

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. Nadaljna 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 Bhaiderkasi) 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.

Table 1: SIL International 2009 documents Bhadarwahi as

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 Bhadarwahi 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.

Table 2: Lexical similarity of Bhadarwahi with other Pahari languages

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:/, /ə/, /o:/, and /o/, and four low vowels /ə/, /o/, /a/, and /a:/. In terms of backness, there are four front vowels /i:/, /i/, /e/ and /e:/, one central vowel /ə/, and six back vowels /u:/, /u/, /o:/, /o/, /a/, and /a:/.

Table 3: Vowels in Bhadarwahi

	Front	Central	Back
High	i:		u:
Lower High	i		u
Mid	e, e:		o:
Lower Mid		ə	o
Low			ɑ, ɑ:

There are five pairs of short and long vowels: /i/ and /i:/, /a/ and /ɑ:/, /e/ and /e:/, /u/ and /u:/, and /o/ and /o:/. As in: d̪lɑ 'marriage', d̪lɑ: 'brother', koɽi 'where', koɽi: 'a leper', kero 'did', ke:ro 'how', muʃo 'mother's sister's husband', mu:ʃo 'mouse', horo 'and', and ho:ro 'another'. Stress is not a phonemic feature in Bhadarwahi language. Generally a syllable having a consonant cluster gets stressed. As in: kənne 'and', d̪zəkʰno 'bite', həd̪d̪ '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: piɲo 'to drink', sukkʰo 'dry', kʰɑɲo '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: həro 'green', həsno 'to laugh', and dərjɑ '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 ɟ 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, pəttərũ 'back', həd̪d̪ 'bone', kənn 'ear', səpp 'snake', ɟəpp 'hide', bətt̪ʃo 'child', t̪əkki 'water-mill', məkku 'axe', ʃukku 'dry', and pəkkʰo 'fan'.

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					ʈ	ɖ			k	g		
Plosive (+asp)	p ^h	b ^h	t ^h	d ^h					ʈ ^h	ɖ ^h			k ^h	g ^h		
Nasal		m			n				ɳ		ɲ		ŋ			
Affricate											tʃ	dʒ				
Affricate (+asp)											tʃ ^h	dʒ ^h				
Trill					r											
Tap									ɽ							
Fricative					s	z	ʃ				ç					h
Fricative (+asp)						z ^h					ç ^h					
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, ta ‘and’, tā ‘then’, ba ‘hit’, bā ‘forearm’, zid ‘obstinacy’, zīd ‘darling’, d^hou ‘washed’, d^hoũ ‘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’, ka: ‘which’ and ki: ‘why’, ded ‘sister’ and dɑ:d ‘grandmother’ (paternal), and go:ɽ ‘cow shed’ and guɽ ‘sugar’.

Almost all consonants are attested in all positions, except [ɳ], [ɲ] 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: kwantʃ ‘wife’, gj: gjani ‘sikh priest’ etc, consonant cluster (velar stop + consonant) at word middle position, kk: dəkku ‘tradition dance of Bhadarwah’, kk^h: kukk^hdi ‘hen’, kɽ: kəkɽɑ ‘crab’, etc, consonant cluster (affricate + consonant) at word middle position, tʃk: hitʃki ‘hiccup’, tʃtʃ: kətʃtʃu ‘unripe’, tʃtʃ^h: ətʃtʃ^hɑ ‘yes’ etc, consonant cluster (retroflex + consonant) at word middle position, ʈk: uʈka ‘bounce’ and ʈt: kəʈtər ‘strong belief’ etc, consonant cluster (dental + consonant) at word middle position, tl: pətlo ‘thin’, tt: səttu ‘a dish’ etc, consonant cluster (bilabial + consonant) at word middle position, pk: tʃipkəli ‘gecko’, pɽ: tʃəpɽo ‘flat’, pn: d^hupno ‘to lock’, etc, consonant cluster (nasal + consonant) at word middle position, nk: t^hənkɑ ‘coin’, nk^h: pənnk^ho ‘fan’, etc, consonant cluster (continuant + consonant) at word middle position, jt: rajto ‘a yoghurt dish’, wr: nəwrəte ‘a nine day religious festival’ etc, consonant cluster (liquid + consonant) at word middle position, lk: nəlki ‘thread roll’, lg: p^halgun ‘last month of Hindu calendar’ etc, and consonant cluster (sibilant +

consonant) at word middle position, sk: nəskwər ‘a local tobacco’ and sr: nəsrɪ ‘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 hunɔ məze mə dɪ̃
I.1.SG now good in am.PRES.SG.
‘I am fine now.’

