BHADARWAHI: A TYPOLOGICAL SKETCH

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Abstract
This paper is a summary of some phonological and morphosyntactic features of the Bhadarwahi language of Indo-Aryan family. Bhadarwahi is a lesser known and less documented language spoken in district of Doda of Jammu region of Jammu and Kashmir State in India. Typologically it is a subject dominant language with an SOV word order (SV if without object) and its verb agrees with a noun phrase which is not followed by an overt post-position. These noun phrases can move freely in the sentence without changing the meaning of the sentence. The indirect object generally precedes the direct object. Aspiration, like any other Indo-Aryan languages, is a prominent feature of Bhadarwahi. Nasalization is a distinctive feature, and vowel and consonant contrasts are commonly observed. Infinitive and participle forms are formed by suffixation while infixation is also found in causative formation. Tense is carried by auxiliary and aspect and mood is marked by the main verb.

Keywords: Indo-Aryan; less documented; SOV; aspiration; infixation

Povzetek
Članek je nekakšen daljši povzetek fonoloških in morfosintaktičnih značilnosti jezika badarvahi, enega izmed članov indo-arijske jezikovne družine. Badarvahi je manj poznan in slabo dokumentiran jezik z območja Doda v regiji Jammu v Kašmirju. Tipološko je zanj značilen dominanten osebek in besedni red: osebek, predmet, povedek. Glagoli se povečini ujemajo s samostalniškimi frazami, ki lahko v stavku zavzemajo katerikoli položaj ne da bi spremenile pomen stavka. Nadaljnja značilnost jezika badarvahi je tudi to, da indirektni predmeti ponavadi stojijo pred direktnimi predmeti. Tudi aspiracija je, tako kot v drugih indo-arijskih jezikih, ena izmed pomembnih lastnosti jezika badarvahi, medtem ko je nazalizacija (nosnjenje) tudi pomensko-razločevalna lastnost. Članek obravnava tudi medpone, opisuje njihovo uporabo v primerjavi s priponami, glagole in izražanje glagolskega časa in drugo.

Ključne besede: indo-arijska jezikovna družina; slabo dokumentiran; struktura SOV (osebek; predmet; povedek); aspiracija; medpone
1. Introduction

Bhadarwahi language is spoken (Indo-European family group language) in the region of Bhadarwah (the ancient name Bhaderkasi) of Doda district in eastern part of Jammu region of Jammu and Kashmir state in India. This district is surrounded by Anantnag district of Kashmir on its north, Kishtwar district in the northeast, Chamba area of Himachal Pradesh in the south, Kathua district in the south, Udhampur district in the southwest and Ramban district in the west. Siraji is also a major language of Doda district, but it is spoken mainly in Doda town and its surrounding villages. The population of Doda district in Jammu and Kashmir was 409,576 in 2011 according to census of India, out of which, 52.0% were males and 48.0% were females. Bhadarwahi speakers’ population in 2011 was 250,000 approximate.

The standard Bhadarwahi is spoken in the Bhadarwah town of Doda district of Jammu & Kashmir state of the Republic of India. This language shows lexical similarity with Pangwali, Siraji, Padri, and Bhalesi languages. SIL International in 2009 documentation for Bhadarwahi identified Bhadarwahi as bhd.

| Identifier: bhd | Dialects: Bhalesi and Padari |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| Name: Bhadarwahi | Spoken by: Hindu & Muslim community |
| Code: ISO 639:3  | Script: Devanagari & Arabic |
| Scope: Western Pahari language | |

1.1 Bhadarwahi under Western Pahari Languages

Bhadarwahi language comes under Northern Zone Western Pahari languages. The word ‘pahari’ (hilly) has been derived from Hindi word ‘pahar’ (mountain). Western Pahari is a cluster of 17 different languages which are spoken in Jammu and Kashmir, Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, and Himachal Pradesh regions. The word order of Bhadarhawi language is SOV. Out of these 17 Western Pahari languages Bhattiyali, Bilaspuri, Chambeali, Churhahi, Hinduri, Kangari, Kinnauri, Mandeali, Pahari-Mahasu, Pahari-Kullu, Sirmauri, and Pangwali are spoken in Himachal Pradesh state of India; and Gaddi is spoken in 6 Indian states namely Delhi, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, and Uttar Pradesh; and Dogri is spoken in Jammu of Jammu and Kashmir state; and Jaunsari is spoken in Uttarakhand state; and Pahari-Potwari is spoken in Pakistan and Kashmir state.

| Pangwali | Siraji | Padri | Bhalesi |
|----------|-------|-------|--------|
| 45%      | 30%   | 60%   | 70%    |
1.2 People and language

The origin of Bhadarwahi can be traced back to the ancient time when Jammu and Kashmir was a Hindu (majority of the population was the follower of Hindu religion) state. As Buddhism started to spread around 400 BC in this region, the Buddhist priests searched a language other than Sanskrit to spread the teachings of Buddha. Buddhists adapted Pahari as a language of their preachings and various scripts were introduced to write the language such as Duggal, etc.

This was the climax of Pahari language. However, with the fall of Buddhism and again with the rise of Hinduism in Kashmir proved to be a fall of Pahari language. Pahari language was abandoned and it remained at the mercy of the local people.

Bhadarwah is also known as ‘Nagon ki Bhoomi’ (land of snakes). The Bhadarwah town was known as Hettary Nagar and prior to that, there were other towns namely Donga and Udho Nagar. Both the nagars were situated around the villages which is about 3 kms in the east of present Bhadarwah town.

The poets and singers such as Kailash Mehra Sadhu, Bashir Ahmed Mastana, Ghulam Nabi Goni, Basir Charag, and Master Dina Nath are mainly responsible for the development of the oral culture of this language. Bhadarwah tehsil has its own radio station. Bhadarwah programme is broadcasted on each Sunday at 8’o clock on local radio station.

