} in nouns may be a derivational process with augmentative meaning in Baṅgāñī, e.g. *kāṇḍɔ* ‘thorn, fishbone’ > *kāṇḍ* ‘arrow’.

Declinable adjectives such as *āprɔ* ‘own’ and the genitive suffix *rɔ* agree for case, number and gender with its head noun, e.g. *merɔ* ‘my’ [m.sg.], *merε* ‘my’ [m.sg.obl., m.pl.], *meri* ‘my’ [f.]. Alongside genitive {-rɔ}, there exists a separate adjectival genitive ending {-ko}, e.g. *boṭiā-ko bāi* ‘brother’s wife’s brother’, *pər-ko* ‘last year’s’. Postpositions are indeclinable, e.g. *cərpāi-augi* ‘beneath the cārpāi’, *cərpāi-māi* ‘on top of the cārpāi’, *sinduke-di* ‘inside the chest’, *zòlē-di* ‘inside the bag’, *ḍòlē-augi* ‘under the stone’.

The main Baṅgāñī pronominal forms are listed in Table 1.

	absolutive	ergative	genitive	accusative	ablative
1 sg.	aū	muī	merɔ	muke	mukoi
1 pl.	āme	āme	āmāro	āmke	āmkoī
2 sg.	tu	toī	terɔ	taūke	taūkoī
2 pl.	tume	tume	tumārɔ	tumke	tumkoī
3 sg.m. vis.	eu	iṇi	isrɔ	iske	iskoi
3 sg.f. vis.	ee	īe	īrɔ	īke	īkoī
3 pl. vis.	e	iūwe	iūrɔ	iūke	iūkoī
3 sg.m. invis.	seu	tiṇi	tisrɔ	tiske	tiskoi
3 sg.f. invis.	se	tīe	tīrɔ	tīke	tīkoī
3 pl. invis.	se	tiūwe	tiūrɔ	tiūke	tiūkoī
who/what	kūṇ/kā	kūṇi	kosrɔ	koske	koskoī

Table 1: Pronouns

Baṅgāñī 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 *eze* ‘these’ [vis.], *seze* ‘these, those’ [invis.], the declensions of which were not recorded. The third person forms are also used attributively as demonstratives, e.g. *iū suiū gāiū-ke* ‘to these cows which have calved’, *khūnde soiāṇe tiṇi* ‘that Khund elder [erg.]’.

The case labelled ‘accusative’ in the table above fulfils the same dative and accusative functions as the Hindī forms in *ko* and the Nepālī forms in *lāi*, e.g. *muke de* ‘give [it] to me’, *iske pīt* ‘hit him’. The truncated form of the pronouns before the accusative ending {-ke} and the ablative ending {-koī} is the form which the pronouns take before other postpositions as well, e.g. {-māi} ‘on, at’ (H. *par*), *mu-māi* ‘on me’, *am-māi* ‘on us’. The accusative and ablative forms *kāke* and *kākoī* were given as possible alternatives for the regular interrogative forms *koske* ‘whom, to what’ and *koskoī* ‘from/with whom, from/with what’. However, like Hindī and unlike Nepālī, Baṅgāñī does not differentiate between *kūṇ* ‘who’ and *kā* ‘what’ in the oblique cases.

Under the heading ‘genitive’ in Table 1, the masculine singular forms in {-o} are listed. The masculine plural ending is {-ε}, and the feminine ending is {-i}, e.g. *tumārɔ* [m.sg.], *tumārε* [m.pl.], *tumārī* [f.] ‘your (plural)’, *merɔ* [m.sg.], *merε* [m.pl.], *meri* [f.] ‘my’, etc. The forms *erɔ*, *erε* and *eri* were given as optional alternatives for the visible third person singular genitive forms *isrɔ* [m.sg.], *isrε* [m.pl.] and *isri* [f.].

Other interrogative pronouns and adverbs include the locational *kitke* ‘where’, *kitkoī* ‘whence’, *kindε* ‘whither’, *kelā* ‘why’, and *kethki* ‘howcome’, e.g. *seu kethki āɔ* ‘howcome did he come?’. The deictic adverbs corresponding to interrogative *kitke* ‘where’ are *itke* ‘here’, *titke* ‘there’, and interrogative *kitke* ‘where’ also has corresponding genitive forms *kitkerɔ* [m.sg.], *kitkerε* [m.pl.], *kitkeri* [f.] ‘from where, wherefrom’.

Emphatic forms are formed by adding the suffix {-i} (cognate with H. *hī*), e.g. *kelāi* ‘why’ (emph.) [cf. *kelā* ‘why’], e.g. *seu kelāi āɔ* ‘just why did he come?’. When a form ends in /i/ already, the emphatic suffix has the allomorph {-oi}, reminiscent of Nep. {-ai}, *koliārɔi* ‘breakfast’ (emph.) [cf. *koliāri* ‘breakfast’].

The ergative forms of pronouns are listed in Table 1. The ergative ending in nouns is {-ei}, e.g. *suṅgrei* ‘pig’ (erg.) [< suṅgur], *rikhei* ‘bear’ (erg.).

Some Baṅgāñī cardinal numerals are listed in Table 2.

1	ek	11	gyārā	21	ekis	
2	dui	12	bārā	22	bāis	50
3	cīn	13	terā	23	teis	pacās
4	cār	14	caudā	24	cobis	100
5	pāc	15	pōndrā	25	pocis	200
6	cho	16	soḷā	26	chōbbis	300
7	sāt	17	soṭrā	27	śottāis	
8	āṭh	18	oṭhārā	28	oṭhāis	1,000
9	no	19	uṇis	29	uṇotis	
10	doś	20	bis	30	tiś	1,00,000
						ek lākh

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 Baṅgāñī. The present sketch is far from exhaustive.

The ending of the infinitive is ⟨-ṇo⟩, e.g. *āṇo* ‘to come’, *pūrgārṇo* ‘take out, remove’, *sībṇo* ‘sew’. Baṅgāñī infinitives are treated as masculine nouns in ⟨-o⟩ and take their oblique form in ⟨-ε⟩, e.g. *gṇṇε-ri* ‘for calculations, for counting’. It appears that the infinitive can have a feminine form in ⟨-ṇi⟩ to agree with a complement in the type of construction *zimi bi pṛi gṇṇuṇi cheweṛ bi bḡgāi* ‘[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 Nepālī, to cite a proposition as such, *tiṇi muke poisā deṇε* ‘will he give me money?’, *muī tumke poisā deṇε* ‘am I to give you money?’.

