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Some Preliminary Data on Bhadarwahi Morphology and Phonology

Bhadarwahi (Bdh in map on next tweet), natively [bʱə'ɖʐɑ:i], is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in northern India in the Doda district of Jammu.

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Forms part a continuum of the so-called "West Pahari lects", the territory of Bhadarwahi proper is bounded to the north by the river Chenab on whose other side Sirazi is spoken.

Extremely linguistically diverse region, and these North Himalayan lects are often said ...

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to bridge the "Kashmiri-type" languages with "Punjabi-type" languages.

Unlike Kashmiri and Punjabi, West Pahari is critically understudied. For Bhadarwahi, some short descriptions & wordlists are available, and only one real preliminary grammatical sketch (Dwivedi 2013).

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Literature on Bhadarwahi

- Thomas Grahame Bailey, *Grammar of Bhadrawāhī*, in T. G. Bailey, *The Languages of the Northern Himālayas*, Royal Asiatic Society (1908)
- George Abraham Grierson, *Bhadrawāhī and Bhaṭṭeśī*, in G. A. Grierson (ed.), *Linguistic Survey of India* (1898-1928), Vol. IX, Part IV
- Siddheshwar Varma, *The Neuter Gender in Bhadarwahi*, Indian Linguistics (1931)
- माधोलाल पाठा, भड़लाई शिक्खा, भड़लाई संस्था (1971) [in Bhadarwahi with Hindi translation]
- मौलू राम ठकुर, भद्रवाही, in मौ. रा. ठकुर, पहाड़ी भाषा, सन्मार्ग प्रकाशन (1975) [in Hindi]
- Pritam Krishan Kaul, *Bhadrawahi*, in Omkar N. Koul (ed.), *The Languages of Jammu and Kashmir*, Orient BlackSwan (2014)
- Amitabh Vikram Dwivedi, *A Grammar of Bhadarwahi*, Lincom Europa (2013)

Very meagre written literature in the language, though a translation of the Bhagawad Gita exists (1938). Pādhā (1971) is a learners' guide with original texts in the language. I have used that as well as help from native speaker @Arpna_Chandail to record what I have.

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The consonantal inventory of the language is fairly standard Indic. Notable are the retroflex lateral affricates that developed from some Sanskrit rhotic clusters.

[f] & [x] occur as allophones of /p^h/ and /k^h. Free variation between [f] and [p^h] as in the rest of ...

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	labial	"dental"	"retroflex"	"palatal"	velar	glottal
nasal	m ମ୍	n ନ୍	(n) (ନ୍)			
stop	p p ^h b b ^h ପ୍ ଫ୍ ବ୍ ଭ୍	t t ^h d d ^h ତ୍ ଥ୍ ଦ୍ ଧ୍	t̪ t̪ ^h d̪ d̪ ^h ଦଣ୍ଡ ଇଣ୍ଡ ହଣ୍ଡ		k k ^h g g ^h କ୍ ଖ୍ ଗ୍ ଘ୍	
affricate		ts ts ^h dz dz ^h ଚ୍ଛ୍ ଜ୍ଞ୍ ଝ୍ ଙ୍ଞ୍	t̪t̪ (t̪ ^h) d̪d̪ (d̪ ^h) q̪q̪ (q̪ ^h) ଦଲ୍ (ଦଲ୍ଲ) ଇଲ୍ ହଲ୍	c̪c̪ (c̪ ^h) j̪j̪ (j̪ ^h)		
fricative	[f]	s (z) ସ (ଜ୍)		f ଶ୍	[x]	h ହ୍
approximant	v ବ୍			j ଯ୍		
trill/flap		r ର୍	t̪t̪ ହଣ୍ଡ			
lateral		l ଲ୍	(l) (ଲ୍)			

... Indo-Aryan speaking India among non-old speakers. The allophony between [x] and [k^h] needs more investigation.

The phonemicity of the phones in parentheses () is doubtful. [z] is an allophonic variant of /dz/ in the inherited (or assimilated) vocabulary, but ...