1.3 Previous Studies

In 1916, Sir George Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII, Part-I) made a mention of Bhadarwahi as one of the dialects of Kashmiri. He observes that the Kashmiri language is the language of the Valley of Kashmir. In a dialect form it has spread south-west into the valley of Kashtwar, and to the south it has flowed over the Pir Panjal Range into the lower hills lying north of the river Chinab, where it reappears in a number of mixed dialects (such as Bhaderwahi, Kishtwar, Siraji, Poguli and Rambani). In 2013, Dwivedi documented this language in the descriptive grammar tradition.

2. Phonology

2.1 Vowels

Bhadarwahi has an 11 vowels system as given in Table 3. In terms of vowel height, there are four high vowels /i:/, /i/, /u:/ and /u/, and five mid vowels /e/, /e:/, /a/, /o:/, and /o/, and four low vowels /a/, /o/, /ɑ/ and /ɑ:/.

In terms of backness, there are four front vowels /i:/, /i/, /e/ and /e:/, one central vowel /a/, and six back vowels /u:/, /u/, /o:/, /o/, /ɑ/ and /ɑ:/.
There are five pairs of short and long vowels: /i/ and /i:/, /ɑ/ and /ɑ:/, /e/ and /e:/, /u/ and /u:/, and /o/ and /o:/.

As in: d̪lɑ 'marriage', d̪lɑː 'brother', kɔːrɪ 'where', kɔːrɪ 'a leper', kɛːrɔ 'did', ke:ro 'how', muːjo ‘mother’'s sister’s husband, muːjo ‘mouse’, horo ‘and’, and hoːro ‘another’. Stress is not a phonemic feature in Bhadarwahi language. Generally a syllable having a consonant cluster gets stressed. As in: ɖəνnne 'and', ɖʒəkʰno 'bite', həɖɖ 'bone' in a di-syllabic vowel where both the syllables having vowel sounds (if vowel is of same length), the first one gets stressed. As in: Ɂiŋ 'to drink', sukkʰo 'dry', kʰɑŋo 'to eat'. The first syllable gets stressed if it is a low front vowel or a back vowel. As in: dure 'far', deli 'Delhi'. The second syllable gets stressed when the first syllable having a short vowel. As in: ʰarʊ 'green', ʰasno ‘to laugh’, and ᵈaɾjo ‘river’. In a tri-syllabic word if first and third syllable having long vowel and the middle vowel is short; the initial vowel gets stressed.

2.2 Consonants

There are 37 consonants sounds in the Bhadarwahi language. The eight points of articulation are attested, viz. bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. There appears distinctive voicing and aspiration in this language. Aspiration is a prominent feature of this language; twelve consonant sounds show this feature. The palatal nasal sound occurs only in the word middle position and nasal velar sound occurs in the word middle and the word final position. Bhadarwahi has a palatal fricative sound ç which is not found in Hindi and Dogri.

Bhadarwahi consonant sounds geminate in the word middle and the word final position. The gemination of two aspirated sounds makes the first sound unaspirated. Such as, Ɂattəɾ ʰəɾk 'back', həɖɖ 'bone', kəɾəɾ 'ear', səp 'snake', çəp 'hide', bəɾʃtjo 'child', tʃəkki ‘water-mill’, makku ‘axe’, ʃukk 'dry', and Ɂəkkʰo ‘fan’.

|            | Front | Central | Back |
|------------|-------|---------|------|
| High       | i:    |         | u:   |
| Lower High | i     |         | u    |
| Mid        | e, e: |         | o:   |
| Lower Mid  | a     |         | o    |
| Low        | a, a: |         |      |

Table 3: Vowels in Bhadarwahi
Table 4: Consonants in Bhadarwahi

|            | Bi-labial | Dental | Alveolar | Post-alv. | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|------------|-----------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------|---------|-------|---------|
| -V or +V   | -V +V     | -V +V  | -V +V    | -V +V     | -V +V     | -V +V   | -V +V | -V +V   |
| Plosive    | p         | b      | t        | d         | t̃ d̃     | k       | g     |
| Plosive (+asp) | pʰ bʰ   | tʰ dʰ | tʰ dʰ    | tʰ dʰ     | kʰ gʰ    |
| Nasal      | m         | n      | n        | n         | η          | η       |       |         |
| Affricate  |           |        | η̃ d̃    |           |            |         |
| Affricate (+asp) |          |        | η̃ d̃ h̃ |           |            |         |
| Trill      |           | r      |          |           |            |         |
| Tap        |           |        | r̃       |           |            |         |
| Fricative  | s         | z      | j        | ζ          | h          |         |
| Fricative (+asp) |          | zʰ     | ζʰ      |           |            |         |
| Approximant | w         |        | j        |           |            |         |
| Lateral approx. | l         |        |          |           |            |         |

2.3 Phonotactics

The simple vowels are found in all positions. Most of the vowels can be nasalized. Nasalization is a distinctive feature in Bhadarwahi; it has a phonemic status, to ‘and’, tā ‘then’, ba ‘hit’, bā ‘forearm’, zīd ‘obstinacy’, zīd ‘darling’, dʰōu ‘washed’, dʰōũ ‘washed’ (past participle), sei ‘right’ and seĩ ‘from/with’. Vowel contrast is also attested in the Bhadarwahi language as tənki ‘water-tank’ and tənki: ‘water-tanks’, nəlko ‘tap’ and nəlki ‘yarn thread’, kɑ: ‘which’ and kɑ: ‘why’, ded ‘sister’ and dɑ:d ‘grandmother’ (paternal), and go:ɽ ‘cow shed’ and gu:ɽ ‘sugar’.

