Is Bangani a V2 language?\textsuperscript{1}
Claus Peter Zoller

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 \textit{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\textsuperscript{2}

\textit{az kor mye baagas=manz seer³}

today made I.ERG garden=in walk

“Today I took a walk in the garden”

and in Bangani (with a light verb\textsuperscript{4} occupying the second sentence position):

\textsuperscript{1}I am grateful to Joan L. G. Baart and Ruth L. Schmidt for their suggestions and critical remarks.
\textsuperscript{2} 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.
\textsuperscript{3} Example from http://www-personal.umich.edu/~pehook/kash.verb.html.
\textsuperscript{4} On the notion of light verbs see Miriam Butt and Wilhelm Geuder 2001 with further readings.
and in Outer Siraji (northwest of Bangan close to the Shimla district; see Sharma 2003: 57)

“...they.ERG..."

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.7 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.8 I will name here four parallels, two of which will be discussed in greater detail later in this article.

5 This hyphen indicates here and below a main verb stem of a compound verb extended by -i-.
6 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.
7The Dardic languages have preserved all three sibilants; the rest of the Indo-Aryan languages have preserved only one.
8 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 Khaśāli, a language spoken directly southeast of Kashmiri (see Siddheshvar Varma 1938: 45).

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

\text{tyimav kyaazyi suuzu-kh tsi yoor?}
\text{they.ERG why sent.M.SG-2.SG.NOM you.NOM here}\footnote{The original glossing here and in other cases has been adapted to that of this article.}

“Why did they send you here?”

Bangani:

\text{gobruei dekh-ɔ seu}
\text{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:

\text{tem-sund1 chu asyi makān2 bāḍi pasand}\footnote{See Bhatt 1994: 35.}
\text{he-of AUX us.DAT house.NOM very like}

“We like his\textsubscript{1} house\textsubscript{2} very much”

Bangani:

\text{tesrɔ1 dekh-ɔ gōr2 tini}
\text{his see-M.S.PS.PT house he.ERG}

“He saw his\textsubscript{1} house\textsubscript{2}”

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
threefold contrast (e.g. Panjabi and Shina), but it is remarkable that Bangani is surrounded on all sides by languages with a fourfold contrast.\(^{11}\)

(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 \(ə\text{thi}\) “hand”, \(ə\text{la}\) “plough”, \(ə\text{sun}\) “to laugh”, \(ə\text{da}\) “bones”, etc. (OIA \(h\text{asta}-\), \(h\text{ala}-\), \(h\text{as}-\), \(h\text{ad}də-\)), Bangani \(ə\text{θ}, ə\text{l}, ə\text{n}, ə\text{rk}.\) 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.\(^{12}\) 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).\(^{13}\) 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 Kotgarhi (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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\(^{11}\) 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 Kotgarhi and Koci, the language varieties most closely related to Bangani.

\(^{12}\) 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”!).

\(^{13}\) 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 Kṭg. [Koṭgarhi].”

Inner and Outer Siraji, Bushahari, Koṭgarhi, 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.](image-url)
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 Brahmans 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 *buṛɔ-khɔru sadɔru* which means something like “the little old gentleman.” It relates the story of how god Mahāsu—actually four divine brothers named Botho, Povasi, Bāšik and Tsaldo—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) plus an auxiliary or a light verb (LV), 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

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14 Main verb here always means the semantic head in a complex predicate.
15 Bangani uses an auxiliary *thɔ/thei/thi* only in the past tense, and *ɔlo/ɔlei/oli* in the future. The paradigm of the present tense continues the Old Indo-Aryan synthetic system, e.g. *aũ korũ* “I do”. However, in negative clauses (and occasionally elsewhere) the predicate consists of a participle, e.g. *aũ na kɔrdɔ* “I don’t do”.
16 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). Occasionally, the suffix -i or -ia (or -ui 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:

\[(210) \text{ti} \text{n} \text{i} \text{dui go} \text{r} \text{ε} \text{k} \text{ośi-} \]

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: \(\text{thoe ti} \text{n} \text{i dui go} \text{r} \text{ε} \text{k} \text{ośi-} \)

“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. Therefore I 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>loose configuration compound verb (LC.CDV)</th>
<th>tight configuration compound verb (TC.CDV)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(LV \text{..............MV} )</td>
<td>(MV\text{-LV} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{thoe ti} \text{n} \text{i dui gore kośi-} )</td>
<td>(\text{ti} \text{n} \text{i dui gore kośi-thoe} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \(\text{ti} \text{n} \text{i thoe dui gore kośi} \). Another example is English “he was here”, typically translated into Bangani as \(\text{seu thoe etke} \) (he – was – here). So this is the normal or neutral (i.e. canonical) word order.

\[\text{17 Below I will use FV (finite verb) as an abbreviation both for auxiliaries and light verbs.}\]
Note that in section 9 I will discuss a predicate construction which is neither a compound nor a conjunct verb. 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 Gilgit Shina (Schmidt 2001: 438 and 445-447); but the construction is also found in Kashmiri (see examples in Kaul 2006: 28). 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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18 A conjunct verb consists of a noun or adjective plus a simple verb.
19 Note also Chris Tailor’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.\textsuperscript{20} 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.\textsuperscript{21} 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:

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

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):

\textsuperscript{20} Grewendorf has shown (1991: 217ff.) that this model is compatible with generative syntax.
\textsuperscript{21} 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 deno tini somzai “He explained to him”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-field</th>
<th>l. s. bracket</th>
<th>middle field</th>
<th>r. s. bracket</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>seu</td>
<td>de-no</td>
<td>tini</td>
<td>somzai-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>give-M.S.PS.PT</td>
<td>he.ERG</td>
<td>explain-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(21) te tetke ēr-ō seu pakri tiūe “Then they seized him there”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-field</th>
<th>l. s. bracket</th>
<th>middle field</th>
<th>r. s. bracket</th>
<th>post-field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te tetke</td>
<td>ūer-ō</td>
<td>see-M.S.PS.PT</td>
<td>pakri-</td>
<td>tiūe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then there</td>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td>seize-</td>
<td>they.ERG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(101) tini deno boidi likhi “He wrote (everything into) a register”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-field</th>
<th>l. s. bracket</th>
<th>middle field</th>
<th>r. s. bracket</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tini</td>
<td>de-no</td>
<td>boidi</td>
<td>likhi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he.ERG</td>
<td>give-M.S.PS.PT</td>
<td>register</td>
<td>write-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Permutation tests with the sentence muī biale pōthi poři- ēri (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:

muī ēr-i biale pōthi poři-
biale ēr-i muī pōthi poři-
pōthi ēr-i muī poři- biale
pōthi ēr-i biale poři- muī

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.\(^23\)

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\(^{22}\) Normally, only one constituent is allowed to appear in the pre-field. One might interpret the te “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 por-ņi* (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 thî pōthi por-ņi* (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 thî pōthi por-ņi tsaĩ* nor *muĩ thî pōthi tsaĩ por-ņi.*

