BADAGA STUDIES

(Collected Papers)

By
Dr.R.K.Haldorai

2023

Introduction

Badaga, being a member Dravidian family of languages, has a very simple and unique grammatical system. It has regular number-gender system. There is definite demarcation of the occurrence of masculine, famine and neuter genders. Masculine and famine occur with respect to human nouns whereas the neuter occurs in all non-human animate and inanimate things.

The phonological system reveals that Badaga has five short vowels and correspondingly each short vowel has a long counterpart putting it in a neat structure. These ten vowels show a three-fold contrast of tongue-height (high, mid, low) and three-fold contrast of tongue-position (front, central, back). 'u' and 'o' are rounded and the others unrounded. It is to be remembered that the Dravidian linguists reconstructed these ten vowels as Proto-Dravidian vowels. These ten vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i ī		u ū
Mid	e ē		o ō
Low		a ā	

On the consonant level, Badaga has twenty member systems. There are no aspirated sounds in Badaga, which require lot of pain to produce. Fortunately, 'h' , as a lone aspirated was attested in Badaga once and in modern Badaga lost its aspirated character completely. The predominant feature which differs from the Tamil consonant is, Badaga developed five voiced consonants (g, j, ḍ, d, b) of its own. And the Tamil consonants ḷ, ṟ, ṉ are no more required for Badaga.

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar
Stop	p b	t d		c j	ṭ ḍ	k g
Nasal	m	n			ṇ	
Trill			r			

Lateral			l		ḷ
Fricative		s				h
Semivowel	v			y	

Among consonants Badaga maintained voiced and voiceless distinction

This volume is the collection of fifteen research papers presented in the DLA (Dravidian Linguistics Association) annual seminars. These papers were discussed in detail, and on the basis of the suggestions and comments offered by the participants during the discussions, the papers were revised for the publication. We are, indeed very happy to bring out this small volume and we sincerely hope that it will be very much useful to all those who are interested in the studies connected with various aspects of the Badaga language. These papers mainly deal with pronouns, cases, plural markers and particles of comparison. The last paper deals with the verb tā- and koḍu- . However in all these papers efforts are made to compare the Badaga systems with its counterparts of Tamil and Kannada.

Morphology of Badaga can be dived in to two groups viz. i.) roots and ii.) suffixes. While suffixes are bound elements most of the roots are free. Suffixes are added to roots to form bases, stems and words. Words are the biggest units Morphologically speaking we have three word classes i.) verbs, ii.) nouns, iii.) indeclinables (other than verb or noun). In this volume most of the papers are relating pronouns which is a part of noun class. Noun (compound noun) and verb (verbs *tā-, koṭu-, ī-*), each one indeclinables (case, paricles of comparison)

"Language has so many interrelationships with various aspects of human life that it can be studied from numerous points of view. All are valid and useful, as well as interesting in themselves. Linguistics is the science which attempts to understand language from the point of view of its internal structure. It is not, of course, isolated and wholly autonomous, but it does have a clearly and sharply delimited field of inquiry and has developed its own highly effective and quite characteristic method" (Gleason, An Introduction To Descriptive Linguistics).

"The Nilgiris are the most polyglot area in the Presidency. Not only do the Badagas , Todas, Kotas, and Kurumbas each speak a tongue which has been classified as a separate language or dialect, but the plateau stands where three vernaculars meet. The Tamil of Coimbatore, the Malayalam of Malabar and the Canarese of Mysore" (Madras District Gazetteers: the Nilgiris, W.Francis l908:l24).

"That the language of Badagas, which is a form of Canarese, should by now have so widely altered from its original as to be classified as a separate dialect argues that the movement took place nearer the twelfth than the sixteen century" (Madras District Gazetteer s: the Nilgiris, W.Francis l908:l28-l29).

Badaga has a regular pattern in the sound system. The sounds of Badaga can be pronounced very easily. Badaga grammar is a well defined system which is palatable to everyone.

The structure of the Badaga grammar is very simple and lucid to learn as they fall in well defined clear cut boundaries.

A native speaker of a language has the ability to produce and understand an indefinite number of sentences. Besides this he can produce and understand new sentences whenever situation arises.

A grammar of a language is not merely a description of the things found in that language. Rather it has the power to predict the possible new sentences to be produced in future.

Language has the three components: phonology morphology, and syntax

It is said that a language learning and understanding culture are the two sides of the same coin.

We are in the doldrums in documenting the grammar of the Badaga Language. Actually, Badaga language is in endangered language list. So, if we miss to documenting now, in future it may not possible to do.

There is a lot of scope for linguists to do work on different aspects the language.

The papers presented here deal with such interesting aspects, issues, problems.

Badagas are culturally continued to maintain certain distinctive traits. These are to be studied carefully. Traditions are not meaningless and they are part of civilisation's institutional memory. Hence, while documenting the trust tries to give due attention and weightage to them.

The Nelikolu Publications aim to serve the indigenous population as well as the outside scholars and general public. It is apparent that our task is tremendous one and we are seeking help from different quarters

BADAGA STUDIES

(Collected Papers)

Contents

1.) p- > h- Change in Badaga

2.) Particles of Comparison in Badaga

3.) Compound Nouns in Badaga

4.) Dative Case in Badaga

5.) Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns of Badaga

6.) Instrumental Case in Badaga

7.) Personal Singular Pronoun in the Badaga Language

8.) Plural Markers in Badaga

9.) Progressive Aspect in Badaga

10.) Sociative case in Badaga

11.) The Demonstrative Epicene Plural Pronoun of the Badaga Language

12. The Personal Plural Pronouns of the Badaga Language

13.) The Verbs tā-, koṭu-, ī- in Badaga

14.) The Badaga case system

15.) Accusative Case in Badaga

1. p- > h- Change in Badaga

As a special feature among Dravidian languages Kannada language attested p- > h- change which occurred quite early (Kulli 1976:304). " p-, There is no change in languages other than Modern Kannada. In old Kannada, p- was preserved until the 10th century as evidenced by inscriptions, but after that period it changed to h-. The change became complete by the 14th century but between the 10th and the 14th centuries, forms with p- became less and less in course of time and forms with h- tended to replace them. This process is clearly seen in prose rather than in verse" (Subrahmanyam 1983:371). According to Kannada grammar Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa and that is considered beautiful in provincial or native dialect (Kittel 1982:187-188).

[In his "Two Proto – Indian inscriptions from Chanhu Daro" (Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society XXII, Part IV :1936) Father Henry Heras observed. "The aspiration that substitutes the p in Kannada seems to be totally foreign to the Dravidian languages. Its use, therefore, is equivalent to dropping the initial consonant altogether".

It is difficult to agree with this view. Even in Tamil where k occurs in the middle of the word (e.g. akaram, pakaṭu, takavu) there is an incipient aspiration in vocalising k]

2.) Due to PDr. p- > h- change, in Badaga language also there are many words with initial h-. This aspect has been adduced as an argument for settling Badaga language's relationship with Kannada and even for deeming it's dialect of Kannada. This paper analyses the extent of p- > h- in Badaga and its irrelevance for settling the relationship of Badaga with Kannada.

3.) Since p- > h- change, is common to Kannada and Badaga, scholars tried to fix the date of separation of Badaga language. On the basis that Badaga diverged from Kannada, only after the Old Kannada initial p- changes to Middle and Modern Kannada initial h- (Emeneau l965:l8-l9). They ignored the fact that in spite of attested p- > h- change, Badaga still had many words in use with initial p-, and too many basic in nature.

e.g. *pakka* (near), *pacce* (green), *pacci* (female name), *paṭṭiḍi* (place, spot), *paṭṭini* (starvation), *paṭṭu* (towel), *paṭṭu (mane paṭṭu)* (piece of land or ground for house), *paṭṭe* (bark), *paṭakkana* (excellently), *paṭaarna* (very brightly), *paḍi (aṅgaḍi paḍi)* (measure of capacity), *paṇārna* (brightly), *paṇḍita* (medical man), *paṇṇu paṇṇu* (expression of throbbing pain), *pattakāṇe* (no where it is seen), *pattu (sī pattu)* (particles of boiled rice adhering to the cooking pot), *pattiya* (prescribed diet for patient), *panne* (hair-cutting in the front portion of the head), *panne* (female name), *pappiḍi* (broken space of plastering in a wall, *payilu* (sprout), *parrana* (noise of bird flying up suddenly from ground), *paradale* (if it is possible), *paḷḷemma* (a kind of buffalo).

pāṭa (āṭa pāṭa) (song), *pāṭa koḍe* (umbrella of palmyra leaves), *pāḍu (paṭṭa pāḍu)* (difficulty), *pāte* (flower plant), *pāda* (foot), *pādi* (half), *pāme* (story), *pāyi* (mat), *pāla* (portion, share), *pāla* (bridge), *pārpatti* (headman of division/nāḍu).

picci (female name), *piṭṭi* (buttock), *piṭakkane* (tightly), *piṇi piṇi* (expression of dim light), *pitta* (bile), *pittalāṭa* (deception, fraud), *piriya* (love), *pilli* (sorcery, magic), *piliṅgōlu* (flute), *piḷḷu* (narrow passage), *piḷḷe* (bathroom), *pisāti (demon)*, *pīke* (whistle, flute), *pīte* (very thin), *pīri* (female name), *pīlu* (lean).

puccu (mad), *pucca* (mad man), *pucci* (mad woman), *puṭṭi* (bottle), *puḍuku* (testicle), *puṇṇiya* (moral or religious merit), *puri* (fried rice), *puracāli* (bandicoot), *puripuri* (expression of roughness of skin), *puḷḷi* (dot), *pūse kaṇṇu* (white spotted eye), *pūse kunnūru* (name of a village), *pūjāri* (priest), *pūjiya* (worship), *pūṭṭu* (lock), *pūra* (full).

pekke (wings of birds), *peṭapeṭa* (wandering with madness), *peṭṭi* (box), peṭṭu (fitting nature), *peṭṭu kāra* (friend), *pēke* (female name), *pēsaṇe* (delirium), *pēyi* (demon), *pēre* (buttermilk).

pokkuva (simpleton), *poṭṭu* (fool), *poṭle* (a plant), *pottiṭṭu* (wheat dosai), *pottiṭṭa* (dull head), *podu* (common), *poy* (lie), *poraṅgāḍu* (a division), *poruḷu* (thing), *pore* (gap in a rock), poḷḷe (lightness), *pō* (scar), *pōru* (support, especially in fight), *poṭake* (hollow state), *pōkiri* (deceit, fraud), *pōṭe* (hollow), *pōli (kālipōli)* (spend thrift).

4.) The Kannada Encyclopaedia (KE) analyses this Badaga feature in brief and it points out that all initial p-words are not changed into initial h- words in Badaga. Many initial p- words are in daily

use in Badaga. In Kannada p- >h- change began after 10th century. Hence Badaga might have diverged from Kannada prior to 10th century A.D. KE therefore assigns Badaga the status of a separate language (Nayak l983:4l2). Differing from Emeneau and others KE holds that Badaga might have diverged from Kannada even earlier than 10th century.

5.) There are some words with initial p-, in use in present Kannada and they are considered as borrowings from neighbouring languages (Subrahmanyam l983:37l-372). Can one hold that similarly these initial p- words in Badaga also are borrowed from neighbouring languages? This hypothesis is not quite tenable. The number of such words is really too large for all of them have so been borrowed. At least if the borrowed words are nouns it will be reasonable to concede this hypothesis. But there are verbs also with initial p- in Badaga and verbs are considered rarely borrowed.

e.g. *pāḍu* (*pāḍupaḍu*) (to be dashed, to experience, to suffer), *paḍusu* (to make to dash, suffer), *pari* (to pluck), *pare* (to fly), *pāgu* / *paḷagu* (to be acquainted), *piccu* (to tear, to scatter), *pinnu* (to plait, braid), *piri* (to separate), *pisuku* (to squeeze), *pettu* (to plaster), *pēsu* (to talk in dream), *poṅgu* (to rage and foam), *poṭṭu* (to burst), *pottu* (to touch), *poru* (to endure), *peruku* (to concede with peaceful words), *peraṇu* (to be rolled), *peraṭu* (to roll).

6.) In the present day Badaga the word initial h- has been totally lost and the remaining vowel alone is pronounced. So the initial h- words became initial vowel words.

e.g. *hallu* > *allu* (tooth), *hālu* > *ālu* (milk), *hāḷu* > *āḷu* (ruin), *hoge* > *oge* (smoke), *hola* > *ola* (field), *hōgu* > *ōgu* (to go). This feature of loss of initial h- is found in present day Kannada also and is considered as substandard (Subrahmanyam l983:37). p- > h- > ɸ- change is found in Ālu Kurumba language also (Pilot Raichoor 2002:9).

7.) An attempt has been made to classify Badaga language into two dialects based on h- in the word initial position. It is said that the speech of the older generation preserve h- which is disappeared in the speech of the younger generation (Balakrishnan 2002:44).

8.) In Badaga only initial PDr. p- > h- change is found. There is no p- > h- change in word middle or word final. Whereas Kannada attested the change in word middle or word final position also.

e.g. *ihane, ihaṅge* (thus, in this manner), *ihalōga* (to laugh merrily), *tahataha* (anxiety, distress, grief).

" In the 12th and l3[th] centuries, intervocalic -p(p)- also changed to -h- as in *hōharu* < *pōparu* ; they will go ; *baha* < *bappa*, they will come; *baharu* < *bapparu* < *barper*, they will come" (Subrahmanyam l983:37l).

The Kannada grammar Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa stated that there were no Kannada verbs with final -h. But in latter period verbal themes with final -h (hu), were in use, that too replacing -p (pu) (Kittel l982:28).

9.) "Kannada is an extreme example of diglossia. Furthermore it has one of the more complex and divergent sets of colloquial, both regionally and socially. This makes it difficult to decide if an aberrant variant like Badaga is a dialect or another language" (McAlpin l99l:l8). Kannada dictionary (Butcher

l983) recorded with many initial p- and initial h- words, including some which are mere variants of the same words. Among these following Badaga language retained initial p- instead of initial h-.

e.g. Ka. *puccu, huccu* (foolishness); Ba. *puccu*

Ka. *paḷi, haḷi* (blame, rebuke); Ba. *paḷi*

Ka. *pusi, husi* (falsehood, lie); Ba. *poy, puyyi*

Ka. *pōṭe, hōṭe* (hollow of a tree) ; Ba. *pōṭe* (hollow)

Ka. *pisuku, hisuku* (to squeeze); Ba. *pisuku*

l0.) In some cases Badaga substitutes s- for h- found in Kannada word.

e.g. Ka. *heḍe* (the expanded hood of a serpent); Ba. *seḍe*

Ka. *halasu* (jack tree); Ba. *sakke*

Ka. *hiju* (to rend); Ba. *suli*

Ka. *here* (the slough of a serpent); Ba. *sōke*

Ka. *horasu* (a kind of pigeon); Ba. *sōre*

Ka. *hire, pore* (choking sensation while eating or drinking); Ba. *selamaḍu*

Ka. *hore* (neighbourhood, vicinity); Ba. *sāre*

ll.) It is interesting to note that in few words PDr. p- changes into b- in Badaga

e.g. Ka. *pakkale* (a kind of vessel); Ba. *baggare*

Ka. *paṇi* (stick, bat); Ba. *baṇe*

Ka. *pōṭe* (a hole in a tree); Ba. *bogaṭe*

Ta. *pambaram* (top); Ba. *bombare*

Ta. *pāgam* (share, division); Ba. *bāga*

Ta. *pōgam* (crop season); Ba. *bōga*

In a few cases Kannada too shows this feature

e.g.Ta. *puḻuti* (dust) ; Ka.,Ba. *būdi* (ashes)

Ta. *poṭṭu* (a circular mark on the forehead) ; Ka. *biṭṭu* ; Ba. *boṭṭu, beṭṭu*

Ta. *pirambu* (rattan) ; Ka. *beṭṭa* ; Ba. *beṭṭu*

l2.) In a few places the initial p- and initial h- of the same word are in use in Badaga but with different meaning.

e.g. *pacce* - green; *hacce* - half-boiled, unripe, tender etc.

piri – to separate; *hiri* – to demolish

piccu – to scatter; *hiccu* – to squirt

poru – to endure ; *horu* – to bear, carry on the head

poṭṭu – simpleton ; *hoṭṭu* – chaff, husk

l3.) PDr. p- > h- is a shared innovation found in Kannada and Badaga languages but with the following special features in Badaga (i) Many initial p- words are in use in Badaga language, (ii) Unlike Kannada, all initial p- words are not changed into initial h- words in Badaga, (iii) There is no p- > h- change in word middle or final in Badaga, (iv) In a few places s- replaces h- in Badaga, (v) in a few places initial p- and initial h- forms of the same words are in different meaning in Badaga. It is not

correct, therefore to hold p- > h- change as a major criterion in settling the relationship of Badaga language with Kannada.

Abbreviation: Ba. - Badaga

Ka. - Kannada

PDr. - Proto Dravidian

Ta. - Tamil

Bibliography

l.) Balakrishnan, R., (l999), Badaga A Dravidian Language, Annamalai University

2.) Bucher, Rev. J., (l983), Kannada – English Dictionary, AES, New Delhi (First Published l923)

3.) Emeneau, M.B., (l965), India and Historical Grammar, Annamalai University

4.) Kittel, Rev. F., (l982), A Grammar of the Kannada Language, AES, New Delhi (First Published l908)

5.) Kulli, J.S., (l976), Kēsirāja's Sabdamaṇidarpṇa, Karnataka University, Dharwar.

6.) McAlpin David, W., (l98l), Proto - Elamo Dravidian, the evidence and its implication, The American Philosophical Society, Piladelpia.

7.) Nayak, H.M., (Ed.) (l983), Kannada Visvakosa Vol. XI Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore.

8.) Pilot Raichoor, Christiane (2002), Ways questioning the history of language; some controversial points on Badaga language, 30th All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists, Karnataka University, Dharwar.

9.) Subrahmanyam, P.S., (l983), Dravidian Comparative Phonology, Annamalai University

----

2. Particles of Comparison in Badaga

There are two particles of comparison in Badaga language. They are *'aṅge'* and *'mākke'*. Both these terms denote meanings as like, kind, sample, way, manner, mode etc. Each had its own context of occurrence in this language.