The singular imperative consists of the bare stem of the verb, e.g. *puru deṇ* ‘go over there’, *uru ā* ‘come here’, *boś* ‘sit down, stay’, *uru de* ‘give [it] here’, *phḍwo* ‘untie [it]’, *ṛε* ‘take [it]’, *khā* ‘eat’, *piu* ‘drink’, *kṛ* ‘do it’, *urgār* ‘buy it’, *bec* ‘sell it’, *ḍ* ‘burn it’. The negative imperative is formed with the particle *nṇ* ‘not’ preceding the verb, e.g. *tu khā wa nṇkhā*, *āṇ nṇkhāndṇ* ‘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. *bośo* ‘sit down’, *kṛo* ‘do it’, *urgāro* ‘buy it’, *beco* ‘sell it’, *khāo* ‘eat’, *uru āo* ‘come

here’ (the plural imperative form *āśo* ‘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. *deṇo* ‘go’, *ṛṇo* ‘take [it]’, *pio* ‘drink’. The honorific imperative ending is ⟨-iε⟩, e.g. *nṇ kṛiε* ‘don’t do it’.

The static present tense of the verb ‘to be’ is ⟨-ε⟩, e.g. *khub-ε* ‘it’s all right’ (H. *ṭhīk hai*), *dūs-ε* ‘it is the sun’, *konāil-ε* ‘it is an ear’. The plural form is nasalized ⟨-ε̃⟩, e.g. *eu kūṇ-ε̃* ‘who is he [visible]’, *e kūṇ-ε̃* ‘who are they [visible]’, *seu kūṇ-ε̃* ‘who is he [not visible]’, *se kūṇ-ε̃* ‘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 inconjugable form *ḍndi* (Nep. *huncha*, *hundai cha*), e.g. *rūśṇ ḍndi* ‘[he] is angry’, *śiṭṇ ḍndi* ‘it is ripe’. The present tense of other Baṅgāñī verbs is formed by the endings ⟨-(n)do⟩ in the masculine singular, ⟨-(n)de⟩ in the masculine plural, and ⟨-(n)di⟩ in the feminine, e.g. *āṇ* (tu, eu, seu) *dendṇ* (*khāndṇ*, etc.) ‘I [m.] (you [m.sg.], he [vis.], he [invis.]) go/goes (eat/eats, etc.)’, *āme* (tume, e, se) *dende* (*khānde*, etc.) ‘we [m.] (you [m.pl./hon.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) go (eat, etc.)’, *āṇ* (tu, ee, se, āme, tume, e, se) *dendi* (*khāndi*, etc.) ‘I [f.] (you [f.sg.], she [vis.], she [invis.], we [f.], you [f.pl./hon.], they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) go/goes (eat/eats, etc.)’. This Baṅgāñī present tense is translated into Hindī by present tense forms such as *maī khātā hū* ‘I am eating’, etc. The Baṅgāñī suffix ⟨-(n)do⟩ is evidently cognate with the Nepālī morpheme ⟨-nd ~ -nda⟩ in present participial form and present negative forms. The Baṅgāñī negative present tense is formed by affixation of the negative suffix ⟨-inṇ⟩, e.g. *khānd-ṇinṇ* [m.sg.], *khāndeṇinṇ* [m.pl.], *khāndiṇinṇ* [f.] ‘do/does not eat’, *dendṇinṇ* [m.sg.], *dendeṇinṇ* [m.pl.], *dendiṇinṇ* [f.] ‘do/does not go’. Periphrastic negative forms also occur and are formed by the negative particle *nṇ* ‘not’, which may either precede or follow the verb, e.g. *tu nṇ dendṇ* ‘you [m.sg.] will not go’, *āṇ dendṇ nṇ* ‘I [m.] shall not go’, *āme nṇ khāndi* ‘we [f.] shall not eat’, *cheweṛ nṇ khāndi* ‘[my] wife will not eat’.

The Baṅgāñī present progressive tense is formed by combining the present tense form in ⟨-(n)do⟩ with the auxiliary *lāgṇndi*. Both main verb and auxiliary inflect for person and gender of subject. The aux-

iliary has the form *lāgōndi* in the masculine singular, *lāgōnde* in the masculine plural and *lāgiōndi* in the feminine. The main verb endings are as described in the preceding paragraph (i.e. ⟨-(n)dō⟩ in the masculine singular, ⟨-(n)dē⟩ in the masculine plural, and ⟨-(n)di⟩ in the feminine), e.g. *aū* (*tu, eu, seu*) *āndō lāgōndi* 'I [m.] am (you [m.sg.] are, he [vis.] is, he [invis.] is) coming', *āmē* (*tumē, e, se*) *ānde lāgōnde* 'we [m.] (you [m.pl./hon.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) are coming', *aū* (*tu, ee, se, āmē, tumē, e, se*) *āndi lāgiōndi* 'I [f.] am (you [f.sg.] are, she [vis.] is, she [invis.], we [f.] are (you [f.pl./hon.] are, they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) are coming'; *aū* (*tu, eu, seu*) *khāndō lāgōndi* 'I [m.] am (you [m.sg.] are, he [vis.] is, he [invis.] is) eating', *āmē* (*tumē, e, se*) *khānde lāgōnde* 'we [m.] (you [m.pl./hon.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) are eating', *aū* (*tu, ee, se, āmē, tumē, e, se*) *khāndi lāgiōndi* 'I [f.] am (you [f.sg.] are, she [vis.] is, she [invis.] is, we [f.] are, you [f.pl./hon.] are, they [f.vis.] are, they [f.invis.] are) eating'. This Baṅgāṇī tense is translated into Hindī by present progressive forms such as *maī khā rahā hū* 'I am eating', etc.