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 por-ĩ biaľe pōthi*
   (I.ERG read-F.S.PS.PT yesterday book)

b) *muĩ ēr-ĩ biaľe pōthi pori-\[\]
   (I.ERG see-F.S.PS.PT yesterday book read-)

c) *muĩ biaľe pōthi pori- ēr-ĩ*
   (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-ĩ biaľe pōthi pori-\[\] might thus be “hermeneutically” translated as: “Having planned (in advance) to read

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23 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):

*kulu-kāśmĩr \_ts\_tini e\̆s\̃\̃ bĩ de-\no seu somzai-\[\]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 pòthi de tsheuri-ke (book give.IMP girl=to); in a Hindi-like construction like pòthi tsheuri-ke 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: jeśoi seu aṣo, tiṇi... “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 zo. 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 bolo, “se goī amū zāñi bāt, zo koīluei thō tu šikai.”24 “Then they said: “The matter became known to us that Kailu has instructed you.””25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-field</th>
<th>l. s. bracket</th>
<th>middle field</th>
<th>r. s. bracket</th>
<th>post-field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se zo koīluei</td>
<td>go-i thō</td>
<td>amū tu</td>
<td>zāñi-šikai-</td>
<td>bāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this that Kailu.ERG</td>
<td>go-F.S.PS.PT was.M.S</td>
<td>us.DAT you</td>
<td>know-teach-</td>
<td>thing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24 The sentence ends here, but not the speech.
25 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:

\[ \text{goi amū zāni bāt, zo koiulēi tho tu ts kaše šikai} \quad \text{“The matter has become known to us that Kailu has taught you the bad news (ts kaše)”} \]

But not: *\[ \text{goi amū zāni bāt, zo koiulēi tho tu šikai ts kaše} \]

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: \[ \text{ziṇi zatkei deṇo dōl uṣṭai...} \quad \text{“The son who threw the stone (he)...”} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-field</th>
<th>l. s. bracket</th>
<th>middle field</th>
<th>r. s. bracket</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ziṇi zatk-ei</td>
<td>de-ṇo</td>
<td>dōl</td>
<td>uṣṭai-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which.ERG son-ERG</td>
<td>give-M.S.PS.PT</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>throw-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again one is not allowed to say *\[ \text{ziṇi zatkei deṇo uṣṭai dōl} \] or *\[ \text{ziṇi zatkei uṣṭai deṇo dōl} \]. However, both sentences are correct Bangani when the relative pronoun \[ \text{ziṇi} \] is exchanged with the personal pronoun \[ tīṇi \]. The same rule holds also true for temporal adverbial clauses: \[ zo zatkei deṇo dōl uṣṭai \] “When the son threw the stone...” But not \[ zo zatkei deṇo uṣṭai dōl \]. 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) \[ tīṇi deṇo bōidi likhī-

---

26 The word \[ zo \] 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 zo “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 zo is obligatory: zo tini boidi likhi- deno “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, zo muī biale par-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, zo muī biale pari- ēr-i, thi atshi nor *se pōthi, zo muī ēr-i biale pari-, thi atshi.

With regard to auxiliaries it is possible to say zo ḍakṭēr, zesri davai aū kha-ū tha, seu dili tho ēi- go-ō (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 *zo ḍakṭēr, zesri davai aū tho kha-ū, seu dili tho ēi- go-ō.

**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 zo rām rāde=ke pōthi de (if Ram Radha=to book give.3.SG.PRS) or as zo rām rāde=ke 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 tini bol-ō rāda=ari rām=ke pōthi de-nne=khi (he.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT Radha=to Ram=to book give-OBL.INF=for) or as tini bol-ō rāda=ari rām=ke 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-lo doti gore* (you go-2.SG.FUT tomorrow home) “you will go home tomorrow” is changed into a yes-no question as follows: *de-lo tu doti gore* or *doti de-lo tu gore* 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):

\[
\begin{align*}
zatke=ke & \text{ de-ni} & \text{ pōthi tini} \\
son=to & \text{ give-F.S.PS.PT} & \text{ book he.ERG}
\end{align*}
\]

“He gave a book to the son”

But not: *zatke ke pōthi deṇi tini*

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

\[
\begin{align*}
tiṇi & \text{ thō-ε} & \text{ dui gore} & \text{ kośi-} \\
& \text{ he.ERG} & \text{ put-M.P.PS.PT} & \text{ two horses} & \text{ harness-}
\end{align*}
\]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. light verb/auxiliary</th>
<th>(NP)</th>
<th>main verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. main verb-light verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. *main verb</td>
<td>*NP</td>
<td>*light verb/auxiliary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 koiluei tho tu śikai (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 Khaśālī (see above p. 85). Masica quotes the following Kashmiri example (1991: 477): tse onuthas bi yōr “You brought me here” (-th= 2nd Sg.Agent, agreeing with tse “you”; -as = 1st. 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 tiā́ śika-i tiā́ (she.ERG(AGENT) teach-F.PS.PT she.ACC(PATIENT)) and tiā́ śika-i sē (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: sē śikā tiā́ “she teaches her”, but not *sē śikā sē.

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”, doni “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:

\[
\text{te zāṅg-ɔ seu poru} \\
\text{then kill-M.S.PS.PT he there}
\]

(21) “Then (they) slaughtered (killed intensively) him”

\[
\text{te aū es oru zāṅg-ū} \\
\text{but I him hither kill-1.SG.PRS}
\]

(232) “But I slaughter (kill intensively) him”

\[
\text{tiṇi la-a teśe doni phāśi-} \\
\text{he.ERG attach-M.S.PS.PT so down cut-}
\]

(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 Kọṭgarhi) as a language area where instead of compound verbs composite verbs are used. But in Koci and Kọṭgarhi 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>compound verb with light verb</th>
<th>composite verb with “light” adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>main verb plus de- “give”</td>
<td>main verb plus poru/paru “away”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>main verb plus jā- “go”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>main verb plus le- “take”</td>
<td>main verb plus oru/(u)ru “hither”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>main verb plus ā- “come”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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). 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 te lor-e tho seu poru) othere-with then fight-3.SG.PRS was.M.S he there (201) “He used to fight intensively with the others”

(bele, oru kela ne dē-ndo tu ī) dear one, hither why not give-M.P.PRS.PT you it (135) “My dear, why don’t you give it (= the sword) back”

(ādi-ād bakriš poru kha-i tini) 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)

27 I can not estimate at this moment the relative occurrence of “give” and “take”.
28 Bangani oru “another (one)” is homonymous with oru “hither”.
29 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”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>loose configuration compound verb (LC.CDV)</th>
<th>tight configuration compound verb (TC.CDV)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LV ................................ MV</td>
<td>MV-LV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thœtiṇidiugorekași-</td>
<td>tiṇidiugorekași-thœ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

versus

“he devoured the goats”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tight configuration composite verb (TC.CEV)</th>
<th>loose configuration composite verb (LC.CEV)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LADV-MV</td>
<td>MV.......LADV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bakrieporu-khai tiṇi</td>
<td>bakriekhaitiṇiporu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-field</th>
<th>l. s. bracket</th>
<th>middle field</th>
<th>r. s. bracket</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>lço</td>
<td>seu</td>
<td>poru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Then</td>
<td>fight- M.P.PS.PT</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generalised we get the following contrasts:30

a) Main verb and light verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>l. s. bracket</th>
<th>middle field</th>
<th>r. s. bracket</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 light verb/auxiliary</td>
<td>(NP)</td>
<td>main verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 main verb - light verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 *main verb</td>
<td>*NP</td>
<td>*light verb/auxiliary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Versus

30In the following tables the parenthesis around an NP indicate its optional occurrence.
b) Verb and light adverb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>l. s. bracket</th>
<th>middle field</th>
<th>r. s. bracket</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 verb</td>
<td>(NP)</td>
<td>light adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 light adverb-verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 *light adverb</td>
<td>*NP</td>
<td>*verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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. 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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31The 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.