Almost all consonants are attested in all positions, except [ŋ], [ŋ] and [ŋ]. Consonant clusters can occur at word initial, word middle, and word final position. For example, consonant cluster (consonant + semi-vowel) at word initial, kw: kwɑntʃ ‘wife’, gj: gjɔnɪ ‘sikh priest’ etc, consonant cluster (velar stop + consonant) at word middle position, kk: ḍəkk ‘tradition dance of Bhadarwah’, kkʰ: kʊkʰdi ‘hen’, kə: kəkɾɑ ‘crab’, etc, consonant cluster (affricate + consonant) at word middle position, tj: hɪtʃɪ ‘hiccup’, tjf: kætʃjʊ ‘unripe’, tjfʰ: ætʃfʰ ‘yes’ etc, consonant cluster (retroflex + consonant) at word middle position, tk: ūtʃə ‘bounce’ and tt: kætʃər ‘strong belief’ etc, consonant cluster (dental + consonant) at word middle position, tl: pɑtlo ‘thin’, tt: sattu ‘a dish’ etc, consonant cluster (bilabial + consonant) at word middle position, pk: tʃɪpkəli ‘gecko’, pː: tʃɪpːo ‘flat’, pn: dʰupnɔ ‘to lock’, etc, consonant cluster (nasal + consonant) at word middle position, nk: tʰænko ‘coin’, nkʰ: pɑnnkʰo ‘fan’, etc, consonant cluster (continuant + consonant) at word middle position, jt: rɑjto ‘a yoghurt dish’, wr: nawrɑte ‘a nine day religious festival’ etc, consonant cluster (liquid + consonant) at word middle position, lk: nɑlki ‘thread roll’, lg: pʰəlɡun ‘last month of Hindu calendar’ etc, and consonant cluster (sibilant +
consonant) at word middle position, sk: nəskwar ‘a local tobacco’ and sr: nəsrī ‘a name of a place’.

2.4 Intonation

There are four major types of intonational patterns in Bhadarwahi language. They are: high-fall, high-rise, rise-and-fall, and mid-level.

2.4.1 High-fall in statements

1. aũ hunə məze mə aĩ
   l.1.SG now good in am.PRES.SG.
   ‘I am fine now.’

2.4.2 High-rise in interrogatives

2. kun tus mī̄ pasand kerte atʰ
   what you me like do AUX
   ‘Why do you like me?’

2.4.3 Rise and fall in information questions

3. te kun kerte
   you.2.SG what do.PRST
   ‘What does he do?’

2.4.4 Mid level in imperative

4. i kam ker (impolite)
   this work do
   ‘Do this work.’

2.5 Canonical form

The canonical form of Bhadarwahi syllable is CCVCC. The eight types of syllable found in Bhadarwahi are:

V       i: ‘this’, u: ‘that’, o ‘oh’, etc.
VC      edʒ ‘come’, ə:n ‘bring’, ətʰ ‘get up’
VCC     ukʰl ‘a utensil to crush nut’, ətr ‘get down’, etc.
CV      kʰa: ‘eat’, gə ‘go’, zo ‘say’, mə ‘not’, etc.
CCV     ɖə: ‘marriage’, ɖə: ‘brother’, etc.
CVC     na:l ‘neck’, kən ‘what’, sək ‘doubt’, etc.
CVCC    çəpp ‘hide’, səpp ‘snake’, kən ‘ear’, etc.
CVCCC   məntl ‘chant’, əntl ‘inside’, hejdl ‘turmeric’, etc.
The vowel is the obligatory element, whereas the consonants are optional. The nucleus is always occupied by the vowels whereas onset and positions are occupied by consonants. The coda position can have up to three consonants, but the onset position can have up to two consonants.

3. Morphology

Bhadarwahi allows prefixing, suffixing and infixing. Prefixation and suffixation are employed in derivational and inflectional morphology where as infixation converts a verb into a causative verb. I will be presenting the morphology into four subsections, viz. nouns and nominal morphology, adjectives, verb morphology and adverbs and other categories.

3.1 Nouns and nominal morphology

Bhadarwahi nouns are inflected for gender, number, and case by morphosyntactic categories. Nouns are masculine or feminine, and count or non-count. All nouns in Bhadarwahi are assigned a grammatical gender, which may or may not coincide with natural gender e.g. pakkʰo ‘fan’ is masculine; andəç ‘eye’ is feminine. The distribution of gender to inanimate objects is arbitrary, i.e. any inanimate object may get either masculine or feminine gender and we can’t reason why we are assigning either masculine or feminine to them. Human and animal nouns sometimes have a single lexical form which represents both the genders as in kaw ‘crow’, dlog ‘cheetah’, bəcco ‘kid’, etc. A borrowed noun from a foreign language also takes only one form to represent either of the genders e.g. ɡrɑunɖ ‘ground’. Common nouns inflect for gender, number and case. Proper nouns are assigned to specific gender categories and remain the same in all numbers and cases. Proper nouns are assigned to specific gender categories and remain the same in all numbers and cases.

Bhadarwahi has two genders: masculine and feminine. Both animate nouns and inanimate nouns get a gender. According to Masica (1991: 219): “In the New Indo-Aryan…gender is an inherent and classificatory property of one class of words (nouns) and a variable or inflectional property of others (adjectives, certain verbal forms, sometimes pronouns and adverbs), and one extremely important postpositions.” Assigning gender to nouns is arbitrary. Abstract nouns generally do not inflect for numbers with some exception, but concrete nouns inflect. Non-count concrete nouns are used with partatives e.g. the gender formation involves two processes: (a) suffixation, and (b) phonological changes (suppletion, etc.).

Most males are masculine nouns. Most of the masculine nouns get suffixed with /o/ sound, and the rest is consonant ending. For example, gʰoɾo ‘horse’, tʃətʃə ‘uncle’, bətʃə ‘kid’, kaw ‘crow’, sapp ‘snake’, luhar ‘black-smith’, kumhər ‘potter’, pakkʰo ‘fan’ alike. Most females are feminine nouns. Most of the feminine nouns get suffixed with /i/ sound, and rest are consonant ending, such as gʰoɾi ‘mare’, tʃʃə ‘aunt’, luhərni ‘blackʃmith’s wife’, kumhərni ‘potter’s wife’, tʃəpli ‘slippers’ kutəri ‘bitch’,
bəççʰi ‘cow’ etc. There are nouns which are inherently masculine or feminine as mɪtɭ ‘friend’ a masculine noun (used for both masculine and feminine), bidali ‘ant’ a feminine noun (used for both masculine and feminine), etc.