2.4.2 High-rise in interrogatives

2. kun tus mĩ pəsənd kerte ətʰ
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 kəm ker (impolite)
this work do
‘Do this work.’

2.5 Canonical form

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

V	i: ‘this’, u: ‘that’, o ‘oh’, etc.
VC	edʒ ‘come’, a:n ‘bring’, uʰ ‘get up’
VCC	ukʰl ‘a utensil to crush nut’, ‘utr ‘get down’, etc.
CV	kʰa: ‘eat’, gə ‘go’, zo ‘say’, mə ‘not’, etc.
CCV	ɖlɑ ‘marriage’, ɖlɑ: ‘brother’, etc.
CVC	nɑ:l ‘neck’, kuŋ ‘what’, sək ‘doubt’, etc.
CVCC	çəpp ‘hide’, səpp ‘snake’, kənn ‘ear’, etc.
CVCCC	məŋʈl ‘chant’, əŋʈl ‘inside’, hejɖl ‘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. pəkkʰo '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', dlag 'cheetah', bæcco 'kid', etc. A borrowed noun from a foreign language also takes only one form to represent either of the genders e.g. graundɔ '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.

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 partitives 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, gʰoɔ 'horse', tʃatʃo 'uncle', bəttʃo 'kid', kaw 'crow', səpp 'snake', luhar 'black-smith', kumhar 'potter', pəkkʰo 'fan' alike. Most females are feminine nouns. Most of the feminine nouns get suffixed with /i/ sound, and rest are consonant ending, such as gʰoɔri 'mare', tʃatʃi 'aunt', luharni 'blacksmith's wife', kumharni 'potter's wife', tʃəpli 'slippers' kutəri 'bitch',

bəççʰi ‘cow’ etc. There are nouns which are inherently masculine or feminine as miṭl ‘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: tʃændərɒr ‘Monday’. Trees and cereals are generally masculine: pipəl ‘fig-tree’, ənɑ:r ‘pomegranate, tʃʰolo ‘gram’ but there are exceptions also in kukəri ‘maize’, dʒleik ‘neem-tree’, etc. are feminine. Names of the languages are feminine: hindi ‘Hindi’, iŋliʃ ‘English’, bʰədərɒhi ‘Bhadarwahi’, etc. Jewels are masculine: sonnu ‘gold’, lūo ‘iron’, moti ‘pearl’, hiro ‘diamond’, etc. Names of spices are feminine: pipəli ‘chilly’, sōpʰ ‘fennel’, loŋ ‘clove’, ilatʃi ‘cardamom’, etc. Names of the mountains are masculine: trikuṭa ‘Trikuta-hills’, pi:r-pəndʒal ‘Pir-Panjal’, himgiri ‘Himalayas’, etc.

3.1.2 Size and Gender

The size of the things is also responsible for assigning gender, e.g. pəhɑr ‘mountain’ is masculine, whereas pəhɑri ‘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: rɑ:kəʃ ‘demon’ (M) and rɑ:kəʃəŋi ‘female-demon’(F), bɑ:ndər ‘monkey’ (M) and bɑ:ndri ‘female-monkey’, dʰobi ‘washer-man’ (M) and dʰobəŋ ‘washer-woman’. Feminine suffixes are: əŋi, əŋ, əŋi, i, ni, and ŋi.

3.2 Pluralization

The vowel sounds /ɑ/, /ā/, /i/, and /ī/ are generally employed as a suffix for the pluralization in Bhadarwahi. But the word final and medial vowel also alters and changes in /e/, /ě/, and /ɑ:/. As in: məm ‘father-in-law’and məma ‘fathers-in-law’, bein ‘sister’ and beina ‘sisters’, bʰeĩ ‘buffalo’ and bʰeĩā ‘buffaloes’, kui ‘girl’ and kuija ‘girls’, and gʰəɽollu ‘pitcher’ and gʰəɽolle ‘pitchers’, and dʰla ‘brother’and dʰla: ‘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 mətʃʰu ‘boy’:

Figure 1: Declension

Case	Number	
	Singular	Plural
Nominative	mətt ^h u	mətt ^h e
Oblique	mətt ^h e	mətt ^h ɑ
Vocative	mətt ^h ɑ	mətt ^h o

For the word mətt^hu ‘boy’ the nominative plural and the oblique singular have a same form mətt^he, the oblique plural and the vocative singular have the same form mətt^hɑ, and the nominative singular and the vocative plural have the mətt^hu and mətt^ho forms respectively. As we can see vowel alteration is also a process in addition to suffixation in the Bhadarwahi language.