32This “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.\textsuperscript{33}

In the first example below, the conjunctive participle \textit{khatam korio} “having finished” functions as a converb: it precedes the finite verb \textit{r̄o} “stayed”, and the finite verb consequently retains its status:

\begin{verbatim}
  khatam korio  te  ro-o  mondrēth  māsu
  finished  make-CP  then  live-M.S.PS.PT  Mahendrath  Mahasu
\end{verbatim}

(26) “Having killed (the giant), Mahasu lived in Mahendrath”\textsuperscript{34}

In the next example from the story, the finite (intransitive) verb \textit{ā} “come” is followed by the intransitive conjunctive participle \textit{naūi-douio} “having bathed”. Also here no predicate fusion occurs, even though \textit{ā} is a simple verb. The converb expression as a whole is intransitive\textsuperscript{35} 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:

\begin{verbatim}
  rāt  biā-li  tetiē=khi  etke  ā  naūi-dou-io
  night  end-3.SG.FUT  then=for  here  come.IMP  bathe-wash-CP
\end{verbatim}

(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:

\begin{verbatim}
  seu  go-o  naūi-dou-io
  he  go-M.S.PS.PT  bathe-wash-CP
\end{verbatim}

“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:

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
  \hline
  \textbf{Verb} & \textbf{Converb} \\
  \hline
  go-o & naūi-dou-io \\
  \hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{33} Above I have pointed out that fused predicates with light adverbs are preferably constructed with \textit{poru} “away”.

\textsuperscript{34} Mahendrat is a village in Bangan.

\textsuperscript{35} Note that \textit{naūi-douio} is a kind of echo formation—very typical for all IA languages—built from the intransitive verb \textit{naīṇo} “to bathe” and the transitive verb \textit{doṇo} “to wash”. This compound is as a whole intransitive, and the first verb has the same suffix –\textit{ui} as main verbs ending in a vowel (the nasalization of the vowel is an effect of the preceding nasal consonant), and –\textit{uiō} is the suffix for conjunctive participles. Thus, \textit{naūi-douio} means basically “having bathed, having washed (oneself)”.  

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

\[
tes=ke \ māsu=re \ dāne \ dē-ṇe \ māṇtr-io
\]

him=to pulse=Gen seeds give-M.P.PS.PT cast spell on-CP

This sentence can be translated in two ways:
a) “Having cast a spell on pulse seeds (they) gave (them) to him”
b) “They cast a spell on pulse seeds for him”

It is crucial to note that if the converb māṇtri 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:

\[
kuḷu-kāśmīr \ māsu \ śuṇ-ε, \ tiū-kai \ dē-u, \ tiū-koi \ bōr \ āṇ māṅg-ıo
\]

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 and arrange a boon”

\[
əgonike \ seu \ bonda-i \ te \ an-ı \ deṇ-ıa \ māsu=ke
\]

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:

\[
seu \ go-ı \ sut-ıo
\]

he go-M.S.PS.PT sleep-CP

“He drifted away into sleep”

---

36 They are four brothers.
This differs from the compound verb form

\[
\text{seu go-} \quad \text{suti-}
\]

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>l. s. bracket</th>
<th>middle field</th>
<th>r. s. bracket</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 light verb/auxiliary</td>
<td>(NP)</td>
<td>main verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 main verb-light verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 *main verb</td>
<td>*NP</td>
<td>*light verb/auxiliary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Versus

b) Verb and light adverb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>l. s. bracket</th>
<th>middle field</th>
<th>r. s. bracket</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 verb</td>
<td>(NP)</td>
<td>light adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 light adverb-verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 *light adverb</td>
<td>*NP</td>
<td>*verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Versus

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>l. s. bracket</th>
<th>middle field</th>
<th>r. s. bracket</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 “light main” verb-CP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 **“light main” verb</td>
<td>*NP</td>
<td>*CP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 mainne 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:

\[
\text{tepe dēkh-ē zo tshoriare tiūre tāng-ondē ultē} \\
\text{then see-3.SG.PRS that skins their hang-M.P.PRS.PT inverse.M.Pl} \\
\text{(184) “Then (he) sees that their skins have been hung up inside out”}
\]

In this example the dependent tiūre “their” appears directly after its head tshoriare “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 genetive phrase iūro bondēn “their promise” and involves a finite verb “give” and the light adverb poru “there”; so here there are in fact two loose configurations—bondēn ... iūro and dē-nde ... poru—which are interlaced with each other:

\[
\text{bondēn dē-nde iūro poru} \\
\text{promise give-M.P.PRS.PT their there} \\
\text{(116) “Had they given their promise” (i.e. had they given a promise to them, namely to the Mahasu brothers, then...)}
\]

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 əgonike bothē māsu=di lag-i phāli, bothē 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:

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

Versus

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

\[
\text{iar-ε, ame ni es sūne=} \text{ro ie cān}= \text{de the tuluātə}
\]

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 cānde 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:

\[
purane \text{tε } gɪn-ο lānte \text{hīr-ιε}
\]

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 purane lānte “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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V2 clauses</th>
<th>V-last clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| _tD̥ʔi k̥ạm k̥or̥i- _h̥e̥  yḁn̥ see-M̥S̥.P̥S̥.P̥T work make-  
  “he has completed the work” or “when/because he had completed the work” | _tD̥ʔi k̥ạm k̥or̥i-ɿD̥ʔi _h̥e̥  yḁn̥ work make-see- 
  M̥S̥.P̥S̥.P̥T  
  “he has done the work” |
| _T̥e̥̪e̥ k̥or̥i- t̥i̥ ʔe̥ see-M̥S̥.P̥S̥.P̥T he grab- they.ERG  
  “they have hunted him down” or “when/because they had hunted him down” | _T̥e̥̪e̥ t̥e̥̪e̥ pak̥ri-ɿD̥ʔi t̥i̥ ʔe̥ see-M̥S̥.P̥S̥.P̥T they.ERG  
  “there they have grabbed him” |
| ɿD̥ʔi ḁsi̥- b̥i̥ত̥re  
  he go-M̥S̥.P̥S̥.P̥T come- inside  
  “he has walked inside” or “when/because he had walked inside” | ɿD̥ʔi ḁsi̥-go̥b̥i̥ত̥re  
  he come-go-M̥S̥.P̥S̥.P̥T inside  
  “he has gone inside” |
| k̥o̥l̥u̥-ɿe̥i th̥o tu ɿši̥k̥ai̥- 
  K̥ai̥lu̥-ERG was you teach- 
  “Kailu had instructed you” or “when/because Kailu had instructed you” | k̥o̥l̥u̥-ɿe̥i tu ɿši̥k̥ai̥- th̥o  
  K̥ai̥lu̥-ERG you teach- was  
  “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 + go, 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.
1. tətəy məsu kʊl-kāsмир=di poida o-ε, te se məndərəθ an-ε.

