ANDREA DROCCO
(Università degli Studi di Torino)

Some preliminary observations about Baṅgāṇī pronominal and nominal declension[*]

Baṅgāṇī, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the so-called Baṅgāṇ area, a land enclosed by the Pabar and the Tons rivers (Uttarkāśī district, Uttarākhaṇḍ state), shows in its grammar and lexicon some peculiar features still rather controversial. The debate is still in course, due to the lack of enough documentation available, as the majority of scholars complains about. Moreover Baṅgāṇī, among the Western Pahāṛī languages of New Indo-Ayan, is now esteemed as a critically endangered language by the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger. The paper presents the preliminary results of a fieldwork research with Baṅgāṇī mother-tongue speakers and the unique elicited text available. In particular a description of Baṅgāṇī pronominal and nominal declension, focusing on the case marking and agreement system of the Subject-like and Object-like arguments of intransitive and transitive clauses (in perfective and non-perfective tenses), is offered. The comparison between the data that I collected enabled me to offer a good amount of Baṅgāṇī sentences exemplifying the function of the different forms, and thus to understand their use in depth, that is to shed light on the peculiarities of Baṅgāṇī case marking system.

1. Introduction[1]

Baṅgāṇī is an Indo-Aryan language of the group of Western Pahāṛī languages spoken in the so-called Baṅgāṇ area located in the Uttarkāśī

[1] The following abbreviations are used in this article: ABL: ablative; ACC: accusative; AOR: aorist; AUX: auxiliary; CAUS: causative; CP: conjunctive participle; DAT: dative; DIR: direct; EMPH: emphatic; ERG: ergative; F: feminine; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; IA: Indo-Aryan; IMPF: imperfective; INSTR: instrumental; INTR: intransitive; LOC: locative; M: masculine; MIA: Middle Indo-Aryan; NIA: New Indo-Aryan; NOM: nominative; NT: neuter; OBL: oblique; OIA: Old Indo-Aryan; PART: participle; PAST: past; PAST.PART: past participle; PERF: perfective; PRES: present; SG: singular; TR: transitive; VOC: vocative.

district of Uttarākhaṇḍ. Esteemed as a critically endangered language by the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*, in the last few decades Baṅgāṇī has been a topic of controversy concerning whether this language contains Indo-European but non-Indo-Aryan vocabulary or not (Zoller 1989; for a summary on this topic see Zoller 1999, the personal website of Peter Edwin Hook at http://www-personal.umich.edu/~pe-hook/bangani.html, Cardona & Jain 2003: 25, and the recent comments by Hock (ed.) 2016: 9, note 2). Even if the majority of the scholars involved in this controversy concluded their studies by claiming that much work on documentation but especially on the linguistic description/analysis of Baṅgāṇī remains to be done (cf., for example, Abbi 1997, 2000; Hock (ed.) 2016: 9, note 2), not so many of such works, if not at all, appeared till now (except for Van Driem & Sharmā 1997 and Zoller 2007, 2009, 2001a).

The main aim of this paper, and some others that are in preparation (i.e. Drocco forthcoming), is to present the provisional results of 1) my fieldwork with Baṅgāṇī mother-tongue informants, in some cases in the Baṅgāṇ area, and 2) the linguistic analysis of the few Baṅgāṇī elicited texts available (cf. Zoller 2007: 113-138 and Zoller 2015),[2] focusing on pronominal and nominal declension. Therefore, after having advanced some general argumentations about Baṅgāṇī (§ 2), section 3 is devoted to the description of Baṅgāṇī pronouns and nouns, especially as regards their forms with respect to the well-known phenomenon of ergativity. In section 4, I compare Modern Standard Hindī (MSH) and Baṅgāṇī focusing my attention on the Differential Object Marking (DOM).

2. *The Baṅgāṇī language*

Even if the main goal of this paper is to provide a brief description of some morpho-syntactic features of the Pahāṛī language known by the name Baṅgāṇī, the readers will benefit from some general information about this language.

---

[2] As I will explain, Baṅgāṇī is not used in written form. In the examples mentioned below I used the transcription system adopted by the few scholars who have analysed this language: in particular, I followed the Baṅgāṇī transcription system adopted by Zoller (2007, 2015), which is very similar to the one used by Hendriksen (1976-86).

As reported in literature concerning Indo-Aryan linguistics, Baṅgāṇī is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the so-called Baṅgāṇ area, the latter located in the Uttarkāśī district of Uttarākhaṇḍ state, in particular in the area between the Pabar and the Tons rivers. Baṅgāṇ is part of the western-most region of Gaṛhvāl, whose main borders are Himachal Pradesh, the tribal area of Jaunsar-Bawar and Tehri-Gaṛhvāl (Zoller 1997; Van Driem & Sharmā 1996: 108-109; Balbirsingh 2015: 179). The southern border coincides with the Dehra Dun district, whereas the northern-most village is Monda.

Map 1. Uttarākhaṇḍ state in India

Map 2. Divisions of Uttarākhaṇḍ

Map 3. Uttarkāśī district of Uttarākhaṇḍ and the Baṅgāṇ area

The Baṅgāṇ region comprises nearly 40 villages (Van Driem & Sharmā 1996: 109; Balbirsingh, personal communication). To be precise, the Baṅgāṇ area is part of the Mori *tehsil* (= administrative division) of Uttarkāśī district and consists of three belts or *paṭṭī*: i) Māsmūrpaṭṭī, ii) Piṅgaḷpaṭṭī and iii) Koṭhīgāṛhpaṭṭī (Balbirsingh 2015: 179; Zoller 2015: 3).

The main villages of Māsmūrpaṭṭī are:

- Thaḷī, Bāmsu, Uḍāṭhā, Sarās, Petṛi, Sala, Ogmer.

The main villages of Piṅgaḷpaṭṭī are:

- Ārākoṭ, Ḍāmṭhī, Kaḷīc, Mākoḷī, Thunārā, Bhuṭāṇu, Mañjoṇī, Kiroḷī, Pawali.

The main villages of Koṭhīgāṛhpaṭṭī are:

- Tikochi, Bornāḷī, Gokul, Dhara, Joṭuvāḍī, Jāgṭā, Chiwan, Baḷāuṭ, Māuṁḍe, Ducāṇuke, Kervāṇuke.