5. mətt^hu g^həre a:to æ
boy.SG home.DO go.IMPF AUX.PRST
‘The boy goes to home.’
6. mətt^he g^həre gɑ:te ən
boy.PL home.DO go.IMPF AUX.PRST
‘The boys go to home.’
7. mətt^he ĩ kəm kero
boy.SG ERG work do.PST
‘The boy did the work.’
8. mətt^he ĩ kəm kero
boy.PL ERG work do.PST
‘The boys did the work.’
9. o mətt^hɑ ira edʒ
O boy.SG here come.IMP
‘O boy, come here!’
10. o mətt^ho ira edʒɑ
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 rətɕo 'red':

Figure 2: For rətɕo 'red'

Singular			
M		F	
Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique
rətɕo 'red'	rətɕe 'red'	rətɕi 'red'	rətɕi 'red'

Plural			
M		F	
Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique
rətɕe 'red'	rətɕe 'red'	retɕi 'red'	retɕi 'red'

Figure 3: For həro 'green'

Singular			
M		F	
Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique
həro 'green'	həre 'green'	həri 'green'	həri 'green'

Plural			
M		F	
Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique
həre 'green'	həre 'green'	heri 'green'	heri 'green'

Popularly used invariant adjectives are: bəɖjəkəl 'ugly', əgrəũ 'next', ɔl 'circular', sətɕ 'true', əmi:r 'rich', ɔəri:b 'poor', kəi 'many', dani 'benevolent' etc. The commonly used adverbs in Bhadarwahi language are: huɕi 'now', tetʰɑ:li 'then', ketʰɑ:li 'when', iɕi 'here', uɕi 'there', koɕi 'where', kentɕere 'how', kiɖzo 'why', hərdiɦɑ:ɕe 'daily', ləɔɑtɑ:r 'continuously', astə 'slowly', ɕupkerta 'silently', tʰi:k-tʰɑ:k 'well' alike.

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 /jəũ/ to the base form. The feminine form shows /fi/ suffixation, such as

10th: dəjəũ, 20th: bijəũ, 30th: tlijəũ and 40th: çelijəũ. The multiplicatives are formed by suffixation 'gəŋ' (which may inflect for person and gender) to cardinal numerals such as: 2 times: du + gəŋo = dugəŋo, 3 times: tli + gəŋo = tligəŋo, 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.

Figure 4: Personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
First person	əũ 'I' (subject)	əsa 'we' (subject)
	mĩ 'I' (ergative)	əseĩ '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	tusa '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
	tujfo/i/e 'you' (possessive) +HON	tujfö/i/ě 'you' (possessive) +HON

	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.)	unkero/i/e 'their' (possessive)
	tesero/i/e 'his/her' (poss.)	tenkero/i/e 'their' (possessive)

3.5.2 Definite and indefinite pronouns

Figure 5 shows definite and indefinite pronouns.

Figure 5: Definite and indefinite pronouns

	Definite pronouns	
	Singular	Plural
Proximate	in 'this' (subject)	ina 'these' (subject)
	ini 'this' (ergative)	ineĩ 'these' (ergative)
	isero/i/e 'this' (possessive)	inkero/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)
	kentji 'someone' (ergative)	kentjeĩ 'some' (ergative)
	kentj-ero/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
kən 'who' (subject)	kəun '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 k^hə 'eat' admits the following forms:

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	k ^h ə	k ^h ət ^h
Feminine	k ^h ə	k ^h ət ^h

The habitual form (by imperfective) is generated by the addition of a base /t/ to which is added the gender and number suffixes: o, əe, i, and ie. Thus, the base form k^hə 'eat' admits the following:

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	k ^h ət ^o	k ^h ət ^{əe}
Feminine	k ^h ət ⁱ	k ^h ət ^{ie}