'aṅge'

'aṅge' always follows verb.

e.g.   l.) *tiṅguvava nōḍi nē gavgerada aṅge*

moon / acc. see / P.T. like (like a dog is barking at the moon)

2.) *golluru maḍa kaṭṭida aṅge*

beggars castle build / P.T. like (like building of castles by beggars)

3.) *ārida hiṭṭa nē ettida aṅge*

cool / P.T. food / acc. dog take / P.T. like (like taking cooled (spoiled) food by dog)

4.) *sattama mēle sāki ākida aṅge*

dead- man on blame put / P.T. like (like putting blame on a dead man (by someone)

5.) *kuriḍi here kaṇḍa aṅge*

blind woman crescent moon see /P.T. like (seeing of a crescent moon by blind woman)

'eṅge' is an allomorph of *'aṅge'.' aṅge'* with an inflexional increment ' *n'* is also used as *'anaṅge'* or *'naṅge'*

6.) *nē gavgcrava anaṅge*

   dog bark / N.P. like (like dog barking)

7.) *bappa naṅge barali*

   come / N.P. like come let (let (it) come when it will)

8.) *māḍuva naṅge māḍu*

   do / N.P. like do (do as it should be (done)

9.) *nōḍuva naṅge ille*

   see / N.P. like not (not likely to be seen)

It is to be noted here that the tense of a verb will not change the use of *'aṅge'*, i.e. it follows both past / non-past constructions of verb. However the above mentioned examples show that the *'aṅge'* or *'eṅge'* follows past tense constructions of verb and *'anaṅge'* or *'naṅge'* follows non-past constructions of verb.

Past tense

10.) *nidda aṅge*

   stand / P.T. like (like (was) standing)

11.) *barada aṅge*

  write / P.T. like (like (was) writing)

Non-past tense

12.) *nibba naṅge*

   stand / N.P. like (like (to) standing)

13.) *barava naṅge*

   write / N.P. like (like (to) writing)

Negative verb

'aṅge' follows even the negative verbs

14.) *nillāda aṅge*

   stand / neg. like (like not standing)

15.) *barcyāda aṅge*

   write / neg. like (like not writing)

'aṅge ' or *'eṅge'* invariably follows the verb. Badaga *'aṅge'* is to be seen as cognate with Kannada *'aṅge'* [Ka. *'aṅge'*, way, manner, mode; Te. *'aṅgu'*, manner, way DEDR 29] and Tamil *āṅga*. *āṅga* occurs in ancient Tamil poetry and Tolkāppiyam classified the particles of comparison in to four kinds. 1. *vinai uvamai*, 2. *payan uvamai*, 3. *mcy uvamai*, 4. *uru uvamai* (simile of action / effect / shape or form / colour). *'āṅga'* was included as a particle of the simile of action. Badaga *'aṅge'* always follows verb and by and large functions as a simile- particle for describing action. It is to be noted that Badaga *'aṅge'* with longer initial vowel, *'āṅge'* is also used in some palaces.

16.) *bandāṅge*

   come / P.T. like (like (was) coming)

17.) *hōdāṅge*

   go / P.T. like (like (was) going)

'mākke'

'mākke' always follows noun

l8.) *mūṅga kaṇḍa kanasu māke*

    dumb see / P.T. dream like (like the dream of a dumb)

l9.) *eṇṇega budda ili mākke*

    oil / dat.fall / rat like (like rat (which had) fallen in to oil)

If we change the verbs of the sentences l to 5 which precedes *'aṅge'* in to nouns *'mākke'* will replace it

20.) *tiṅguvava nōḍi gavgerava nē mākke*

    moon / acc. see / P.T. bark / acc. Dog like (like the dog which barks at the moon)

2l.) *golluru kaṭṭuva maḍa mākke*

    beggars build / N.P. castle like (like beggars who build castles)

22.) *sattama mēle ākida sāki mākke*

    dead-man on put / P.T. blame like (like (someone) putting blame on dead man)

23.) *hereya nōḍida kuruḍi mākke*

    crescent moon see / P.T. blind woman like (like blind woman who has seen crescent moon)

'mākke' follows both singular and plural.

Singular noun

24.) *bokku mākke*

    (book like)

25.) *mane mākke*

    (house like)

Plural noun

26.) *morago mākke*

    tree / pl. like (like trees)

27.) *danago mākke*

    cow / pl. like (like cows)

'mākke' follows verbal noun, participial noun and derivative noun also

Verbal noun

28.) *māḍuvadu mākke*

    (doing like)

29.) *bappadu mākke*

    (coming like)

Participial noun

30.) *māḍidama mākke*

    do / P.T. man like (like the man who has done)

3l.) *bappama mākke*

    come / N.P. man like (like the man who is going to come)

Derivative noun

32.) *bittaṇe mākke*

    (sowing like)

33.) *kemmalu māke*

    (cough like)

Even pronouns (Personal, Demonstrative etc.) precede *'māke'*

Personal pronoun

    34.) *enna mākke*

           I / acc. like (like me)

    35.) *tanna mākke*

       he / acc. like (like him)

Demonstrative pronoun

    36.) *amana mākke*

       that man / acc. like (like him)

    37.) *avva māke*

      that woman / acc. like (like her)

    Tolkāppiyam enumerates 36 particles of comparison. One of them *'mārra'* may be considered as a cognate term for Badaga particle of comparison *'mākke'*.

    Only *'aṅge'* and *'mākke'* are the two particles of comparison in Badaga language, *'aṅge'* follows always verb and *'mākke'* follows the noun.

Abbreviations

acc. – accusative

dat. – dative

Ka. – Kannada

N.P. – non-past tense

neg. – negative

P.T. – past tense

pl. - plural

Te. Telugu

3. Compound Nouns in Badaga

    "Compound words have two (or more) free forms among their immediate constituents...The order of the members in a compound word may be fixed"(Bloomfield1996:227,9). "The members of a compound, as a whole, function as a single word. Certain suffixes or particles may be elided in some types of compounds" (Israel 1973:307). Among the two members of a compound the former member remains an uninflected word, but the inflection will be made only after the second member. In Badaga when two free forms are joined together to form a compound some modification may occur in the first member or in the second member or in both (Balakrishnan 1999:127). e.g. *hāgōṭṭu (<hāl + gōṭṭu)* , milk-house; *darsepeṭṭi (<davasa + peṭṭi)*, grain *box*, granary; *aṅgay (<agam+kay)*- the palm of the hand; *aṅgālu (<agam+kālu)*; the sole of the foot; *muṅgay (<mun+kay)*- the fore-arm; *mumballu (<mun+hallu)* - the front teeth ; *mēṅgay (<mēl+ kay)*, the back of the hand ; *mēṅgālu (<mēl + kālu)* – the instep

    Badaga compounds are constructed of two members in semantic and syntactic relationship to one another. In Badaga, compounds are made by two types of construction viz. 1. endocentric compound (the centre is inside the resultant construction), 2. exocentric compound (the centre is outside the two

components). The endocentric compounds with five varieties are larger in number. Whereas the exocentric compounds are very few. In Tamil the *anmoḻittokai* compounds are considered as exocentric constructions. An *anmoḻittokai* compound denotes something distinct from what is meant by its constituent members. The whole compound functions as an attribute to something outside the compound. The *anmoḻittokai* compound may be formed from *paṇputtokai* (qualitative compound), *vēṟṟumaittokai* (declensional compound), or *ummaittokai* (copulative compound). Hence it is considered as secondary compound (Levitt 2005:67) and it is only a metonymical compound.

'The exocentric constructions in any language are few in number' (Bloomfield l996:l94). As Badaga exocentric compounds we can cite *hiṭṭumakkiri* (dull head) and *hoṭṭekiccu* (jealous) as examples. In these instances *hiṭṭu* (flour) + *makkiri* (basket, container); *hoṭṭe* (stomach) + *kiccu* (fire) all the components are nouns. *hiṭṭumakkiri* denotes flour basket too and in that context it is an endocentric and declensional compound. But, *hoṭṭe kiccu* has no other meaning except jealous. However these examples are different from *anmoḻittokai* (metonymical) compounds.

The endocentric compounds found in Badaga are grouped under five types viz. l. Declensional compounds, 2. Compounds of comparison, 3. Verb compounds, 4. Qualitative compounds and 5. Conjunctive or copulative compounds (Balakrishnan l999: l27-l28). It should be noted that in Tamil the five types of endocentric compounds are grouped as such in, Tolkāppiyam itself under the nomenclature as l. *vēṟṟumaittokai* (declensional compound), 2. *uvamaittokai* (compound of comparison), 3. *viṉaittokai* (verb compound), 4. *paṇputtokai* (qualitative compound) and 5. *ummaittokai* (conjunctive or copulative compound). The first four are in attributive construction while the last viz., the copulative compound is in coordinate construction. The verb compound is an elliptical compound in which a verbal root forms the first component.

Declensional compounds

In declensional compound the first member with the case suffix stands in case relation to the second member, and when they join to form a compound the case suffix is dropped.

e.g. *toreya kōlu* - *torekōlu* (pouzolzia, a plant)
haṭṭiya aṇe - *haṭṭaṇe* (pasture land)

But in some instances the compounds are formed without dropping the case markers in Badaga, as in

bāla mīnu - comet
bellada gāsu - sweet potato
belḻiya mīnu - venus

This is a peculiar feature found in Badaga (Balakrishnan l999:l29). Usually the eliding case maker is a criterion in compound formation. But in a few instances compounds are formed without

eliding case markers. At the same time this feature is not found with all the declensional compounds. In a few instances it occurs as optional. Hence the declensional compounds of Badaga can be grouped into three types, viz., l. Case marker elided compounds, 2. Compounds with case marker, 3. Compounds with or without case marker

l.   Case marker elided compounds

e.g. *hiṭṭu maḍakke*	-	cooking pot (vessel)
ōga mane	-	inner house
tō bē	-	bangles of forearm
enne hiṭṭu	-	a confectionary made from oil

2.   Compounds with case marker

e.g. *bellada kū*	-	sweet rice, rice admixed with crude sugar
tuppada hiṭṭu	-	a confectionary made from ghee
sinnada haṇa	-	gold fanam
hiriya sīge	-	a big territory
haṇeya maṇṇu	-	a territory of certain place

3. Compounds with or without case marker

e.g. *oḍeya kaṇṇi or oḍe kaṇṇi*	-	waist band
bisiya nīru or bisi nīru	-	hot water
kaṇṇa nīru or kaṇṇīru	-	tears
gōḍeya mane or gōḍe mane	-	adjacent house
haṭṭiya mane or haṭṭi mane	-	village house

The Kannada grammar (Sabdamaṇidarpana, l73) mentions about the dropping case suffixes of the first components when two words are combined to form a compound. "In Tolkāppiyam, compounds are referred to as *tokai*, literally ellipsis or joining together of two or more words as a single word without any break. The word *tokai* is from the root *toku* which means either join or elide and these are figured frequently to elide a middle member" (Levitt 2005:63). Iḷampūraṇar and Naccinārkkiniyar, the commentators of Tolkāppiyam opine that the case marker is elided in the declensional compound. Contrary to this, in a few instances the Badaga declensional compounds occur with case markers too. Compounds are constructed of two members in semantic and syntactic relationship to one another. These relationships expressed through appropriate case suffixes on the constituent members of the compounds which are later elided in deriving the compound. So, expressing the case suffix with compound is to be taken as a peculiar development and in such compound the first constituent member takes only the possessive case marker. In Badaga the declensional compounds have noun + noun structure. Here eliding

of the case suffixes of the first component is not invariable and the second member acts as head. But in a few instances the former member acts as head and the second member is its attributive. e.g. *nuni nālaṅge, ōgamane*. These constructions may be expanded as *nālaṅgeya nuni* (tip of the tongue), *maneya ōga* (innner room of a house). In these constructions the second member stands in the sixth case relation to the first member.

Compounds of Comparison

In this kind of compound the first member is compared to the second member.

e.g. *goṭṭe kaṇṇu*	-	stone (like) eye	-	big eye
avare hallu	-	bean (like) tooth	-	big tooth
gañje maṇḍe	-	barley (like) hair	-	shabby hair
emme hakkilu	-	buffalo (like) bird	-	wild pigeon
hū gōsu	-	flower (like) cabbage	-	cauliflower

These compounds are in noun + noun constructions. The second member is the head and the fist is the attribute. In Badaga *māke* and *aṅge* are the particles of comparison. In these compounds the particles of comparison *māke* (like) is elided. It is to be noted here that Badaga has restricted the usage of the particle of comparison *aṅge* for verbs and the particle of comparison *māke* for nouns. These compounds can be expanded as *goṭṭe māke aḍuva kaṇṇu, avare māke aḍuva hallu, gañje māke aḍuva maṇḍe* (hair),*emme māke ibba hakkilu* and *hū māke aḍuva gōsu*

Verb compounds

The verb compound in Badaga is of the nature of *viṉaittokai* (verb compound) in Tamil. In this compound the first component is a verbal root and the second one is a noun. So, this compound is verbal root + noun construction. Here the second member is the head and first its attribute.

e.g. *huṭṭaṭṭi*	- hamlet in which one is born
bēḍu benne	- borrowed butter
pottiṭṭu	- thick wheat dosai (made of thick dough which is taken by hand and spread it on the frying pan)
kalikkiṭṭu	- thin wheat dosai (made of thin dough which is taken with a spoon and spread it on the frying pan)
bū hottu	- setting sun

The former constituent verbal roots (*huṭ, bēḍ*) can be expanded to denote the different tenses.

e.g. *huṭṭida haṭṭi*	-	past
huṭṭuva haṭṭi	-	non-past
bēḍida benne	-	past

bēḍuva beṇṇe - non-past

The verb compound *huṭṭatti* functions as a unit or single word which cannot be separated into its constituents and it can also occur as subject and can be declined like other nouns.

Qualitative Compounds

In the qualitative compound, the first member denotes the qualities of colour, shape, extent, taste etc., and the second member is qualified by the first member by indicating its nature.

e.g. *kari hakkilu* - black bird (colour)
guṇḍu kallu - round rock (shape)
moṇa kai - fore arm (extent)
sīya doṭṭi - sweet bread (taste)
ēmbe kūsu - infant (tenderness)

Here no words are elided. In Tamil number compound is also indicated by way of qualitative compound. In numeral compound the first member denotes the extent of number

e.g. *aravattu* - sixty
ayvattu - fifty

In the qualitative compound the first member is a noun or adjectival stem; and the second member is noun. So the qualitative compound is noun + noun construction. The second member is head and the first member is its attribute.

Copulative Compounds

In the copulative compound two nouns are joined together with a noun + noun structure; all the members are nouns which structurally equal rank. The conjunctional particle -*u* is elided in between the members of this compound.

e.g. *heṇḍi gaṇḍa* - wife and husband (couple)
emme dana - buffalo and cow (cattle)
hiṭṭu soppu - porridge (or boiled rice) and side dish (meal)
haṭṭi aṇe - village and pasture land (pasture land surrounding a village)
aṇṇa tamma - elder brother and younger brother (brothers)

These compounds can be expanded with the conjunctional particle -*u. heṇḍiyu gaṇḍanu, emmeyu danavu, hiṭṭuvu soppuvu, haṭṭiyu aṇeyu, aṇṇanu tammanu* .

"Tolkāppiyam says that the conjunctive compounds having rational (*uyar tiṇai*) nouns as component parts are of the nature of rational plural nouns. It means they take the plural endings"(Israel

l973:3l3-3l4). e.g.*kapilaparaṇar, cēracōḻapāṇḍiyar.* In Badaga too, a few conjunctive compounds which have rational component parts take epicene plural endings

    e.g. *aṇṇatammaru*   - elder brother + younger brother + ep.pl. marker
       akkataṅgeyaru - elder sister + younger sister + ep.pl. marker

    Similarly the neuter plural marker '*go*' occur with non-rational (*aḥriṇai*) component parts of conjunctive compounds

    e.g. *emmedanago*   - buffalo + cow + neut.pl. marker
       danakarugo   - cow + calf + neut.pl. marker
         nēnarigo - dog + fox + neut. pl. marker

    In all the kinds of compounds discussed above the heads are nouns and they are of the same distribution as single nouns. So, they are nominal compounds which occur as subjects and are capable of taking case suffixes

    e.g. *hiṭṭu maḍakkeya tōgu*   - wash the cooking vessel
       gañje maṇḍega eṇṇe ākku - apply oil to the shabby hair

    There is exact correspondence between the types of compounds found in Badaga and the compounds enumerated in Tamil grammar. The compounds of Badaga are better described by way of classifying them into five types as above. In the case of the declensional compound alone Badaga has adopted the distinct mode of not eliding the case markers. But that too not with all declensional compounds. The Tamil *aṉmoḻittokai* (metonymical compound) is not found in Badaga.

References

l. Balakrishnan,R., (1999), Badaga a Dravidian Language, Annamalai University

2. Bloomfield, Leonard, (l996), Language, Motilal Banarsidas Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi (First published l935)

3. Israel,M., (l973), The Treatment of Morphology in Tolkappiam, Madurai University

4. Levitt, Stephen Hillyer, (2005), Sanskrit Uttarapadalopa Compound and Tamil Grammatical Tradition, Journal of Tamil Studies,Vol.67.

4. Dative Case in Badaga

Abstract : *In Badaga -ga is the dative case marker. So in Badaga, noun with dative case marker is said to be in the dative case. For considering the noun in dative, we must also look in to other requirements like an object, a transitive verb etc., we cannot simply take any noun with dative marker is in dative case. This may be true as far as the surface feature is concerned. When we examine closely, it would be seen that not all nouns with the above marker is in the dative. Some of the nouns that have the dative marker in the surface level, may turn out to be entirely i.e., different cases in deep level. Though a thorough analysis of all the expression with this marker would be a desirable one, here only a few points pertaining to the dative case could be touched upon.*

Dative

The dative case is a <u>grammatical case</u> generally used to indicate the noun to which something is given. As in *'nañja hāla-ga haṇṇu koṭṭa'* - Nanja gave fruit to Hala. Here, Hala is the receiver and indirect object (noun). In Badaga an indirect noun is often expressed with dative case marker -*ga*

In Badaga velar voiced consonant -*ga* is the dative suffix. It is used for a wide range of meanings as goal, indirect object (listener, recipient), purpose, comparison, cause, location in time and place, etc. It also occurs in a genitive sense to denote adnominal relationship (in kinship), possession, direction etc.

e.g.   *nañja-ga rāma akki koṭṭa* - Rama gave rice to Nanja

   kāḍa-ga hiṭṭu ikkidaru   - some one served food to Kada.