Although Baṅgāṇī is spoken in the so-called main region of Gaṛhvāl, unlike Gaṛhvālī, it is not classified as a Central Pahāṛī language,[3] but as a Western Pahāṛī language, included in the Himācalī language group (cf. Zoller 2011a, 2011b; see also Joshi & Negi 1994; Joshi 2002). The website Ethnologue groups Baṅgāṇī under the same entry as Gaṛhvālī, adding that:

> The divergent dialect varieties of Bangani, Parvati, and Ravai are no more similar to Western Pahari varieties than to Garhwali.
>
> (see: https://www.ethnologue.com/language/gbm, retrieved 1st September 2016)
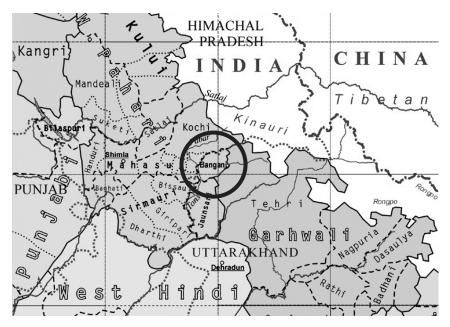
Zoller (1997) suggests to include Baṅgāṇī as part of what he calls the Satlaj-Tons group of languages and dialects. On the basis of his subsequent researches he comments:

> West Pahāṛī (spoken between Kashmir and Jaunsar) is much closer to Dardic and Nuristani than East Pahāṛī is. East Pahāṛī was perhaps much stronger influenced by Indian languages of the plains than West Pahāṛī... I see no possibility to connect this with some Khasa stories, but what is clear is that if you compare Nuristani, Dardic and West Pahāṛī then you see a movement from *older* to *newer*. Nuristani has preserved some pre-Sanskrit features, and Dardic and West Pahāṛī have also preserved a lot of features which are very close to Sanskrit. One may argue that languages in remote areas tend to be conservative, but you don't find anything comparable at the other end of the Indo-Aryan world, for instance in Oriya. With regard to East Pahāṛī this means that in former times it was perhaps also close to Dardic and Nuristani. However, apart from some very few incidences I have until today not found much substantial evidence.
>
> [adapted from (Joshi 2010: 61)]

---

[3] For some detailed studies of Central Pahāṛī languages as well as for the linguistic history of the Uttarākhaṇḍ State see Sharma (1980, 1981, 1983).

Besides, it is important to add that Grierson (1916), in his monumental *Linguistic Survey of India* and in particular in the volume dedicated to Pahāṛī languages (*Volume* 9, *Part* 4), does not mention Baṅgāṇī at all.

Map 4. Central and Western Pahāṛī languages © Yuri Koriakov

As Map 4 illustrates, the languages in contact with Baṅgāṇī are:

- Jaunsārī in the South;
- Gaṛhvalī in the East;
- some Himācalī dialects/languages (i.e. Mahasu Pahāṛī) in the West and South-West.

According to the 2001 Census of India, the speakers of Baṅgāṇī are approximately 21.000. Even if, according to the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* Baṅgāṇī is esteemed as a critically endangered language (cf. http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/en/at-

lasmap/language-id-1606.html, retrieved 14th October 2016), the present situation seems to be less serious. Indeed it seems that now this language is not only spoken, as mother-tongue, by elder generations, but also by younger generations and, more importantly, by children at home and with other people of Baṅgāṇ area. Some interviews with my Baṅgāṇī informants confirmed that children learn Baṅgāṇī from their parents in the home environment. Upon entering the local school system, they are exposed to the Hindī language as well as to the other important regional languages, including Gaṛhvālī and Himācalī. Even if there exist no Baṅgāṇī written literature, oral literature is well attested: one of the best example is the Baṅgāṇī version of the *Mahābhārata* called *pɔ̃ḍuaṇ*, studied and edited by Zoller (1997, 2007, 2015).

As I said above (cf. § 1.), this study is based on the data collected during my linguistic fieldwork with Baṅgāṇī speakers, in some cases in the Baṅgāṇ area. I relied on the information provided by the following informants:

- Gabar Singh Chauhan, 52 years old, born in the Kiroḷī village (in Piṅgaḷpaṭṭī), but presently living with his family in New Delhi;
- Balbirsingh Rawat, 52 years old, born in the Mañjoṇī village (in Piṅgaḷpaṭṭī), but presently living with his family in Dehra Dun, the capital of the state of Uttarākhaṇḍ;
- Kailash Chauhan, 35 years old, born in the Gokul village (in Koṭhīgāṛhpaṭṭī), where he is still living with his extended family.

In August 2014, I spent two weeks in New Delhi conducting facetime interviews with Gabar Singh Chauhan. The contacts with this informant extended till July 2015, via Skype, at least one time every two weeks. In October 2015, I was again in India for two weeks and I had the opportunity to interview Gabar Singh Chauhan. Besides, I visited Baṅgāṇī area with the assistance of Kailash Chauhan. I visited with him the majority of villages of the Koṭhīgāṛhpaṭṭī, staying in his house in the village of Gokul. Then I moved to Dehra Dun at Balbirsingh Rawat's house: I spent with him and his family two days commenting the Baṅgāṇī material collected with Gabar Singh Chauhan and Kailash Chauhan, but at the same time, making some new constructions to understand Baṅgāṇī linguistic features.

As for the elicitation technique, I relied on the 'interview method', that Abbi (2001: 84) indicates as the most common and widely used method for field investigations. I interviewed my informants without a questionnaire and adopting Hindī as the language of communication. At this stage of my research, I collected short sentences, normally three or four words long, with the purpose of gathering information on the use of pronominal and nominal forms, as I will show in the following section.

3. *Baṅgāṇī pronominal and nominal forms*

Baṅgāṇī language presents, both for pronouns and nouns, three cases, that is absolutive, oblique and ergative. I think it is important to start spending some words about the phenomenon of split-ergativity. Indeed, it is well-known that the ergative-absolutive alignment is an important feature of some IA languages/dialects, which influences many aspects of their grammars, as the analysis of Baṅgāṇī pronominal and nominal forms also demonstrates.