2. seu bəmən də-o kʊl-kāsmər=khi.

3. məndərəθ ək rəkəs poida o-ə, tin əsər mənəx khai- go-o ə-

4. te tini rəks-ei sərəi zanta khai- er-i thi, te seu bəmən kʊl-kəsmər=khi tshər-ə.

5. te tůre səte kə: koiəl, koplə, koiləth, şərkurə, eə təsər bɨr təsər məsu=re.

6. te təte=koi seu bəmən aς-ə gore.

7. tes=ari kə bəl-o, tes=ke məsu=re dənə de-ne məntr-iə ki, “tiu tu gai-ə=koi kəhiya-ya, te tiu gai-ə=re dəi bəstə o-ə.”

8. eə bə tuić bəl= de-ənə məsu=ε ki “eək-i rət-i=di o-le, rət se o-le. rati tu tiu əl=ke lə-ə: sune=ri phəli cân=ε, tsəndi=ro əl cân=ε, te məndəroth bə-ə təs dokhr-ei.”

9. tini bəmən=εi rati uγə-r=ε se bələd, te gən=ε bə-ne=khi, te bə-ne=khi gən-ε.

10. tətəkə qənəkə boθə məsu=di laq-i phəli, boθə məsu=ri bənu=li lət, seu te go-o jəro.

11. boθə=bası nikəl-o pawasi, tesəo bənu-o kənə.

12. te nikəl-o bəsiki, tesəo bənu-o akəkə.

13. te nikəl-o təsəldə, tes=di nə laq-i kəθikə na.

14. təsər bəi məndərəθ pərkət u-e, te pərkət u-ε.

15. te rəks-ei sərəi dənə kəri- er-i thi khatəm.

16. te laq-ə məndərəθ ək təl, tes=di ro-ε theu seu rəkəs.
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 bādiũ=ri beboši.
It=in become-F.S.SPS.PT all.OBL=GEN helplessness.
18. te koilu-ei kopla-ı te de-ni phāl tes tāl-e-di.
Then Kailu.ERG Kapla.ERG then give-F.S.SPS.PT jump that.OBL pond-OBL=in.
19. te baga-ı seu rākēs, bagi-bag-i=ı seu rākēs te de-ı=ı paṅgile.
Then chase-M.S.SPS.PT that giant, chase-chase-CP that giant then go-M.S.SPS.PT
Pangla.OBL.
20. tētie=khi potšonĩke koilu, kopla, koilāth, šerkuria bi por-ə.
There=for after Kailu, Kapla, Kailath, Sherkuria also fall-M.S.PS.PT.
21. te tētie ĕr-ı=ı seu pakṛi- tiũe, pakr-ı te zaṅg-ı=ı seu poru.
Then there see-M.S.SPS.PT he seize- they.ERG, seize-M.S.SPS.PT then kill-M.S.SPS.PT
he there.
22. teso jidolo tshuṭ-ı=ı por=ı=koi.
His heart escape-M.S.SPS.PT there=from.
23. te lag-ı dake=pere, dake=pare=koı de-ı=ı seu noĩ-noĩ= di potshōū.
Then attach-M.S.SPS.PT stone=ı on, stone= on=ın from go-M.S.SPS.PT he river-river=in
back.
24. te de-ı tipu=parũ, te tētie bonne=ı teso jibalu.
Then go-M.S.SPS.PT Tipu=ı over, then there become-M.S.PS.PT his Jibalu.
25. se tētie=koı gore aś-ı=ı ki “amū rākēs khatam korī=ı go-ı.”
They there=from home come-M.S.PS.PT that “We.ERG giant finished make-ı
go-M.S.SPS.PT.”
26. khatam kor-ı=ı te ro-ı=ı mondṛēth māsu.
Finished make-CP then stay-M.S.SPS.PT Mahendrath Mahasu.
27. teti=basi tiũe kā kor-ı=ı ki “ebe ame apapke=khi ie bāt-ı=ı le, ketke kuṇzo ro-elo, ketke kuṇzo
ro-elo.”
That=after they.ERG what make-M.S.SPS.PT that “Now we ourselves=for this divide-
1.PL.FUT, where who stay-3.SG.FUT, where who stay-3.SG.FUT.”
28. onoli te de-ı=ı noth=ı ke: “boṭho=ı rāz”.
Hanol then give-M.S.SPS.PT Botha=for: “Sitting kingdom”.
29. tsālde=ke de-ı=ı “tsoldo rāz”.
Calda=for give-M.S.SPS.PT “Moving kingdom”.
30. povasi=ke de-ı=ı noši bił, baṣik-e=ke de-ı=ı šati bił, povasi-ı=ı=ı thān ə=ı deḇēn.
Pavasi=for give-M.S.SPS.PT Panshi side, Bashik-OBL=for give-F.S.SPS.PT Shati side,
Pavasi=GEN residence become-M.S.SPS.PT Devavana.
31. teti=basi iũe es-ı=ı ešo=ı toi kio, 37 te tsaḷda te ebe ešo: šati=ı=ı bi de, paši=ı=ı bi a-ə.
That=after they.ERG so-so decision make-M.S.SPS.PT, then Calda then now so:
Shati=in also go.3.SG.PRS, Pashi=in also come-3.SG.PRS.
32. oğu te de šiaie=zaũi, ube ə=ı=ı besāre=di=zaũi, tsāḷde=ke te ebe “tsoldo rāz”, povasi=ke šaṭi
bił.
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. boṭho=ı ro-e onoli, tētie tshor-ēn i=ı=ı bāde apri loti-poṭi.
Botha stay-3.SG.PRS Hanol, there leave-3.PL.PRS they all own riches-property.

37Here Hindi instead of Bangani koro.
There?

Then Brahmin say that “you how go?"

That Brahmin say that “Old gentleman, you so Mahasu.”

He say that “I where go, I go Kulu-Kashmir=for.”

He say “me=to riches-possessions everything, only issue is-not.”

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

Those queens say-M.S.PS.PT so that “I how go, my but go-EMP go not.”

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

That say-M.S.PS.PT so that “I where go-1.SG.FUT, but I go-1.SG.PRS-EMP go-1.SG.PRS.”


di bāṭe=di mil-o teske unēke=rō bāṭ.

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

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

He say-M.S.PS.PT so that “I where go-1.SG.PRS, I go-1.SG.PRS Kulu-Kashmir=for Mahasu=to.”

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

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

38The whole phrase with genitive subject in Hindi: merā to jāyā hī nah jātā.

39Here Hindi kio instead of Bangani kor.

40This is the basic meaning of the verb lāṅgo respectively lāṅgo. It is, however used in Bangani to realize inchoative aktionsart.