### 3.1.1 Semantic classification and nouns

The days of the week are masculine: tʃəndərbɔ ‘Monday’. Trees and cereals are generally masculine: pipəl ‘fig-tree’, anɔːɭ ‘pomegranate, tʃʰolo ‘gram’ but there are exceptions also in kʊkəɭi ‘maize’, ɖɭeɪk ‘neem-tree’, etc. are feminine. Names of the languages are feminine: hindi ‘Hindi’, iŋliʃ ‘English’, bʰədərəhɪ ‘Bhadarwahi’, etc. Jewels are masculine: sonnu ‘gold’, lʊo ‘iron’, moti ‘pearl’, hiro ‘diamond’, etc. Names of spices are feminine: pipəɭi ‘chilly’, səpʰ ‘fennel’, loŋ ‘clove’, ilɑtʃi ‘cardamom’, etc. Names of the mountains are masculine: trikuʈə ‘Trikuta-hills’, piːːɭəndʒɑɭ ‘Pir-Panjal’, himɡiri ‘Himalayas’, etc.

### 3.1.2 Size and Gender

The size of the things is also responsible for assigning gender, e.g. pəhɔ ‘mountain’ is masculine, whereas pəhɔɭi ‘small-mountain’ is feminine.

### 3.1.3 Derivation of feminine nouns

Many feminine nouns are derived from masculine nouns by suffixation, and phonological changes such as vowel alteration. As in: rɑːkəʃ ‘demon’ (M) and rɑːkəʃəɳi ‘female-demon’(F), bɑːndər ‘monkey’ (M) and bɑːndri ‘female-monkey’, dʰobi ‘washer-man’ (M) and dʰobəɳ ‘washer-woman’. Feminine suffixes are: aɭi, aɭi, aɭi, i, nɭi, and ɳɭi.

### 3.2 Pluralization

The vowel sounds /ɑ/, /ɑ̃/, /i/, and /ɭi/ are generally employed as a suffix for the pluralization in Bhadarwahi. But the word final and medial vowel also alters and changes in /e/, /ɭe/, and /ɑː/. As in: məm ‘father-in-law’and məmə ‘fathers-in-law’, bein ‘sister’ and beina ‘sisters’, bʰeɪɭi ‘buffalo’ and bʰeɪɭɭi ‘buffaloes’, kui ‘girl’ and kuiɭə ‘girls’, and gʰəɭollu ‘pitcher’ and gʰəɭolle ‘pitchers’, and dʰɭə ‘brother’and dʰɭə: ‘brothers’, etc.

### 3.3 Number and Case

In Bhadarwahi every noun has six forms that change according to the number (singular and plural) and case (nominative, oblique, and vocative). The forms of some of these look similar but they have different functions in a sentence. The nominative case is related to the subject, the vocative case is for addressing, and the post-position comes after the noun and it includes all the other cases under the heading oblique. Consider the masculine singular noun məʈɭu ‘boy’:
Figure 1: Declension

| Case     | Number |          |          |
|----------|--------|----------|----------|
|          | Singular | Plural  |          |
| Nominative | məʈʈʰu | məʈʈʰe |          |
| Oblique  | məʈʈʰe | məʈʈʰɑ |          |
| Vocative | məʈʈʰɑ | məʈʈʰo |          |

For the word məʈʈʰu ‘boy’ the nominative plural and the oblique singular have a same form məʈʈʰe, the oblique plural and the vocative singular have the same form məʈʈʰɑ, and the nominative singular and the vocative plural have the məʈʈʰu and məʈʈʰo forms respectively. As we can see vowel alteration is also a process in addition to suffixation in the Bhadarwahi language.

5. məʈʈʰu ɡʰəre ɑːto ɑe
   boy.SG home.DO go.IMPF AUX.PRST
   ‘The boy goes to home.’

6. məʈʈʰe ɡʰəre ɡɑːte ɑn
   boy.PL home.DO go.IMPF AUX.PRST
   ‘The boys go to home.’

7. məʈʈʰe ɪ̃ kəm kero
   boy.SG ERG work do.PST
   ‘The boy did the work.’

8. məʈʈʰe ɪ̃ kəm kero
   boy.PL ERG work do.PST
   ‘The boys did the work.’

9. o məʈʈʰɑ ɪɾə ɛdʒ
    O boy.SG here come.IMP
    ‘O boy, come here!’

10. o məʈʈʰo ɪɾə ɛdʒɑ
    O boy.PL here come.IMP
    ‘O boys, come here!’

3.4 Adjectives

Adjectives as qualifiers are of two types: variable and invariant. Variable inflects for number and gender; invariant remains same for number and gender. Adjectives, in direct form, end in /o/ in singular masculine gender, and /i/ in singular feminine gender.
3.4.1 Variable

For rətə ‘red’:

Figure 2: For rətə ‘red’

|       | M          | F          |
|-------|------------|------------|
| Direct| rətə ‘red’ | rətə ‘red’ |
| Oblique| Direct | Oblique |
| rətə ‘red’ | rətə ‘red’ | rətə ‘red’ |

Figure 3: For həro ‘green’

|       | M          | F          |
|-------|------------|------------|
| Direct| həro ‘green’ | hare ‘green’ |
| Oblique| Direct | Oblique |
| hare ‘green’ | hari ‘green’ | hari ‘green’ |

Numerals belong to the class of adjectives. They are divided into five types: cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, fraction, and aggregative. The functions (Abbi 2001:134) of numerals are following:
Table 5: Numerals and their functions

| Numerals      | Functions                  |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| Cardinal      | Pronouns or Modifiers      |
| Ordinal       | Modifiers                  |
| Multiplicative| Adverbs of frequency       |
| Fraction      | Adverbs                    |
| Aggregative   | Nouns                      |

Cardinals are numeral quantifiers used for counting. They are invariable in nature and they do not inflect for number and gender. Ordinals are used to show rank or ordering. They are formed by suffixation of /ʃəũ/ to the base form. The feminine form shows /ʃĩ/ suffixation, such as
10th: dəʃəũ, 20th: bijəũ, 30th: ţliʃəũ and 40th: çelijəũ. The multiplicatives are formed by suffixation ‘ɡəɳ’ (which may inflect for person and gender) to cardinal numerals such as: 2 times: du + ɡəɳo = dугəɳo, 3 times: ţli + ɡəɳo = ţligaɳo, etc.