Baṅgāṇī future tense 1 is formed by the suffix ⟨-lō ~ -lē ~ -li⟩, e.g. *lō* (cf. Nep. *holā*), e.g. *kā lō* 'what will be?', *keśō lō* 'how will it be?', *lē* 'will be' [m.pl.], *tu āślō* 'you may go', *bāñile* 'we'll make', *bole* 'will speak' [m.pl.], *khāñli ... bākri bèrē* '... 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 Baṅgāṇī tense expresses a 'possible future' like the cognate Nepālī tense. However, the Baṅgāṇī future in ⟨-lō ~ -lē ~ -li⟩ appears to differ in meaning from the Baṅgāṇī future tense 2, discussed in the next paragraph, in that future tense 1 translates into Hindī as future forms in ⟨-gā ~ -ge ~ -gī⟩, whereas Baṅgāṇī future tense 2 also translates as the Hindī future in ⟨-gā ~ -ge ~ -gī⟩ but is more often translated into Hindī with the present in ⟨-tā ~ -te ~ -tī⟩ with the present tense of the auxiliary *honā* 'to be'. This suggests that Baṅgāṇī future tense 2 might express a meaning akin to that of an immediate or definite future.

A verb in Baṅgāṇī future tense 2 agrees with the subject for person and number: first person singular ⟨-ū ~ -u⟩, first person plural ⟨-ī ~ -i⟩, non-first person singular ⟨-ā ~ -ē⟩ and non-first person plural ⟨-e⟩. It is not understood which lexical or morphophonological factors determine which allomorph of these endings a given verb will take, e.g. *aū āśu* 'I'll come', *āmē āśi* 'we'll come', *tu* (*eu, seu*) *āśē* 'you [sg.]

(he [vis.], he [invis.]) will come', *tumē* (*e, se*) *āśē* 'you [pl./hon.]) will come' (Note that the Baṅgāṇī verb *āñō* 'come', which exhibits stem alternation ⟨ā ~ āś⟩, occurs only as the stem ⟨āś⟩ in the future tenses), *tebrē āśē* 'he'll come afterwards'; *aū roṭi yā bāt khāū* 'I shall eat bread or cooked rice', *āmē bāt khāi* 'we shall eat rice', *tu* (*eu, seu*) *bāt khāā* 'you [sg.] (he [vis.], he [invis.]) will eat rice', *tumē* (*e, se*) *bāt khāē* 'you [pl./hon.]) (they [vis.], they [invis.]) will eat rice'; *aū deū* 'I'll go', *āmē deī* 'we'll go', *tu* (*eu, seu*) *deē* 'you [sg.] (he [vis.], he [invis.]) will go', *tumē* (*e, se*) *deē* 'you [pl./hon.]) (they [vis.], they [invis.]) will go', *kūñ deē* 'who will go?', *sāre deē* 'all will go', *kindē deē* 'where are you going' (H. *kahā jā rahe ho?*), *kūñ deē* 'who is going?'. Baṅgāṇī future 2 is the correct choice of tense for formulating questions of the type *aū deū?* 'shall I go?'.¹⁰

The inchoative past tense forms of the verb 'to be' are *ūō* 'was, became' [m.sg.], *ūē* 'were, became' [m.pl.] and feminine *ūi* 'was, were' [f.] (H. *huā, hue, huī*). The masculine singular form /ūō/ is pronounced [ōō] in allegro speech. A past event or state is expressed by the forms *thō* 'was' [m.sg.], *the* 'was, were' [m.pl.] and feminine *thi* 'were' [f.] (H. *thā, the, thī*).

The simple past tense of any other intransitive verb similarly inflects for number and gender of subject, i.e. m.sg. ⟨-ō⟩, m.pl. ⟨-ōē⟩, f. ⟨-ōi⟩, e.g. *aū* (*tu, eu, seu*) *āō* 'I [m.] (you [m.sg.], he [vis.], he [invis.]) came', *āmē* (*tumē, e, se*) *āōē* 'we [m.] (you [m.pl./hon.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) came', *aū* (*tu, ee, se, āmē, tumē, e, se*) *āōi* 'I [f.] (you [f.sg.], she [vis.], she [invis.], we [f.], you [f.pl./hon.], they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) came', *rūr lāgoi* 'the sun is shining' (literally: 'sunshine [f.] has made itself felt'; Nep. *ghām lāgyo*), *śēlō lāgo* 'it feels cold' (literally: 'coldness [m.] has made itself felt'; Nep. *jādo lāgyo*). The past tense suffix is realized as zero in some verbs, e.g. *luā* [*< luāñō* '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 ⟨-kē⟩, e.g. *nā! dekhī* 'saw the rifle [f.], *ini koliārōi nō khāi* 'he [vis.erg.] didn't eat breakfast [f.]',

piṭhāi lāi ‘applied ṭikā [f.]’. When there is no overt object or only an oblique and therefore cloaked object, the verb takes the masculine singular ending ⟨-o⟩ by default, e. g. *mūi* (āme, tāi, tume, iṇi, tiṇi, tē, tē, iūwe, tiūwe) *dekhō* (khāṇō khā, 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 kiyo* ‘I did’, *āme kiyo* ‘we did’.

The perfective past tense is formed by suffixation of the aspect morpheme ⟨-(i)g⟩ before the past tense suffix ⟨-o ~ -e ~ -oi⟩, e. g. *morigo* ‘he is dead’, *aū* (*tu, eu, seu*) *āigō* ‘I [m.] (you [m.sg.], he [vis.], he [invis.]) came’, *āme* (*tume, e, se*) *āsigōe ~ āigōe* (in allegro speech *āigē*) ‘we [m.] (you [m.pl./hon.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) came’, *aū* (*tu, ee, se, āme, tume, e, se*) *āsigoi ~ āigoi* ‘I [f.] (you [f.sg.], she [vis.], she [invis.], we [f.], you [f.pl./hon.], they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) came’. Note that Baṅgāṇī *āṇō* ‘come’, which exhibits a pattern of stem alternation ⟨ā ~ āś⟩, appears to be able to take both allomorphs in the plural and feminine. Kāṅgri has similar past tense forms, e. g. *āigauda* ‘came’ [m.sg.], *āigaude* ‘came’ [m.pl.], *āigaudi* ‘came’ [f.sg.], *āigaudiā* ‘came’ [f.pl.]. The Baṅgāṇī ending appears to derive from a fused construction of the Indo-Aryan past tense stem of ‘to go’, ⟨go ~ g⟩ attached to what once must have been an inflected form of the verb stem in ⟨-i⟩, as in Nepālī constructions of the type *bhai gayo* ‘it’s finished, it’s done’, *ai 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. *mūi* (āme, tāi, tume, iṇi, tiṇi, tē, tē, iūwe, tiūwe) *khāṇō khāigō* ‘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’ *ṇdi*, e. g. *aū itke ṇgnike bi āṇdi* ‘I’ve been here before’ (H. *maī yahā pahale bhī āyā hū*). The pluperfect of intransitive verbs is formed by the combination of the inconjugable perfect forms with the past tense of the form ‘to be’, *thō* [m.sg.], *the* [m.pl.], *thi* [f.], e. g. *aū* (*tu, eu, seu*) *āṇdi thō* ‘I [m.] (you [m.sg.], he [vis.], he [invis.]) had come’ (H. *maī āyā thā*, etc.), *āme* (*tume, e, se*) *āṇdi the* ‘we [m.] (you [m.pl.], they [m.vis.], they [m.invis.]) had come’ (H. *ham āe the*, etc.), *aū* (āme, tu, tume, ee, se, e, se) *āṇdi thi* ‘I [f.] (we [f.] you