In the majority of present-day IA languages, an ergative-absolutive system of case marking is attested in perfective clauses: they are characterized by a split-ergative system conditioned by the tense/aspect of the main verb (Klaiman 1987; Deo & Sharma 2006; Drocco 2008; Verbeke 2013; Stroński 2011; see also the recent papers in Dahl & Stroński (eds.) 2016). Accordingly, in perfective constructions, the Subject-like[4] argument of intransitive constructions is marked with the absolutive case and shows agreement with main verb. In a similar way, the Object-like argument of transitive constructions bears the absolutive case, whereas the Subject-like argument of transitive constructions is marked with a different case – the ergative case – and generally does not shows agreement with the main verb (Dixon 1994: 9, 22; Comrie 1978). To understand how this type of case marking system works in NIA, we

---

[4] In this article I prefer the 'Subject-like argument of an intransitive construction', 'Subject-like argument of a transitive construction' and 'Object-like argument' for the well notions of 'S', 'A' and 'O' (or 'P') normally used in studies related to alignment typology, as in Dixon (1994) and Comrie (1978). For a recent overview of these notions see Haspelmath (2011).

propose the following non-perfective (cf. (1) and (2)) and perfective clauses (cf. (3) and (4)) taken from MSH:

(1) *gopāl bhārat mẽ rahtā hai*
    gopāl   bhārat mẽ   rah-tā   hai.
    Gopāl(M) India LOC stay-PRES.M.SG be.AUX-PRES.3.SG
    'Gopāl lives in India'   (adapted from McGregor 1977: 18)

(2) *gopāl kitāb likh rahā hai*
    gopāl   kitāb   likh   rah-ā   hai
    Gopāl(M) book(F) write   stay-PERF.M.SG   be.AUX-PRES.3.SG
    'Gopāl is writing the book' (adapted from McGregor 1977: 71)

(3) *sāvitrī kal sārā din mere pās rahī*
    sāvitrī   kal   sārā din m-er-e   pās rah-ī
    Sāvitrī(F) yesterday all   day 1.SG-GEN-OBL.SG near stay-PERF.F
    'Yesterday Sāvitrī remained all day at my home' (Caracchi 2002: 119)

(4) *gopāl ne cāy chānī*
    gopāl   ne   cāy   chān-ī
    Gopāl(M) ERG tea(F) pour-PERF.F
    'Gopāl poured tea'   (Priyamvadā Uṣā 2000: 42)

In (1), an intransitive non-perfective sentence, the Subject-like argument *Gopāl* is not followed by any postposition, exactly in the same way as the Subject-like arguments *Gopāl* of (2) – a transitive non-perfective clause – and *Sāvitrī* of (3) – an intransitive perfective clause – respectively. The same is true of the Object-like argument *cāy* in (4), a transitive perfective sentence. Moreover, the above-mentioned arguments agree with the main verb: for example note that in (3) *Sāvitrī* is feminine and the main verb *rahnā* 'to stay' is also feminine, while in (4) *cāy* 'tea' is feminine (unlike the Subject-like argument *Gopāl*, which is masculine) and the verb *chānnā* 'to pour' is also feminine. Contrary to (1), (2) and (3) the Subject-like argument of (4) is followed by the postposition *ne*, the ergative case marker of MSH, that follows the Subject-like arguments of only transitive perfective sentences. In the light of these observations, the ergative alignment systems of case marking displayed by MSH and by Baṅgāṇī may be compared as illustrated in table 1:

	ERG alignment in MSH	ERG alignment in Baṅgāṇī
found in all transitive perfective constructions	yes	yes
for all subjects: pronouns and nouns	yes	yes
ergative case marker	postposition *ne*	i) a suppletive form as regards SG pronouns ii) a suffix as regards nouns
extended in non-perfective constructions	no	yes[5] (but optional)
Differential Object Marking (DOM) in perfective constructions	yes	no[6]
Differential Object Marking (DOM) in non-perfective constructions	yes	yes

Table 1. Ergative alignment features in MSH and Baṅgāṇī

3.1. *Baṅgāṇī pronominal forms and their function*[7]

An overview of the main Baṅgāṇī pronominal forms (i.e. the absolutive, the ergative and the oblique ones) is offered in Table 2 and 3 below:

---

[5] Unfortunately, until now I have not been able to collect enough data to discuss this particular Baṅgāṇī feature in detail.

[6] Further observations on this topic will be offered in section 4.

[7] The use of the absolutive, ergative and oblique forms when a pronoun occurs as the Object-like argument of a sentence will be discussed in section 4.

	ABS	**ERG**	**OBL**
1SG	*aũ*	*muĩ*	*mũ*
2SG	*tu*	*taĩ*	*taũ* (or *taĩ*)
3SG, M, distal	*seu*	*tiṇi* (or *tiũ*)	*tes*
3SG, F, distal	*sɛ*	*tĩɛ*	*tĩ*
3SG, M, proximal	*eu*	*iṇi*	*is*
3SG, F, proximal	*eɛ*	*ĩ̃ɛ*	*ĩ̃*

Table 2. Singular pronominal forms

	ABS	**ERG**	**OBL**
1PL	*amɛ*	*amũ*	*amũ*
2PL	*tumɛ*	*tumũ*	*tumũ*
3PL, distal	*se*	*tiũɛ* (or *tiũ*)	*tiũ*
3PL, proximal	*e*	*iũɛ*	*iũ*

Table 3. Plural pronominal forms

By observing table 2 and table 3, it is apparent that:

- in the plural, 1st and 2nd person pronouns do not distinguish between the ergative and the oblique case;
- 3rd person pronouns display different masculine and feminine forms only in the singular;
- in the singular, except for 3rd person feminine singular pronoun, the ergative form is always realized through a suppletive form, different from the oblique form: this is one of the main differences between the pronouns ergative marking of MSH and Baṅgāṇī;
- the ergative form of the 3rd person feminine singular pronoun and the 3rd person plural pronouns is realized through the addition of the suffix *-ε* to the oblique form.

3.1.1. *Absolute*

If we consider the use of the different Baṅgāṇī pronominal forms, it is apparent that the absolute form is adopted when the pronouns are the Subject-like argument of the majority of intransitive constructions, either in perfective or in non-perfective tenses, as well as of transitive non-perfective constructions.[8] In the following sentence, for example, the 1st person singular pronoun is the Subject-like argument of an intransitive construction and hence occurs in ABS form (*aũ*):

> (5) *aũ keś-keśɔ ḍeũ gɔrε*
>   *aũ*   *keś-keśɔ*   *ḍe-ũ*   *gɔrε*
>   1.SG.ABS how-how go-PRES.1.SG home
>   'How (can) I go home'   (Zoller 2007: 118, sentence n. 85)

The same absolute form *aũ* is attested when a 1st person singular pronoun is the Subject-like argument of a transitive construction, but only in non-perfective tenses:

---

[8] In this paper I do not take in examination the so-called DAT/GEN-Subject construction typical of many modern IA languages (cf. Masica 1991 and the papers in Bhaskararao / Subbarao (eds.) 2008) as well as of Baṅgāṇī (cf. Zoller 2009).