Here the nouns Nanja and Kada have dative markers. *koṭṭa* and *ikkida* are transitive verbs . These sentences carry objects (*akki, hiṭṭu*). These sentences mention of something transferred.

Dative proper

In general, the dative marks the <u>indirect object</u> of a <u>verb</u>, although in some instances, the dative is used for the <u>direct object</u> of a verb pertaining directly to an act of giving something. This may be a tangible object (e.g., 'an house' or 'a shirt'), or an intangible abstraction (e.g. 'an advise' or 'help').

e.g.   tangible object : *micci panne-ga haṇa kēgida* - Micci sent money to Panne

               bōja- ga hiṭṭu koṭṭaru – someone served food to Booja

   intangible abstraction :   *kāmaga ottāse māḍidaru* - some supported Kama

                              kunnave-ga buddi kalisidaru – some taught good qualities to children

The dative proper is with reference to transferring something to some one. The dative is a case indicating the receiver, when something has been transferred. That is, the dative proper has a non-

location noun, an object and a transitive verb. So, in Badaga , any noun inflected with dative marker -*ga*, an intransitive verb and an object is said be in the dative case.

Dative of purpose

In dative proper the noun with dative marker is the receiver. But in dative of purpose the noun with the dative marker is not the receiver of the object transferred.

e.g. *mallige māle-ga hattu urupi koṭṭa* - an amount of ten rupees that someone paid to (= for) the garland of jasmine flowers.

This cannot be included under dative proper, because the noun *mallige māle* is not the receiver of the thing (ten rupees) transferred, which is mentioned by the verb. This sentence means that someone gave away rupees ten for the purpose of obtaining jasmine garland. Hence the sentence of this type, i.e. the sentence where the noun with dative marker is not the actual receiver of the thing transferred, should be distinguished as the dative of purpose.

e.g. *guḍi jōli-ga nañja haṇa koṭṭa* - Nanjan gave money for temple matter

  gelasa gīvadu-ga āva koracu – call workers for doing work

  idu avva maduve-ga āra – this will use to (for) her marriage

  paracce-ga bokku ōdu – read books for exam

Dative of direction

Dative of direction is, with reference to the movement of something or someone in the direction of some place or location.

e.g. *haṭṭi-ga hōdaru* - some went to hamlet . *'hōdaru'* is a motion verb and an intransitive.

In this sentence, though the *haṭṭi*, hamlet is with dative marker, it is a place, to which one cannot give anything.

In Tamil dative case marker (-*ku* or -*kku)* (surface level) is optional, when some place is mentioned by name. Whereas, in Badaga the dative marker is obligatory when some place is mentioned

e.g. Ta. *avan cennai cenrān* - he went to Chennai

  Ba. *ama cenne-ga hōda* - he went to Chennai

 In the same way, in Badaga, the dative marker is obligatory when time is mentioned, whereas in Tamil it is not obligatory.

e.g.   Ta. *avaṉ nāḷai varuvāṉ* - he will come tomorrow

Ba. *ama nē-ga bannana* - he will come tomorrow

These sentences have motion of verbs and are intransitives. In Tamil, some of the dative of direction sentences with reference to time carry dative marker.

e.g. Ta. *ēḻu maṇikku   vīṭṭiṛku vā*   - come to house by seven o'clock

Ba . *iyyu maṇi-ga mane-ga bā* - come to house seven o'clock

Nouns denoting the points of the compass govern a dative case.

e.g. *mane-ga kīye aḍuva hola* - the field which is down (adjacent) to the house

mane-ga mēle bā - come up to house

haḷḷa-ga ākaḍe - that side to the river

Possessive dative

Normally the nouns with dative markers indicate the receiver. But in the sentence like *dēvaruga kaṇ aḍade* - god has eyes, the noun inflected with dative marker *-ga*, *dēvaru* is not the receiver. The verb *aḍade* of this sentence is intransitive and there is no transferring thing. As in this type of sentences the dative indicates possession. Hence it is to be classified as possessive dative.

e.g. *hakki- ga rakke aḍade*   - bird has wings

dana-ga kombu aḍade   - cow has horn

ama-ga appara haṇa aḍade - he has plenty of money

rāma-ga nāku kunnave   - Rama has four children

Intransitive motion verb

With the verb *buy-* to fall , occurring in a sentence the dative and locative overlap in many instances. e.g. *bāvi-ga budda* -he or she fell in to the well, *bāviyō budda* - he or she fell in to the well. However the dative and locative cases contrast when the verb *hōgu* – to go occur in a sentence.

e.g. *ava haḷḷa-ga hōda* - she went to the river

ava haḷḷanō hōda - she was swept away by the river

Dative of comparison

The force of the comparative degree is expressed in Badaga by using the dative case.

e.g. *idu-ga adu oḷḷittu*   - lit. to this that (is) a good one, that is better than this

ama-ga nā doḍḍama – I (am) elder or greater than him

Comparing one with the other means comparing in similar qualities or properties that such comparable individual has. This may be with reference with height, weight, length, breadth, colour, shape etc., The quality or property, in other words, is multi-dimensional, may be abstract or concrete. Where such similarity or likeness is compared, it may be just one of the many or the whole of the properties, whether specified or not.

Dative –relative

In some instances the dative marker is used in order to show the relation between two nouns, instead of noun and verb. That is, it occurs in the place of what is known as the genitive case. Dative proper is, with the reference to transferring something to someone. But dative relative sentence has no transferred verb

e.g. *ama-ga avve appa iddāre* – lit. for him parents are living i.e. he has living parents

beḷḷi-ga heṇḍaru ille - Belli has no wife

These sentences have proper nouns, carry no objects and have intransitive verbs

With personal pronoun

In general, all personal pronouns which get their long vowel shortened in their oblique forms and as usual the case marker suffixed to the oblique forms. But in Badaga, except third person singular form all the personal pronouns take dative suffix directly without changing into oblique forms. As a special case the first and second persons singular forms act in either way. i.e. the dative suffix is added the oblique forms as well as to the uninflected forms.

Dative marker with uninflected personal pronouns

1st person pl. exclusive - *eṅga*   - *eṅga-ga*   - to us
1st person pl. inclusive - *naṅga* - *naṅga-ga* - to us
2nd person pl.   - *niṅga* - *niṅga- ga* - to you
3rd person pl.   - *taṅga* - *taṅgaga*   - to them

Dative marker with oblique form of personal pronoun

3rd person sg.   - *tā – tanaga* -to him

Dative marker with uninflected personal pronouns as well as with oblique forms

1ˢᵗ person sg.	- *nā*	- *nā-ga,*	- to me
	- *nā*	- *ena-ga*	- to me
2ⁿᵈ person sg.	- *nī*	- *nī-ga*	- to you
	- *nī-*	*nina-ga*	- to you

Dative with compound nouns

In general, among the two members of a compound the former member remains an uninflected word, but the inflection will be made only after the second member. But in few cases both the members get the dative marker.

e.g. *maddu mora* - lit. medicine and winnow, i.e. the minimum use of things for ritual, *maddu-ga mora-ga* . Both the forms, *maddu mora -ga* and *moddu-ga mora-ga* express the same meaning as - to the minimum use of things for ritual

e.g. *habba āḍi* - festival etc., i.e. for rare use of things, *habba-ga āḍi-ga*

With numerals

Often dative marker occurs with the numerals

jena-ga nūru urupi kūli koḍu - give hundred rupees wage per day. This sentence has transitive verb and an object. The receiver is someone else not the *jena*

ondu vāra-ga iyyu jena - there are seven days in a week. In this sentence contain no transfer verb . But the noun ondu vaara (the time noun and the numeral) carries the dative marker *-ga*.

To express meaning every - *ga* is added to repeated numerals

e.g. *ondondu-ga* (*ondu + ondu+ga*) - to every one

manemane-ga (*mane+mane+ga*) - to every house

jenajena-ga (*jena+jena +ga*) – to every day, daily

Cause

-āgi is added to dative to get the sense 'for the sake' of or 'for'

e.g. *nañja-ga āgi bōja mane kaṭṭida* - Boja built house for Nanja

hiṭṭu-ga āgi aledana – he wanders for the sake of food

Dative marker *-ga*

In Tamil the dative case marker is -*ku*. At the same time -*kku* occurs as an alternant of -*ku,* after vowels and -*r*. In Kannada -*ke*, -*kke*, -*ge*, -*gge* and -*ṅge* are dative markers. "The dative case suffixes listed by Kēsirāja are -*ke* (-*kke*) and -*ge* (-*gge*). Some times -*ge* comes with bindu (-*ṅge*) . Of these forms, -*ke* appears to be older. The suffix -*ke* comes after neuter nouns ending in –'*a*' and the pronoun *adu, idu, ēnu*, and -*ge* comes after masculine and feminine forms. So, the dative case suffix morpheme can be taken as only one with five allomorphs. Of these -*ke* occurs after –'*a*' ending neuter nouns and the pronouns *adu, idu* and *ēn* ; -*kke* is in free variation with -*ke* in such forms, as *polake-polakke* etc.,-*ge* comes after masculine and feminine forms and after neuter nouns ending in vowel other than -*a*. For example, *brāhmaṇage, ākege, kūsige*. The form -*ṅge* comes after -a ending masculine nouns. For example, *arasaṅge*, -*gge* is free variation with -*ge*. For example *budharge – budhargge*. Hence they constitute allomorphs of the dative case suffix morpheme" (Kulli, J.S., l976:l35). The Badaga has only one dative marker -*ga* and it occurs in all places with nouns to express dative case.

Conclusion

Dative case in Badaga is flexible case. In Badaga the noun with dative marker -*ga* is essential for expressing dative case. Dative sentences without the transitive verb, an object, etc., are also occurring and it expresses wide range of meanings. Overlapping of the dative and other cases (locative, genitive, accusative) are also there. However there are considerable examples where the dative and locative contrast.

Abbreviation

Ba. - Badaga
Ta. - Tamil

Bibliography

l. Kulli,J.S., l976, Kēsirāja's Sabdamaṇdarpaṇa, Karnatak University, Dharwar

5. Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns of Badaga

In Dravidian languages "Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns are distinguished for number as well as gender. Etymologically also there are differences between sub classes" (Krishnamurthy 2003:243). As in other Dravidian languages like Tamil, Kannada etc., in Badaga also the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns are derived from demonstrative and interrogative roots by addition of gender-number suffixes. There are two types of demonstrative pronouns in Badaga. One is proximate and the other is remote. The base of proximate demonstrative pronouns is '*i-*' and the base of remote demonstrative pronouns is '*a-*', '*e-*' is the base of interrogative pronouns.

"The demonstrative and interrogative pronouns carry gender and number and are inflected for case. Not only the demonstrative pronouns but also the time (now, then, when) and place adverbs (here, there, where) are derived from deictic and interrogative bases. These last two are devoid of number and gender but are inflected for case" (Krishnamurthy 2003:253-254).

Triplets

"It is very difficult to treat the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns of the Dravidian family separately. The bases are different but they are built upon those bases in precisely the same manner and obey one and the same law, so what is said about the one class may be regarded as said about other also" (Caldwell 1987:420). Accordingly in Badaga the demonstrative (proximate and remote) and interrogative pronouns form triplets. In Badaga there is no intermediate demonstrative pronouns like those in Tamil and ancient Kannada.

e.g.	mas. sg.	*ima*, he	(proximate)	*ama*, he	(remote)	*ema*, who
	fem.sg.	*iva*, she	(proximate)	*ava,* she	(remote)	*eva,* who
	ep.pl.	*ivaka*, they	(proximate)	*avaka*, they	(remote)	*evaka*, who
	neut.sg.	*idu*, it	(proximate)	*adu*, it	(remote)	*edu*, what
	neut.pl.	*ive*, they	(proximate)	ave, they	(remote)	*eve,* what

In these pronouns the demonstrative proximate prefix ' *i-* ' remote prefix ' *a-* ' and interrogative prefix ' *e-* ' occur with gender number markers. In Badaga the gender-number distinction is five-fold namely: masculine singular, feminine singular, epicene plural, neuter singular, and neuter plural. The same kind of distinction is found in Tamil and Kannada languages.

ama, avaka

"Badaga shows five-fold gender-number system like Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Tulu etc. However the word *'ama',* he and *'avaka'* they (hum.) are not found in any other Dravidian languages" (Balakrishnan 1999:100). In Badaga no consonant occurs in the word final position except - *y* (e.g. *kay*, hand; *may*, body). But all other occur with vowel endings (ibid.76). When we compare the Badaga words with equivalent Tamil, Kannada etc., we find either that the final consonant gets enunciative vowel (mostly ' *u* ', in a few places ' *i* ' or the final consonant is elided. When the final consonants of '*avan*' (he) and '*aval*' (she) are elided both of these words get the same form as '*ava*'. In order to differentiate these two ' *v* ' of '*ava*' (*avan*) is changed into '*m*'. By this way '*ama*' is formed in Badaga and the rest of the triplet forms occur as '*ima*' he (proximate), '*ema*', which fellow. The '*ema*' or '*ēma*', third person masculine interrogative pronoun is used rarely with implication of disrespect.

"Badagas used only *'avaka'*, they (ep.pl.) as honorific singular marker. This *'avaka'* of Badaga might have been derived from *avar+kaḷ* found in Tamil, where it is predominantly used as a honorific singular suffix" (Balakrishnan l999:96). This honorific *'avaka'* is used for demonstrative remote plural also. In consonance with this the demonstrative proximate interrogative *'ivaka'* (this-they) and interrogative *'evaka'* (who-they) are formed.

Interrogative base '*ē-*'

The interrogative base '*e-*' lengthened as '*ē-*' in some places and forms with both '*e-*' and '*ē-*' occur simultaneously.

e.g. *ema, ēma* – who (mas.sg.)

   eva, ēva – who (fem.sg.)

   evaka, ēvaka – who (ep.pl.)

   edu, ēdu – which (neut.sg.)

   eve, ēve – which (neut.pl.)

Similarly in some dialect variation of interrogative marker '*yā-*' is used instead of '*e-*' or '*ē-*'

e.g. *yāma* - who (mas.sg.)

   yāva - who (fem.sg.)

   yāvaka - who (ep.pl.)

   yādu - which (neut.sg.)

   yāve - which (neut.pl.)

So, it seems right to consider that the '*e-*', '*ē-*' - 'and '*yā-*' are interrogative particles. These three occur before the gender-number marker and inflected for case. Among these three prefix '*e-*', is common and rest two are to be considered as variants of this. In addition to these interrogative pronouns '*dāra*', who occur freely for hunan noun and '*ēna*', what occurs for non-human nouns. The pronouns '*dāra*', who; '*ēna*', what distinguish no category of members.

e.g. *dāra itte negadāra* – who is laughing so?

   ama dāra – who is he?

   nā dāra – who am I?

   dāra enna aradāre – who will recognize myself?

dāra āleyu – whoever they may be?

adu ēna – what is it?

nī ēna hēgire – what do you say?

ēna suddi – what is the news?

Caldwell considers *'yā-'* as interrogative base and *'e-'* as its corrupted form. He also pointed out that "there is a remarkable change in Canarese of the interrogative *'yā'* into *'dā'*. We may say either *yāvanu* or *dāvanu*, what man? *yāvaḷu* or *dāvaḷu*, what woman? *yāvadu* or *dāvadu*, what thing? So also the crude interrogative is *yāva* or *dāva* who, which, what?" (Caldwell l987:423). In Badaga we find the same '*dā*', but it occurs only as *dāra*, who? with human nouns. In non-human, instead of '*dā*', '*ē*' (*ēna* – what) is used. It is to be noted here that in Tamil we can see *yā-* based forms, mas.sg., fem.sg., neut.pl. [*yāvan*, *yāvaḷ*, *yāvar* (*yār*), *yādu*, *yāvai*]. Similarly in Kannada (*yāvanu, yāvaḷu, yāvaru, yāvadu, yāvavu*).

ēna, what, is the neuter interrogative pronoun formed with interrogative base '*ē-*'. Similar is the situation in Tamil also, vide: " In Tamil we find *'en'*, what? from which is formed the singular appellative '*ennadu*', what thing? and the plural '*enna*', what things? *'en'* is also lengthened into *'ēn'*, the ordinary meaning of which is why?........ . In Canarese *'ēnu'* is not a mere interrogative particle, but a regularly declined interrogative pronoun, like vulgar Tamil *ennam* (Caldwell l987:427).

In Badagas *'ēka'*, why? is formed from this interrogative base '*ē*' . But in Kannada its equivalent *'yāke'*. why, is formed with interrogative base *'yā'*.

Adjective

The demonstrative (adjectival) particles *'i-'* and *'a-'* are used to indicate proximate and remote subjects respectively, In the same way *'e-'* is also used for interrogative and these three occur as triplets. In attributive use the bases (*i-, a-, e-*) are usually lengthened to *'ī-'*, *'ā-'* and *'ē-'* as in the following examples.

ī mane (this house)   *ā mane* (that house)   *ē mane* (which house)

ī kaḍe (this side)   *ā kaḍe* (that side)   *ē kaḍe* (which side)

ī kūsu (this boy)   *ā kūsu* (that boy)   *ē kūsu* (which boy)

Only the uninflected forms are used attributively in this way and when so used they function as adjectives. In some places these bases occur as bound forms and triplets occur here also.

e.g. *īsaga* (this many)   *āsaga* (that many)   *ēsaga* (how many)

    īpaṭṭi (this much)   *āpaṭṭi* (that much)   *ēpaṭṭi* (how much)

    īsari (this side)   *āsari* (that side)   *ēsari* (which side)

    ītaṭṭu (this side)   *ātaṭṭu* (that side)   *ētaṭṭu* (which side)

Demonstrative and interrogative adjectives distinguish neither gender nor number nor person. The form '*ēsu*', how many has no equivalent of proximate and remote demonstratives. Reduplication of demonstrative adjectives is used for indicating distributive meaning.

e.g. *adu adu ā ā kālado naḍadara* – everything (lit. each one) will take place in its time.

Forms like Kannada *anittu*, that much, *inittu*, so as this, *attal*, on that side, *ittal*, on this side, *ahaṅge*, *haa-ge*, that manner, *hīṅge*, in this manner, *akka*, then, *ikka*, now are not found in Badaga.