[f.sg.], you [f.pl.], she [vis.], she [invis.], they [f.vis.], they [f.invis.]) came’ (H. *maī āi thī*, etc.), *aū deṇdi thō/thi* ‘I have gone’ (H. *maī gayā thā/gāi thī*), *āme deṇdi the/thi* ‘we have gone’ (H. *ham gae the/gāi thī*).⁹

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’, *thō* [m.sg.], e. g. *mūi* (āme, tāi, tume, iṇi, tiṇi, tē, tē, iūwe, tiūwe) *khāṇō khā thō* ‘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, iṇi, tiṇi, tē, tē, iūwe, tiūwe) *khāṇō khāigō thō* ‘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*).

Baṅgāṇī word list

⟨-augi⟩ postp., ‘under, beneath’
 ⟨-bāsi⟩ postp., ‘just like’
 ⟨-di⟩ postp., ‘in, inside, within’
 ⟨-i⟩ sf., emphatic suffix; cf. H. *hī*
 ⟨-khi ~ khe⟩ postp., ‘for, unto’
 ⟨-ko⟩ sf., adjectival genitive ending
 ⟨-koi⟩ postp., ‘with’
 ⟨-le⟩ postp., ‘at’
 ⟨-māi⟩ postp., ‘on, atop’
 ⟨-māti⟩ postp., ‘on, upon’

⟨-ri⟩ postp., ‘for, at’ [marking complements of *thorṇō* ‘await’]
 ⟨-ro⟩ gen. postp., ‘of, from’
 ⟨-zāṣ⟩ postp., ‘until, up to, unto’
 ⟨ni⟩ part., meaning unknown; cf. Nep. *ni* (adamant particle)
 ⟨no⟩ part., ‘not’
 ⟨pe⟩ postp., ‘on, at’; H. *par, pe*
 ⟨re⟩ part., possibly a reported speech or narrative particle; cf. Nep. *re*.
 ā interj., ‘alas’

⁹ 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.) *goḍei* (H. *maī gayā*, etc.), *aū noi gothō* (H. *maī nahī gayā thā*), *aū gonoi* (H. *maī nahī gayā, maī gayā nahī*), *aū gothō dei* ‘I have gone’ (H. *maī gayā thā*), *āme gothe dei* ‘we have gone’ (H. *ham gae hāi*). We also recorded what appear to be inceptive forms: *aū lāgoḍeū* ‘I start to go, set out to go now’, *āme lāgoḍeī* ‘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. *coṭāiro* ‘having licked’, *zōrmi* ‘has become’.

āchə adj., 'good'; cf. H. *acchā*
ādə n., 'half'
āg n., 'fire'
āguə adv., 'next year'; Nep. *āghu*; cf. *ezi sāl, pər*
ākho n., 'eye'
ākno n.m., v., apparently an infinitival form of an unidentified verb, part of the expression *ronḍi-ro ākno*, an abusive term of address for farm animals, 'good-for-nothing animal'
āmāro pro., 'our'
āme pro., 'we'
āmke pro., 'us'
āno vi., 'come'
ānze n., 'intestines'
āprə adj., 'one's own'
ārkhə n., 'bone'
āth num., 'eight'
āth n., 'hand'
aū pro., 'I, me'
bābā n.m., 'father'
bāchṭi n.f., 'female calf'
bāchṭu n.m., 'male calf'
bādel n., 'cloud'
bāḡno vi., 'run, run away, abscond'
bāgu n.m., 'fate'
bāgur n., 'wind'
bāi n.m., 'brother'
bāiṇə adv., 'left'; cf. *dāiṇə, sulṭə, ulṭə*
bāis num., 'twenty-two'
bākri n.f., 'she-goat'
bākrə n.m., 'he-goat'
bāli n., 'own wife'
bāle adv., 'outside'
bān n., unidentified plant species
bāṇno n., 'leg, foot'
bāṇḍi n.f., 'infertile woman'
bāṇno vt., [(*bān* + *-no*), with dissimilation for place of articulation in the nasal of the infinitival ending]] 'cook'
bāno vi., 'plough'
bānzi n., 'sister's daughter (male speaking)'
bānzə n., 'sister's son (male speaking)'
bāndno vt., 'tie'
bāndor n., 'monkey'

bānno vt., 'fence in, fence off'
bāri n.m., 'potter'; Nep. *kumāl, kumhāl*
bārā num., 'twelve'
bāro n.m., 'master, boss'
bās n., 'smell'
bāt n., 'path'
bāte n., 'testicle'
bauri n., 'first floor, i.e. upper floor of a Baṅgānī house where the family reside'
bēcno vt., 'sell'
bəd n.m., 'inside information'
bekh n.m., 'caprices, capriciousness'
ber n., 'time, delay, period'
bər n.f., 'sheep'
berə n.m., 'cares, worries'
beṭā n.m., 'son, brother's son (male speaking)'; cf. *pūch*
beṭi n.f., 'daughter, brother's daughter (male speaking)'
betorə n., 'back of the head'
bì adv., 'too, also'
bīs num., 'twenty'
bīz n., 'seed'
biālī n.f., 'evening meal (as in Nepal, the people of Baṅgān eat two meals a day)'
bidāro n., 'shoulder'
bikh n., 'tree'
binoṭə n., 'heel'
birālī n.f., 'female cat'
birālə n.m., 'male cat'
birəpsi adv., 'too much, too many'; H. *zyādā*
biś n., 'poison'
bisrunə vt., 'forget'; Nep. *birsanu*
bitre adv., 'inside'
biuzūno vi., 'get up'; cf. Nep. *biūjhinu* 'wake up'; cf. *thərkunə, uziṇə*
bə n., 'fat'
bḥ, bḥṣṭə n., 'eyebrow, eyelid'
bḥis n., 'bamboo'
bḥirilo n.m., 'well-built youth, athletic young man'
bḥḍiṭā adv., 'very, completely, fully'
bḥḡāno vt., 'chase off, cause to run away'
bḥḡwān n.m., 'god, i.e. *Bhagvān*'