41The final i-, normally to be expected here, probably disappeared due to the following vow.
That.ERG Brahmin.ERG him=for mantras make-M.P.PS.PT, then he Kulu-Kashmir arrive- come-M.S.PS.PT.

50. kuḷu-ḵāṁśir te tini eṣo bi de-ṇo seu somzai- ki “er-ē koilū āndō bāre, er-ē seu tāi oru kẖā.”

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. teṣ=khi eṣo kor-ē: ēk te de pāṁts june=ro rōṭ, ēk de khāṛu.

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

52. jēṣo-i seu kuḷu-ḵāṁśir de-ō, teṣo-i māṣu-ē bol-ō, māṣu=ro tho, kā, zāgro, zāgre=ri tsōth thi tādu, “bele iār, eṣ zāgr-ēi 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. jēṣe-i se khōṛo uzi-ṇe teṣe-ī “bele iār, mōṇchāṇ tshuṭ-ī, bele koilū-ā, tu de-ū bāre, mōṇchāṇ tshuṭ-ē.”

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. koilū-ei bol-ō zo “etke kā mōṇchāṇ tshuṭ-ē, etka-i kūṇ āś-ē.”


55. de-ō koilū bāre, tini ēk muṅgro kīō 42 śāṭ mone=ro.

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

56. jēṣo bāre de-ō, seu pher-oī de-nds lāg-ō-i.

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

57. tini bure-khuṛe sāḍāru-ei teske āt zōṛ-ei tes=ari bol-ō “mū te tu na khā, tā✉-khi de-ū, ēk te de-ū phiruse singe=ro khāṛu, ēk de-ū pāṁts june=ro rōṭ, tu meri zīan botsā-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 tini kā kor-ō?

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

59. ēk teṣ=khi khāṛ khn-o-i, tebe pā-o tethu tole āṛ eṣo bol-ō ki “ethu-i tole ro=ē be, tu er-ē, ebe ŋerkuria ā bāre, er-ē seu tāi poru kẖā. zo aū a-ūle ta✉=ke, aū uktsā-ule te uzi-a, teti zaũ ro=ē 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 unearth-1.SG.FUT then rise-IMP, then till stay-IMP silent.”

60. de-ō seu bitre “bele tsāl-ō-tsāl-ō, pūz-ō es zāgre.”

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

61. uzu-e se khōṛe, ā-ā ḍeḷi=ke=zaũ, “bele iār, mōṇtshāṇ tshuṭ-ē.”

42Here Hindi kīo instead of Bangani korā.


Second whistle give-F.S.P.S.P.T he.ERG, then this which mountain also break- go-M.P.P.S.P.T.


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


That.ERG Kailu-ERG then what?


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

That old-elderly gentleman then go-M.S.P.S.P.T be- upright them=before.
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.
101. tsār māsu=khi tsār tiśe ɔ-i.
Four Mahasus=for four things become-F.P.PS.PT.
102. poru de-nne=khi bisruī- mor-ɔ.
Then give-obl.INF=for forget- die-M.S.PS.PT.
103. tiūe, tesre bēti-bētā-ũe, se boi ne ni dēk̪h-ĩ na, zo kā likh-ũndō.
They.ERG, his daughters-sons-ERG, that register not not see-F.S.PS.PT not, 47 that what write-M.S.PRF.PT. 48
104. tebe kā zōbe ɖūb-ne=khi ās-eŋ na dūs?
Then what when drown-obl.INF=for come-3.PL.PRS PART days?

44 Here Hindi kī instead of Bangani kori.
45 Correct instead of tes-ari “him-to” would be tiūi-ari “them-to”.
46 Triple negation.
47 Triple negation.
48 Corresponds to Hindi likhā huā.
I say your possessions-riches eat, but this my possessions-riches then eat.

Then dispatch he. They come night, then take all theft do there, anything they then remove.

Theirs place they, that is all dealings them give. Their fellows then we eat go.

Where, now who knows, attach these. Mahasus.

They.ERG how do they there, then decide there that "today we theft make." They come M.P.S.P.T night, then take M.S.P.S.T all theft do-CP there, anything not leave M.S.P.S.T there.

An irregular subjunctive, widespread in NIA.

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. ebe tu khozānō dekh- de-i: əsti tɪndə kā ki kuts nothi? am=ke ešo zaṇu-o ki iūe kuts na tshōr-o tetkē.”

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. dujjē ni de-o se, 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-o tetke zo kuts nothi, seu tsōri- go-o tho āphu tiū.

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

123. tini tiū=ari bol-ō, “ja-o, tumē mēri lōṭi-pōṭi an-ō, na te tumū aū khōtom kōr-ū.” se ḍē.

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 tho māmlo kāphi uḡā-ñe-khi, zo kuts āphke tho, seu kīō 51 āphu māmle uḡā-ndē ḍē.

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

125. tetke lāgi- go-o poto zo, “amaro rāza ai- go-o māmle uḡā-ndo, bele ebe kā kōr-ē, māmlo te bōri ro-o ənḍo uḡā-ñe=khi.”

There attach- go-M.S.PS.PT known that, “Our king come- go-M.S.PS.PT matters collect-M.S.PPRS.PT, dear now that 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-i-ndo eti, bāi māṭō bi de-ūle te bi ne bāz-do pūro.

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

127. ebe ēs kōr-ō, de-nne te de-nne-i ja.

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

128. purane te giṇ-o lāṅke bīr-ēs. ek ēr āgīe tālē, ek ēr pāṭshiē tālē, tepe de-o 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. tiūse seu māmlo thōra-thōra de-ṇo, te bi tesre sunē-tsāndē lāīk go-o 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. an-ō, tepe de-ṇo poru ti tsōri=re bōdle, aze bi seu bond thō-o 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. ebe zobe seu pāṁts sēr sūno thō thō-o ənḍa, tini ek-ii bol-ō zo, “iār-ē, ame ni es sūne=rō ie cān-de the toluatō.”

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

132. te tiūe tesrī toluār cān-ne-khi sunār-ē=khe de-ṇi go-i ki, “esrō ešē toluār cān-u zo lōg bi bol-ēle zo “kuni cān-i ie toluār.”

51 Here Hindi kīō instead of Bangani koro.
Then they.ERG his sword make-OBL.IMP=for goldsmith-OBL=for give.F.IMP 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. jeśā-i seu sunār pāṇi dē-nād laq-a, teśā-i tiū sātā bai-ū-ra kāl likh-iṇo tethu-pārē.

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 pūr-a, seu sunār dekh-e-dekh-e, poru na de-ei na tī tolūār.

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 kēla ne dē-ndo tu ī?”

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

136. “bele gīn-ā ni gīn-a, par tumāro 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 ne de-iōn ī, bilkul na, zo de-le tume oke=ke, te tume sātā khatam.”

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


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 kōr-ō eso bol-īṇ ame es=ari ki “poru kōr tiū sātāiā khatam, iū tu tho-ei na ziādā.”

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. zo tho-e tu ziādā iū, te ozi bi tēri loṭi-pōṭī poru kāh-ṇī iūē.”