Adverbs

Demonstrative and interrogative adverbs too occur as triplets with proximate, remote and interrogatives forms.

e.g. *illi* (here)   *alli* (there)   *elli* (where)

    īga (now)   *āga* (then)   *ēguva* (when)

    itte (in this manner)   *atte* (in that manner)   *ette* (in what manner)

    indu (to day)   *andu* (that day)   *endu* (what day)

these adverbs are bound forms with demonstrative and interrogative bases.

In Kannada forms like *īta*, *ītanu* (this man), *āta*, *ātanu* (that man), *īke* (this women), *āke* (that women) are in use. But in Badaga we find no equivalents for these forms

In Kannada proximate demonstrative pronouns are *ivam* (*ivanu, iva*), this man, he, *ivaḷ* (*ivaḷu*), this woman, she, *ītam*, (*ītanu, īta*) this man, he, *īke*, this woman, she, *ivar* (*ivaru*), these men or women, the neuter, *idu*, this and its plural *ivu*, these and remote demonstrative pronouns are *avam* (*avanu, ava*), that man, he, *avaḷ* (*avaḷu*), that woman, she, *ātam* (*ātanu, āta*) that man, he, *āke*, that woman, she, *avar* (*avaru*) those men or women and neuter singular adverbs, that and its plural *ava*, those (Kittel l982:229). Among these pronouns except neuter (singular and plural) pronouns and feminine singular pronouns the equivalent forms are not available in Badaga. Badaga has its own pronouns.

Conclusion

Mostly the proximate and remote pronouns of Badaga are indicated by short vowels where as the interrogative pronouns are indicated by short as well as long vowels. Cognates of many demonstrative and interrogative (pronouns, adjectives, adverbs) forms of Kannada are not found in Badaga, On the other hand Badaga has separate forms. In particular Badaga forms for third person singular demonstrative pronouns (*ama*, he-remote, *ima*, he-proximate), the third person masculine interrogative pronouns (*ema*, which fellow), and third person epicene plural demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (*avaka,* that-they, *ivaka*, this-they, *evaka*, who-they) are not found in any other Dravidian languages.

References

l.) Balakrishnan, R., (l999) Badaga A Dravidian Language, Annamalai University

2.) Caldwell, Robert, l987, A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family
    of Languages, 2ndEdn. AES, (First Published l9l3)

3.) Kittel, Rev. F., (l982), A Grammar of the Kannada Language, AES, New Delhi (First Published l908)

4.) Krishanmurti, Bh., 2003, The Dravidian languages, Cambridge University Press, London

6. Instrumental Case in Badaga

"There are three types of instrument in Badaga viz. instrumental proper, cause and sociative" (Balakrishnan l999:ll6). The instrumental proper and cause are expressed by suffix -*enda*.

e.g. l. *avaka koḍalienda mora beṭṭidaru* - they cut tree with (an) axe

    2. *avaka moradō peṭṭi māḍidaru*   - they made box by using (with) wood

    3. *ama saṅgaṭayenda satta*   - he died due to sick

Locative suffix - ō or - ōge

2,) In Badaga the instrumental can be expressed also through the locative suffix −ō or −ōge. Indeed such usage is more natural in Badaga.

    4. *avaka koḍaliyō mora beṭṭidaru* - they cut tree with (an) axe

    5. *avaka moranō peṭṭi māḍidaru* - they made box by using (with) wood

    6. *ama saṅgaṭanō satta*   - he died due to sick

3.) Thus the pairs *koḍalienda - koḍaliyō*; *morānda - moranō*; *saṅgaṭayenda -saṅgaṭanō* can occur in the same meaning viz. The instrumental (Though -ō or -ōge, the locative marker occurs in the above nouns, it does not function here as the locative case).

     4.) Both the tool-action relationship and the material (object)- action relationship, the instrumental can be expressed through locative marker.

Tool – action

    7. *bōja daiḍiyō nēya ūda* - Boja beat the dog with a stick

    8. *āsāri uḷiyō sedukkida* - carpenter plane with a chisel

Material – action

    9. *āsāri agaleyō kaṭṭalu māḍida* - carpenter made cot with / by wood

    l0. *avve eragiyō hiṭṭu māḍida* - mother prepared meal with ragi

This form of the instrumental is probably a locative in its original significance. However it is employed to express instrumental freely.

Neuter nouns

     5.) All neuter instrumental forms, without any exception can be expressed through the suffix - *ō* or *-ōge*.

    ll. *pēnānda kāyida bare* - write a letter with a pen

    l2. *pēnādō kāyida bare* - write a letter with a pen

    13. *kāluyenda seṇḍu ode* - kick the ball with / by your leg

    l4. *kālunō seṇḍu ode* - kick the ball with / by your leg

    6.) Thus in Badaga the locative *–ō* or *-ōge* is post position and is also used in instrumental and causative meaning. In the same way, in modern Kannada the instrumental can be expressed through the locative marker. Though in Badaga and Kannada instrumental is expressed through the locative marker, the two languages employ different markers, namely *–alli* in Kannada, in Badaga *-ō* or *-ōge*.

    7.) In Kannada "The locative marker *-uḷ* was occurring with its alternative *-oḷ* in earlier centuries, does not occur in these inscriptions. [Inscription of Coorg, South Kanara and North Kanara Dts. l000 to l400 AD]. Even the suffix *-oḷ*, which hold on during the period has less frequency than the other alternates like *-ali*, *-alli*, *-alu* and *-allu*. This is also a feature of modern Kannada and lends support to the view that modern Kannada traits have either started or become more and more predominant during this period" (Kushalappa Gowda l972: xxv-xxvi).

    8.) *-ō* of the Badaga is a cognate of Kannada *-uḷ* or *-oḷ* and Tamil *-uḷ*. This feature of the Badagas shows retention of the ancient form all along. *-ōge* of the Badaga is a cognate of Kannada *-oḷage* and Tamil *uḷḷagam*. In Kannada *oḷage* is not occurring as locative marker. So locative marker *–ōge* of badaga is a new innovation. In Tamil *uḷ* and *agam* are synonyms and very rarely they join together to make a compound. e.g. *uḷḷaṅgai* (*uḷ* +*agam* + *kai*, palm), *uḷḷaṅgāl* (*uḷ* + *agam* + *kāl*, sole). The Badaga words for palm and sole are without *uḷ*. i.e. In Badaga *aṅgay* (*agam*+*kay*) is palm and *aṅgāl*

(*agam*+*kāl*) is sole. Though -*alli* is in usage in Badaga as a demonstrative remote adverb and it did not occur as an alternant for -*ō* or -*ōge*.

Locative

9.) In Badaga the locative is expressed through a host of post positions including -*ō* or -*ōge*, which means in or inside. A few of them are *odāga* (up), *mēle* (up), *kīye* (down), *hindāḍu* (back), *mundāḍu* (front), *sāre* (near), *orāsu* (out or outside) and have either positional or directional meaning.

l0.) -*ō* or -*ōge* stands for both locative and instrumental. The difference in meaning can however be deduced by the type of the verbs occurring in the sentences.

l5. *sarunō hiṭṭu māḍu* - cook food with (by using) a vessel -inst.

l6. *sarunō hiṭṭu aḍade* - food is in vessel -loc.

l7. *agaleyō peṭṭi māḍu* - make box with wood -inst.

l8. *agaleyō peṭṭi bī* - keep the box on a plank -loc.

l9. *ama saṅgaṭanō satta* - he died due to sick - inst.

20. *ama saṅgaṭanō iddane* - he is in (suffering) sick - loc.

ll.) -*ō* or -*ōge* is the locative suffix that occurs after inanimate and animate (including human nouns and pronouns) respectively.

2l. *maneyō or maneyōge* - in the house

22. *holadō or holadōge* - in the field

23. *kayyō or kayyōge* - in the hand

24. *amanō or amanōge* - with him

25. *ennōge*   - with me

Instrumental and ablative

l2.) "The instrumental and ablative are homophones in modern Kannada. however, in old Kannada -*am* was exclusively the marker for the instrumental and *attaṇim* for the ablative. In modern Kannada -*imda* alone stands for both instrumental and ablative markers though their difference in meaning can be deduced by the verbs occurring in sentences" (Kushalappa Gowda l972: 324). Unlike modern Kannada, In Badaga the instrumental and the ablative markers are different. In Badaga −*enda* is instrumental marker and −*inda* is ablative marker.

26. *dāri* + *enda* - *dāriyenda* - because of the way - inst.

27. *dāri* + *inda* - *dārīnda* - from the way -abl.

28. *kallu* + *enda* - *kallenda* - with / by stone -inst.

29. *kallu + inda - kallūnda* - from the stone -int.

30. *guḍi + enda – guḍiyenda* - with / by temple -inst.

3l. *guḍi + inda - guḍinda* - from the temple -abl.

Sociative

l3.) In Badaga the instrumental and sociative are expressed by different markers. The instrumental proper and the cause are expressed by the suffix *–enda* and the sociative is expressed by -*ōḍa* or -*kōḍa* with the meaning of in company with or possessing a state like happiness, anger etc.

32. *ivva kōḍa* - with this woman

33. *sondakārara kōḍa* - with relatives

34. *karu kōḍa* - with the calf

35. *kayōḍa* - with hand

36. *oraccadōḍa* - with anger

-*āle*

l4.) it is interesting to note that sporadically -*āle* is occurring as an instrumental suffix. i.e. it is in free variation with -*enda* or -*ō* or - *ōge*.

37. *ennenda muḍiya* - not possible by me

38. *ennāle muḍiya* - not possible by me

39. *kayyenda māḍide* - I did with / by hand

40. *kayyāle māḍide* - I did with / by hand

4l. *kaṇṇunō kaṇḍe* - I looked with my eyes

42. *kaṇṇnāle kaṇḍe* - I looked with my eyes

l5.) There is room to consider this may be due to the influence of Tamil, in which -*āl* is the instrumental marker. At the same time its occurrence in proverb emphasizes its prevalence in Badaga for a longer period.

43. *kayyālu āga kuḍigilu masiya* - the hand also not ready to do work. The sickle is also not sharp to cut (vegetables). Refers too lazy for any work

In the same way words like *kayyālāgadava* (an incapable or incompetent woman), *kayyālāgadama* (an incapable or incompetent man) are of frequent usages in Badaga. However its occurrence is limited to selected phrases.

Summary

l6.) Unlike Kannada, Badaga has different markers for instrumental nad ablative. The instrumental expressed through the locative is more common and looks more natural than the one expressed through its so-called regular suffix -*enda*. The form -*ō* or -*ōge* of Badaga is older than the Kannada locative marker -*alli* which is employed for instrumental case. Sporadically -*āle* is also used in Badaga for the instrumental.

References

l.) Balakrishnan, R., (l999), Badaga A Dravidian Language, Annamalai University

2.) Kushalappa Gowda, K., (l972), A Grammar of Kannada (Based on the inscriptions of Coorg, South Kanara and North Kanara Dts. l000 to l400 A.D.), Annamali University.

7. Personal Singular Pronoun in the Badaga Language

"Much light is thrown by the pronouns on the relationship of languages: for the personal pronouns and especially those of the first and second persons singular, evince more of the quality of permanence than any other parts of speech, and are generally found to change but little. They are more permanent even than the numerals, the signs of case and the verbal inflexions" (Caldwell l987:359).

This paper elucidates the first, second and third / reflexive personal singular pronouns of Badaga in the background by comparing them with other Dravidian languages, especially Tamil and Kannada. Similarly the oblique forms and the pronominal terminations of the verbs of these pronouns occur accordingly the person and number and hence the later are also discussed.

Singular Personal Pronouns

In consonance with the Dravidian languages there are three persons and two numbers in Badaga. The personal singular pronouns of the first and second person are '*nā*' and '*nī*'. The third person / reflexive singular pronoun is '*tā*'. These forms of the first person singular and third / reflexive singular. correspond to those in modern Tamil and Kannada.

Badaga	Tamil	Kannada	
nā	*nā<u>n</u>*	*nānu*	'I'
nī	*nī*	*nīnu*	'you' (sg.)
tā	*tā<u>n</u>*	*tānu*	he

These singular pronouns of Badaga are the same as the colloquial Tamil forms, *nā*, *nī*, *tā*. The final consonant of the pronouns of Tamil *nā<u>n</u>*, Kannada *nānu* etc., -*n* signifies singular (Subrahmanyam 2006:l67). Even though Badaga lacks the number marker in personal singular forms they signify singular meaning. It is to be remembered here that Dr. Caldwell considers *nā*, *nī*, and *tā* are the primitive roots of these pronouns.

First person singular

Dravidianist generally consider *'yāṉ'* as probably older than *'nāṉ'*. But Caldwell in his second edition observed "that *'yāṉ'* is probably older than *'nāṉ'* but *'nāṉ'* also, I consider of great antiquity" (Caldwell l987:366). "According to Tolkāppiyam, the oldest Tamil grammar, *'yāṉ'* is the first person singular . . . . There is no mention in the Tolkāppiyam of *'nāṉ'* as the first person singular. *'nāṉ'* appears for the first time in literature of the eighth or ninth century. It is found most commonly in the writings of the Saiva and the Vaisnava saints who mostly adopted the words of popular speech in their writing" (Subbaiya l974:l7). Though *'nāṉ'* was not recorded in old literature, one cannot assert that *'nāṉ'* was not in use in Tamil earlier.

The Badaga forms of the singular personal pronouns lack the termination *-n*, in all three persons unlike Kannada.

Oblique forms

"When the nominative forms of the above said pronouns are inflected for case phrases, they become inflectional base or oblique forms. The oblique forms of the singular personal pronouns are formed by shortening of long vowel in Badaga as it is found in other languages like Tamil and Kannada" (Balakrishnan l999:97).

In Badaga the oblique forms of these singular personal pronouns are '*en*,' '*nin*', '*tan*' correspond with the Tamil forms (all three) and with Kannada (two forms).

Badaga	Tamil	Kannada
en-	*eṉ-*	*nan-*
nin-	*niṉ-*	*nin-*
tan-	*taṉ-*	*tan-*

According to Kannada grammar Subdamaṇidarpana *'āṉ'*, *'nīṉ'*, *'tāṉ'* are nominative forms and their oblique forms are *'en-'*, *'nin-'*, *'tan-'*(Kulli l976:l55-l56). The Badaga oblique forms correspond fully with these oblique forms. Modern Kannada '*nan-*', replaced the old Kannada '*en-*', where as Badaga has retained the old form.

Long vowel

Generally in Dravidian the oblique forms of the personal pronouns are formed by shortening the long vowel in the nominative. So, in Badaga the oblique forms of the personal singular pronouns have short vowels. But there is an exception which occurs as an alternative. In dative case the singular forms of the first person and second person pronouns take case maker directly.

e.g. *nā* + *-ga* - *nāga* or *enaga* (to me)

  nī + -ga - *nīga* or *ninaga* (to you)

It is interesting to note that this feature is restricted to the first and second person singular pronouns. The third person / reflexive pronoun *'tā'* does not occur as such. In dative case it is formed by shortening the long vowels in the nominative. e.g. *tā* + -ga – *tanaga* (to him / self). As this trend is not

found even with third person / reflexive singular pronoun. It is clear that this is a special and later innovation.

Alternative

Even in the oblique forms, there are alternative with dative case. With other cases the oblique forms of these pronouns occur as *'en-'*, *'nin-'*, and *'tan-'*, but with dative case they are *'ena-'*, *'nina-'*, *'tana-'* irrespectively (Balakrishnan l999:98).

e.g. *nā + - ga* - *ena-ga*, to me (dat.)

nī + -ga - *nina-ga*, to you (dat.)

tā + -ga - *tana-ga*, to him (dat.)

nā + -a - *enn-a*, I, (acc.)

nā + -enda - *enn-enda*, by ma (caus.)

nā + -inda - *enn-inda*, from me (abl.)

nā + -a - *enn-a*, my (gen.)

nā + -ōge - *enn-ōge*, with me (loc.)

nā + -ōḍa - *enn-ōḍa*, with me (soc.)

nā + -kōḍa - *enna-kōḍa*, with me (soc.)

nī + -a - *ninn-a*, you (acc.)

nī + -enda - *ninn-enda*, by you (caus.)

nī + -inda - *ninn-inda*, from you (abl.)

nī + -a - *inn-a*, your (gen.)

nī + -ōge - *ninn-ōge*, with you (loc.)

nī + -ōḍa - *ninn-ōḍa*, with you (soc.)

nī + -kōḍa - *ninna-kōḍa*, with you (soc.)

tā + -a - *tann-a*, him (acc.)

tā + -enda - *tann-enda*, by him (caus.)

tā + -inda - *tann-inda*, from him (abl.)

tā + -a   - *tann-a*, his (gen.)

tā + -ōge   - *tann-ōge*, with him (loc.)

tā + -ōḍa   - *tann-ōḍa*, with him (soc.)

 tā + -kōḍa   - *tanna-kōḍa*, with him (soc.)

Doubled 'n'

"In Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Kodagu the final consonant (i.e. n̲ / n / m) of the oblique base (of the personal and reflexive pronouns) remains single before the dative suffix (e.g. Ta. *en-akku*, to me, *em-akku* to us (excl); Ka. *nan-age*, to me, *nam-age*, to us, but this doubled before other case suffixes and post positions that begin with a vowel (e.g. Ta.*enn-āl*, by me, *enn-iṭam*, with me; Ka. *nann-annu*, me, *nann-a*, my, *namm-alli*, among us), However, the doubling is absent in Tamil but it occurs before the genitive -*a(tu)*. (e.g. *enn-atu*, my, *nam-atu*, our (incl.)), before -*uṭaiya* of the same case (e.g. *enn-uṭaiya*, my, *namm-uṭaiya*, our (incl.) (Subrahmanyam 2006:l67 ft.).

In Badaga the final consonant of the oblique of the personal and reflexive pronouns remains single before the dative suffix. (e.g. *ena-ga*, to me, *nina-ga*, to you). But, it is doubled before other case suffixes and post positions that begin with vowel (e.g. *enn-enda*, by me, *enna-sāre*, with me, *enn-a*, me, *enn-ōge*, with me, *ninn-inda*, by you, *ninna-sāre*, with you, *ninn-a*, you, *ninn-ōge*, with you).

Personal suffixes

The gender-number distinction in Badaga is found only in the demonstrative pronoun. In the personal pronouns the person-number distinction is found and the finite verb forms of the pronouns show this distinction. In Badaga the personal suffixes are conditioned by two major types, past and present-furure stems (Balakrishnan l999:l67). Due to this for every person two personal suffixes are available, i.e. one for the past tense and other for the present-future tense.