boled n., 'ox'
bolno vi., 'speak'
bolə adj., 'good, fine'
bəṇāi n.m., 'sister's husband'
bərbābā n.m., 'father's elder brother'
bərdādā n.m., 'elder brother'
bərdādi n.f., 'elder sister'
bəri boṭi n., 'elder brother's wife'
bərize n., 'father's elder brother's wife'
bəro adj., 'big'
bərgi n.f., 'small tail of a sheep or goat'
bəro n.m., 'tail of a sheep or goat'; cf. *punzurə*
bəris n., 'year, the rains'
bəro n., 'year'
bḥs n., 'lungs'
boṣno vi., 'sit, stay'
boṭi, boṭiā n.f., 'brother's wife'
boṭə n.m., 'husband'
bozā n., 'prasād'
būbi n.f., 'father's sister'
bukru n., 'kidney'
bunno vt., 'weave'
būt n., 'ghost, malevolent or pathogenic spirit'
byāle adv., 'yesterday'
byālke n., 'evening'; cf. Nep. *belukā*
byūṭə adj., 'broad, wide'
cāco n., 'botflies'
cāi v., 'ought to be, should be'
cāndi n., 'silver'
cānno vt., 'make'
cār num., 'four'
cāṭno vt., 'lick'
cāuṭ n., 'uncooked rice'
caudā num., 'fourteen'
celṭu n.m., 'male kid'
chāi n., 'shade, shadow'
chewer n.f., 'woman, wife'
chḥk n., 'sneeze'
chḥko vi., 'sneeze'
cho num., 'six'
chḥṭi n., 'chin'
chobbiś num., 'twenty-six'
chorā n., 'genre of songs of lament'
chori n., 'spleen (in Baṅgān fed exclusively to orphans)'; H. *tillī*

choṭ-zethāni n.f., 'husband's younger brother's wife'
choṭ-zethāno n.m., 'husband's younger brother'
choṭi boṭi n.f., 'younger brother's wife'
choṭro adj., 'low, short (as opposed to tall)'; cf. *luḍro*
chumkə n., 'dusk'
cṭṭro n., 'back'
cṭn num., 'three'
cṭn śo num., 'three hundred'
cḥre n., 'verandah'
cobiś num., 'twenty-four'
cəṅkhrunə 1) n., 'lightning, thunderbolt'; 2) vi., 'to thunder, be 'lightning-ing''
cərkuri n., 'bird'
cəro vi., 'climb'
cəruwo n., 'thigh'
cəṛāno vt., 'graze, take out to pasture'
cəro vt., 1) 'steal'; 2) 'hide, conceal'
cərpāi n., 'Indian cot'; H. *cārpāi*
cəṭāno vt., 'cause or give to lick'
cūl n., 'fireplace'; Nep. *cūhlo, cūlo*
dā n.f., 'pain'
dəno vi., 'go'
dṇṇi n., 'small stick'
dṇṇo n., 'big stick'
dṇṇe n., 'ankle'
dokhrə n., 'type of small field'
dokə n., 'mountain'
dol n., 'stone'
dono vt., 'burn'
dāgo n., 'thread'
dāiṇə adv., 'right (as opposed to left)'; cf. *bāi, sulṭə, ulṭə*
dān n., 'paddy'
dān n., 'alms, contribution'
dānd n., 'tooth'
dār n., 'molar'
dāri n., 'beard'; cf. *zāmət*
dekhno vt., 'see'
dəno vt., 'give'
deu, dewə n., 'deity'
diān n.f., 'married female relatives, particularly sisters collectively after they have been married into other families'; cf. *Kāngri tiān*

dinwāḷo n.m., 'milch cow'
dòṇo vt., 'wash'
dòṇu n., 'bow'; cf. *kāṇḍ*
dorṇo vi., 'fear, be afraid'
dos num., 'ten'
doti adv., 'tomorrow'
dūd n., 'milk'
dūdī n., 'nipple'
dūre adv., 'far'
dūs n., 1) 'sun', 2) 'day'
dūzō adj., 'second; other'
dui num., 'two'
dui sō num., 'two hundred'
duiā pro.adv., 'both'
dukhru n.m., 'tale of woe'; cf. *Kāṅgrī*
dukhṛā 'tale of woe'
duniā n.m., 'world'
dupār n., 'afternoon'; cf. H. *dopahar*
duṛkiyo adv., 'quickly'
duṛkṇo vi., 'run'
duśonsa n.f., 'bad old woman, cantankerous elderly woman'
duwāḷh n., 'smoke'
e interj., 'oh'
e pro., 'they (visible to speaker)'
ee pro., 'she (visible to speaker)'
ek num., 'one'
ek lākh num., 'one *lākh* (i.e. one hundred thousand)'
ek ḍzār num., 'one thousand'
ek sō num., 'one hundred'
ekis num., 'twenty-one'
erō pro., vide *isrō*
esō adv., 'in this way, like this, in this manner'
eu pro., 'he (visible to speaker)'
eze pro., 'these (inanimate, visible to speaker)'
ezi bile adv., 'on this side'; Nep. *yatāpaṭṭī*
ezi sāl adv., 'this year'; cf. *āgue*, *por*
gābri n.f., 'female lamb'
gābru n.m., 'male lamb'
gāguḷi n., 'tuber of the species *Calladium arumaciæ*'; Nep. *piṇḍālu*, H. *arbi*
gāi n., 'cow'
gāṇ n., 'reputation'