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 əũ '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 əũ '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	ɑĩ	t ^h u
Masculine Third Person Singular	X-to	ɑe	t ^h u
Masculine Second Person	X-to	əs	t ^h u
Feminine First Person Singular	X-ti	ɑĩ	t ^h i
Feminine Third Person Singular	X-ti	ɑe	t ^h i
Feminine Second Person singular	X-ti	əs	t ^h i
Feminine Second Person plural/honorific	X-ti	ət ^h	t ^h i:
Feminine First Person Plural	X-ti	əm	t ^h i:
Masculine First Person Plural	X-te	əm	t ^h ie
Masculine Second Person plural/honorific	X-te	ət ^h	t ^h ie
Masculine Third Person Plural	X-te	ən	t ^h ie

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	k ^h ɑu/i	k ^h ɑu/i
Feminine	k ^h ɑi/u	k ^h ɑu/i

When the verb agrees with object (feminine):

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	k ^h əi	k ^h ei
Feminine	k ^h ɑi	k ^h ei

When the verb agrees with object (masculine):

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	k ^h au	k ^h ae
Feminine	k ^h au	k ^h ae

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'	k ^h au	k ^h eɪ	k ^h ɑɪ	k ^h eɪ	k ^h ɑɪ	k ^h eɪ	k ^h ɑɪ
'sleep'	z ^h ɔlo	z ^h ulɪ	z ^h ule	z ^h ulɪ	z ^h ulo	z ^h ulɪ	z ^h ule
'run'	dowəɾo	dowəɾɪ	dowəɾe	dewəɾɪ	dowəɾo	dowəɾɪ	dowəɾe
'fall'	fɪgo	fɪɾɪ	fɪge	fɪɾɪ	fɪgo	fɪɾɪ	fɪge
'understand'	səmzo	səmzɪ	səmze	səmzɪ	səmzo	səmzɪ	səmze
'see'	hero	heru	hero	heru	hero	heru	hero
'drink'	pɪw	pɪɾɪ	pɪw	pɪɾɪ	pɪw	pɪɾɪ	pɪw
'bath'	nəhəu	nɪhəu	nəhəu	nɪhəu	nəhəu	nɪhəu	nəhəu
'write'	lɪk ^h o	lɪk ^h u	lɪk ^h o	lɪk ^h u	lɪk ^h o	lɪk ^h u	lɪk ^h o
Perfective Aspect Form	You PL.F	You HON.M	You HON.F	He	She	They M	They F
'eat'	k ^h eɪ	k ^h ɑ:ɪ	k ^h eɪ	k ^h ɑɪ	k ^h eɪ	k ^h ɑ:ɪ	k ^h e:ɪ
'sleep'	z ^h ulɪ	z ^h ule	z ^h ulɪ	z ^h ulo	z ^h ulɪ	z ^h ule:	z ^h ulɪ
'run'	dewəɾɪ	dowəɾe	dowəɾɪ	dowəɾo	dowəɾɪ	dowəɾe:	dewəɾɪ
'fall'	fɪɾɪ	fɪge	fɪɾɪ	fɪɾo	fɪɾɪ	fɪge:	fɪɾi:
'understand'	səmzɪ	səmz ^h e	səmz ^h ɪ	səmzo	səmzɪ	səmz ^h e	səmz ^h ɪ
'see'	heru	he:ro	he:ru	hero	heru	he:ro	he:ru
'drink'	pɪɾɪ	pi:w	pi:ɾi	pɪw	pɪɾɪ	pi:w	pi:ɾi
'bath'	nɪhəu	nəhəu	nɪhəu	nəhəu	nɪhəu	nəhəu	nɪhəu
'write'	lɪk ^h u	lɪk ^h o:	lɪk ^h u:	lɪk ^h o	lɪk ^h u	lɪk ^h o:	lɪk ^h u:

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.

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	rəoro	rəore
Feminine	rəori	reori:

11. rəmeʃ əu
Ramesh come.PST
'Ramesh came.'
12. rəmeʃ i kəm kero
Ramesh ERG work do.PST
'Ramesh did the work.'

A verb like kerno 'to do' requires two nominal expressions as in (12).

13. rəmeʃ i həri-e/dʒo peɪso ditto
Ramesh ERG Hari-IO/OBL money give.PST
'Ramesh gave money to Hari.'