	Past	Present – Future
l.sg.	-*e*	-*ane*
pl. (incl.)	-*o*	-*ano*
pl. (excl.)	-*iyo*	-*aniyo*
2.sg.	-*e*	-*re*
pl.	-*i*	-āri
3. sg. (masc.)	-*a*	-*ana* (-*na*)
(fem.)	-*a*	-*iya*
ep.pl.	-*aru*	- *āra*
sg. (neut.)	-*a /-atu*	-*ara* (-*ra*)

pl. (neut.)   *-a*   *-ara*

e.g. *nā bande* – I came

   nā bannane / banne - I will come

   nanga bando   - we (incl.) came

   nanga bannano / banno - we will come

   enga bandiyo - we (excl.) came

   enga bannaniyo - we will come

   nī bande - you came

   nī bandare - you will come

   ninga bandi - you came

   ninga bandari - you will come

   ama banda - he came

   ama banana / banna - he will come

   ava banda - she came

   ava bandiya - she will come

   avaka bandaru - they came

   avaka bandāra - they will come

   adu banda / bandatu - it came

   adu bandara - it will come

   ave banda - they came

   ave bandara - they will come

"In the personal terminations of the verb this pronoun is much changed in all the Dravidian dialects. It not only loss its initial *'n'*, like the pronoun of the first person, but its final *'n'* also disappears (Caldwell l987: 385). lsg. *ēn, an, al*; l.pl. (excl.) *ēm, ām, um / ōm*; 2.sg. *ī, āy, oy*; 2.pl. *ir, īr (kaḷ)*; 3.m.sg. *ān, ōn*;3.f.sg. *oḷ, ōḷ*; 3.neut. sg. (a) *tu*; 3.h.pl. *ar (kaḷ)*; 3.neut. pl. *a*, are the pronominal suffixes of the Tamil. l.sg. *em, enu, e*; l.pl. *em, evu*; 2. pl. *ir, iri*; 3.m.sg. *am, om, ane, a*; 3.f.sg. *aḷ(u), āḷ*; 3.neut.sg. *udu, du, itu, tu*; 3.h.pl. *ar(u), ār, or*; 3.neut. pl. *uvu, avu* are the pronominal suffixes of the Kannada (Krishnamurti 2003:308).

Compared to Tamil and Kannada the Badaga pronominal suffixes are few and they are well conditioned by past and present-future tense.

First person plural

In proto-Dravidian two plurals in the first person, one including the person addressed, called the inclusive plural, and the other excluding the person addressed, called exclusive plurals (Caldwell l987:246). Badaga has maintained this distinction not only in the first person plural but also in the finite verb of these personal plural forms. "Badaga also keeps separate personal markers for first person inclusive and exclusive plural in the verb paradigms. This distinction is very strictly observed in Badaga. -*iyo* / -*aniyo* is represented for exclusive plural marker in Badaga, which is not similar to any marker of any Dravidian languages" (Balakrishnan l999:l70).

Badaga has short vowels in all the plural nominative forms. These Badaga forms were originally oblique bases is clear from the fact they contain in a short vowels. They must have replaced the original nominative forms at a later stage. Unlike the plural nominative forms the singular nominative forms of Badaga have long vowels. The plural oblique forms replaced the nominatives. But in singular forms there is a trend to use the nominatives as oblique. However this trend restricted to dative case only and even it has not crept to the third person / reflexive singular pronoun.

Conclusion

The personal singular pronouns of Badaga are with long vowels and their oblique forms are with short vowels. But in one instance the nominative takes the dative case without getting modified for the oblique form. in finite verb the pronominal suffixes are conditioned by past and present -future tenses. In personal plural forms there is no distinction between nominative and their oblique forms. In the first person plural distinction is there between inclusive and exclusive and this is well marked in finite verb with different suffixes.

References

l.) Balakrishnan, R., (l999) Badaga A Dravidian Language, Annamalai University

2.) Caldwell, Robert, (l987), A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages, 2[nd]Edn. AES, (First Published l9l3).

3.) Krishanmurti, Bh., (2003), The Dravidian languages, Cambridge University Press, London.

4.) Kulli, J.S., (l976), Kesiraja's Sabdamaṇidarpana, Karnatak University.

5.) Subbaiya, K.V.,(l974), The pronouns and pronominal terminations of the first person in Dravidian, (Ed.) Mark Collins, Dravidic Studies, University of Madras.

6.) Subrahmanyam, P.S., (2006), Dravidian personal pronouns (The interplay of sound change and Analogy), IJDL, Tiruvananthapuram.

8. Plural Markers In Badaga

Abstract

Nouns in Badaga show a contrast between singular and plural. To express plurality, the plural suffix is added to the singular noun. Among the four available plural suffixes (- avaka, -aru, -ga, and - go), except one (-avaka) the other three occur as bound morphemes. avaka 'they', is the demonstrative epicene plural pronoun. The noun in singular number is treated as the basic stem and that is identical with nominative singular. The nominative plural is formed by adding plural suffix to nominative singular. -aru and - avaka are epicene plural markers, and they are added to masculine singular and to feminine singular to get masculine plural and feminine plural respectively.

The plural markers

Singular and plural are the two numbers found in Badaga, the former is unmarked and the later overtly marked. The number distinction manifests in nouns, appellatives, participial nouns, pronouns, demonstrative nouns, interrogative nouns and verbal endings. There are four plural markers found in Badaga, namely -*avaka, -aru , -ga* and *–go*. Among these four -*avaka, -ga* and -*go* are suffixed to nouns and pronouns. -*aru* is suffixed to nouns and as well as to the verbs. -*avaka* comes as plural suffix as well as hon.sg. suffix. -*ga* is suffixed to pronouns and those pronouns occur as hon.sg. too, and -*go* is suffixed to non-human nouns, especially it comes with non-human animate nouns.

Nouns inflect for number and case. Singular number is opposed to plural, with plural being formally marked by a suffix. In Badaga plural in nouns and pronouns is optional category. It is interesting to note that *–ka* (of *–avaka*), -*ga* and - *go* all these three forms are variations of the plural suffix -*kaḷ*, which might be a composite form, a merger of two plural suffixes -*k* and -*ḷ* (Gopinathan Nair, 2003:66)

Tolkāppiyam says that the plural suffix -*kaḷ* is restricted to the non-rational nouns (Tol.654). However plural suffixed -*kaḷ* occurs with rational noun in Tolkāppiyam itself (in Tol. 484 the word *makkaḷ* appeared). With this, it is inferred that prior to Tolkāppiyam -*kaḷ* is restricted to non-rational nouns and in due course it lost that restriction and occurred with rational nouns too. In consonance with the later development the Badaga derivatives of -*kaḷ* occur with human and non-human nouns.

When a noun is inflected for number, a plural suffix is added to the noun stem. Badaga distinguishes between singular and plural number. But the plural number is only morphologically marked by the means of the plural suffix.

There is no plural suffix added to neuter / inanimate nouns to distinguish plurality in Badaga. Plural suffix is optional in neuter animate nouns. All the count nouns are capable of taking the plural number suffix. Badaga has a two-way number distinction, viz. singular and plural. All noun stems other than those which can be identified as inherent plural, are inherently singular, and as such is the singularity is unmarked.

1.) -*avaka*

-*avaka* comes as a epicene plural (the rational plural) marker and it is suffixed to human nouns. The plural marker -*avaka* in Badaga denotes the respect and plurality (*avaka* is remote demonstrative

epicene plural pronoun, *ivaka* is proximate demonstrative epicene plural pronoun and *evaka* is interrogative epicene plural pronoun). This -*avaka* of Badaga is derived from the Tamil demonstrative ep.pl. pronoun *avarkaḷ* of Tamil, 'they' (Balakrishnan l999:96). The Tamil word *avarkaḷ* contains two plural markers (-*r*- and -*kaḷ*). So, we have to assume that the Badaga epicene plural -*avaka* too contains double plural markers. But it lost middle *r* and final *ḷ* of *avarkaḷ*. This is a phenomenon where two plural suffixes are added one after another. In Kannada the demonstrative epicene plural pronoun is *avaru* and it is used as hon.sg. too. Kannada *avaru* has the plural marker -*ru*. Unlike this Badaga demonstrative epicene plural pronoun and the hon.sg. *avaka* has double plural markers. In modern Tamil the double plural marker *avarkaḷ* is used to express hon.sg. and Badaga hon.sg. is identical with this.

Indication of respect

The epicene plural form is used to refer to an individual when the speaker wants to express respect to the person referred and this is called honorific singular.

When -*avaka* is suffixed to kinship terms it implies the meaning of epicene plural as well as hon. singular.

singular	plural / honorific singular
aṇṇa - elder brother	*aṇṇanavaka* - elder brothers, elder brother (hon.sg.)
tamma - younger brother	*tammanavaka* - younger brothers, younger brother (hon.sg.)
avve - mother	*avveyavaka* - mothers, mother (hon.sg.)
appa - father	*appanavaka* - fathers, father (hon.sg.)
ayya - grand father	*ayyanavaka* - grandfathers, grand father (hon.sg.)
hette - grand mother	*hetteyavaka* - grand mothers, grand mother (hon.sg.)
akka - elder sister	*akkanavaka* - elder sisters, elder sister (hon.sg.)
mamma - uncle	*mammanavaka* - uncles, uncle (hon.sg.)
mammi - aunt	*mammiyavaka* - aunts, aunt (hon.sg.)
amme - younger sister	*ammeyavaka* - younger sisters, younger sister (hon.sg.)
attige - sister-in law	*attigeyavaka* - sister-in laws, sister-in-law (hon.sg.)
ayyabeṭṭa - sun-in-law	*ayyabeṭṭanavaka* - son-in-laws, son-in-law (hon.sg)
sose - daughter –in-law	*soseyavaka* - daughter-in-laws, daughter-in-law (hon.sg.)
bāmayda - brother-in-law	*bāmaydanavaka* - brother-in-laws, brother-in-law (hon.sg)

When -*avaka* is suffixed to proper noun, it always implies the hon.sg. meaning. e.g. *nañjanavaka* 'Nanja (hon.sg.), *māsiyavaka* 'Masi (hon.sg).

When it comes with nouns of designation, it implies the meaning of hon. singular only. e.g. *mandiriyavaka* 'minister' (hon.sg.), *gavuḍanavaka* 'village head' (hon.sg.), *ōliyakāranavaka* 'forest guard' (hon.sg.).

Indication of plurality

The suffix –*avaka* is added to common stem of nouns to express the meaning of plural. –*avaka* functions as a replacing morph with the nouns marked for masculine and feminine gender. It replaces the masculine gender marker (-*ama*) or the feminine gender marker (-*ava*). e.g.

masculine singular	feminine singular	epicene plural
haṭṭiyama -a village man	*haṭṭiyava* – village woman	*haṭṭiyavaka* – village people
maneyama - a man of a family	*maneyava* – awoman of a family	*maneyavaka* – family members
ama- he	*ava*- she	*avaka* - they

Participial noun

Epicene plural participial nouns take plural suffix -*avaka*. In participial nouns too -*avaka* functions as a replacing morph. e.g.

masculine singular	feminine singular	epicene plural
bandama - having come-he	*bandava* - having come-she	*banadavaka* - having come –they
īsidama - having received-he	*īsidava* - having received –she	*īsidavaka* - having received -they

2.) - *aru*

The epicene plural marker -*aru* occurs with the stems, common for both masculine and feminine and also with masculine or feminine nouns. Most human nouns take plural suffix -*aru*. e.g.

masculine singular	feminine singular	epicene plural
gelasakāra - male servant	*gelasakātti* - maid servant	*gelasakāraru* - servants
kivaḍa - deaf man	*kivaḍi* - deaf woman	*kivaḍaru* - deaf people
mūṅga - dumb man	*mūṅgi* - dumb woman	*mūṅgiyaru* - dumb people
kaḷḷa - thief	*kaḷḷe* - thief (female)	*kaḷḷaru* - thieves
asaga - washerman	*asagatti* - washer women	*asagaru* - washermen
todama - Toda man	*todavattti* - Toda woman	*todavaru* - Toda people

masculine singular	masculine plural
gaṇḍumoga - man	*gaṇḍisaru* - men
ajja – old man	*ajjaru* – old men
muduka - old man	*mudukaru* - old men
bāmayda - wife's brother	*bāmaydaru* - wife's brothers
muruva - widower	*muruvaru* - widowers
jaḍḍuka - co-brother	*jaḍḍukaru* - co-brothers
naṭṭa - relative man	*naṭṭaru* -relations

feminine singular	feminine plural
ajji - old woman	*ajjiyaru* - old women
muduki – old woman	*mudukiyaru* -old women
ōragatti - co-sister	*ōragattiyaru* - co-sisters
attigenanni - husband's sister	*attigenanniyaru* - husband's sisters
munḍegiḍi - widow	*munḍegiḍiyaru* - widows
keḷavi - old woman	*keaviyaru* - old women
hemmātti -woman	*hemmakkaru* - women, *hemmakka* also a plural form for *hemmātti*,

In an exceptional category, in the term *avveyaru makka* 'children of sisters the kinship term *avve* 'mother' takes pl. suffix -*aru*. In a few cases, the –*avaka* of –*avaka* added hon.sg. nouns is replaced by –*aru* for plurality.

honorific singular		plural	
gavuḍanavaka	-headman (hon.sg.)	*gavuḍaru*	-head men
bāmaydanavaka	- wife's brother (hon.sg.)	*bāmaydaru*	- wife's brothers
ajjiyavaka	- old woman (hon.sg.)	*ajjiyaru*	- old women

In subject - predicate agreement -*aru* is suffixed with verbs for plural nouns, and hon. sg. nouns. e.g.

haṭṭiyavaka bandaru   - village people came

gavuḍanavaka bandaru - *gavuḍa* (hon.sg.) came

hemmakkaru bandaru   -women came

Conjunctive compound

The conjunctive compounds take rational plural endings -*avaka* and -*aru*. e.g.

avve appanavaka - mother and father, parent

mamma mammiyavaka - aunt and uncle

akka taṅgeyaru - sisters

aṇṇatammaru - brothers

Appellative

Epicene plural nouns formed with the appellative verbs take –*avaka* and –*aru* suffixes. e.g.

oḷḷiyavaka - good-they,   good people

ollādavaka - bad-they,   bad people

karapparu - black man they,   black people

kombiyaru - horn woman-they,   privileged people

3.) -*go*

All the neuter nouns can take plural suffix -*go*. However, plural suffix -*go* is not obligatory for inanimate and animate nouns. e.g.

dana	- cow	*danago*	- cows
emme	- buffalo	*emmego*	– buffaloes
mora	- tree	*morago*	-trees

Normally count nouns do not take plural marker e.g. *eraḍu naṇḍu* 'two crabs', *mūru mora* 'three trees', *āru kallu*, 'six stones'

Rarely human nouns take -*go* suffix

ā	- man /woman /servant	*āgo*	- people /servants
kaḷḷa	- thief	*kaḷḷago*	- thieves
- - - - - - -		*janago*	- people , *jana*,'people' is an inherent plural noun and even then

it takes the plural marker.

In rare use the plural suffix -*go* is added to -*aru* as a plural marker e.g. *rājaru-go* , 'kings', *kaḷḷaru-go* 'thiefs'

The kinship term -*ayyandiru* 'son-in-laws' (sg. *ayya* 'son-in-law') has the plural -*andiru*. This is only kinship term which takes the -*andiru* for plural. In Kannada kinship terms like *aṇṇandiru* 'elder

brothers', *akkanidiru* 'elder sisters, *māvandiru* 'father-in-laws' are in popular use (Sanford B.Steever l998:l32).

All the count nouns are capable of taking the plural number suffix. It is added to a noun stem which is formed as stated in the structure of noun stem. It functions as a replacing morph with the nouns marked for masculine and feminine genders, where it replaces the masculine and feminine gender markers.

There are two kinds of plural viz. l.) epicene plural occurring with the stems common for masculine and feminine gender and 2.) common plural occurring with human and animate nouns. There is no plural marker for inanimate nouns.

4.) -*ga*

lst person, 2nd person and 3rd person reflexive pronouns are unmarked for gender but marked for number. in Badaga distinction between the exclusive and inclusive of the first person pronouns is there. And these pronouns have separate pronominal suffixes for the first person plural in the finite verb construction. *nanga* (lst p. incl.pl.), *enga* (lst p.excl.pl.), *ninga* (2nd pl.), *tanga* (3rd p. reflexive pl.) are the -*ga* suffixed pronouns . Demonstrative pl. pronoun is *avaka*, which comes as pl. suffix with human nouns.

Badaga has similar plural forms of personal pronouns and the oblique forms of these pronouns

Nominative	Oblique
nanga (incl.pl.),' we '	*nanga* -ours
enga (excl.pl.) ' we '	*enga* -us
ninga - you	*ninga* – your
tanga - selves	*tanga* -his, him

The plural suffix -*ga* is suffixed to all these nominative and oblique forms The singular reflexive pronoun *tā* 'self' is used to denote singular as well as hon.sg. The plural form *tanga* is used in addressing a single individual very courteously to express even greater respect than *ninga* (you, hon.sg.)

yām and *nām* are the two first person plural forms found in Tolkāppiyam. But, the difference between them are not found in Tolkāppiyam. Commentators Naccinārkkiniyar and Kallāḍanār point out that *yām* is inclusive plural pronoun and *nām* is exclusive plural pronoun. *enga* and *nanga* are the first person plural pronouns in Badaga. When we compare Badaga first person plural pronouns *enga* (exclusive) and *nanga* (inclusive) with Tamil forms *yām* and *nām* respectively, we infer that Tamil *em-* and *nam-* were existed earlier in Badaga and adding the plural marker -*ga* (<*kaḷ*) with them are later development, and the present first person plural pronouns are formed. In the same way Badaga second person plural pronoun *ninga* is identical with Tamil *nīngaḷ* and reflexive pronoun *tanga* with Tamil form *tāṅgaḷ*. However all these Badaga forms have plural marker -*ga* and which is derived from -*kaḷ*. As all these Tamil forms are double plural marker added forms. So, we can conclude that these Badaga forms too double plural markers added forms.