gāṇṭh n., 'joint'
gās n., 'grass, fodder'
gāū n., 'village'
gāe n., 'gums'
gāṇ n.f., 'pity, compassion'
gāśṇo vt., 'daub, smear, wipe, rub, scrub, grate'; H. *lipnā*, *pūchna*, *ragarṇā*
giṇṇo vt., 'take away, snatch away'
giriṇ n.f., 'woman'
goṇ n., 'sky'
goḷ adj., 'round'
gomō n.m., 'woe, forborne pain, tolerance, grief'
gompunō vt., 'suffer a loss, tolerate, put up with, forbear'; H. *sahan karnā*
gonṇiō n.m., [*< gonṇo* 'count'] 'paṇḍit, augurer'
gōṇo adj., 'close-knit, thick or dense, compact, close, numerous'; H. *ghanā*
gonṭi n.f., 'accounting'
gonṇo vt., 'calculate, augur, count'
gōr n.m., 'house'
gōri n.f., 'mare'
gōri-poru n., 'family'; H. *ghar-parivār*
goriē-naṇi n., 'proper name of a slope in Baṅgāṇ'
gōrō n.m., 'horse'
gorḍon n.f., 'back of the neck'
gorziṇo adv., 'freeze in one's tracks, assume a threatening stance'
gosṭā n., 'acquaintance'
gūnze n., 'moustache'
guḍāru n., 'deity Guḍāru'
gumṇe n., 'leg of sheep or goat'; cf. *khutṭā*
gūṇḍi n., 'knee'
gusti n., 'wish, desire, preference, indulging, giving into temptation'; H. *marzi*
gyārā num., 'eleven'
īe pro., 'she (ergative, visible to speaker)'
īke pro., 'her (dative or accusative, visible to speaker)'
īrō pro., 'her (visible to speaker)'
iṇi pro., 'he (ergative, visible to speaker)'
isālṇo vt., 'extinguish, put out'
iske pro., 'him (dative or accusative, visible to speaker)'

isrō pro., 'his (visible to speaker)'
itke adv., 'here'
itrā adv., 'today'
iū pro., 'these (animate, oblique, visible to speaker)'
iū n., 'snow'; Nep. *hiū*
iūd n., 'winter'; cf. Nep. *hiūdo*
iūke pro., 'them (dative or accusative, visible to speaker)'
iūrō pro., 'their (visible to speaker)'
iūwe pro., 'they (ergative, visible to speaker)'
ize n., 'mother'
kā pro., 'what'
kālō adj., 'black'
kālzo n., 'liver'
kāṇḍ n., 'arrow'; cf. *dòṇu*
kāṇḍo n., 'thorn, fishbone'
kāṇchi ṭhi n., 'little finger, pinkie'
kāṭho adj., 'hard'
kāṭṇo vt., 'cut'
kātṇo vt., 'spin, wrap'
kelā n., 'banana'
kelā adv., 'why'
kelāi adv., 'why (empathic)'
ker n., 'neck (front and back)'
kethki adv., 'howcome'
khāb n., 'mouth'
khāṇo 1) n., 'food'; 2) vt., 'eat'
khāṭo adj., 'sour'
khodṇo vt., 'dig'
khōirālō adj., 'blue'
khokoṭe n., 'cheeks'
kholḍo n., 'leather'
khōridṇo vt., 'buy'
khorkui-khorkuio adv., 'a-scraping'
khorkunō vt., 'scrape'
khozā n.m., 'track, spoor, footprint, traces'
khūndō adj., 'Khund'
khubāṇo vt., 'prick, pierce'
khūṇḡo n., 'cough'
khūṇṇo vi., 'cough'
khūṇḍo adj., 'blunt'
khundāl n., 'Khund clan'
khurki n., 'joint'
khūs adj., 'happy'

khutṭā n., 'leg of cow or horse'; cf. *gumṇe*
ki conj., 'or; whether, that'
kimli n.f., 'ant'
kimlō n.m., 'termite'
kinrār n., 'backbone, spine'
kinde adv., 'whither'
kiti adv., 'how many, how much'
kitke adv., 'where'
kitkerō adj., 'of or from where'
kitkoi adv., 'whence'
kōkirōṭā n., 'splits in the lips from chapping'
kōḷo adj., 'soft'
koi pro., 'some, any'
kōkuṭiū n., 'proper name of a forest in Baṅgāṇ'
kōlā n., 'type of legume like peas'
koliāri n.f., 'morning meal (as in Nepal, the people of Baṅgāṇ eat two meals a day)'
konāi-konāio adv., 'a-scratching'
konāil n., 'ear'
konāli n.f., 'granddaughter'
konālō n.m., 'grandson'
konāṇo vt., 'scratch'
kōpāl n., 'forehead'
kōpōū n., unidentified animal species
kōruwo adj., 'bitter'
kōrṇo vt., 'do'
kōrō adj., 'handsome, well-built'
kōsiū pro., 'anyone, someone; anyone's, someone's'
kōske pro., 'whom, what (dative or accusative)'
kōslāi n., 'armpit'
kōsrō pro., 'whose, of what'
kōṭri n.f., 'female buffalo calf'
kōṭru n.m., 'male buffalo calf'
kūṇ pro., 'who'
kūṇi pro., 'who (ergative)'
kuānsō n.m., 'man, human (as opposed to beast)'
kuiṇṭho n., 'elbow'
kukeṭi n.f., 'puppy (female)'
kukeṭu n.m., 'puppy (male)'
kukur n.m., 'dog'