A verb like deno '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	ɑ̃i	t ^h u
Masculine Third Person Singular	X-ro	ae	t ^h u
Masculine Second Person Singular	X-ro	ae	t ^h u
Feminine First Person Singular	X-ri	ɑ̃i	t ^h i
Feminine Third Person Singular	X-ri	ae	t ^h i
Feminine Second Person singular	X-ri	ae	t ^h i
Feminine Second Person plural/honorific	X-ri	ət ^h	t ^h i:
Feminine First Person Plural	X-ri	əm	t ^h i:
Masculine First Person Plural	X-re	əm	t ^h ie
Masculine Second Person plural/honorific	X-re	ət ^h	t ^h ie
Masculine Third Person Plural	X-re	ən	t ^h ie

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 ga:ŋo 'to go'

The ga:ŋo 'to go' occurs frequently with many verbs, for example: k^hei ga:ŋo 'to eat', z^huli ga:ŋo 'to sleep', b^hoi ga:ŋo 'to happen', keri ga:ŋo 'to do', meri ga:ŋo 'to die', etc.

14. koskoi-koskoi ero b^hoto ae
 Sometimes this happen.IMPF AUX.PRST
 'Sometimes this happens.'
15. koskoi-koskoi ero b^hoi ga:to ae
 Sometimes this happen go.IMPF AUX.PRST
 'Sometimes this happens.'
16. mere edzte ei u/te k^hijki dzew
 my.POSS come.IMPF EMPF he crawl go.PST
 'He left as I came.'
17. te/u meri dzew
 he.III.SG die go.PST
 'He died.'

In (14) the verb b^hoto 'to happen' is intransitive, but the compound verb b^hoi ga:to '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 edzəŋo 'to come'

Another verb edzəŋo 'to come' occurs frequently with many verbs, for example: b^hoi edzəŋo 'to happen', nəji edzəŋo 'to run', keri edzəŋo 'to do', nissi edzəŋo 'to pass', etc.

18. tu kla:si mə rə dzəldi nissi edza
 you.II.SG class in from early pass come.IMP
 'You come from the class early.'

Generally the compound verb with edzəŋo '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 *çəddəno* 'to put'

Another verb *çəddəno* 'to put' occurs frequently with many verbs, for example: *tlor* *çəddəno* 'to crush', *tju:fi çəddəno* 'to suck', *meri çəddəno* 'to kill', *keri çəddəno* 'to do', *k^holi çəddəno* 'to open', etc.

19. uni sɑ:ro kəm k^hətəm kerɪ çəddə
 he.OBL all work finish do put.PST
 'He finished all the work.'

The compound verb with *çəddəno* 'to put' comes with transitive verbs.

Compounds are also formed with *neɲo* 'to take', *deɲo* 'to give', *rək^həno* 'to put', *pəno* 'to fall', *uɲno* 'to get up', *bifəno* 'to sit', etc.

20. te k^hij-k^hij həssi pei
 he.3.SG bloom.REDUP laugh fall.PST
 'He had a belly laugh.'

21. rəwi ətʃɑ:nək ut^hi k^həɾo b^huo
 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: *zəbɑ:n deɲi* 'to promise' (literal meaning is 'to give tongue'), *hət^h deɲo* 'to marry' (literal meaning is 'to give hand') and *dɑ: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. ʃərmɑ: ho:r i suref-e əpni kuj ero het^h ditto
 Sharma HON ERG Suresh-IO his.POSS daughter of hand give.PST
 'Mr. Sharma married his daughter to Suresh.'

23. mero tə sənsɑr erɑ dil b^heri dʒewro əe
 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 *het^hditto* 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 mət̪t̪hero kʰija:l rəkʰo t̪u:*
 He.ERG child.POSS care put.PERF AUX.PST
 'He took care of the child.'
25. *iʀi mət̪t̪hɑ: kero kʰija:l rəkʰo ɡɑ:to ae*
 here child.PL of care put.PERF go.IMPFX AUX.PRST
 'Here children are being taken care of.'

In sentence (24) the verb agrees with the masculine singular noun *kʰija:l* 'care', and in (25) *kʰija:l* 'care' agrees with the verbal complex *rəkʰo ɡɑ:toae*.

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 i: (in past tense) which inflects for the gender and number suffixes: e and ən. The future tense is marked on the main verb by base /l/ which inflects for the gender and number: o, e, i, and i:.