The neuter plural suffix -*ve* is added rarely to express plural. e.g. *kunnave* ,'children', *hengoḍave*, 'females'. The demonstrative neuter plural pronoun is *ave* 'they'. In *makka* ' people/sons/ daughters' the ending -*ka* is to be treated as plural marker. *makkaḷ* is equivalent Tamil form and the Badaga form lost the final -*ḷ*.

ellā 'all'

  Tolkāppiyam treats the word *ellām* with the pronouns and it says the word *ellām* is common to both the classes. In Tamil *ellām* is inflected to gender and case. In Badaga, the word *ellā* 'all' is common to both the classes, it comes after the plural forms and it does not take plural marker. it is inflected to case. e.g.

hemmakka ellāva koracu   - call all the women
gaṇḍisaru ellā holaga hōgi   - all men, please go to field
mammanavaka ellā hiṭṭu tinnivi - all the uncles, please tale food
danago ellā hālu karadara   - all the cows are milking

  The human plural and hon.sg. concord with suffix -*vi* in imperative mood. e.g.
niṅga māḍivi - you pl. / hon.sg. 'do'
niṅga nōḍivi - you pl. / hon.sg. 'see'

Conclusion

  When a noun is inflected for number, a plural suffix is added to noun stem. The plural nominative always formed from the singular nominative. It is formed merely by adding plural suffix to the singular nominative. The plural marker -*avaka* (which is suffixed to nouns and participial nouns) in Badaga denotes the respect and plurality. In Badaga -*avaka* is predominantly used as honorific singular suffix. Badaga has four plural suffixes, -*avaka*, -*aru*, -*go*, -*ga* whose distribution depends on noun class. While mostly -*go* occurs with non-rational nouns, the other three occur only with rational nouns. The demonstrative epicene plural pronoun *avaka* (which occur as human plural suffix too), the plural pronouns and reflexive plural pronoun contain double plural markers. -*ga* occurs with pronouns only.

Abbreviations

e.g.   - example
excl.pl.   - exclusive plural
hon.sg.   - honorific singular
incl.pl.   - inclusive plural
p.   - person
pl.   - plural

References

l.) Balakrishnan, R., (l999) Badaga A Dravidian Language, Annamalai University
2.) Gopinathan Nair, B., (2003), Comparative Dravidian Noun Morphology, (Ed. Ramakrishna Reddy, B., Word Structure in Dravidian), Dravidian University, Kuppam
3.) Israel, M., (l973), Treatment of Morphology Tolkāppiyam, Madurai Kamaraj University
4.) Sanford B. Steever, (l998), Kannada The Dravidian Languages, (Ed.) Sanford B. Steever, Routledge, Landon.

9. Progressive Aspect in Badaga

Progressive

"Performance of an action (state, process) over a certain period of time is expressed by the progressive aspect"(Forsyth l970:24). In Badaga *ūṇḍiru (ūṇḍu + iru)* is an auxiliary verb conveying progressive notion, with another alternative *īṇḍiru.*

e.g. *ama maddu kuḍattūṇḍu iddane* - He is drinking (taking) medicine

ama mane kaṭṭīṇḍu iddane   -   He is constructing a house

īṇḍiru occurs after the i ending past participle of the main verb. In addition to this *ūṇḍaḍu (ūṇḍu + aḍu)* also occurs for obtaining progressive aspect. Hence it is opt to note that in Badaga *ūṇḍiru* and *ūṇḍaḍu* are the two auxiliary verbs to denote continuative. Of these two auxiliary verbs the former is used only for animate nouns and the latter is used for inanimate nouns.

e.g. *ama hiṭṭu tindūṇḍu iddane*   -   He is eating food

nē gavgera dūṇḍu iddare   -   Dog is barking

mē ūdūṇḍu aḍade   -   It is raining

nīru jōrīṇḍu aḍade   -   Water is leaking

Though *ūṇḍiru* contains two verbs namely -*ūṇḍu + iru,* when used to indicate progressive aspect, they are treated as single unit and always occur together. In the same way *ūṇḍaḍu* also contains two verbs namely *ūṇḍu + aḍu* and they act as a single unit. The finite forms of the base -*iru* and -*aḍu* are used as auxiliaries after the progressive -*ūṇḍu* and they can be conjugated for verbs. -*ūṇḍu* is the auxiliary that occurs after the verbal participle forms of the main verbs and indicated that the action of the main verb is continuous.

The verb -*iru* can be used in two different ways   as a main verb meaning to stay, to remain, to stand etc., and as a verb meaning, 'be' but only where the subject is animate. Where the subject is inanimate the verb -*aḍu* must be used. The word -*aḍu* has another meaning 'having'.

Tense

In Badaga there is only a two way distinction of tense i.e. past vs. non-past marked morphologically (Pilot Raichoor l997: l90). The simple verbs show only the distinction past and non-past. But when it gives the "progressive" meaning it shows all the three tenses, i.e. past, present and future. Progressive aspects are expressed by adding either past or present tense forms of the verb *-iru* / *-aḍu* of *-ūṇḍiru* / *-ūṇḍaḍu* forms. Pronominal terminations are suffixed with the auxiliary. Here the pronominal suffixed auxiliaries (*-iru* and *-aḍu*) are responsible for tense and progressiveness is marked auxiliary *-ūṇḍu. -ūṇḍu* does not occur independently and always occurs with other auxiliaries.

Past Progressive Aspect

ama tindūṇḍu idda	-	He was eating
ava tindūṇḍu idda	-	She was eating
avaka tindūṇḍu iddaru	-	They were eating
adu tindūṇḍu iddatu	-	It was eating
ave tindūṇḍu idda	-	They were eating
mē ūdūṇḍu aṭṭa	-	It was raining.

Present Progressive Aspect

ama tindūṇḍu iddane	-	He is eating
ava tindūṇḍu iddave	-	She is eating
avaka tindūṇḍu iddāre	-	They are eating
adu tindūṇḍu iddare	-	It is eating
ave tindūṇḍu iddave	-	They are eating
mē ūdūṇḍu aḍade	-	It is raining.

Future Progressive Aspect

ama tindūṇḍu iddana	-	He will go on eating

ava tindūṇḍu iddiya - She will go on eating

avaka tindūṇḍu iddāra - They will go on eating

adu tindūṇḍu iddara - It will go on eating

ave tindūṇḍu iddara - They will go on eating

mē ūdūṇḍu aṭṭara - It will be raining.

The past progressive aspect is nothing but a category which is noting a verb aspect or other verb category that indicates the continuing action of the past. In Badaga to denote "past progressive" aspect the past tense form of the auxiliary *-iru*, or *-aḍu* is suffixed with the progressive indicator *-ūṇḍu*. And the *-ūṇḍidda* or *-ūṇḍaṭṭa* is directly affixed with verbal participle form of the main verb.

The present progressive aspect is expressed by the combinatory structure of the verbal participle *-ūṇḍu* and the present tense forms of the auxiliaries *-iru* and *-aḍu*

The future progressive aspect is expressed by the structure of verbal participle plus *–ūṇḍu* and pronominal termination. The pronominal terminations show the distinction between the future and past or present. There is no tense form found in making the future. However the form which underlines the future progressive aspect denotes the durative aspect also. Hence it is apt to mention here that the durative aspect is basic and the future progressive aspect is derived from that one.

e.g. *ava kēttūṇḍu iddiya* - She will go on asking,

She has the habit of asking.

avaka kuḍattūṇḍu iddāra - They will go on drinking

They are on the habit of drinking

"In Tamil the expression *koṇṭiru* when it is interpreted as durative is replaceable by *koṇṭuvā*" (Kothandaraman, R., l980:86). In the same way in Badaga *ūṇḍubā* gives the durative meaning.

e.g. *ama vari kaṭṭīṇḍu bannana* - He is having the habit of paying tax (regularly)

"In Tamil the auxiliary that marks progressive aspect is *koṇṭiru*. Infact, Tamil *koṇṭiru* contains

Two verbs namely *koḷ* and *iru,* when making progressive aspect they are treated as a single unit for they always occur together" (Kothandaraman, Pon. l980:6)

      e .g. *avar paṭittuk koṇṭiruntār* - He was reading

          avaḷ eḻutik koṇṭiruntāḷ   - She was writing

In Modern Kannada the present-tense finite verb is formed by adding *-utt-* to the stem followed by (g) np suffixes. e.g. l. sg. *māḍ -ut(t) - ēne,* I am doing, l.pl. *māḍ -ut(t) ēve,* sg. *māḍ -ut(t) -i / ī,* 2pl. *māḍ - ut(t)-īri,* 3m sg. *māḍ-ut(t)āne,* 3 fsg. *māḍ -ut(t)-āḷe,* 3h.pl.*māḍ-ut(t) āre,* 3 neu.sg. *māḍ –ut(t)-ade,* 3 neu.pl. *māḍ-ut(t)ave/-āve.* The present participle is formed by adding *–ut(t)u/-ut(t)ā* to the verb. e.g *māḍ-ut(t)-ā,* doing. In old and medieval Kannada it was formed by adding *–ut(t)um,* e.g. *nagu-* to laugh, *nag-ut(t)um,* laughing, *aḷ-* to weep *aḷ-ut(t)um,* weeping" (Krishnamurti 2003:363)

"The fact that the present day Badaga verbal paradigms do not have any direct parallel with any other language is an important point to confirm its status as an independent language" (Pilot Raichoor l997:l97). In this context it is significant that the auxiliary which denotes progressive in Badaga shows no similarity with Kannada. At the same time this feature is cognate with Tamil. There is a view that the Badaga progressive auxiliary itself as *koṇḍiru,* as in Tamil.

"*koṇḍiru* is used as a single auxiliary verb for obtaining progressive forms in Badaga. This verb consists of two auxiliary verbs such as *koḷ* and *ir.* The past participle form of *koḷ-* is *koṇḍu,* in which the other auxiliary verb *ir-* is added to get this auxiliary verb *koṇḍiru* "(Balakrishnan l999:84). e.g. *ōḍīṇḍiru* (*<ōḍi + koṇḍir*)- you sg. go on running. *koṇḍir* always becomes *ūṇḍir* is joining with past participle of the main verb. Hence it is more reasonable to consider that *ūṇḍir* as the especially in Brahminical dialect instead of *koṇṭiru, ūṇṭiru* occurs as progressive marker.

The verb expressing the durative (continuous action) in Tamil, Kannada, Tulu of South Dravidian l[st] and Telugu and Konda of South Dravidian 2nd are apparently independent innovations which do not reconstruct to proto-South Dravidian"(Krishnamurti 2003:362). But in Tamil, Badaga (Balakrishnan l99:84), Irula (Periyalwar l980:5l4) and Betta Kurumba (Jeyapal l980:530) the auxiliary that expressing progressive is *koṇḍiru,* a common one.

Durative Aspect

In Badaga, though the expression -*ūṇḍiru/ -ūṇḍaḍu* denotes the progressive aspect, it is quite capable of taking care of the durative aspect also. "Progressive sharply differs from durative. 'Progressive' denotes the continuity of an act at a particular time segment without any break, whereas 'durative' is an action habitualised" (Kothandraman., R. l980:85). Consider the following example

nākku jenānda mē ūdūṇḍu aḍade - It is raining since the last four days. This is progressive one if it is interpreted in terms

nākku jenānda mē (buḍāde) ūdūṇḍu aḍade - It is raining since last four days without any let up. It will be considered durative in terms as

nākku jenānda mē (buṭṭu buṭṭu) ūdūṇḍu aḍade - It is raining since the last four days with intervals.

Reflexive

In Badaga -*ūṇḍu* is an auxiliary verb which conveys reflexive and benefactive notions. Its imperative form is -*ḷō*. This occurs with verbal participle and gives the reflexive meaning. This auxiliary has a remote connection with the independent verb root found elsewhere in the language, namely –*koḷ*, to get. In Badaga –*ūṇḍu* is nothing but the other form of *koṇḍu*, the past participle of -*koḷ*

e.g. *nā tindūṇḍe*   - I ate for myself

naṅga tindūṇḍo   - We ate for our self

tindūḷō   - (You) eat yourself

In Badaga the verb *koḷ* occurs mostly in past participle form *koṇḍu*

e.g. *ava sose koṇḍu banda* – She has taken daughter-in-law.

"In Tamil auxiliary verb -*koḷ* usually occurs with verbal participle form of *ceytu* type. The meaning of this form is reflexive. e.g. *terintu koṇtu* (Tol.l6l0), having known (by oneself), *uyttuk koṇtu uṇartal* (Tol.l6l0), having thought over (by oneself)" (Thinnappan l980:52)

Badaga form -*ḷō* and Tamil -*koḷ* are cognates

.

e.g. Tamil, *tinṟukoḷ*   - (You) eat yourself

Badaga, *tinduḷō*   - (you) eat yourself

Tamil, *kuṭittukkoḷ*   - (you) drink yourself

Badaga, *kuḍattuḷō*   - (You) drink yourself

The verb -*ḷo* (of Badaga), -*koḷ* (of Tamil) represent the reflexive

Auxiliary -*koḷ*

In Tamil the progressive and reflexive do not go together. This may be due to the fact that in Tamil the progressive and reflexive come from the same source -*koḷ*. Similarly in Badaga progressive and reflexive do not go together. This shows that as in Tamil, in Badaga also -*koḷ* is the source for these aspects. For example, the following sentences in Badaga can have either progressive meaning or durative but not both

nā kāykari īsīṇḍu idde   -   I was buying vegetables

nā kāykari īsīṇḍe   -   I have bought vegetables for myself

"Tamil, Malayalam and Tulu have no present participles, the meaning is conveyed by the past participle of the reflexive auxiliary *koḷ*-, to take, i.e. *koṇtu* added to the past participle of the main verb.

e. g. Tamil *karru-k-koṇtu* learning from *kal-*, to learn, past stem *kal + tt-*, (Krishnamurti 2003:363-365). The Badaga present participle *kattūṇḍu* (*kal-t-ūṇḍu*) seems to have the same structure.

Conclusion

Verbs representing the continuative meaning in Badaga -*ūṇḍiru* (for animate nouns) and –*ūṇḍaḍu* (for inanimate nouns), when one of those is added to the verbal participle form of the main verb shows that the action of the main verb is continuous. The reality is that the notion of progressive is derivable neither from -*ūṇḍu* nor from –*iru* but only the combination of -*ūṇḍu* and -*iru*. In the same way -*ūṇḍu* and -*aḍu* act as a single unit. Badaga -*ūṇḍiru* and Tamil progressive -*koṇṭiru* are cognates. To express reflexive -*ūṇḍu* and -*ḷo* the other forms of -*koḷ* are used in Badaga. Badaga shows no similarity with Kannada in the auxiliaries represent the progressive aspect.

Bibilography

1. Agesthialingam.S., Srinivasavarma,G., (Eds.) (1980), Auxiliaries in Dravidian (Jayapal,S., Auxiliaries in Betta Kurumba; Kothanaraman, Pon., Auxiliaries in Tamil; Kothandaraman,R., Auxiliary verbs in Tamil with special reference to progressive and Durative; Periyalwar, R., Auxiliaries in Irula; Thinnappan, Sp., Auxiliary verb in Tolkāppiyam), Annamalai University.
2. Balakrishnan, R., (1999), Badaga A Dravidian Language, Annamalai University
3. Forsyth,J., (1970), A Grammar of Aspect, Cambridge University press, London
4. Krishanmurti, Bh., (2003), The Dravidian languages, Cambridge University Press, London
5. Pilot Raichoor, Christiane, (1977), The use and semantic values of verbal stems is Badaga, Anvita Abbi (Ed), Language of Tribals and Indigenous peoples of India, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi.

10. Sociative case in Badaga

Abstract

In Badaga the sociative case is expressed by a case marker (-*ōḍa*) and a postposition (*kōḍa*). The sociative case marker occurs with inanimate nouns. But the sociative case postposition occurs with human, animate, inanimate nouns and pronouns. So its usage is widespread. The sociative case marker and the sociative postposition are in free variation with inanimate nouns . The sociative construction is formed by adding the postposition to the genitive inflected nouns and pronouns. The Badaga sociative case marker is identical with Tamil and Kodagu sociative case markers and the sociative post position is

identical with a Tamil sociative postposition. But the Badaga sociative case marker and sociative postposition are not identical with Kannada counterparts.

Sociative

"Though the sociative is considered as one of the categories of instrumental in many languages like Tamil and Kannada, it shows merit to stand as an independent case, because of having separate marker and different function" (Balakrishnan l999:ll8).

"Dravidian grammarians have arranged the case system of their nouns in the Sanskrit order, and in doing so have done violence to the genius of their own grammar... The Dravidian social ablative, as some have called it , or rather, as it should be termed, the conjunctive case, though it takes an important position in the Dravidian languages, has been omitted in each dialect from the list of cases, or added on to the instrumental case, simply because Sanskrit knows nothing of it as separate from the instrumental. The conjunctive, or social, stands in greater need of a place of its own in the list of cases in these languages than in Sanskrit, seeing that in these it has several case-signs of its own, whilst in Sanskrit it has none" (Caldwell l987 :277-278). The Tamil grammar Na<u>nn</u>ūl names the sociative as *u<u>t</u>a<u>n</u>ika<u>l</u>cci* (simultaneous action) and treats it as one of the instrumental meanings (Nan.297).

Case marker -*ōḍa*

Sociative case can express the person in whose company the action is carried out or to any belongings of people which take part in the action. In Badaga there is a separate case marker -*ōḍa* for sociative and it occurs always with inanimate nouns (Balakrishnan l999: ll8).

e.g. l. Ba. *kayyōḍa gāsu ettu* - Take the potato with the hands

2. Ba. *adu kālōḍa oṭṭīṇḍu banda* - It came along with the leg by sticking to it

3. Ba. *hoṭṭōḍa haṇṇu kūyi* - Pluck the fruit with the skin

4. Ba. *ama usarōḍa ibbane* - When he was with life (was alive)

-*ōḍa* means wholly, immediately, at once, besides altogether, along with, in company with

e.g. 5. Ba. *haṇṇōḍa tinnu* - Eat the full fruit

6. Ba. *kayōḍa gelasa tīrusu* - Finish the work immediately or at once

Postposition *kōḍa*

In addition to the suffix -*ōḍa*, a postposition *kōḍa* is used for sociative case in Badaga. The sociative marker -*ōḍa* is restricted to inanimate nouns. So to express the sociative meaning with other

nouns Badaga uses the postposition *kōḍa* and it occurs with human, animate, inanimate nouns and pronouns.

e.g. human noun - 7. Ba. *beḷḷana kōḍa bōja gelasa gīda* - Boja did work with Bella

8. Ba. *avveya kōḍa heṇṇu banda* - Daughter came with mother

animate noun - 9. Ba. *danava kōḍa karuvu mēndara* - Calf grazes with cow

10. Ba. *nēya kōḍa nari bantu* - Fox came with dog

inanimate noun - 11. Ba. *hāla kōḍa haṇṇu hottu bā* - Bring fruit with milk

12. Ba. *akkiya kōḍa bē kaṭṭi bā* - Buy dhal with rice

postposition *kōḍa* means together with, with, along with, in company with

Tolkāppiam

"Though the sociative meaning has been existing in Tamil from the very early days, Tolkāppiyanār does not give an independent status to it in the system of cases in Tamil. He includes the sociative meaning under the instrumental case...A number of examples cited by the commentators give a clue that a distinction between the instrumental meaning and the sociative was recognized during their time. They use -*oṭu* mainly for the sociative meaning and -*āṉ* for the instrumental meaning" (Israel 1973:95).