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

141. iē oṭa-i tiṇī apiṛ sārī porza, “bele phoḷāne dūṣe zagro, tume tes=khi āī-ō.”

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. caṇ-ō zagro, sab asī- go-ē, aphu bośī- go-ē se māle tshapre=māi , potia sāb bi, tēri tsuheūr 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.


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. tiṇī jeśī se tolūār de-nī tiṇī, tēk-i se tolūār, teśē-i phāś-e se sātā 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 kāț-e, te de teti=baśī tiūrē gor-ke. zo tiūrē o-ōndi the gor=ke, se bi kāṭē.

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.PS.PT were home=at, they also cut-M.PL.PS.PT.

146. te ēk kāntshe-i kāntsheīrī tsuheūr thī, se thī doziātī.
Then one young-EMP young-type woman was, she was pregnant.

147. se tsɔːɾ-ɪ deuɭ-ɲi-e apre ɡagɾ=augi.
She hide-F.S.PS.PT bard-woman-ERG own.OBL skirt.OBL=under.

148. tɩu e sɑrɛ kàti-ɡo-e the, te bol-ɔ zo, “ɔzi te ne nothi etke koi ɪunsafe.”
Those.ERG who all cut- go-M.PL.PS.PT were, then say-M.S.PS.PT that, “Additional then not is here anyone them.GEN.”

149. te tɩ deuɭ-ɲi-e bol-ɔ zo, “ɔr nothi ni koia na.” aɪ, aɪ tumum bi ɪɾɪ bi, mʊ kɑt-ɛ-i te kɑt-ɔ poru.”
Then that.ERG bard-woman-ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that, “Other not-is not any not. I, I yours also their also, me cut-2.PL.PRS-EMP then cut-IMP there.”

150. eʃ-eʃo kɔɾ-ɪ tɩ, se kɑntʃerɛ ɪsheʊɛr bɔtsai-go-i, te se poru de, se tɩ maice tʃəɾ-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. tɩ sɑtia bai-ɥ=ki – tɯiri kɜhɜ ɡɜr-i, te tɑŋɡ-i ʊlfi tɔŋɡ-ɛ tɜle.
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. se dɛ-ɪ maice-dɪ, se ajɩkhu-i poru, tɪɾo ʊ-ɬo bɛtɑ, bɛtɑ ʊ-ɬo tɪɾo.
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. te ør bɔɾ-ɛ-i na mɪne=ɾo, bɔɾ=ɾo, seu bɔɾ-ɔ duse=ɾo.
Then others grow-3PL.PRS-EMP PART months=of, years=of, he grow-M.S.PS.PT days=of.

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. tɩ ɔɾu=ɾi laɡ-i nɑ na, teʃri phɑtɑphɑt laɡ-i niʃaɲe=dɪ: “bele ka-ɬɛ, naɪ jɔt.”
Those.OBL others.OBL=GEN attach-F.S.PS.PT-EMP not, his quickly attach-F.S.PS.PT target=ɪn: “Dear what-DISRESP, name call-IMP.”

156. seu bol-ɛ, “aɪ kɑɾo naɪ jɔt-ɬʊ?” “bele, kɛʃo “kɑɾo naɪ jɔt-ɬʊ,” bele keʃo kɑɾo, mʊ-bɑp 5-le tɛɾɛ.”
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.PUT your.PL.”

157. seu aʃ-e apre ije=kai, “bele ije, mʊ-bɑpu=ɾo naɪ kɑ mɛɾe?”
He go-3.SG.PRS own mother=to, “Dear mother, mother-father=GEN name what my.PL?”

158. “bele rɑmʊɾiɛ, mʊ ne aɪ tɛɾi, bɑp nothi na tɛɾo. bele, mʊi kha-i kɑmɪde=ɾi zorɪɛ, te o-ɔ 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. seu kɑ zo de-ɔ duijɛ? duijɛ bi lɑ tɛʃi-teɛs. jɔt-ɛ seu naɪ zo kɑmɪde=ɾi kʊmliɛ.
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. se bol-ɛn, se ør zo, “ɒmbe, kɑmɪde=ɾi kʊmliɛ, ame aŋ-ɛn dɔti, te de-ɪŋ tɛɾi ije=khi deiki, ɔji 5-le tɛɾe.”

52Triple negation.
53Postposition is feminine because of feminine donu “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. dujjie seu bāz-o koliar-ai khām-dā, “bele na bōl mere bābā-ro 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-o tiē zo, “rānduria, paṇi an-o muī noī=koi ubālu-ndo, te pi-o seu, tepe u-o 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.PS.PT, then drink-M.S.PS.PT that, then become-M.S.PS.PT you.”

163. dujjie bi dāl-o tīni, te jōt-o tēsti teśo nāū.
Next-day also throw-M.S.PS.PT he.ERG, then call-M.S.PS.PT so-so name.

164. tīuē bol-o zo, “paṇi an-in ame sāri dunia-ro goṭi- gaṭ-īo, te pi-ān dei, ozi o-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. tīni bi bol-o tī=ari teś-i-teśo.
He.ERG also say-M.S.PS.PT them=to so-EMP-so.

166. tī=kiā bāzī- go-o muṣkīl, “zo boli de-ū es=a=ri zo būre-kure sadaru=ro konoło tu, te tīu=kiā poto laq-ṇo, tīuē ieu bi poru kaṭ-ṇo, na bol-do, te ieu ne man-da.”
Her=to become- go-M.S.PS.PT difficult, “If say- give-1.SG.PRS him=to that old.OBLelderly.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.PS.PT.”

167. te seu la-o tīuē bokrovalo. te ek dūs kā o-o, zo bakrie kha-i bag-ei.
Then he attack-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 tīni, ādī tīni gore an-i.
Half-EMP-half goats there eat-F.S.PS.PT he.ERG, half he.ERG home bring-F.S.PS.PT. 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. tīuē bol-o zo, “tesri gānd-i-ro khōz-e=ro mil-elo, tepe de taū=koī ieu kōr, es-ia ne dē-do.”
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 tesh-di lagi- go-i kōr, potia sābe=di, kāṇṭshī ṣṭhi=di, ezi bāṭi lagi- go-o seu er-a-ndo- gaṇa-ndo.
Well, then this direction him=in attach- go-F.S.PS.PT he,ERG that.OBL search-M.PRS.PT.OBL. This direction attach-M.S.PS.PT she.ERG reproach-F.S.PS.PT that, “Those goats where go-F.S.PS.PT?”

172. ezi bāṭi la-o tīuē muslia-i zo, “se bakrie kinde go-i?”
This direction attach-M.S.PS.PT she.ERG reproach-F.S.PS.PT that, “Those goats where go-F.S.PS.PT?”

173. seu bol-e zo, “ezi na pār nāle=di.” tīuē bol-o zo, “ie kele mor-i?”
He say-3.SG.PRS that, “These PART across ravine=in.” She say-M.S.PS.PT that, “They how die-F.PLS.PT?”

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

54 See above footnote 49.
191. “osi bi tetke kā?” “bele, birālṭo ek, ōr nothi kuts na.”

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

176. tiūe er-o sūtsi-zo, “ieu te atsho birālṭo.”