3.5 Pronouns

Pronouns are often used to refer to a noun that has already been mentioned. Pronoun morphology is connected with the different forms of pronouns, gender, number, animacy, and deictic categories.

3.5.1 Personal pronouns

Figure 4 shows personal pronouns.

|                | Singular         | Plural           |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| First person   | aũ ‘I’ (subject) | aṣa ‘we’ (subject) |
|                | mĩ ‘I’ (ergative)| aseĩ ‘we’ (ergative) |
|                | mero/i/e ‘my’ (possessive) | ijo/i/e ‘our’ (possessive) |
| Second person  | tu ‘you’ (subject) +HON | tu ‘you’ (subject) +HON |
|                | tus ‘you’ (subject) +HON | tusə ‘you’ (subject) +HON |
|                | tusəĩ ‘you’ (ergative) –HON | tuseĩ ‘you’ (ergative) –HON |
|                | tusəĩ ‘you’ (ergative) +HON | tuseĩ ‘you’ (ergative) +HON |
|                | təro/i/e ‘you’ (possessive) –HON | tero/i/e ‘you’ (possessive) –HON |
|                | tuʃəo/i/e ‘you’(possessive) +HON | tuʃəo/i/e ‘you’(possessive) +HON |
3.5.2 Definite and indefinite pronouns

Figure 5 shows definite and indefinite pronouns.

Figure 5: Definite and indefinite pronouns

|            | Singular       | Plural                        |
|------------|----------------|-------------------------------|
| Third person | tu/u ‘he/she’ (subject) | ten ‘they’ (subject) –HON |
|            | /              | tena ‘they’ (subject) +HON   |
|            | teni ‘he’ (ergative) | unei ‘they’ (ergative)       |
|            | tesa ‘she’ (ergative) | /                             |
|            | usero/i/e ‘his/her’ (poss.) | unker/o/i/e ‘their’ (possessive) |
|            | tesero/i/e ‘his/her’ (poss.) | tenkero/i/e ‘their’ (possessive) |

|            | Singular       | Plural                        |
|------------|----------------|-------------------------------|
| Proximate  | in ‘this’ (subject) | ina ‘these’ (subject)         |
|            | ini ‘this’ (ergative) | ineĩ ‘these’ (ergative)      |
|            | isero/i/e ‘this’ (possessive) | inker/o/i/e ‘these’ (possessive) |
| Remote     | te ‘that’ (subject) | ten ‘those’ (subject)        |
|            | teni/uni ‘that’ (ergative) | tenei/unei ‘those’ (ergative) |
|            | tesero/usero/i/e ‘that’s’ (poss.) | tenkero/unkero/i/e ‘those’ (poss.) |

Indefinite pronouns

|            | Singular       | Plural                        |
|------------|----------------|-------------------------------|
|            | koi ‘someone’ (subject) | koi ‘someone’ (subject)      |
|            | kentʃi ‘someone’ (ergative) | kentʃeĩ ‘some’ (ergative)   |
|            | kentʃero/i/e ‘someone’s’ (poss.) | kenkero/i/e’someone’s.pl’(poss.) |

3.5.3 Relative pronouns

Figure 6 shows relative pronouns.

Figure 6: Relative pronouns

|            | Singular       | Plural                        |
|------------|----------------|-------------------------------|
|            | zes ‘whom’ (subject) | zen ‘whose’ (subject)         |
|            | zeni ‘whom’ (ergative) | zeneĩ ‘whose’ (ergative)     |
|            | zesero/i/e ‘whom’ (possessive) | zenkero/i/e ‘whose’ (possessive) |
3.5.4 Interrogative pronouns

Figure 7 shows interrogative pronouns.

Figure 7: Interrogative pronouns

| Singular                  | Plural                        |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| kan ‘who’ (subject)       | kaun ‘whose’ (subject)        |
| keni ‘who’ (ergative)     | keneĩ ‘who’ (ergative)        |
| kesero/i/e ‘whose’ (possessive) | kenkero/i/e ‘whose’ (possessive) |

3.6 Verbs and verb morphology

The verb is the heart of a sentence. It tells us about the time and nature of the event. The nature of nominal expressions (requires one nominal expression or two) is determined by a verb. In imperative the subject remains elliptical but recoverable from the verb. Lexical verbs, conjunct verbs, auxiliary verbs, and compound verbs are discussed below. Following are the examples:

The base form kʰə ‘eat’ admits the following forms:

|   | Singular | Plural |
|---|----------|--------|
| Masculine | kʰə | kʰətʰ |
| Feminine  | kʰə | kʰətʰ |

The habitual form (by imperfective) is generated by the addition of a base /t/ to which is added the gender and number suffixes: o, ae, i, and ie. Thus, the base form kʰə ‘eat’ admits the following:

|   | Singular | Plural |
|---|----------|--------|
| Masculine | kʰəto | kʰətəe |
| Feminine  | kʰəti | kʰətie |