- kukuri* n.f., 'bitch'
kuniāri n., 'perimeter of a field demarcated by rocks'
lāṅṇə v., 'apply, make itself felt, appear'; cf. H. *lagnā*, Nep. *lāgnu*
lākri n.f., 'stick'
lākṛə n.m., 'wood, piece of wood'
lāl n., 'saliva'; cf. *thūk*
lāmbə adj., 'long'
lāṅə vt., 1) 'begin to, commence [with oblique infinitive as complement]'; 2) 'put, adorn, proffer, apply; take'
lātə adj., 'lame'
lātiyāṇə vt., 'kick'
lekṣe n., 'hide'
lērṇə vi., 'weep'
likḥṇə vt., 'write'
litə-kislə n., 'grease or fat floating on a liquid'; H. (*tel yā ghī kī*) *tarī*
lò n., 'blood'
lòā n., 'iron'
luāṇə vt., 'moult, shed' (e.g. *lekṣe* 'hide')
luḍize n., 1) 'father's younger brother's wife'; 2) 'stepmother'
luḍṛə adj., 'small, short (as opposed to long)'; cf. *choṭṛi*
luḍṛə bābā n., 'father's younger brother'
māchi n., 'fish'
māḡ n., 'the Hindu month Māḡh'
māī n., 'girl'
māilūṛie n.f., 'form of address to one's mother'
mākhi n.f., 'bee'
mākhə n.m., 'fly'
māle adv., 'above, upstairs'; Nep. *māthi*
māli n.m., 'shaman'
mālko n., 'pigeon'
māmā n., 'father's sister's husband'
māñṇə vt., 'take'
māñḍṇə vt., 'seek, search'
māñuch n.m., 'man (as opposed to woman)'
mānu n., 'large edible frog'; Nep. *pāhā*
mānzedi adv., 1) 'inbetween'; 2) 'on the middle floor or mezzanine of a Baṅgāñi house'
mās n., 'flesh'
- Māsu* n., 'deity Mahāsu'
māū n., 'boy'
maūsā n., 'mother's sister's husband'
maūsi n., 'mother's sister'
merc pro., 'my'
mèse adv., 'slowly'
milṇə vt., 'find, meet, encounter'
miṇḍko n., 'toad, small frog'; Nep. *bhyā-gutā*
minə n.m., 'month'
minzə n., 'brain'
mirig n., 'deer'
miṭhāi adj., 'sweet'
mitāṇə vt., 'rub, wipe, erase'
mōṣ n.f., 'buffalo'
mōilə adj., 'dirty'
mōṇə vi., 'die'
moru n., unidentified plant species
mōsyālə n., 'muscle'
moṭə adj., 'fat'
mōṭər n., 'peas'
mū n., 'face'
mūch n., 'urine'
muī pro., 'I (ergative)'
muke pro., 'me (accusative, dative)'
munḍ n., 'top of the head'
munḍken n., 'head'
munḍwāl n., 'hair on scalp'
murḍə n., 'corpse'
muśə n., 'rat, mouse'
nāī n., 'navel'
nāk n., 'nose'
nāl n.f., 'rifle'
nānā n.m., 'grandfather'
nāni n.f., 'grandmother'
nānə n., 'child'
neṛiā-neṛe adv., 'nearby, soon'
nikāmə adj., 1) 'bad'; 2) 'old (animate)'
nirə n., 'decision, solace, resolution'; cf. Nep. *nirṇay*
nə num., 'nine'
nəḡ n., 'nail'
nəi n., 'river'
nəli n., 'shin'
nəḍə adj., 'new'
nərdei n., 'people'
nəzik adv., 'near'

- nūṇ* n., 'salt'
nunṭə n.f., 'block of salt'
ṣṭhi n.f., 'finger'
ṣṭhə n.m., 'thumb'
obṛe n., 'ground floor, i.e. the area underneath a Baṅgāñi house where livestock is kept'
oḍār n., 'cave'
oḍāṭə n., 'crevice, small cave'
ogār n., 'sweat'
ḡḡṇə vt., 'defecate'
ḡḡḷe-ṛə pidiyān n., 'ḡḡḷə flour'; see *ḡḡḷə*
ḡḡḷə n.m., 'plant with green leaves, red stems, white flowers and black seeds, from which flour is ground'
ḡḡḷə adj., 'next'
ḡḡṇike adv., 'first; ahead, in front; before'
ḡḡṇə adv., 'before, previously, already'
ḡḡriāṇə vt., 'put, keep'
ḡḡḷə adj., 'light'
ḡṛāṇə vt., 'lose, be defeated'
ḡṛə adj., 'green'
ḡṇə vi., 'laugh'
oḡh n., 'lip'
ḡḡhāis num., 'twenty-eight'
ḡḡhārā num., 'eighteen'
oḡhuru n., [poetic] 'lips'
ḡḡhnāl n., 'palm of the hand'
pāc num., 'five'
pāchu adv., 'in front, over there'
pācu n., 'leaf'
pākh n., 'wing'
pākhṛə n., 'arm'
pāle postp., 'on thither side of (a mountain, river e.g. *nəi-pāle* 'across the river')'; Nep. *pāri*; cf. *pāre*, *wāle*
pālə adj., 'nice, whole'
pāṇi n., 'water'
pāṇə (*pā ~ pār*) vt., 'get, win'
pāre adv., 'across; yonder'; cf. *pāle*
pāsi n., 'the Pāsi side or right bank of the Tons River, i.e. Baṅgāñ, as opposed to the Śāṭi side'
pāṭhi n.f., 'female kid'
pātlə adj., 'thin'
pələ n., 'penis'
- peṭ* n., 'belly'
phəl n., 'fruit'
phərez adv., 'the day before yesterday'
phəwəṇə vt., 'untie, release (e.g. tied up animals)'
phusə n., 'vagina'
pīni n.f., 'egg'
pīṣṇə vt., 'grind, pound'
pīṭṇə vt., 'hit, beat, strike'
pidiyān n., 'flour'
pilli n., 'calves (as part of the body)'
piṅḡḷə adj., 'yellow'
piṇḍā n., 'body'
piṇə vt., 'drink'
piṇṇi n., 'temple'
piṣṇə vt., 'grind'
piṭhāi n.f., 'ṭikā'
pito n., 'gall bladder'
pōcās num., 'fifty'
pōccis num., 'twenty-five'
pōchnike adv., 'in back, behind'
pōchotṛə adj., 'younger [sibling]'
pōchuwāl n., 'buttocks'
poinə adj., 'sharp'
poṇiyālə adj., 'thin'
pōndrā num., 'fifteen'
pōr adv., 'last year'; Nep. *pohor*; cf. *āḡue*, *ezi sāl*
pōṛṇə v., 'to have to, must, be obliged to'
pōṛṇə vt., 'read'
pōrkə adj., [cf. *pōr* 'last year'] 'last year's'
pōrmesər n., 'Parameśvara'
pōrṣi adv., 'the day after tomorrow'
porukə adj., 'seated'
pośə n.m., 'the Hindu month Pauṣa'
poṭuṇu n., 'eyelashes'
pūch n., 'son'; cf. *beṭā*
pūchṇə vt., 'ask'
pūḡārṇə vt., 'take out, remove'
pūlāṅguro n., 'toe'
punzurə n., 'tail of animals other than sheep and goats'; cf. *bəḡḡə*, *bəḡḡi*
purāṇə adj., 'old'
rāt n., 'night'
rāti n., 'morning'
rāto adj., 'red'