(6) *[...] na tɛ tumũ aũ khɔtɔm kɔrũ*

   [...] na   tɛ   tumũ   aũ   khɔtɔm kɔr-ũ

     not then you.OBL   1.SG.ABS   finished make-PRES.1.SG

   '[...] otherwise I (will) finish you'   (Zoller 2007: 121, sentence n. 123)

3.1.2. *Ergative*

As I said before, in some IA languages/dialects where a split-ergativity system is attested – as in Hindī and in Gujarātī (see, among others, Drocco 2008: chapter 3) – the ergative form is used when a pronoun occurs as Subject-like argument of a transitive perfective verb form; the same phenomenon is found in Baṅgāṇī. In (7), for instance, the 1st person singular pronoun displays the ergative form *muĩ*:

(7) *ɛbɛ āṇi- goɛn muĩ se bārɛ*

   ɛbɛ āṇi- go-ɛn   muĩ   se   bārɛ

   Now bring- go-PERF.M.PL 1.SG.ERG 3.PL(distal).M.ABS outside

   'Now I have brought them outside' (Zoller 2007: 117, sentence n. 74)

(8) *muĩ riśpɔt khai- goi*

   muĩ   riśpɔt khai- go-i

   1.SG.ERG bribe eat-   go-PERF.F

   'I have taken a bribe'   (Zoller 2007: 117, sentence n. 63)

The text transcribed by Zoller (2007) shows that, in perfective transitive constructions, when the Subject-like argument is a 3rd personal pronouns, Baṅgāṇī speakers adopt in the majority of cases the ergative form of pronouns, as example in (9), but sometimes the oblique form is also used, as example in (10):

(9) *to tiũɛ bolɔ ki [...]*

   to   tiũ-ɛ   bol-ɔ   ki   [...]

   then 3.PL(distal).OBL-ERG say-PERF.M.SG that

   'Then they said [...]'   (Zoller 2007: 117, sentence n. 69)

(10) *tiũ bolɔ ki [...]*

   tiũ   bol-ɔ   ki   [...]

   3.PL(distal).OBL say-PERF.M.SG that

   'They said [...]'   (Zoller 2007: 118, sentence n. 80)

3.1.3. *Oblique*

The oblique form is used when a pronoun is followed by a postposition, as in (11), where the oblique form *tes* (3rd person (distal) masculine singular pronoun) is followed by the genitive postposition *re*.

> (11) *tes re dimag di ēk bichar aɔ*
> *tes*   *r-e*   *dimag di*
> 3.SG(distal).M.OBL GEN-OBL.SG mind   LOC
> *ēk   bicār a-ɔ*
> one idea   come-PERF.M.SG
> 'An idea came to his mind'.

In the case of demonstratives used as adjectives, when the noun they precede is followed by postposition, the adjective is in the oblique case, even if the latter is undistinguishable from the absolutive one. See the following example:

> (12) *es gəre di tsār kəmre*
> *es*   *gəre di   tsār kəmr-e*
> 3.SG(proximal).M.OBL house LOC four room-ABS.PL
> 'There are four rooms in this house (literally, In this house four rooms)'

Extract (13) illustrates the agreement of the demonstrative adjective with the feminine following noun:

> (13) *tĩ kitābī di [...] choubish pɔnne*
> *tĩ*   *kitābī   di*   [...] *chɔbbiś pɔnn-ε*
> 3.SG(distal).F.OBL book(F) LOC   twenty-six page(F)-PL
> 'That book has twenty-six pages (literally, In this book twenty-six pages (are))'

3.2. *Baṅgāṇī nominal forms and their function*[9]

As pointed out by Van Driem & Sharmā (1997: 181-182), Baṅgāṇī

---

[9] For the use of the absolutive, ergative and oblique forms when a noun occurs as the Object-like argument of a sentence see section 4.

nouns form their plurals differently depending on the class to which they belong:[10]

(1) in the first class, masculine nouns form their plurals by a zero ending; accordingly, the singular and the plural forms are the same: e. g. *māṇuch* 'man' = *māṇuch* 'men', *khozā* 'footprint' = *khozā* 'footprints'. The suffix adopted to express the oblique singular of this class of nouns ending in a vowel is *zero*, e.g. *bāṛi rɔ* 'of the potter'. On the contrary, if a noun belonging to this class ends in a consonant, the suffix adopted to express the oblique, before certain postpositions, is *-ɛ* e. g. *gɔr-ɛ rɔ* 'of the house'. If the noun is in the oblique case, in the absence of a postposition, the latter suffix does not occurs, e.g. *bāṇḍi rɛ gɔ̀r* 'at the house of an infertile woman';

(2) in the second class, masculine nouns end in *-ɔ*. The plural is marked by adding the suffix *-ɛ* to the stem: e.g. *bākrɔ* 'he-goat' vs. *bākrɛ* 'he-goats', *ākhɔ* 'eye' vs. *ākhɛ* 'eyes', *śiṅguṭɔ* 'horn' vs. *śiṅguṭɛ* 'horns', *tārɔ* 'star' vs. *tārɛ* 'stars', *ḍokhrɔ* 'small field' vs. *ḍokhrɛ* 'small fields';

(3) the feminine nouns of the first class form their plurals by adding the suffix *-iɛ*, e.g. *mɔ̃̀ĩś* 'buffalo' vs. *mɔ̃̀ĩśiɛ* 'buffaloes', *cheweṛ* 'woman' vs. *cheweṛiɛ* 'women'. When the singular form of a noun of this class ends in *-i*, this ending is replaced by *-iɛ-* in the plural, e.g. *bākri* 'she-goat' vs. *bākriɛ* 'she-goats', *pīni* 'egg' vs. *pīniɛ* 'eggs'. The oblique case of feminine nouns ending in *-i* of class 3 is marked by zero, e. g. *rɔṇḍi rɔ* 'of a husbandless woman';

(4) the feminine nouns of the second class end in a consonant: the plural is formed by adding the suffix *-ɛ*, e. g. *bèṛ* 'sheep' vs. *bèṛ-ɛ* 'sheep', *pākh* 'wing' vs. *pākh-ɛ* 'wings'.

To sum up, the suffix *-ɛ* is the oblique singular ending of:

- class 2 masculine nouns in (-ɔ), e. g. *gɔ̀r-ɛ rɔ* 'of the horse', *cīgrɛ-rɔ ār̥khɔ* 'backbone';
- class 2 feminine nouns, e. g. *bèr̥-ɛ rɔ* 'of the sheep';

All nouns, irrespective of class and gender distinctions, form the oblique plural by adding the suffix *-u*: i) masculine nouns, e. g. *beru-rɔ* 'of cares'; ii) feminine nouns, e. g. *bèr̥u-rɔ* 'of sheep'. However, in the majority of cases, there is also a nasality in this ending, e. g. *gāiũ-kɛ* 'to the cows'.