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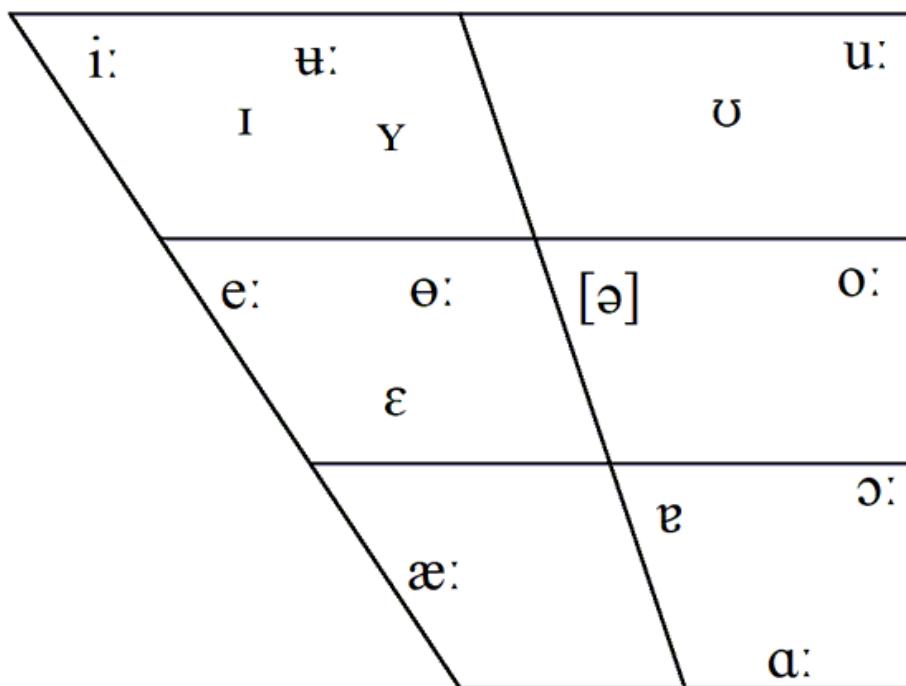
... Perso-Arabic loans don't ever seem to have [dʒ] occurring in place of [z]. /n/ and /l/ have been noted in the language since Bailey's first description, but I have found no evidence of them. Either Bailey recorded a different dialect, or that the language has lost ...

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the retroflex nasal and lateral in the last 100 years. I expect /ʈʰ/ to occur in [ʈ(ʰ)i:] ~ [ʈ(ʰ)ɑ:ɪ] ('woman'), but not sure.

The vocalic system is more complicated, and I only have a tentative analysis. The front-rounded vowels are at least partly ...

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... conditioned by following front vowels, but much like the central vowels of Kashmiri-Kishtwari, may have attained independent status, e.g., ['pu:ri] ('complete, full'), [tsø:r] ('four'), ['pydzi] ('arrive').

Currently working on glossing texts to understand the ...

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Bhadarwahi 1st & 2nd person pronouns (direct case):

əõ 1.SG, tu 2.SG
əs 1.PL, tus 2.PL

Kishtwari 1st & 2nd person pronouns (direct case):

bii 1.SG, tus 2.SG
əs 1.PL, tus 2.PL

Kashmiri 1st & 2nd person pronouns (direct case):

bii 1.SG, tsii 2.SG
əsj 1.PL, tohj 2.PL

... morphology and syntax. So far, a standard Hindi-Punjabi-type model seems to fit. Alignment ergative in the perfect tenses, but Varma (1931) noted ergative pronouns being applied to intransitive verbs too in an "impersonal" construction.

Unlike the 4 Layer 1 case ...

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In Bhadarwahi,

mii: 'rõ;u | 1.SG.ERG cry.PST.SG
mii: 'fæs;u | 1.SG.ERG laugh.PST.SG

Could these be like the Kashmiri ergative intransitives? Cf. Kashmiri

me vod | 1.SG.ERG cry.PST.SG
me os | 1.SG.ERG laugh.PST.SG

... system of Kashmiri, Bhadarwahi follows Hindi-Punjabi in having just two, and other cases are built with Layer 2 enclitics to the oblique base.

3rd person pronouns and demonstratives follow the Kashmiri-type in distinguishing a third "non-deictic" level.

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Masculine singular third person ronouns/demonstratives/determiners:

Bhadarwahi: [i:fɪ] PROXIMATE, [o:fɪ] DISTAL, [tæ:] NON-DEICTIC

Kashmiri: [jɪ] PROXIMATE, [hʊ] DISTAL, [sʊ] NON-DEICTIC

[*"Non-deictic"* isn't a perfect description of this, and grammars of Bengali, Kashmiri, Palula, Kalasha etc. often call it "distal not-in-sight" or some such contrasted against "distal visible", but I feel that's not an adequate description. For the most part, they are interchangeable, and the semanto-pragmatic factors which favor the use of one over the other needs more investigation across these languages.]

Of note are the Sanskrit like personal endings on verbs which seem to defy default historical phonology!

Thanks to @Arpna_Chandail (Bhadrawahi), @BhagatAnjli (Kishtwari) and @kaeshour & @Dastaannn (Kashmiri) for helping me understand the linguistic picture of the north.

Sanskrit active indicative verbal endings (leaving out the dual):

-əmɪ 1.SG, -əsɪ 2.SG, -ətɪ 3.SG, -əməh 1.PL, -ətʰə 2.PL, -əntɪ

Bhadrawahi masculine verbal endings:

-i 1.SG, -es 2.SG, -e 3.SG, -əm 1.PL, -ətʰ 2.PL, -ən