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

177. seu de-o ozi poru, dekh-o seu bāg.

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


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. ūk-ō seu bāg, te pa-o kotshe=poru, te de-o 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. tiūi gar-o, tepe bol-ō zo, “ezo be seu birālṭo, ini 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. tiūe dekh-o zo bāg, tepe bol-o tes=ari zo, “poru-i gin apre es birālṭe, 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-e chor-io, zo gore=khi a-o, seu te mil-e se zo potia sāb-ēi the tshar-ōndē.

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.PT.PASS.

183. tiūi bi go-o tho lai=–poto apri ije=koi zo, “mere babac ēsē-eśē 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-o gor=ke, tepe dekh-e zo tshorīare nuanced tiūre taṅg-ōndē uthē.

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. tiūi ugar-o koṭhār, dekh-o seu bond.

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

186. te ogoṇike seu bond-ai te an-o de-nia māsu=ke.

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

187. seu baiṇo bi, suno bi, kornāl bi, seu kōra bi.

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

188. seu āš-o, teṭi=basie tes=ke mili- go-o 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-e seu bol-de, “bele aū maṇuch, par tume ēsō bol-ō ki tume kūṇ.”

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 īar-e, ame ēsē-eśē potia sāb-ēi tho-e tshārī, zo bure-khure sadaṛu-re koi bi mil-ēle, se jā lōr-ne. tesṛi ēṭhi-di kōr lag-ōndi, seu kōr ē de-bē-ēi zo se mil-ēle.”

“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 buśe sūn-ē ogoṇike lag--go-o rōś.

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55The suffix -are corresponds to Hindi -vāle.
That.OBL speech hear-CP first attach- go-M.S.PS.PT anger.
192. tepe sūts-o tini, "bele, iū zang-io kā kor-e."
Then think-M.S.PS.PT he.ERG, “Dear, these.OBL kill-CP what do-3.PL.PRS.”
193. tepe bol-o eso zo, “bure-khure sāдарu=ro konalō aū, bele tsāl-o te īje=kai, tsāl-o gor=ke.
Then say-M.S.PS.PT so that, “Old.OBL-elderly.OBL gentle.OBL man=GEN grandson I, dear go-IMP then mother=to, go-IMP home=to.”
194. bele īje-īje, ēs-e ēs-aś-e dui amū puts-de zo bure-khure sāдарu-re ki koi. se go-e ne tshārī- muū poru.
“Dear mummy-mother, so-so come-M.PL.PS.PT two us.OBL ask-M.PL.PRS.PT whether old.elderly.OBL gentle.OBL man=GEN also any. They go-M.PL.PS.PT PART send- I.ERG there.
195. ēr tes=di kōṛ lag-ondi, zo tiūre ethuru mil-elo koi orkhe=ro, tepe ē se kōṛ.”
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.”
Dear, then you.ERG how say-M.S.PS.PT?” “Dear I.ERG PART so say-M.S.PS.PT that I.”
197. tepe lāgi-go i se lēr-di zo, “bās, ebe kat-ēṇ be tāi.”
Then attach- go-F.S.PS.PT she weep-F.S.PS.PT that, “Enough, now cut-3.PL.PRS PART you.OBL.”
198. “bele tu kela lēr-e īje?” “bōlu zang-ēṇ tāi.”
“Dear you why weep-2.SG.PRS mother?” “PART cut-3.PL.PRS you.OBL.”
199. tepe bol-o tinī zo, “aū be tiūre guru ṭokr-ondi bād-iū=ro.”
Then say-M.S.PS.PT he.ERG that, “I PART their guru collide-PS.PT.PASS all-OBL=GEN.”
200. tepe ē se i se apre tes bai=kai, “bele dada-re, mu=ke te tinī ēś-eśi khāṃśi kī” 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 ēśe zo oru=ari te lāṛ-e tho seu porū, ek zoṇo tho durgurūgu, naū-i tho teero durgurūgu.
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 kor-o tho, zo bādi-ū=ri bebośi jā thi, te lāṛ-e tho.
He what make-M.S.PS.PT was, when all-OBL=GEN helplessness go was, then fight-3.SG.PRS was.
203. seu lāṛ-e tho gore=kai, seu goro kā, zo ek bēre ube de tho 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. zo seu mathe lāq-e tho, tepe de tho 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. doni māte=di lāq-e-i tho, seu māle cīgarā=maā de-ei tho.
Down earth=in attach-3.SG.PRS=EMP was, he up back=in go-3.SG.PRS-EMP was.
206. ēs-ēso lōre tho seu gore=kai zo bebośi o-e thi bādi-ū=ri, tepe lōre tho 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.

56Hindi instead of Bangani kōr.
207. atsha, zo seu māma teero, seu bi tho zāne ezie.
Well, who that uncle his, he also was know-3.SG.PRS so.EMP
208. tīṇi bol-o zo tīṇi māma-i, “ame bi kela dor-i, ame bi dui zōne na.”
He.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that.ERG uncle.ERG, “We also why fear-1.PL.PRS, we
also two people not.”
209. atsha, te “eṣō kor-ē tu: zo rati zetie=khi rāt biāl-i, tete-khi etke ā naū-i- do-ui.”
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. tīṇi tho-ē dui gore kōsi- tete=khi, ap=ke tho-i toluiarikī.⁵⁷ naṅgi toluiarie
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. duūā māma bānze tsol- pār-ē.
Both uncle nephew.PL walk- up- M.PL.PS.PT.
212. gore ube uṣṭ-ēn akāś=khi, doni aś-ēṇ māṭe=maāi.
Horses up jump-up-3.PL.PS.PT sky=for, down come-3.PL.PRS earth=in.
213. duūā zōne āpasi-maāi lāγi- go-e bed-inde.
Both people themselves=among attach- go-M.PL.PS.PT try-M.PL.PS.PT.
214. tīṇi māma-i bol-o zo, “tu mui=di akkheri lā-ā.”
That.ERG uncle.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that, “You me.OBL=in softly attach-IMP.”
215. tīṇi bāṇz-ei zān-o, “zo te aē taū-ā di na la-na, te tāī māma-i eṣō zān-no, zo aū liṅḍār. tetiā aū li-
li- de-ū tāī=di dui bortālī.”
That.ERG nephew-ERG notice-M.S.PS.PT, “If then I  you.OBL=in not attach-
M.PL.PS.PT, then you.ERG understand-INF, that I beaten.
That.ERG uncle-ERG say-M.S.PS.PT that, “We also why fear-1.PL.PRS, we
get-M.PL.PS.PT, then you.ERG uncle-ERG so understand-INF, that I beaten.
That.ERG nephew-ERG notice-M.S.PS.PT, “If then I attach- give-1.SG.PRS you.OBL=in two strokes.”
216. se unḍar=ke aś-e-i āde=di, tīṇi la-i tes=di ek bortāl.
They above=from come-M.PL.PS.PT-EMP half=in, he.ERG attach-F.S.PS.PT
him.OBL=in on stroke.
217. tīṇi bol-o, “kere, taī kela la-i?” tīṇi bol-o, tīṇi bāṇz-ei, “aphu-i ne lag-i uśia zaī.”
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-e teti=baśie doni, teb bol-o tīṇi māma-i zo, “bas, ebe ne ār-de ame tiū=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.PS.PT. we them=by.”
219. tiūc tete=koi khobor deni- go-i zo, “phālana dūse ā-ndē,⁵⁸ tum tiār ro-ō o-i.”
They.ERG there=from message give- go-F.S.PS.PT that, “such-and-such day.OBL
come-M.PL.PS.PT, you ready stay-IMP become-CP.”
220. tīṇi eṣō kor-ō; jeṣ-ē tete pōits=ē se, teṣ-ēi kori- go-o ēru.
He.ERG so make-M.S.PS.PT: when-EMP there arrive-M.PL.PS.PT they, then-EMP
make- go-M.PL.PS.PT start.
221. tīṇi māma-i bol-o zo, “dōni bōs doni.” tīṇi bol-o, “nā”, ēr ād-i-ād kaṭi- go-e se. atsha,
kaṭi- go-e se.
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.