The habitual aspect has these verbal forms: X-to, X-ti, and X-te where X is the verbal root. X-to form comes with masculine first person singular aũ ‘I’, with masculine third person singular (or any noun person) te ‘he’, and with masculine second person tu ‘you’. X-ti form comes with feminine first person singular aũ ‘I’, with feminine third person singular (or any noun person) te ‘she’, with feminine first person plural, and with feminine second person tu ‘you.’ X-te form comes with masculine first person plural, masculine second person plural/honorific and masculine third person plural. But we find variations in the auxiliaries of above mentioned X-to, X-ti, and X-te verbal form for habitual aspect. The following table precisely captures this difference:
Table 6: Habitual Aspect

| Person & Number                        | Verbal Form (Aspect marker) | Auxiliary Form (Present Tense marker) | Auxiliary Form (Past Tense marker) |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Masculine First Person Singular        | X-to                        | ɑɪ̃                                  | tʰu                                |
| Masculine Third Person Singular        | X-to                        | ɑe                                   | tʰu                                |
| Masculine Second Person                | X-to                        | ɑs                                   | tʰu                                |
| Feminine First Person Singular         | X-ti                        | ɑɪ̃                                  | tʰi                                |
| Feminine Third Person Singular         | X-ti                        | ɑe                                   | tʰi                                |
| Feminine Second Person singular        | X-ti                        | ɑs                                   | tʰi                                |
| Feminine Second Person plural/honorific| X-ti                        | ɑtʰ                                 | tʰi:                               |
| Feminine First Person Plural           | X-ti                        | ɑm                                   | tʰi:                               |
| Masculine First Person Plural          | X-te                        | ɑm                                   | tʰie                               |
| Masculine Second Person plural/honorific| X-te                        | ɑtʰ                                 | tʰie                               |
| Masculine Third Person Plural          | X-te                        | ɑn                                   | tʰie                               |

The perfective form is generated by the addition of a base /ɑ/ to which is added the gender and number suffixes: u, i, and u when the verb agrees with the subject.

|       | Singular   | Plural     |
|-------|------------|------------|
| Masculine | kʰau/i    | kʰau/i     |
| Feminine  | kʰai/u     | kʰau/i     |

When the verb agrees with object (feminine):

|       | Singular   | Plural     |
|-------|------------|------------|
| Masculine | kʰәi      | kʰeі       |
| Feminine  | kʰәi      | kʰeі       |
When the verb agrees with object (masculine):

|        | Singular | Plural |
|--------|----------|--------|
| Masculine | kʰɑu | kʰɑe |
| Feminine  | kʰɑu | kʰɑe |

Table 7: Perfective aspect

| Perfective Aspect Form | I.M | I.F | We.M | We.F | You SG.M | You SG.F | You PL.M |
|------------------------|-----|-----|------|------|----------|----------|----------|
| ‘eat’                  | kʰɑu | kʰeɪ | kʰɑɪ | kʰeɪ | kʰɑɪ | kʰeɪ | kʰɑɪ |
| ‘sleep’                | zʰɑlu | zʰule | zʰulɪ | zʰulɪ | zʰulɪ | zʰule | zʰule |
| ‘run’                  | dowɑro | dowɑrɪ | dowɑre | dowɑre | dowɑre | dowɑrɪ | dowɑre |
| ‘fall’                 | fɪgo | fɪgi | fɪge | fɪgi | fɪgo | fɪgi | fɪge |
| ‘understand’           | samzo | səmɔzi | səmze | səmzi | səmzo | səmzi | səmze |
| ‘see’                  | hero | hero | hero | hero | hero | hero | hero |
| ‘drink’                | pɨw | pɨjɪ | pɨw | pɨjɪ | pɨw | pɨjɪ | pɨw |
| ‘bath’                 | nɪhaw | nɪhaw | nɪhaw | nɪhaw | nɪhaw | nɪhaw | nɪhaw |
| ‘write’                | lɪkho | lɪkhu | lɪkho | lɪkhu | lɪkho | lɪkhu | lɪkho |

The progressive form is generated by the combination of a base /rəor/ to which is added the gender and number suffixes: o, e, i, and i:, and the auxiliary forms which we will discuss in the following heading: auxiliary.
11. rameʃ əu
  Ramesh come.PST
  ‘Ramesh came.’

12. rameʃ i kəm kero
  Ramesh ERG work do.PST
  ‘Ramesh did the work.’

A verb like kerŋo ‘to do’ requires two nominal expressions as in (12).

13. rameʃ i hari-e/dʒo peʃso ditto
  Ramesh ERG Hari-IO/OBL money give.PST
  ‘Ramesh gave money to Hari.’

A verb like deŋo ‘to give’ requires three nominal expressions as in (13).

Table 8: Progressive aspect

| Person & Number                  | Verbal Form (Aspect marker) | Auxiliary Form (Present Tense marker) | Auxiliary Form (Past Tense marker) |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Masculine First Person Singular  | X-ro                        | əi                                   | tʰu                               |
| Masculine Third Person Singular  | X-ro                        | ae                                   | tʰu                               |
| Masculine Second Person Singular | X-ro                        | ae                                   | tʰu                               |
| Feminine First Person Singular   | X-ri                        | əi                                   | tʰi                               |
| Feminine Third Person Singular   | X-ri                        | ae                                   | tʰi                               |
| Feminine Second Person singular  | X-ri                        | ae                                   | tʰi                               |
| Feminine Second Person plural/honorific | X-ri                  | ətʰ                                   | tʰi:                              |
| Feminine First Person Plural     | X-ri                        | am                                   | tʰi:                              |
| Masculine First Person Plural    | X-re                        | am                                   | tʰie                              |
| Masculine Second Person plural/honorific | X-re               | ətʰ                                   | tʰie                              |
| Masculine Third Person Plural    | X-re                        | an                                   | tʰie                              |
3.6.1 **Compound verbs**

In Bhadarwahi when two verbal elements are used to express a single meaning; it is constructed by a compound verb. The first verb in the verbal carries the primary meaning or the main meaning (semantic), and the second verb only modifies the primary verb. The second verb marks for number, person, and gender (grammatical), and the first verb comes in the non-honorific imperative invariant form.