The Baṅgāṇī ergative affix is *–ei*, as illustrated by the following examples:

	absolutive	**ergative**
bāmaṇ	*bāmaṇ*	*bāmaṇ-ei*
kɔilu	*kɔilu*	*kɔilu-ei*
rākēs	*rākēs*	*rāks-ei*
māsu	*māsu*	*māsu-ei*
bag	*bag*	*bag-ei*

Sometimes the same ergative suffix *-ei* is realized also through a nasalization:

bāmaṇ-eĩ   alongside of   *bāmaṇ-ei*

Rām-eĩ   alongside of   *Rām-ei*

The few scholars who studied Baṅgāṇī argued that in this language the ergative suffix is simply *–ei* (alongside *–eĩ*) (cf. Van Driem / Sharmā 1997; Zoller 2007, 2009, 2011a). However the analysis of the data that I collected from my Baṅgāṇī mother-tongue speakers reveals that, in the

plural, the ergative suffix is normally –ɛ, the latter always attached to the noun in the oblique form, as in the following example:

(14) *athiũɛ keḷā kha*

athi-ũ-ɛ   *kelā*   *kha.*

elephant-OBL.PL-ERG   banana(M)   eat-PERF.M.SG

'(The) elephants ate the banana'

Besides, the plural oblique form of nouns is sometimes adopted to express the ergative case marker of plural nouns, as illustrated in (15): this seems to be true especially for feminine nouns.

(15) *tiũɛ rāṇi-ũ kā bol-ɔ [...]*

tiũɛ   *rāṇi-ũ*

3.PL(distal).ERG   queen(F)-OBL.PL(=ERG)

kā   *bol-ɔ* [...]

what   say-PERF.M.SG

'What did those queens say?'   (Zoller 2007: 115, sentence n. 37)

3.2.1. *Absolutive*

As for the function of the different forms, as in the case of pronouns, the absolutive form is adopted especially whenever a Baṅgāṇī noun, either singular or plural, is the Subject-like argument of the majority of intransitive constructions, either in perfective or in non-perfective tenses, as well as of transitive constructions, but only in non-perfective tenses. This is illustrated by the following extract, where *bāmaṇ*, the Subject-like argument of an intransitive construction, occurs in the absolutive form:

(16) *seu bāmaṇ ḍeɔ kuḷu-kāśmīr khi*

seu bāmaṇ   *ḍe-ɔ*   *kuḷu-kāśmīr*   *khi.*

that   Brahmin.SG.ABS   go-PERF.M.SG   Kulu-Kashmir   to

'That Brahmin had gone to Kulu-Kashmir'

(Zoller 2007: 113, sentence n. 2)

A few singular nouns, when followed by postposition, do not take a case marker (*zero oblique* form); see the following examples:

(17) *birāḷi rɔi pāṇi pindi lagi.*

    birāḷi   *rɔ-i*[11]   *pāṇi*   *pi-ndī*   *lag-i.*

    cat(F).SG.ABS stay-PERF.F water drink-PRES.F attach-PERF.F

    'The cat is drinking water'

(18) *birāḷi ri lolti nɔ thi na etkɛ.*

    birāḷi   *r-i*   *lolti*   *nɔ-thi*   *na*   *etkɛ.*

    cat(F)   GEN-F   cord(F)   NEG-is   NEG   here

    'The cord of the cat is not here'

(19) *athi gāũ khi ḍɛ.*

    athi   *gāũ*   *khi*   *ḍ-ɛ.*

    elephant(M).SG.ABS village   to   go-PRES.3.SG

    'The elephant goes to the village'

(20) *athi māi ēk māṇuch.*

    athi   *māi*   *ēk*   *māṇuch.*

    elephant(M).SG.(zero)OBL LOC   one   man(M).SG

    'There is a man on the elephant (literally, On (the) elephant one man)'

As we can see, the singular absolutive form mentioned in (17) is formally identical to the singular oblique occurrence of the same noun in (18). The same is true of examples (19) and (20). Besides, note that most masculine nouns, that is class 1 nouns, do not display an absolutive marking in the plural, as illustrated in (22), where the plural absolutive form of *athi* is the same as the singular absolutive form in (21).

(21) *athi gāũ khi ḍɛ.*

    athi   *gāũ*   *khi*   *ḍ-ɛ.*

    elephant(M).SG.ABS village   to   go-PRES.3.SG

    'The elephant goes to the village'

(22) *athi gāũ khi ḍēṇ.*

    athi   *gāũ*   *khi*   *ḍ-ēṇ.*

    elephant(M).(zero)PL.ABS village   to   go-PRES.3.PL

    'The elephants go to the village'

---

[11] In this example it is possible to see that, as in many NIA languages (cf. Masica 1991: 274), also in Baṅgāṇī the use of the perfective verb 'remain' is adopted to convey the Continuous aspect.

On the contrary, as I explained above, the absolutive plural of feminine nouns is different from the singular: compare example in (23) with example in (17) mentioned above.

> (23) *birāḷiɛ rɔi pāṇi pindi lagi.*
> *birāḷi-ɛ   rɔ-i   pāṇi pi-ndī   lag-i.*
> cat(F)-ABS.PL stay-PERF.F water drink-PRES.F attach-PERF.F
> 'The cats are drinking water'

3.2.2. *Ergative*

When nouns occur as Subject-like argument of a transitive perfective construction the ergative suffix *-ei* is attached, as illustrated by the following sentences where the nouns *bāmaṇ* and *athi* display ergative case markings *bāmaṇ-ei* and *athi-yei,* which make them different from the corresponding absolutive forms occurring in extracts (25) and (27), which have already been mentioned (see examples 16 and 19), but are recalled here for the sake of convenience:

> (24) *tiṇi bāmaṇ-ei rati ugāṛɛ sɛ bɔḷēd.*
> *tiṇi   bāmaṇ-ei   rati   ugāṛ-ɛ*
> 3.SG(distal).M.ERG Brahmin-ERG in-the-morning release-PERF.M.PL
> *se   bɔḷēd.*
> 3.PL(distal).M.ABS oxen(M).ABS.PL(zero)
> 'That Brahmin released the oxen in the morning'
> > (Zoller 2007: 113, sentence n. 9)