⁵⁷See preceding footnote.
⁵⁸Present participle despite absence of negative particle.
222. seu potia sāb, tesri tsheuēr māl-ē de-iū tshāpēr=maĩ, mālê=koi tamāsē lām-de lag-iū. That Patia Sahib, his wife at-the-top-EMP go-PS.T.IMPS roof=în, above=from show.OBL attach-M.PL.PRS.PT attach-PS.T.PASS.

223. tīnī la tēse donī phāst- ješē godū=zaî. He.ERG attach-M.S.PS.PT so down cut-through- like pumpkin-like. 224. tebe seu durguragu tīnī bol-ō, “mero iar-ē, tāi te phās-ē orū, a-u māi=ari-khi, a-u orū!” 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. tīnī bol-ō, “tāi=ari=khi bi boṇ-iū aū.” He.ERG say-M.S.PS.PT, “you=near=for also prepare-PS.T.IMPS I.”

226. bās, teeri biulu phīri- go-e māsu, tīnī seu bond de-ṇa na puru. Enough, their side turn- go-M.PL.PS.PT Mahasus, he.ERG that promise give-M.S.PS.PT there.

227. dūē zoṇo-ū durka-ē se gore, te pai- go-e ube akāś-khi. Both people.ERG drive-M.PL.PS.PT those horses, then throw- go-M.PL.PS.PT up sky=for.

228. jeś-ei māthe poīts-ē, teś-ei por-ē duīā pēt-e-augi. When-EMP at-the-top arrive-M.PL.PS.PT, then-EMP fall-M.PL.PS.PT both belly-OBL=under.


230. te ni kēr ek pośē ōr sōrīr oke pośe. Then PART neck one side.OBL and body other.OBL side.OBL.

231. atsha, teb kā kor-ō tīnī, de-ō potia sāb-e=koi. Well, then what do-M.S.PS.PT he.ERG, go-M.S.PS.PT Patia Sahib-OBL=to.

232. te sūts-ō, “zo te aū es oru zaṅg-ū, te te mü=di bi kōr lag-no jeśō iū=di lag-ō.” 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=în attach-M.S.PS.PT.”

233. te tes apre nānā=khi te kor-ō be ēsō zo khurši=māi=koi donī boṣāl-ō. Then that.OBL own.OBL grandfather=în then make-M.S.PS.PT PART so that chair=în=from down place-M.S.PS.PT.

234. tī nānī=khi kor-ō ēsō, nau thō tīro saṅki-maNkī. That.OBL grandmother=în then make-M.S.PS.PT so, name was her Sanki-Manki.


236. tīnī tīp-i se, te pa-ī tāl-ē=di, rāz kio59 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.

59See preceding footnote.
16 Translation

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.61
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) Tipu62; 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”.63

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60 The translation stays fairly close to the original constructions and is therefore not very smooth English.
61 A village in Himachal Pradesh.
62 Also in Himachal Pradesh.
29. Calda was given the “Moving Kingdom”.64
30. Pavasi was given the Panshi area, and Bashik was given the Shati area; the residence of Pavasi became Devavana.65
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, up he goes till Besar;67 Calda has the “Moving Kingdom”, Pavasi has the Panshi area.
33. Botha stays in Hanol; there they keep all their property.68

*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.69
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,70 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.

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63Hanol 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.
64Until recently Calda Mahasu did not have an own temple, he was thus always moving.
65The 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 Bangan.
66A place near the town of Kalsi.
67A place in Himachal Pradesh.
68The possessions which the Mahasus acquire during their journeys.
69In Himachal Pradesh.
70Probably 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?  
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.”  
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.  
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).”  
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.  
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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71 An idiom-like expression meaning more literally “What’s then when days come (when one would like) to immerse?”
72 The seven brothers are after all his nephews.
73 Literally: Where, who knows (this) now.
74 The servants try to put the blame for the robbery on the seven brothers.
75 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\textsuperscript{76} 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\textsuperscript{77} 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).”

\textsuperscript{76}Literally: having made that.
\textsuperscript{77}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.”
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.79

78 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.
79 “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. And he has leprosy; if they will meet anyone of his relatives, then that leprosy goes (away).”

195. “Dear, then how did you reply?” – “Dear, I only said that I am (such a person).”
Then she started to weep, “That’s it, now (they) kill you (too).”

“Dear, why do you weep o mother?” – “Well, (they) kill you.”

Then he said, “I encounter them as the guru of all of them.”

Then she went to her brother, “Dear little brother, he has played such and such nasty tricks on me.”

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.

What did he use to do? When the strength of all other (people) had gone, then (he) used to continue fighting.

He used to fight with a horse, the horse (was) so that at once it used to go to the sky.

When he reached the top, then he used to turn (himself) under its belly.

When (he) used to arrive down on the earth, he used to go up (again) on the back (of the horse).

So and so he used to fight with the horse that when all had become powerless, then he (still) used to fight.

Well, also his uncle used to know that (technique).

He said, his uncle, “Why should we be afraid, aren’t we also two people?”

Well, then (he said as well), “Do it the following way: First thing in the morning come here after having taken a shower.”

For that (occasion) he had harnessed two horses; with him (he) had kept two swords, blank swords.

Both the uncle and the nephew set out.

The horses jump up towards the sky, (and) come down onto the earth.

Both fellows started to try (to fight) with each other.

That uncle said, “Strike me softly.”

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.”

When they came down midway from above, he dealt a blow on him.

He (the uncle) said, “Damn, why have you beaten (me)?” He said, the nephew (said), “It has hit by itself very slightly.”

Thereafter (he) came down, then that uncle said, “That’s it, now we won’t be beaten by them.”

They (uncle and nephew) sent from there a message, “(We will) come on that and that day, keep yourself ready.”

He did it thus: the moment they arrived there, he started (to fight).

That uncle said, “Sit down, sit down!” – He said, “No,” and roughly half (of the servants) were killed. Well, they were killed.

That Patia Sahib, (and) his wife had gone up onto the roof, from above they set the stage.

He (the boy) hacked (the enemies) through like pumpkins.

Then that Durguragu told him, “O my friend, you have cut (them) through, come to me, come here!”

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 = jussitive
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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