3.6.2 **Compounds with gaːno ‘to go’**

The gaːno ‘to go’ occurs frequently with many verbs, for example: kʰei gaːno ‘to eat’, zʰuli gaːno ‘to sleep’, bʰoi gaːno ‘to happen’, keri gaːno ‘to do’, meri gaːno ‘to die’, etc.

14. koskoi-koskoi ero bʰoto ae
   Sometimes this happen.IMPF AUX.PRST
   ‘Sometimes this happens.’

15. koskoi-koskoi ero bʰoi gaːto ae
   Sometimes this happen go.IMPF AUX.PRST
   ‘Sometimes this happens.’

16. mere edʒte ei u/te kʰiʃki dʒew
   my.POSS come.IMPF EMPF he crawl go.PST
   ‘He left as I came.’

17. te/u meri dʒew
   he.III.SG die go.PST
   ‘He died.’

In (14) the verb bʰoto ‘to happen’ is intransitive, but the compound verb bʰoi gaːto ‘to happen’ in (15) gives it a special suggestive meaning which cannot be expressed by the (14). In (16) the compound verb shows an immediacy of action, and in (17) it shows the completion of an action.

3.6.3 **Compounds with edʒənə ‘to come’**

Another verb edʒənə ‘to come’ occurs frequently with many verbs, for example: bʰoi edʒənə ‘to happen’, nəʃi edʒənə ‘to run’, keri edʒənə ‘to do’, nissi edʒənə ‘to pass’, etc.

18. tu klaːsi mə ra dʒəldi nissi edʒə
   you.II.SG class in from early pass come.IMP
   ‘You come from the class early.’

Generally the compound verb with edʒənə ‘to come’ directs two actions the first verb carries the main meaning and the second verb includes suggestiveness to the meaning.
3.6.4 Compounds with çAdjano ‘to put’

Another verb çAdjano ‘to put’ occurs frequently with many verbs, for example: ʧloiri çAdjano ‘to crush’, ʧu:ji çAdjano ‘to suck’, meri çAdjano ‘to kill’, keri çAdjano ‘to do’, kʰoli çAdjano ‘to open’, etc.

19. uni so:ro kʰatam keri çAdj o
   he.OBL all work finish do put.PST
   ‘He finished all the work.’

The compound verb with çAdjano ‘to put’ comes with transitive verbs.

Compounds are also formed with neɲo ‘to take’, deɲo ‘to give’, rakʰaɲo ‘to put’, pʰaɲo ‘to fall’, urɲo ‘to get up’, bɪɲo ‘to sit’, etc.

20. te kʰij-kʰij hassi pei
    he.3.SG bloom.REDUP laugh fall.PST
    ‘He had a belly laugh.’

21. rawi aɲ:a:nak uʧi kʰaɾo bʰuo
    Ravi suddenly get stand happen.PST
    ‘Ravi stood suddenly.’

3.6.5 Conjunct verb

This consists of a noun or an adjective and a verbal element such as: zaɓa:n deɲi ‘to promise’ (literal meaning is ‘to give tongue’), hatʰ deɲo ‘to marry’ (literal meaning is ‘to give hand’) and da:n deɲo ‘to donate’ (literal meaning is ‘to donate’).

The behavior of conjunct verbs can be compared with English phrasal verbs i.e. they are metaphorical in meaning. The conjunct verbs are employed in the following sentences where they give the metaphorical meaning:

22. ja:rma: ho:ɾ i suref-e aɲni kuij ero hetʰ dɪʧ o
    Sharma HON ERG Suresh-IO his.POSS daughter of hand give.PST
    ‘Mr. Sharma married his daughter to Suresh.’

23. mero tə sansar ero dil bʰeri dʒewro ae
    my.POSS EMP world from heart fill go.PST AUX.PRST
    ‘I am fed up with this world.’

The conjunct verbs in (22) & (23) have a metaphorical meaning. In (22) the verb hetʰdɪʧ o has a connotative meaning when a father selects a person for her daughter to get married.
There are sentences when the noun of a conjunct verb agrees with the object as in (24) & (25):

24. teni məṭṭʰero kʰiːjaːl rəkʰo tʰuː:
   He.ERG child.POSS care put.PERF AUX.PST
   ‘He took care of the child.’

25. ɿɾi məṭṭʰaː kero kʰiːjaːl rəkʰo ɡɑːto ɿe
   here child.PL of care put.PERF go.IMPF AUX.PRST
   ‘Here children are being taken care of.’

In sentence (24) the verb agrees with the masculine singular noun kʰiːjaːl ‘care’, and in (25) kʰiːjaːl ‘care’ agrees with the verbal complex rəkʰo ɡɑːtoɿe.

### 3.6.6 Auxiliary verbs

In Bhadarwahi the auxiliary verbs are used to mark present and past, they are of two types: base /tʰ/ (in present tense) which inflects for the gender and number suffixes: /ɑ/ and /ə/, and u, ie, i, and iː (in past tense) which inflects for the gender and number suffixes: e and an. The future tense is marked on the main verb by base /l/ which inflects for the gender and number: o, e, i, and iː.

|          | Present       | Plural |
|----------|---------------|--------|
|          | Singular      |        |
| Masculine| æe            | an     |
| Feminine | æe            | an     |

|          | Past          |        |
|----------|---------------|--------|
|          | Singular      | Plural |
|          | tʰu           | tʰie   |
|          | tʰi           | tʰiː   |

The presumptive form is with a base /bʰo/ inflects for the gender and number suffixes: o, e, i, and iː.

|          | Presumptive   |
|----------|---------------|
|          | Singular      | Plural |
| Masculine| bʰoṭo         | bʰoṭe  |
| Feminine | bʰoṭi         | bʰoṭiː |
3.6.7 Verb Inflection