> (25) *seu bāmaṇ ḍeɔ kuḷu-kāśmīr khi.*
> *seu bāmaṇ   ḍe-ɔ   kuḷu-kāśmīr   khi.*
> that Brahmin.ABS go-PERF.M.SG Kulu-Kashmir to
> 'That Brahmin had gone to Kulu-Kashmir'
> > (Zoller 2007: 113, sentence n. 2)

> (26) *athiyei keḷā kha.*
> *athi-yei   kelā   kh-a.*
> elephant(M)-ERG   banana(M)   eat-PERF.M.SG
> '(The) elephant ate (the) banana'

(27) *athi gāũ khi ḍɛ.*

    athi   *gāũ*   *khi*   *ḍ-ɛ.*

    elephant(M).SG.DIR   village   to   go-PRES.3.SG

    'The elephant goes to the village'

3.2.3. *Oblique*

As I have observed in the case of pronouns, Baṅgāṇī nouns display an oblique marking when they occur followed by a postpositions, as the following examples illustrate:

(28) *iũ tu gaiũ kɔi khiyaya [...]*

    iũ   *tu*   *gai-ũ*   *kɔi*   *khiya-ya [...]*

    3.PL(proximal).OBL 2.SG.DIR cow-PL.OBL DAT feed-IMP

    'Feed them to the cows [...]'

                                                (Zoller 2007: 113, sentence n. 7)

(29) *[...] deũ phiruɛ śiṅge rɔ khāṛu [...]*

    de-ũ   *phiru-ɛ*   *śiṅg-e*   *rɔ*   *khāṛu [...]*

    give-PRES.1.SG twisted-PL.OBL horn-PL.OBL GEN ram

    '[...] (I) give (you) a ram with twisted horns [...]'

                                                (Zoller 2007: 113, sentence n. 7)

4. *The case of the Differential Object Marking: a comparison between Hindī and Baṅgāṇī*

It is well known that in MSH the DAT/ACC case marker (in MSH the postposition *ko*), as in many modern IA languages (cf. Klaiman 1987; Masica 1991: 364-369), can follow the Object-like argument of a transitive construction, irrespective of the main verb tense. As pointed by Masica (1991: 365), the function of this case marker is often more pragmatic than syntactic, because in the case of non-human nouns it normally indicates a 'definite' Object-like argument, whereas in the case of human nouns it stresses their Patienthood (as regards MSH see McGregor 1977: 49; Caracchi 2002: 83-84). This is exemplified with MSH constructions (30), (31), (32) and (33).

(30) *rām āpke bhāiyõ ko jāntā hai.*

    rām   āp-k-e   bhāi-yõ   ko

    Rām(M) HON-GEN-M.PL.OBL brother- M.PL.OBL DAT/ACC

    jān-t-ā   h-ai.

    know-PRES-M.SG be.AUX-PRES.3.SG

    'Rām knows Your brothers'[12]

(31) *rām mujhe jāntā hai.*

    rām   mujh-e   jān-t-ā

    Rām(M) 1.SG.OBL-DAT/ACC know-PRES-M.SG

    h-ai.

    be.AUX-PRES.3.SG

    'Rām knows me'

(32) *rām ne un laṛkiyõ ko dekhā.*

    rām   ne   un   laṛki-yõ

    Rām(M) ERG 3.PL.OBL girl(F)-OBL.PL

    ko   dekh-ā.

    DAT/ACC see-PERF.M.SG

    'Rām saw these girls'

(33) *rām ne mujhe dekhā.*

    rām   ne   mujh-e   dekh-ā.

    Rām(M) ERG 1.SG.OBL-DAT/ACC see-PERF.M.SG

    'Rām saw me'

On the contrary, in (34), the Object-like argument is not followed by the Hindī DAT/ACC case marker *ko*, thus revealing an ergative pattern: the main verb *pīnā* presents gender and number agreement with *cāy* 'tea', a feminine noun and the Object-like argument of the construction.

(34) *rām ne cāy pī hai.*

    rām   ne   cāy   p-ī   h-ai.

    Rām(M) ERG tea(F) drink-PERF.F be.AUX-PRES.3.SG

    'Rām drank tea'

---

[12] In the absence of explicit reference, the extract is drawn from the interviews conducted with mother-tongue speakers.

But if the Object-like argument is 'definite' thus, even if non-human, the DAT/ACC postposition *ko* is present, as in the following construction:

> (35) *āj merī bahan is kahānī ko nahī̃ paṛhegī.*
>
> *āj   m-er-ī   bahan is   kahānī ko*
> today 1.SG-GEN-F sister(F) 3SG.OBL story(F) DAT/ACC
> *nahī̃   paṛh-e-g-ī.*
> NEG   read-3.SG-FUT-F
> 'Today my sister will not read this story'
>
>   (adapted from Caracchi 2002: 83)

Unlike Hindī, which shares the same marking patterns of most modern Indo-Aryan languages (cf. Klaiman 1987; Masica 1991: 364-369; Drocco 2008: 81-89), Baṅgāṇī displays a different marking pattern: in the presence of a perfective verb form, the Object-like argument of a transitive sentence is never followed by any case marker and thus occurs in its absolute case. This is true for both pronouns and nouns (cf. also Zoller 2007: 99). In the following two examples, the absolute form *aũ* of the 1st person singular pronoun is employed both as the Subject-like argument of a non-ergative construction (cf. example 36), and as the Object-like argument of an ergative construction, that is, in a transitive perfective construction (cf. example 37):

> (36) *aũ keś-keśɔ ḍeũ gɔrɛ.*
>
> *aũ   keś-keśɔ   ḍe-ũ   gɔrɛ.*
> 1.SG how-how go-PRES.1.SG home
> 'How (can) I go home' (Zoller 2007: 118, sentence n. 85)

> (37) *aũ tɛ khai- goɔ oruai.*
>
> *aũ   tɛ   khai- go-ɔ   oru-ai.*
> 1.SG.ABS then eat   go-PERF.M.SG others-ERG
> 'The others have got me' (Zoller 2007: 120, sentence n. 106)

The same is true for nouns. Indeed the form of *Rām* occurring as a Subject-like argument of a non-ergative clause – in (38) a transitive non-perfective construction – or as an Object-like of an ergative clause

– in (39) a transitive perfective construction – is, in both cases, the absolutive one (which coincides with the stem *Rām* without suffixes):

(38) *Rām mũ pitε.*

    rām   *mũ*   *pit-ε.*

    Rām(M)   1.SG.OBL   hit-PRES.3.SG

    'Rām hits me'

(39) *taĩ Rām dekhɔ?*

    taĩ   *rām*   *dekh-ɔ?*

    2.SG(F).ERG   Rām(M)   see-PERF.M.SG

    'Did you see Rām?'