	Present	
	Singular	Plural
Masculine	ɑ	ən
Feminine	ɑ	ən
	Past	
	Singular	Plural
	tʰu	tʰie
	tʰi	tʰi:

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

	Presumptive	
	Singular	Plural
Masculine	bʰoto	bʰote
Feminine	bʰoti	bʰoti:

3.6.7 Verb Inflection

Bhadarwahi verbs exhibit the following inflection:

Root	pəɾ 'read'
Infinitive	pəɾno
Imperfective participle (Masculine)	pəɾto
Imperfective participle (Feminine)	pəɾti
Perfective participle (Masculine)	pəɾo
Perfective participle (Feminine)	pəɾi
Causative (I)	pəɾhanu (cause X to V)
Causative (II)	pəɾwahanu (cause Y to cause X to V)

Figure 8: Verb inflection for verbs

Root	Base form for infinitive	Base form for imperfective	Base form for perfective	Base form for causative-I	Base form for causative-II
pəɾ	base /n/ and suffixes o, e, i, ĩ, u are added for number and gender	base /t/ and suffixes o, i, e, ĩ, u are added for number and gender	base /r/ and suffixes o, i, e, ĩ, u are added for number and gender	base /han/ and suffixes o, i, e, ĩ, u are added for number and gender	base /wahan/ and suffixes o, i, e, ĩ, u are added for number and gender
Root Meaning	Infinitive	Imperfective	Perfective	Causative (I) Participle	Causative (II) Participle
pəɾ read	pəɾno	pəɾto (M) pəɾti (F)	pəɾo (M) pəɾi (F)	pəɾano	pəɾwano
uɽ ^h stand	uɽ ^h no	uɽ ^h to (M) uɽ ^h ti (F)	uɽ ^h o (M) uɽ ^h i (F)	uɽ ^h ano	uɽ ^h wano
əɳ bring	əɳno	əɳto (M) əɳti (F)	əɳo (M) əɳi (F)	/	əɳwano
uzəɾ devastate	uzəɾno	uzəɾto (M) uzəɾti (F)	uzəɾo (M) uzəɾi (F)	uzəɾano	uzəɾwano
uɕəɾ jump	uɕəɾno	uɕəɾto (M)	uɕəɾo (M)	uɕəɾano	uɕəɾwano

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. sərɪtə dʒəmoro-dud kʰɑ:ti æ
 Sarita frozen-milk.O eat.IMPF Aux.PRST
 'Sarita eats curd.'

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

- 26.a. dʒəmoro-dud kʰɑ:ti æ sərɪtə
 frozen-milk eat Aux.PRST.SG Sarita
 'Sarita eats curd.'
- 26.b. dʒəmoro-dud sərɪtə kʰɑ:ti æ
 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. bepɪ dʒi hər bəri vɑiʃnɪ dewi gɑ:te ən
 father HON every year Vaishno Devi go.IMPF AUX.PRST.PL
 'Father visits Vaishno Devi every year.'

The subject is third person singular honorific bepɪ dʒi 'father' in (27) and the verb is accordingly marked plural gɑ:te 'go', and the auxiliary ən marks tense and plural, and it also shows that honorific singular subjects are marked plural.

28. mohən kəne səlɪmɑ peni sei kʰedʒi rəore ən
 Mohan and Salma water from play live.PROG AUX.PRST.PL
 'Mohan and Salma are playing with water.'

The subject in (28) has two III person singular nouns *mohən* ‘Mohan’ and *səlma* ‘Salma’ conjunct with *kəne* ‘and’, which constitute a plural subject. The verb and auxiliary (a tense marker) is marked plural accordingly.

29. *mɑ:sʈər dʒi bəre bəle zote ən*
 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 *bəre* ‘very’ and adverb *bəle* ‘slowly’ agrees with the verb *zote* ‘say’.

30. *tus hər dihɑ:re tesere kɑ: gɑ:te ətʰ*
 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
tusa ‘you’ similar to *ap* ‘you’ in Hindi (the most polite)

31. *sərita əi kukəri eri roʈʈi kʰəi*
 Sarita ERG maize of chapatti eat.PST
 ‘Sarita ate a chapatti made of maize.’

As we can see in (31) that noun phrase *sərita* is followed by an overt post-position *əi* that is an ergative marker. The verb *kʰəi* ‘ate’ agrees with object-head *roʈʈi* ‘chapatti’. The object-head ‘chapatti’ is a feminine noun and that’s why we have verb form *kʰəi* ‘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:

Table 9: Some typological features of Bhadarwahi

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

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, Bhadarwahi is a different language and the language does not show any mutual intelligibility with Dogri, Hindi and Kashmiri. However, other languages spoken in the region such as Pangwali, Siraji, Padri and Bhalesi show lexical similarity up to fifty to fifty five percent.

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