" It is interesting to note that Tolkāppiyar makes use of the marker -*ōṭu* also. The author uses -*ōṭu* as an alternant form of -*oṭu* in his work, but does not refer to it. This form -*ōṭu* might have come into existence due to variation in readings. Tolkāppiyar uses -*oṭu* with the significance of comparison also (Tol.Elut. 79,80,346,480 etc.)" (Samuel Arul Raj 1976:644).

"It must be pointed out here, that at the time of Tolkāppiyanār at least -*ōṭu* must have occupied a predominant position and that case marker itself had both the sociative and instrumental meanings" (Israel 1973:95). Badaga takes the *kōḍa* postposition where the equivalent Tamil marker -*ōṭu* occurs

e.g. 13. Ta. *avaṉ eṉṉōṭu paṭittāṉ* - He studied with me

14. Ba. *ama ennakōḍa katta* - He studied with me

15. Ta. *makaṉōṭu tantai vantāṉ* - Father came with son

16. Ba. *māttina kōḍa appa banda* - Father came with son

Among - *oṭu* and -*ōṭu*, it seems - *ōṭu* is the cognate of Badaga -*ōḍa*. But in the above examples Badaga uses its postposition *kōḍa* instead of its sociative case marker -*ōḍa*. Because in Badaga the

sociative marker is restricted for inanimate nouns. However, as the postposition occurs with all nouns, its usage is sweeping in nature and used even with the nouns where the traditional sociative case marker could have occurred. In the background of its identity with Tamil -*ōṭu*, it is inferred that once -*ōḍa* was predominant in Badaga and occurred with all nouns and pronouns. But now, even with the inanimate nouns this case marker is in free-variation with case postposition.

> e.g. l7. Ba. *kayōḍa gāsu ettu* -Take potato with hands

> l8. Ba. *kayya gōḍa gāsu ettu* -Take potato with hands

With this, Badaga restricted the usage of the case marker to a limited instances. In Tamil "The case suffix -*oṭu* having the function of denoting the same action (comitative) always occurs after the superior of the two nouns involved" (Balasubramanian l976:706)

> e.g. l9. Ta. *arasanōṭu iḷaiyar vantār* - The warriors came along with the king

> 20. Ta. *āsiriyarōṭu māṇākkar vantār* - The students came along with the teacher

In Badaga the sociative construction does not indicate any such superiority of nouns. Both the sociative marker and sociative postposition occur with nouns without any such connotation

> e.g. 2l. Ba. *gavuḍana kōḍa kūsu bantu* - The boy came along with the village chief

> 22. Ba. *kūsa kōḍa gavuḍa banda* -The village chief came along with the boy

The sociative construction is formed by adding the postposition *kōḍa* after genitive inflected nouns and pronouns.

> e.g.23. Ba. *ama-n-a kōḍa nā hōde* - I went with him

> 24. Ba. *ā-v-a kōḍa nē hōttu* -Dog went with people

> 25. Ba. *enna* (<*nā+a*) *kōḍa aṇṇa banda* - Elder brother came with me

> 26. Ba. *nē-y-a kōḍa nari ōḍittu* - Fox ran along with dog

> 27. Ba. *bōja-n-a kōḍa hiṭṭu tinnu* -Eat food with Boja

It is to be noted that these forms can occur freely without the noun as follows:

> 28. Ba. *kōḍa nā hōde* - I went with (someone)

> 29. Ba. *kōḍa aṇṇa banda* - Elder brother came with (someone)

In a few places after human nouns *kōḍa* gives ablative meaning too

30. Ba. *bōja-n-a kōḍa haṇa īsu* - Get money from Boja

3l.Ba. *kaḍekāra-n-a kōḍa bella īsu* - Get jaggery from shop-keeper

"In the middle old Tamil and late old Tamil we can see an additional marker - *uṭaṉ*, which is the post position. In modern Tamil an additional marker *kūṭa* which is also a post position is seen" (Samuel Arul Raj l976 :646). It is apparent that Badaga postposition *kōḍa* is the cognate of the Tamil postposition *kūṭa*

Kodagu

In Kodagu language -*ōḍe* is the only sociative case marker and it occurs with all nouns

e.g. 32. Ko. *mūḍi ōḍe* - With girl

33. Ko. *paṇattōḍe* -With money

34. Ko. *ariḷ ōḍe* - With gracefulness (Balakrishnan l977 :36).

Kodagu -*ōḍe* is the cognate of Badaga -*ōḍa* and the difference between these two is Badaga case marker occurs with inanimate nouns only, whereas Kodagu case marker occurs with human , animate and inanimate nouns.

e.g. 35. Ba. *heṇṇa kōḍa* - With girl (human noun)

36. Ba. *haṇavōḍa or haṇavakōḍa* - With money (inanimate noun)

37. Ba. *aruḷōḍa* - With gracefulness   (inanimate noun)

Kannada

Kannada grammar explains the instrumental in four categories. l. Subject, 2.Instrumental, 3.Reason, 4. Company. The noted Kannada grammar Sabdhamaṇidarpaṇa gives only one example for the fourth category of instrumental called samyōga (accompaniment or sociative)

e.g. 38. Ka. *samgaḍim bandam* (Some one came in the company of) (Kushalappa Gowda l972 :34l)

However, the other Kannada grammar Sabdānusāsana gave few more examples for sociative. They are :

39. Ka. *maganim kūḍi bandam* - He came accompanied by (his) son

40. Ka. *lakshmiyim berasi hariyoppidanu* - Hari shone joined by Lakshmi

4l. Ka. *umeyim saṅgaḍisi meṟedam peḷedaleyam* (He on whose forehead is a crescent (i.e. Siva) assumed as ostentatious appearance accompanied Ume (Kittel l982:383).

In old Kannada -*im* (-*imda*) was exclusively the case marker of the instrumental and that alone stands for both instrumental and sociative case markers. Unlike this, Badaga instrumental case marker -*enda* does not denote sociative meaning. In Kannada the word *saṅgaḍa* itself denotes the association. Like this   Badaga word *kūṭṭa* which denotes the association, takes the sociative postposition *kōḍa* and the construction is as follows

42. Ba. *kūṭṭa kōḍa banda* - Some one came in the company of or

43. Ba. *kūṭṭava kōḍa banda* -Some one came in the company of

In Kannada postposition *jate* denotes the company and *oḍane* denotes with, the association. In Badaga, while *jate* is not all in use and *oḍane* denotes immediately, at once.

Conclusion

In Badaga the sociative case has a separate marker and a postposition. In a remarkable way, in Badaga the sociative case marker occurs only with inanimate nouns. But the sociative postposition occurs with all nouns and pronouns including inanimate nouns. So it is obligatory for the case marker and the postposition with inanimate nouns. Sociative case postposition occurs with genitive inflected nouns and pronouns. In Kannada the instrumental case marker denotes the sociative meaning too. Unlike this, Badaga uses different case markers for instrumental and   sociative cases.The Badaga sociative case marker is identical with Tamil and Kodagu sociative case markers. Similarly Badaga sociative postposition is identical with a Tamil sociative postposition. Badaga sociative case marker and sociative postpositions are not identical with the Kannada counterparts.

Abbreviations

Ba.	– Badaga
Ka.	– Kannada
Ko.	– Kodagu
Ta.	– Tamil

Bibliography

1. Balakrishnan, R., (1999), Badaga A Dravidian Language, Annamalai University
2. Balakrishnan, R., (1977), A grammar of Kodagu, Annamalai University
3. Balasubramanian, K., (1976), oru vinai oṭu-c-col uyarpin valitte, Eighth Aayvukkovai, CIIl, Mysore
4. Caldwell, Robert, (1987), A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages, 2[nd]Edn. AES, (First Published 1913)
5. Israel ,M., (1973), The Treatment of Morphology in Tolkaappiyam, Madurai University
6. Kittel, F., (1982), A Grammar of the Kannada Language, AES,(First Published 1908)
7. Kushalappa Gowda, K., (1972), A Grammar of Kannada (Based on the inscriptions of Coorg, South Kanara and North Kanara Dis. 1000 to 1400 A.D.), Annamalai University
8. Samuel Arul Raj, V., (1976), oṭu case in Tamil, Eighth Aayvukkovai, CIIl, Mysore

ll. The Demonstrative Epicene Plural Pronoun of the Badaga Language

This paper highlights uniqueness of the demonstrative epicene plural pronoun of the Badaga language. Demonstrative epicene plural and interrogative epicene plural are in many respect similar in their behavior and so both of them are taken for the present analysis. Similarly the plural marker found in demonstrative epicene plural '-*kaḷ*' is found also in all personal epicene plural pronouns and hence the latter are also discussed.

Plural marker '-*ka*'

The demonstrative epicene plural pronouns of the Badaga language are remote - *avaka* (that-they) , proximate -*ivaka* (this-they). The interrogative epicene plural pronoun is -*evaka* (which-they). Here the remote base is 'a', the proximate base is ' *i* ' ; the interrogative base is ' *e* '. ' -*ka* ' is plural marker in these pronouns, '-*k*' occurs as plural marker in many Dravidian languages.

"J.Bloch has shown that ' *k* ' is the suffix of plurality common to all the Dravidian languages (The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian language, Poona l954, pp.l0-ll, cf. e.g. Gondi ' *kai*', hand - *kaik, pulli* tiger -*pulk, sēlar* sister -*sēlak* ; Brahui ' *pū*' worm *pūk, xa*l stone -*xalk* ; Kui *kaju* hand -*kaka, kān* fruit -*kānga* etc. The same *k* forms the first element in the suffix of plural in the Southern group of the Dravidian family (cf. Ta., Ma. *kaḷ*, Kannada *kaḷ(u)*, Tulu *kuḷu*, Teluku *kulu*. The element *ḷ/ l* in this suffix is found only in the Southern group where it alone may serve as separate plural suffix; cf. Te. *mrāṅkulu* trees, *eṇḍulu* years, Tulu *ākuḷu* they *poṇṇuḷu* women. Tamil dial. *avāḷ* they, Kannada dial. *bandāḷo* they came etc." (Andronov l96l:l39).

The variant forms of -*kaḷ*

-*kaḷ* is the plural marker in Tamil and Malayalam. In Kannada this plural suffix is found in two forms -*kaḷ* (-*kaḷu*) and -*gaḷ* (-*gaḷu*). In Badaga three variant forms of -*kaḷ, -ka, -ga, -go* are formed.

-*ka* occurs in demonstrative epicene plural pronouns (*avaka, ivaka*) and interrogative plural pronouns (*evaka*).

In Badaga word *mak-ka* (Ta.,Ka. *makkaḷ*) children, people, also the plural marker occurs.

-*ga* occurs in plurals of pronouns, in three places

naṅ-ga   - we (first person inclusive plural)

eṅ-ga   - we (first person exclusive plural)

niṅ-ga   - you (second person plural)

taṅ-ga   - they (third person plural)

-*go* , a variant of -*kaḷ* occurs as a common plural marker.

ā-go　　　　 - people (human plural)

jana-go　　　 - people (human plural)

nē-go　　　　 - dogs (neuter or non-human plural)

mora-go　　　 - trees (neuter or non-human plural)

However, its occurrence with rational nouns is limited and further it is not obligatory with neuter nouns.

e.g.　*eraḍu emme*　　– two buffaloes

　　　eraḍu emmego　 - two buffaloes

　　　nāku kallu　　　 -　four stone

　　　nāku kallugo　　 - four stone

"According to Tolkāppiyanār, suffix -*kaḷ* was restricted to the non-rational nouns only and that too optionally. But a few occurrence of the suffix is found with rationales in caṅkam literature" (Israel 1973:343). "Even by the early caṅkam period -*kaḷ* was becoming a common plural. e.g. *arac-ar-kaḷ*, kings" (Krishnamurti 2000:217).

avaka (ep.pl.)

The demonstrative pronouns in Badaga show singular –plural distinction. In the case of singular nouns we find a four-fold distinction. viz. masculine, feminine, honorific and neuter. In plural we find the two-fold distinction (human vs. non-human).

In Badaga the demonstrative remote epicene plural pronoun *avaka* is also used so honorific-singular pronoun to refer to a male or female person with respect.

"Badaga uses only *avaka*, they (ep.pl.) as honorific singular marker. This *avaka* of Badaga might have been derived from *avar + kaḷ* found in Tamil, where it is predominantly used as a honorific singular suffix" (Balakrishnan 1999:96).

Two demonstrative epicene plural pronouns *avar* (that – he / she hon.) and *avarkaḷ* (that-they hum.pl. hon.) are used in Tamil. Whereas, in Badaga only *avaka* (that-they hum. pl. hon.) is used. Similarly, as against Tamil forms proximate demonstrative pronouns *ivar* (this- he / she hon.), *ivarkaḷ* (this-they hum. pl. hon.) Badaga uses one form *ivaka* (this-they hum. pl. hon.). In consonance with *avaka* and *ivaka* Badaga uses *evaka* (which-they hum. pl.) for interrogative pronoun.

Interrogative

Badaga interrogative human pronouns 'ema' or 'ēma' (he), 'eva' or 'ēva' (she) are used to refer to a single person. They don't have corresponding plural forms. But the interrogative non-human pronoun 'edu' (which-it) has a corresponding plural form, 'eve' (which-those). 'dāra' (who) can be used as singular or plural.

e.g. *ama dāra*? Who is he?

   ava dāra ? Who is she ?

   avaka dāra ? who are they ?

However, 'evaka' (which-they), is used as epicene plural human pronoun and it takes plural suffix -*r* in the finite verb.

e.g. *evaka bandaru* ? who came ?

   evaka hēgidaru ? who told ?

"The use of plural forms to denote one person or one object (to denote honorific singular) was only allowed in speech (i.e. in colloquial dialect) at the time of Tolkāpiyanār (T.C.27) . But it became classical (i.e. came into vogue in literature) in cankam period,

e.g. *koṭiyar allar eṅkunru keḻu nāṭar* (Kuru. 87)

   ūrir polac –curattiṭai iruntanīr (PN.l4l)

The words *koṭiyar* and *ūrir* are plural nouns. Here they are used as honorific singular" (Israel l973:345).

"In all the Dravidian dialects the plural is used as an honorific singular when the highest degree of respect is meant to be expressed" (Caldwell l987:440).

In Badaga pronouns of the 2nd and 3rd person plural are widely used as honorific singular forms.

 e.g. *niṅga tinnivi* - you (hon.) eat

   taṅga barali - let him (hon.) come

These pronouns take plural marker in finite verbs.

Double plural marker

In Tamil *avar* is used as honorific singular. Besides this the pronoun *avarkaḷ* is used to express a greater degree of respect (Andronov l969:l07).

The double plural *ar-gaḷ* (*avarkaḷ*) is also found in the old Tamil literature. e.g. *avarkaḷ* (Kuraḷ 263).

In *avar-kaḷ* *-r* and *-kaḷ* are the plural markers. The Badaga word *avaka* having been derived from *avarkaḷ*, we can infer that it contains double plural markers. But the plural marker *-r* is completely disappeared in the Badaga word.

In Kannada *avaru* is the demonstrative epicene plural pronoun and it is used as an honorific singular. Double plural *āmgaḷ* is also found in old Kannada dialect (Subbaiya l974:23). The forms like *kaḷiru, gaḷir, arkaḷ, arkaḷir* are found in Kannada *kaḷ* with *ir* or *ar* (Kittel l982: 85). Kannada grammar Sabdamaṇidarpana (l03) gives the words where the plural suffix *-kaḷ* comes along with *-ar*. While doing so it records the demonstrative pronouns *avarkaḷ, ivarkaḷ*, and *uvarkaḷ*. However, *avaru* is widely used and double plural pronouns are not used in Modern Kannada.

Honorific singular

In Badaga plural pronouns of the 2nd person, 3rd person and demonstrative are widely used in the sense of honorific singular forms. These honorific singular pronouns take plural marker in the finite verb, i.e. they behave like plurals.

e.g. *niṅga ondu tiruku bāri* - you (hon.) come once

   taṅga indu bandāra - he (hon.) will come today

   avaka nēga bandāra - he (hon.) will come tomorrow

Basically *niṅga* (2nd person), *taṅga* (3rd person), *avaka* (demonstrative) are epicene plural pronouns. And they are regularly used in the sense of honorific forms of the masculine or the feminine gender.

Plural marker *-avaka*

There are four plural suffixes in Badaga. They are *-aru, -avaka, -go* (*-ka, -ga*) and *-ve. avaka* occurs with human nouns. The significance of *avaka* is, its behavior as plural marker. Though the word *avaka* contains a plural suffix *-ka* explicitly, the whole word functions as a plural marker and it occurs in human nouns.

e.g. *aṇṇanavaka* (elder brothers), *tammanavaka* (young brothers), *oḷḷiyavaka* (good people), *hollādavaka* (bad people), *haṭṭiyavaka* (people of village).

Coalescent plural suffix

"In some languages, the *-(v)r* combines with some of the shapes of the suffix, *-(n)kuḷ(u),* forming thus a new coalescent pl. suffix " (Zvelebil l977:l6). '*avaka*' is a suitable example of this coalescent pl. suffix

"Two points should be mentioned in this connection. First, considering cases like like Nk. *tōleṅ-ku-r* 'brothers' (cf. the structurally analogous Kur. *āḷī-guṭhiar* 'wifes'), where the linear order of the suffix is not *-r +-k*, but the reverse, it seems that at the time of the beginning of this particular trend, the plural morph were rather free and independent. Second, since the tendency to combine the two plural morphs (*-r + -k*) may be found not only in SDr. but also in such languages as G. or Nk., it seems that the trend must have started as far back as (prob.) the later stages of PDr. itself" (Zvelebil l977:l6).