In transitive perfective sentences (i.e. in ergative constructions), we have already seen that the form of a pronoun occurring as the Subject-like argument is the ergative one, rather than the oblique. This is one example:

(40) *muĩ riśpɔt khai- goi.*

    muĩ   *riśpɔt*   *khai-*   *go-i.*

    1.SG.ERG   bribe   eat-   go-PERF.F.SG

    'I have taken a bribe' (Zoller 2007: 117, sentence n. 63)

In non-perfective transitive sentences (that is in non-ergative constructions), on the other hand, if a pronoun occurs as an Object-like argument, its form is the oblique one, as illustrated by extract (41), where the 1st person singular pronoun is the Object-like argument of an imperative verb form:

(41) *mũ [...] tu na khā.*

    mũ   *tu*   *na*   *khā.*

    1.SG.OBL 2.SG.ABS not eat.IMP

    'Please don't eat me' (Zoller 2007: 116, sentence n. 57)

In the case of singular nouns the situation is different, because if they occur in the role of Object-like argument of a non-perfective construction their form is not the oblique, but the ergative one. See example

in (42) where *Rām*, as the Object-like argument of non-ergative clause, is in the same form *Rām-ei*, like when it occurs as the Subject-like argument of an ergative clause as in (43).

> (42) *Sītā Rāmei pitɛ.*
>   *sītā   rām-ei   pit-ɛ.*
>   Sītā   Rām-ERG   hit-PRES.3.SG
>   'Sita hits Ram'

> (43) *Rāmei ek chithi likhi.*
>   *rām-ei   ek   chithi   likh-i.*
>   Rām-ERG   one   letter(F)   write-PERF.F.SG
>   'Ram wrote a letter'

On the contrary, if plural nouns occur in the role of Object-like argument of a non-perfective construction their form is the oblique one, therefore not the ergative; see example in (44).

> (44) *nānɛ iũ bākriũ pitēṇ.*
>   *nān-ɛ   iũ   bakri-ũ   pit-ēṇ.*
>   boy(M)-ABS.PL   3.PL(proximal).OBL   goat-OBL.PL   hit-PRES.3.PL
>   'The children hit these goats'

Moreover, as I said above (cf. § 3.2.), in (45) a plural noun, here a feminine noun, is in the oblique occurring, however, as the Subject-like argument of an ergative clause.

> (45) *tiũɛ rāṇiũ kā bol-ɔ [...]*
>   *tiũɛ   rāṇi-ũ   kā   bol- ɔ*
>   3.PL(distal).ERG   queen(F)-OBL.PL(=ERG)   what   say-PERF.M.SG
>   'What did those queens say?'   (Zoller 2007: 115, sentence n. 37)

5. *Conclusion*

As I said at the beginning of the present paper, some peculiar features of Baṅgāṇī grammar and lexicon are still rather controversial.

Although in the last two decades the majority of scholars claims that these features deserve deeper investigation and more data, the Baṅgāṇī language remains a largely unexplored topic among linguists specialized on IA languages. This paper represents a preliminary step in that direction. In section 2, I presented Baṅgāṇī, the various villages where this language is spoken and the Baṅgāṇī native speakers who provided the data of this research. From section 3 onwards, I offered a description of Baṅgāṇī pronominal and nominal declension, focusing on the case marking and agreement system of the Subject-like and Object-like arguments of intransitive and transitive clauses, in perfective and non-perfective tenses. The comparison between the data that I collected during a fieldwork research with my informants and the elicited texts available in Zoller (2007), enabled me to present a good amount of Baṅgāṇī sentences exemplifying the function of the different forms, and thus to understand their use in depth. The few studies addressing this type of analysis contain only a few examples that fail to shed light on the peculiarities of Baṅgāṇī case marking system. For example, in the plural, the ergative suffix attached to the noun, always in the oblique form, is –*ε* (cf. extract (14)), rather than the ergative case marker –*ei* (alongside –*eĩ*). In a similar way, the plural oblique form of nouns (rather than a specific ergative case marker different form the oblique one (cf. extract (15)), especially in the presence of feminine nouns, is sometimes adopted to express the ergative of plural nouns. As I argued (cf. § 3.2.), the previous studies claimed that in both instances the ergative case-marker is –*ei* (alongside –*eĩ*).

To sum up, the present analysis reveals that the Baṅgāṇī case marking system, related to ergative alignment and Differential Object Marking, adopts the following endings on both pronouns and nouns:

► Pronouns: e.g. 1st person singular pronoun

non-PERF TR clauses	Subject-like argument = **ABS** (cf. ex. (6): *aũ*)	Object-like argument = **OBL** (cf. ex. (41): *mũ*)
PERF TR clauses	Subject-like argument = **ERG** (cf. ex. (40): *muĩ*)	Object-like argument = **ABS** (cf. ex. (37): *aũ*)

► Singular Nouns: e.g. *Rām*

non-PERF TR clauses	Subject-like argument = **ABS** (cf. ex. (38): *Rām*)	Object-like argument = **ERG** (cf. ex. (42): *Rām-ei*)
PERF TR clauses	Subject-like argument = **ERG** (cf. ex. (43): *Rām-ei*)	Object-like argument = **ABS** (cf. ex. (39): *Rām*)

► Plural Nouns: e.g. different nouns

non-PERF TR clauses	Subject-like argument = **ABS** (cf. ex. (17): *birāḷi*)	Object-like argument = **OBL** (cf. ex. (44): *bākri-ũ*)
PERF TR clauses	Subject-like argument = **ERG/OBL** (cf. ex. (14): *athi-ũ-ɛ*/ex. (45): *rāṇi-ũ*)	Object-like argument = **ABS** (cf. ex. (24): *bɔḷēd*)

Admittedly, more empirical work is needed in order to describe the different classes of Baṅgāṇī nouns and to grasp the interplay of gender and number distinctions which influences the occurrence of the ergative or oblique case markings.

Andrea Drocco
Università degli Studi di Torino
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici
via Giulia di Barolo 3/A
10124 Torino
andrea.drocco@unito.it

References

Abbi, Anvita, 1997, "Debate on archaism of some select Bangani words". *Indian Linguistics* 58: 1–14.

Abbi, Anvita, 2000, "Redundancies and restructuring in Bangani syntax: a case of language contact in Western Himalaya". *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 25(1): 47–56.

Abbi, Anvita, 2001, *A manual of linguistic fieldwork and structures of Indian languages*, München, Lincom Europa.