- rikhei* n., 'bear' [ergative form attested only]
riṇ n., 'loan'
rāṇḍi n. f., 'husbandless woman'
rūr n., 'sunshine'
rūśo adj., 'angry'
sāṅgo n., 'throat'
sāsu n. f., 'mother-in-law'
sāṭi n., 'the Sāṭi side or left bank of the Tons River, i. e. Bāvar and Jaunsār, as opposed to the Pāśi side'
śeāṭi n. f., 'small branch'
śeāṭo n. m., 'big branch'
śelāṇo vt., 'cool'
śeḷo 1) adj., 'cold'; 2) n., 'cold, coldness'
śeṭo n., 'bark of a tree'
śeto adj., 'white'
śeuro n. m., 'father-in-law'
śeuṭo n., 'stomach'
śīmāṇ n., 'snot'
śiṅg n., 'horn'
śiṅguṭo n., 'horn'
śiṭo adj., 'ripe'
śo num., 'hundred'
śopṛāṭhi n., 'ribs'
śorik n., 'road'
śottāis num., 'twenty-seven'
sālā n. m., 'wife's brother'
sāli n. f., 'wife's sister'
sāṇṇo adj., 'narrow'
sāp n., 'snake'
sāro adj., 'all, entire, whole, every'
sās n., 'breath'
sāt num., 'seven'
se pro., 'she (not visible to speaker)'
se pro., 'they (not visible to speaker)'
seu pro., 'he (not visible to speaker)'
seze pro., 'those (inanimate, not visible to speaker)'
sezi bile adv., 'on that side'; Nep. *utāpaṭ-ṭi*
sibṇo vt., 'sew'
sinduk n., 'chest (receptacle)'
siweṇ n., 'needle'
sōkṇo vt., 'pen up (sheep)'; cf. *thōṇṇo*
socṇo vi., 'think'
soiāṇo adj., 'elder, sage'
- solā* num., 'sixteen'
sorem n., 'shame, shyness'
sormāṇo vi., 'be ashamed, be shy'
soro n., 'relative, relation'
sotrā num., 'seventeen'
sūiṇo vi., 'dream'
sūno n., 'gold'
sūr n., 'liquor'
sūtṇo vi., 'sleep'
suiū adj., [only attested in this oblique plural] 'having calved'
sulṭo adv., 1) 'right (as opposed to left)'; cf. *ulṭo*, *dāiṇo*, *ulṭo*; 2) 'rightside-out'
suṅgur n., 'pig'
swād n., 'taste'
ṭābro n., 'family'; H. *parivār*
thorṇo vi., 'wait' [takes complement in (-ri)]
thoro adj., 'ill'
ṭopli n., 'hat'
ṭukṇo vt., 'bite'
tāri n. f., 'pupil of the eye'
tāro n. m., 'star'
taūke pro., 'you (singular accusative or dative)'
tebre adv., 'later, afterwards'
teis num., 'twenty-three'
terā num., 'thirteen'
tero pro., 'your (singular)'
teśo adv., 'in that way, like that'
teśoi adv., 'in that very way (emphatic)'
teti adv., 'that much'
tetroi adv., 'at that time'
thōṇṇo vt., 'pen up, shut in'; Nep. *thunnu*; cf. *sōkṇo*
thorkuṇo vi., 'wake up'; H. *jāgnā*
thūk n., 'spit'; cf. *lāl*
ṭīe pro., 'she (ergative, not visible to speaker)'
ṭīke pro., 'her (dative or accusative, not visible to speaker)'
ṭīro pro., 'her (not visible to speaker)'
tiṇi pro., 'he (ergative, not visible to speaker)'
tiś num., 'thirty'
tiske pro., 'him (dative or accusative, not visible to speaker)'

- tisro* pro., 'his (not visible to speaker)'
titke adv., 'there'
tiū pro., 'those (animate, oblique, not visible to speaker)'
tiūke pro., 'them (dative or accusative, not visible to speaker)'
tiūro pro., 'their (not visible to speaker)'
tiūwe pro., 'they (ergative, not visible to speaker)'
tōi pro., 'you (singular ergative)'
tolle adv., 'below, downstairs'; Nep. *tal-la*
tolli dāṭho n., 'lower jaw'
tolli dōndwāli n., 'dentition of lower jaw'
tu pro., 'you (singular)'
tumārō pro., 'your (plural or honorific)'
tume pro., 'you (plural or honorific)'
tumke pro., 'you (plural or honorific, accusative or dative)'
uco adj., 'high, tall'
ugārṇo vt., 'release, free (e. g. pent up animals)'
ūl n., 'ram'
ulṭi n., 'vomit'
ulṭo adj., 1) 'left'; cf. *sulṭo*, *dāiṇo*, *bāṣ*; 2) 'inside-out'
uṇīs num., 'nineteen'
uṇotiś num., 'twenty-nine'
uṇiyāṇo vi., 'fly'
utārṇo vi., 'descend, get down'
uwālṇo vt., 'boil (a liquid), bring to a boil'
uziṇo vi., 'stand, stand up'; cf. *biuzūṇo*
wāle postp., 'on hither side of (a mountain, river, e. g. *nai-wāle* 'on this side of the river)'; Nep. *vāri*; cf. *pāle*
yālō n., 'chest (part of the body)'
- zābu* n., 'claw'
zālṇo vt., 'burn'
zāmōt n., 'beard'; cf. *dāri*
zān n., 'life'
zāṅg n., 'hip'
zāṅṇo vt., 'kill'
zāṅśe n., 'mosquito'
zāṇie v., [finite form] 'appears'
zāṇṭ n., 'pubic hair'
zānbōr n., 'animal'
ześi adv., 'just as'
ześo rel. adv., 'just as, however, in whatever way, in which way, as if, as though'
zeṭhāṇi n. f., 'husband's elder brother's wife'
zeṭhāṇo n. m., 'husband's elder brother'
zeti adv., 'as much as'
zīb n., 'tongue'
zītṇo vi., 'win'
ziḍuli n., 'heart (the organ)'
zimi n. f., 'land, earth'
ziu n. m., 'heart, soul'; cf. *ziḍuli*
ziundiṇā adj., 'alive'
zōrai n. m., 'Yamarāja, the god of death, (the Grim Reaper)'
zōlo n. m., 'bag'
zōlṇo vi., 'burn'
zōr n., 'root'
zōr n., 'rain'
zū n., 'louse, lice, *Pediculus humanus*'
zūāto n., 'smaller species of lice than *Pediculus humanus*'
zūn n., 'moon'
zūś n., 'body hair'
zuwāl n., 'daughter's husband'

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