Bhadarwahi verbs exhibit the following inflection:

| Root                        | Meaning   | Infinitive | Imperfective | Perfective | Causative (I) Participle | Causative (II) Participle |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| pəɾ  | read       | pəɾo       | pəɾo         | pəɾo       | pəɾo         | pəɾo                      |
| uʈʰ  | stand      | uʈʰano     | uʈʰano       | uʈʰo       | uʈʰano      | uʈʰano                    |
| aŋ   | bring      | aŋo        | aŋo          | aŋo        | aŋo         | /                         |
| uzəɾ | devastate  | uzəɾno     | uzəɾno       | uzəɾo      | uzəɾno      | uzəɾno                    |
| uçəɾ | jump       | uçəɾno     | uçəɾno       | uçəɾo      | uçəɾno      | uçəɾno                    |

Figure 8: Verb inflection for verbs

4. Basic syntax

Bhadarwahi simple sentence is a combination of subject and predicate. A simple sentence consists of one main clause only. The predicate of a sentence contains the verb (it optionally consists of objects also) and gives information about the subject. The predicate is typically the structure that follows the subject.
4.1 Word order

Bhadarwahi is a subject dominant language with an SOV word order (SV if without object). Its subject comes in the first place, an object comes in the middle, and the verb comes in the final position.

26. sərita dʒəmoro-dud kʰɑːti ɑe
    Sarita  frozen-milk.O  eat.IMPF  Aux.PRST
    ‘Sarita eats curd.’

The subject sərita ‘Sarita’ comes first in the sentence. The object dʒəmoro-dud ‘curd’ comes in the middle, and verb kʰɑːti ɑe ‘eats’ comes in the last. In English the order of object and verb is inverted from OV to VO. Here the verb kʰɑːti ɑe ‘eats’ agrees with the subject sərita ‘Sarita’, and it is without an overt case-marker. We can also write the sentence (26) such as:

26.a. dʒəmoro-dud kʰɑːti ɑe sərita
    frozen-milk  eat  Aux.PRST.SG  Sarita
    ‘Sarita eats curd.’

26.b. dʒəmoro-dud sərita kʰɑːti ɑe
    frozen-milk  Sarita  eat  Aux.PRST.SG
    ‘Sarita eats curd.’

The word order in Bhadarwahi is flexible to an explanation for the subject and the object. The word order of an assertive, negative, interrogative, and imperative remain different from each other. The changes in person, number, gender, case, aspect, tense, and mood are also observed in the Bhadarwahi language.

4.2 Subject-verb agreement

Bhadarwahi verb agrees with a noun phrase which is not followed by an overt post-position. Unless there is a post-position after the subject of a sentence, the verb will agree with the subject in person, number and gender. The subject NP triggers the agreement. Consider the following sentences:

27. bepu dʒi har beri vaiʃanu dewi gaːte an
    father HON every year Vaishno Devi go.IMPF AUX.PRST.PL
    ‘Father visits Vaishno Devi every year.’

The subject is third person singular honorific bepu dʒi ‘father’ in (27) and the verb is accordingly marked plural goːte ‘go’, and the auxiliary an marks tense and plural, and it also shows that honorific singular subjects are marked plural.

28. mohan kane salmo peni sei kʰedʒ raore an
    Mohan and Salma water from play live.PROG AUX.PRST.PL
    ‘Mohan and Salma are playing with water.’
The subject in (28) has two third person singular nouns Mohan ‘Mohan’ and Salma ‘Salma’ conjunct with kane ‘and’, which constitute a plural subject. The verb and auxiliary (a tense marker) is marked plural accordingly.

29. məsərə dʒi bare bale zote aŋ teacher HON very slowly say AUX.PRST.PL
   ‘The teacher speaks very slowly.’

The subject in (29) is a third person singular honorific and the verb and auxiliary (a tense marker) is marked plural (honorific gets a plural verb form). The modifier bare ‘very’ and adverb bale ‘slowly’ agrees with the verb zote ‘say’.

30. tus har dihoːre tesere kə: gəːte atʰ you.2.SG daily day him near go AUX.PRST
   ‘You go to him every day.’

The subject in (30) is a second person singular pronoun. Bhadarwahi has three different words for second person reflecting politeness hierarchy like Hindi. They are:

- tu ‘you’ (an impolite form),
- tus ‘you’ (more polite), and
- tusəyou’ similar to ap ‘you’ in Hindi (the most polite)

31. sərətankəɾi eri roṭṭi kʰai Sarita ERG maize of chapatti eat.PST
   ‘Sarita ate a chapatti made of maize.’

As we can see in (31) that noun phrase sarita is followed by an overt post-position aï that is an ergative marker. The verb kʰai ‘ate’ agrees with object-head roṭṭi ‘chapatti’. The object-head ‘chapatti is a feminine noun and that’s why we have verb form kʰai ‘ate’ and not kʰəw ‘ate’ which is used for masculine.

5. Typological overview

The major typological features of the Bhadarwahi language have been summarized and presented in Table 9:

| Grammatical features | Types of features |
|----------------------|------------------|
| Unmarked clause order | SOV |
| Direct/Indirect object | Indirect object precedes the direct object |
| Adposition | Postposition |
| Genitive noun | Genitive precedes noun |
| Deictic system | Proximate/distal |

Table 9: Some typological features of Bhadarwahi
### Grammatical features

| Grammatical features | Types of features |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| Adjective            | Adjective-Head, the adjective follows the standard of comparison |
| Verb affixes         | Mainly prefixing, also suffixing, infixing in causatives |
| Agreement            | |

### 6. Conclusion

The paper summarizes some grammatical features of the Bhadarwahi language. Due to prolonged contact with Hindi, Dogri and Kashmiri speakers, the natives of Doda and Bhadarwah have borrowed script and few lexical items from these languages. Despite this, Bhadawahi is a different language and the language does not show any mutual intelligibility with Dogri, Hindi and Kashmiri. However, other languages spoken it the region such as Pangwali, Siraji, Padri and Bhalesi show lexical similarity up to fifty to fifty five percent.

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