Balbirsingh, Rawat, 2015, "Bangani". In: Uma Bhatt / Shekar Pathak (eds.), *The Languages of Uttarakhand. The People's Linguistic Survey of India, Volume Thirty, Part II.* New Delhi, Orient Blackswan Private Limited: 179-192.

Bhaskararao, Peri / Subbarao, Karumuri Venkata (eds.), 2004, *Non-nominative Subjects*, Voll. 1-2. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Caracchi, Pinuccia, 2002, *Grammatica hindī,* Torino, Magnanelli.

Cardona, George / Jain, Dhanesh, 2003, "General Introduction". In: George Cardona / Dhanesh Jain (eds.), *The Indo-Aryan Languages*, London-New York, Routledge: 1-45.

Comrie, Bernard, 1978, "Ergativity". In: Winfred P., Lehmann (ed.), *Syntactic Typology*, Austin, University of Texas Press: 329-394.

Dahl, Eystein / Stroński, Krzysztof (eds.), 2016, *Indo-Aryan Ergativity in Typological and Diachronic Perspective*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Deo, Ashwini / Sharma, Devyani, 2006, "Typological variation in the ergative morphology of Indo-Aryan languages". *Linguistic Typology* 10(3): 369-418.

Dixon, Robert M. W., 1994, *Ergativity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Drocco, Andrea, 2008, *L'ergatività in hindī. Studio diacronico del processo di diffusione della posposizione* 'ne', Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso.

Drocco, Andrea, 2016, "First Results of a Linguistic Fieldwork on Baṅgāṇī". *International Journal of Language and Linguistics* 3(3): 108-114.

Drocco, Andrea, forthcoming, "Inventory of Baṅgāṇī postpositions: their form, their function".

Grierson, George Abraham, 1916, *Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part IV: Specimens of the Pahāṛī Languages and Gujurī*, Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing.

Haspelmath, Martin, 2011, "On S, A, P, T, and R as comparative concepts for alignment typology". *Linguistic Typology* 15: 535-567.

Hendriksen, Hans, 1976-86, *Himachali Studies. I. Vocabulary, II. Texts, III. Grammar.* Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Deddeler 48, 3, København.

Hock, Henrich Hans (ed.), 2016, "The languages, their histories, and their genetic classification". In: Hans Henrich Hock / Elena Bashir (eds.), *The Languages and Linguistics of South Asia. A Comprehensive Guide*, Berlin-Boston, De Gruyter Mouton: 9-239.

Joshi, Maheshwar P., 1990, *Uttaranchal (Kumaon-Garhwal) Himalaya: An Essay in Historical Anthropology,* Almora, Shree Almora Book Depot.

Joshi, Maheshwar P., 2002, "The Kurus in the Central Himalaya". In: Fuloriyā Chandra Prakāśa (ed.), *Śrī Yugaśaila Sarasvatī*, Deharādūna, Śrī Yugaśaila Kalyāṇa Samiti: 88–89; 114–115.

Joshi, Maheshwar P., 2010, "On the Origin of the Neo Indo-Aryan Pahāḍī language of Uttarakhand and Western Nepal Himalaya". *Lingua Posnaniensis* LII (2): 51-65.

Joshi, Maheshwar P. / Negi, Vidyadhar S., 1994, "Was there a Central Pahari? An Appraisal of Grierson's Classification of Three Pahari Language Groups". In: Joshi Maheshwar P. / Fanger Allen C. / Brown Charles W. (eds.), *Himalaya: Past and Present*, Vol. III, Almora, Shree Almora Book Depot: 259–274.

Klaiman, Miriam H., 1987, "Mechanisms of ergativity in South Asia". *Lingua* 71: 61-102.

Masica, Colin P., 1991, *The Indo-Aryan languages*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

McGregor, Ronald S., 1977, *Outline of Hindi Grammar, with exercises*, Delhi, Oxford University Press.

Priyamvada, Usha, 2000, "Kāgaza ke phūla. *A Oriente!*" Vol. IV: 38-54.

Sharma, Devi Datt, 1980, *A study of Loan words in Central Pahāri*, P. U. Chandigarh.

Sharma, Devi Datt, 1981, "Dardic elements in Central Pahari". *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 18: 105–119.

Sharma, Devi Datt, 1983, *Linguistic History of Uttarakhand,* (Vishweshwaranand Indological Series, 77), Hoshiarpur, Vishweshwaranand Vedic Research Institute.

Stroński, Krzysztof, 2011, *Synchronic and diachronic aspects of ergativity in Indo-Aryan*, Poznań, Adam Mickiewicz University Press.

Van Driem, George / Sharmā, Suhnū Rām, 1996, "In search of Kentum Indo-Europeans in the Himalayas". *Indogermanische Forschungen* 101: 107-146

Van Driem, George / Sharmā, Suhnū Rām, 1997, "Some Grammatical Observations on Baṅgāṇī". *Indogermanische Forschungen* 102: 179-198.

Verbeke, Saartje, 2013, *Alignment and Ergativity in New Indo-Aryan Languages*, Berlin / Boston, Walter de Gruyter.

Zoller, Claus Peter, 1989, "Bericht über grammatische Archaismen im Bangani". *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 50: 159-218.

Zoller, Claus Peter, 1997, "The Grammar of Poetics: on some linguistic techniques in an oral epic from the Garhwal Himalayas". In: Abbi, A. (ed.), *Languages of Tribal and Indigenous Peoples of India. The Ethnic Space*, New Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass: 153-167.

Zoller, Claus Peter, 1999, "In search of excellence in the Himalayas". *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 22: 251–310.

Zoller, Claus Peter, 2007, "Is Bangani a V2 language?" *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research* 31: 83-143.

Zoller, Claus Peter, 2009, "Genitive marking of subjects in West Pahari". *Acta Orientalia* 69: 121–151.

Zoller, Claus Peter, 2011a, "Bangani (in Russian)". In: G. A. Zograph / T. I. Oranskaia / L. I. Kulikov / P. K. Pandey (eds.), *Languages of the world: The New Indo-Aryan languages (Jazyki mira: novye indoarijskie jazyki)*, Moscow, Academia: 219-261.

Zoller, Claus Peter, 2011b, "Pahari (in Russian)". In: G. A. Zograph / T. I. Oranskaia / L. I. Kulikov / P. K. Pandey (eds.), *Languages of the world: The New Indo-Aryan languages (Jazyki mira: novye indoarijskie jazyki)*, Moscow, Academia: 195-218.

Zoller, Claus Peter, 2015, *Die Paṇḍuaṇ: Ein mündliches Mahābhārata-Epos aus dem Garhwal-Himalaya*, Harrassowitz Verlag.