The pronoun *avaka* (they) is frequently used after proper names and designation to indicate marked respect and it takes plural suffix *-r* in the finite verb.

e.g. *nañja navaka bandaru* - Nanja (hon.) came

   mammanavaka hōdaru - uncle (hon.) went

   gavuḍanavaka illi iddāre - village head man (hon.) is here

   doḍḍavaka hēgidaru - elder (hon.) told

Distributive meaning

Pronouns of the 3rd person are frequently reduplicated in sentence. Such reduplication is used to imply distributive meaning . Here both singular and plural pronouns of remote are used and they convey the same meaning.

e.g. *avaka avaka gelasava avaka avaka māḍōdu* -every one should do their own work

   amana amana gelasava ama ama māḍōdu -every one should do their own work-

   avaka avaka avaka avakara maneyo ibbadu -eyery one should be in their respective houses

   ama ama ama amana maneyo ibbadu - eyery one should be in their respective houses

In Badaga the plural marker *-ka* or *-ga* (variants of *-kaḷ*) occur with all the personal, demonstrative and interrogative epicene plural pronouns. *-go* (also a variant of *-kaḷ*) occurs as a common plural. *avaka*, *ivaka* and *evaka* contains double plural markers. But, the plural marker *-r* is not explicitly seen. *avaka* itself occurs as plural marker.

"The word *avaka* they (hum.) is not found in any other Dravidian language" (Balakrishnan l999:l00).

Badaga replaced the demonstrative epicene plural pronoun of Dravidian languages (Ta.,Ma. *avar*, Ka. *avaru* ; Te.*vāru*) with avaka (Ta. *avarkaḷ*). Due to its use of frequency *avaka* behaves as plural marker. We can assume that at first the double plural demonstrative epicene plural pronoun *avaka* was used as honorific singular and in due course it replaced the regular demonstrative epicene plural pronoun.

In the word *avaka* the residual influence of Tamil is explicit. For many centuries Badaga had no connection with Tamil speaking area, since it was spoken in the Nilgiri surrounded by dense forest and escarpments. As mentioned earlier the double plural marker suffixed word '*avarkaḷ*' is found as early as in the caṅkam literature and hence the change should have occurred in Badaga from very early period. Probably the form '*avar*' (*avaru* became extinct since Badaga was not a written language.

References

l.) Anronov, M.S., (l96l), New Evidence of Possible Linguistic ties between the Decan and the Urals, Dr. R.P.Sethupillai, Siver Jublie Commemoration volume.

2.) Anronov, M.S., (l969), A Grammar of Modern and Classical Tamil, New Century Book House Pvt. Ltd., Madras.

3.) Balakrishnan, R., (l999) Badaga A Dravidian Language, Annamalai University

4.) Caldwell, Robert, l987, A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages, 2[nd]Edn. AES, (First Published l9l3)

5.) Israel,M., (l973), Treatment of Morphology Tolkappiyam, Madurai Kamaraj University

6.) Kēsirāja, (l973) (Ed. Shanker Kedilaya, A.), Subdamaṇidarpaṇa, University of Madras.

7.) Kittel, Rev. F., (l982), A Grammar of the Kannada Language, AES, New Delhi (First Published l908)

8.) Krishanmurti, Bh., (2003), The Dravidian languages, Cambridge University Press, London

9.) Subbaiya, K.V., (l974), The pronouns and pronominal terminations of the first person in Dravidian, (Ed.) Mark Collins, Dravidic Studies, University of Madras.

l0.) Zvelebil, Kamil, (l977), A Sketch of Comparative Dravidian Morphology, Mouton Publishers, The Hague.

12. The Personal Plural Pronouns of the Badaga Language

The Badaga pronoun is simple and yet complete. The personal pronouns of the first and second person are *nā* and *nī,* joined by the third person / reflexive pronoun *tā*. The oblique is especially clear

here and is formed by shortening the vowel *en, nin, tan*. The plural of these words too forms itself in a particular and remarkable way of *enga, nanga, ninga, tanga*.

Two plural forms

Badaga has two plural forms in the first person, an exclusive and an inclusive, one including and the other excluding the person addressed. In Badaga the nominative forms of the pronouns have long vowels in singular and short vowel in the plural.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	*nā* - I	*nanga* - we (incl.), *enga* - we (excl.)
2nd person	*nī* - you	*ninga* - you
3rd person	*tā* - hiself	*tanga* - selves

Badaga personal plural forms are very similar to Kodagu personal plural forms (Balakrishnan l999:50). But in Kodagu there is no distinction between inclusive and exclusive plural (Balakrishnan l977:44), whereas in Badaga the distinction is there.

Oblique form

Unlike other languages like Tamil, Kannada etc., Badaga has short vowel in all the plural forms of personal pronouns. "Generally in Dravidian the oblique forms of the personal pronouns are formed shortening the long vowel in the nominative" (Balakrishnan l977:43). But in Badaga, as the plural personal pronouns have short vowel, there is no question of shortening of vowel to obtain the oblique form. Personal pronoun is declined for cases by means of joining case suffixes to pronominal base. But in Badaga, without any change the nominative forms occur as oblique too. Scholars opine that the forms with short vowel must originally have been the oblique bases which later replaced the original nominative plural forms (Balakrishnan l977:44). Similarly, in Badaga the replacement of the nominative by the oblique is found in the reflexive plural too. In this background, Badaga has only one common form for nominative and oblique in plural personal pronouns. So we can say that the nominatives take case markers straight.

There is an instance where even the singular form occurs as oblique form without shortening of the vowel. e.g. *nāga* (to me, dat.), *nīga* (to you, dat.). But this is restricted to dative case only. Even in dative the alternative form, i.e. shortening the long vowel in oblique is also in use. However in other places, unlike the plural forms, the singular oblique forms are seen with short vowel.

Acc.   *nā* + *a*   - *enna* (me)

Inst*.*   *nā* + *enda*   - *ennena* (by me)

Dat.   *nā + ga*   - *nāga* (to me), *enaga* (to me)

Abl.   *nā + inda*   - *ennenda* (from me)

Gen.   *nā + a*   - *enna* (my)

Loc.   *nā + ōge*   - *ennōge* (with me)

Plural marker - *kaḷ*

There are three variant forms of -*kaḷ* (plural marker) attested in Tamil and Malayalam. In Kannada this plural suffix is found in two forms viz. -*kaḷ(u)* and -*gaḷ(u)*. Badaga personal plural pronouns have the plural marker '-*ga*', vide.

naṅ -ga we (first person inclusive plural)

eṅga -ga we (first person exclusive plural)

niṅ -ga   you (second person plural)

taṅ -ga they (third person plural)

     In Badaga -*ka* occurs in demonstrative epicene plural pronouns (*avaka, ivaka*) and interrogative epicene plural pronoun (*evaka*), -go occurs as a common plural marker. e.g. *nē-go* (dogs), *mane-go* (houses).

Inclusive and exclusive distinction

     "in Proto-Dravidian there was one singular form *yān* / *yan* – I and two plural forms *yām* / *yam* – we (exclusive) and *nām* / *nam* - we inclusive). These are preserved intact in central Dravidian (Kolami, Parji etc.) and North Dravidian (Kurux-Malto). In Proto-South Dravidian, the parent of South Dravidian I and II, a second singular *nān* / *nan* was analogically created through back formation from the second plural *nām* / *nam* . . . . . The presence of two singulars (with no meaning difference) and two plurals (with meaning difference) has weakened the original meaning contrast between the two plural forms. The additional -*kaḷ* to the inclusive / exclusive plural *ñām* ; *yām* to mean an exclusive was a shared feature of Tamil-Malayalam -Irula -Kurumba-Kodagu of South Dravidian I. Kannada had lost the inclusive - exclusive distinction when one set got normalized as *nān* ; *nām* replacing *ān* / *ām*" (Krishnamuti 200:248). Badaga retained the inclusive and exclusive difference in first person plural forms even though its earlier nominative forms were replaced oblique forms.

Double plural

     In Tamil the double plurals *nāṅkaḷ* and *yāṅkaḷ* are found as early as the Cīvakacintāmaṇi. Tolkāppiyam mentions one singular form *yān* and two plural forms *yām* – we (excl.), *yām* –we (incl.).

Tolkāppiyam Urupiyal sutra l89 gives *em-* as the oblique of *yam* and *nam* –as the oblique of *nām*, the oblique base *eṅkaḷ* - is modern (Subbaiya l974:l8).

Stem of the Badagas forms first person plural are identical with Tamil oblique forms *em-* and *nam-* . In addition Badaga added plural suffix -*ga* (variant of -*kaḷ*).

It is to be noted that the Badaga exclusive form *eṅga* is identical to modern Tamil oblique base *eṅkaḷ*. In Tamil *tam-* is the oblique form of *tām,* the third / reflexive plural pronoun. Badaga *taṅga*, third / reflexive plural pronoun is with -*ga* (variant of -*kaḷ*). This too identical with modern Tamil oblique form *taṅkaḷ*.

Pronominal suffix

Badaga preserves separate pronominal suffixes for first person plural in the finite verb construction, -*iyo* for exclusive and -*ō* for inclusive.

e.g. *naṅga māḍido* (incl.) - we did

   eṅga māḍidiyo (excl.) - we did

  naṅga māḍinō (incl.) - we will do

  eṅga māḍiniyō (excl.) - we will do

In Kannada -*em* and -*evu* are the pronominal terminations for these plural pronouns and there is no different pronominal terminations for inclusive and exclusive pronouns.

Kannada

The oldest form of the first person plural in Kannada is *ām*. "In the first person plural, Kēsirāja has mentioned a significant feature found in almost all the Dravidian languages; i.e., the distinction between exclusive and inclusive plurals. As he has given only one form, *ām,* such a question does not arise. But the old Kannada which is being described by Kēsirāja did contain such distinction, though in modern Kannada it is not found. We have evidence to show that two forms were found. The first person plural inclusive form was *nām,* and the exclusive form was *ām*" (Kulli l976: l54). The oblique forms of these pronouns were *nam-* and *em-* respectively.

"Some scholars doubt whether this peculiarity is an originally Dravidian feature, not only because it is not found in Gondi, Brahui and several minor dialects of the Dravidian group, but also because it is found in languages outside that group such as Maratathi, Gujarathi, etc. [Gujarathi –*ame* (we), *āpane* (we and you); Marathi *āmhi* (we), *āpan* (we and you)] it is believed that Kannada, too does not possess this feature. I think Kannada does possess two forms of the plural of the personal pronouns of the first person just like the sister languages but also in modern.

	Old Kannada	Modern Kannada
Inclusive	*ām*	*nāvu*
Exclusive	*nām*	*nāvugaḷu*

.... It is very rarely that *nām* is used in old Kannada" (Narasimhacharya l934:84).

"Old Kannada, however, has *ām* as the exclusive plural and, at that stage *nām / nāvu* were used only in the inclusive sense. Pampabhārata (l0[th] century A.D.). For example, has both *nām* and *nāvu* (in the inclusive sense). The change -v- < -m- seems to have taken place in the later period of the old Kannada stage, *nāvu* occurs in an inscription of ll8l A.D. and *tāvu < tām* in an inscription of ll23 A.D." (Subrahmanyam 2006:l8l). Badaga retains the old forms i.e. the forms are with -*m*-. vide *nam + ga* (*naṅga*), *em +ga* (*eṅga*), *nim + ga* (*niṅga*), *tam + ga* (*taṅga*).

Pluralisation

The Kannada form *nāvugaḷu* is double plural (*nāvu + gaḷu*). In Tamil, "In the colloquial a double plural has got into extensive use, which is formed by the addition to the classical plural of *gaḷ*, the sign of plurality which especially belongs to the class of irrationals. In consequence of the existence of these two sets of plurals, a difference in their use and application has gradually established itself. The classical or the pure and simple plural are now used in the colloquial dialects as honorific singular; while the double plurals –*nāṅgaḷ* (*nām –gaḷ*), we; *nīṅgaḷ* (*nīm –gaḷ*) you; and *tāṅgaḷ* (*tām-gaḷ*) selves are used as the ordinary plurals" (Caldwell l987:402-403).

Honorific singular

naṅga (the plural) is generally used for *nā* (the singular) in Badaga.

e.g. *naṅga manega bāri* - you come to our house

In the same way other plural personal pronoun are used as honorific singular. Especially the reflexive plural pronoun *taṅga* is in frequent use as honorific singular.

e.g. *niṅga ēna hēgiyāri* - what you (sg.) will say

   taṅga indu bandāra - he will come today

Comparing with first and third person plural forms, it is inferred that the Badaga second person plural form *niṅga* stands analogy with Tamil *nīm*, particularly with its oblique form *nim*. It is to be remembered here that in the classical dialect of Tamil *nīm* is more regular (Caldwell l987: 402). In Kannada *nīm, nīvu, nīṅgaḷ* are second person plural pronouns and their oblique form is *nim(m)*. All the stems of Badaga forms of the personal plural pronouns are analogous to the relevant Tamil oblique forms.

	Badaga	Tamil
1st person incl.	*naṅ-ga*	*nam-*
1st person excl.	*eṅ-ga*	*em-*
2nd person	*niṅ-ga*	*nim-*
3rd peson	*taṅ-ga*	*tam-*

In Badaga all the personal plural forms are double plural forms. There is no declension in these forms. They are free in usage for honorific singular. Unlike Kannada, Badaga still retains the distinction between inclusive and exclusive in first person plural pronouns. There are no two different forms for nominative and oblique. One common set of forms acting as nominative as well as oblique. Thus it will be obvious that unlike Kannada, Badaga still retain more of its relationship with old Tamil in this field of personal plural pronouns.

References

l.) Anronov, M.S., (l975), Dravidian Pronouns: A Comparative study, JTS 7 &8 June and Dec.l975.

2.) Balakrishnan, R., (l977), A Grammar of Kodagu, Annamalai University

3.) Balakrishnan, R., (l999), Badaga A Dravidian Language, Annamalai University

4.) Caldwell, Robert, (l987), A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages, 2nd Edn. AES, (First Published l913)

5.) Krishanmurti, Bh., (2003), The Dravidian languages, Cambridge University Press, London

6.) Kulli, J.S., (l976), Kēsirāja's Sabdamaṇidarpana, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

7.) Naraimhacharya, R., (l934), History of Kannada Language, University of Mysore

8.) Subbaiya, K.V., (l974), The pronouns and pronominal terminations of the first person in Dravidian, (Ed.) Mark Collins, Dravidic Studies, University of Madras.

9.) Subrahmanyam, P.S., (2006), Dravidian personal pronouns (The interplay of sound change and Analogy), IJDL, Tiruvananthapuram.

l3. The Verbs *tā-, koṭu-, ī-* in Badaga

In Dravidian languages the verbs *tā-, koṭu-, ī-* , used for entreaties requests or order, attracted scholars' attention since Tolkāppiyar's time. Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram (927-930) mentions a subtle distinction in the use of these words:- *ī-*, used by a man of inferior status (when he begs of a superior), *tā-*, used by a man of superior status.

2.) Modern Tamil (literary and colloquial) does not observe the above distinction. *ī-*, is not a colloquial word, but in literary usage it is generally used only in connection with recipients of inferior status. Emeneau in his 1945 paper "The Dravidian verbs come and give" discussed these verbs elaborately from a comparative background[1]. He sees no difference in the meaning 'to give' which both *tā-*, and *koṭu-*, have. But he registers the distinctions in usage *tā-*, and *koṭu-*, are used only with the 1st or 2nd person and with the 3rd person. He thinks it possible that some aberrant dialects of Tamil still continue to show the above distinction in usages :- *tā-*, to give to 1st or 2nd person and *koṭu-* , to give to 3rd person. Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Kiḷaviyākkam (28) seems to sanction the use of *taru-*, and *varu-*, only with the first person and *koṭu-*, only with the third person. Modern Tamil has lost this distinction.

3.) Badaga language, spoken in Nilgiris hills, has maintained the difference. *tā-*, give 1st person or 2nd person; *koḍu-*, give to 3rd person

tā-, give 1st person or 2nd person

past tense *tand-*, imperative singular *tā-*, plural *tāri-*, future *tann-*, negative *tap-*, *tar-*,

e.g.   1. *enaga haṇa tā*   - Give me money

  2. *ama enaga haṇa tanda*   - He gave me money

  3. *nī enaga haṇa tappadu*   - You should give money to me

  4. *kuḷḷa enaga haṇa tannana*   - Kulla will give money tome

  5. *avaka enaga haṇa tandāra* - They will give money to me

  6. *kāḍa enaga haṇa tappile*   - Kada not gave money to me

  7. *ninaga nañja haṇa tanda*   - Nanja gave money to you

  8. *ninaga nañja haṇa tannana* - Nanja will give money to you

  9. *ninaga nā haṇa tanne*   - I will give money to you

  10. *avaka ninaga haṇa tandāra* - They will give money to you.

  11. *kāḍa ninaga haṇa tappile*   - Kada not gave money to you

koḍu-, give to 3rd person

past tense *koṭ-*, imperative singular *koḍu-*, plural *koḍi-*, future *koṭ-*, negative *koḍ-*,

  12. *amaga hiṭṭu koḍu*   - Give him food

  13. *amaga nā hiṭṭu koṭṭe*   - I gave food to him

l4. *amaga liṅga hiṭṭu koṭṭa*   - Linga gave food to him.

l5. *amaga nī hiṭṭu koṭṭe*   - You gave food to him

l6. amaga nā hiṭṭu koṭṭane   - I will give food to him

l7. *amaga liṅga hiṭṭu koṭṭana*   - Linga will food to him

l8. *liṅgaga nā hiṭṭu koḍōdu*   - I have to give food to Linga

l9. *liṅgaga nī hiṭṭu koḍōdu*   - You have to give food to Linga

20. *eṅga avakaga hiṭṭu koṭṭiyō*   - We gave food to them

2l. *eṅga avakaga hiṭṭu koṭṭaniyō*   - We will give food to them

22. *nañja kāḍaga hiṭṭu koḍule*   - Nanja not gave food to Kada

    4.) Emeneau thinks that this distinction in Badaga, which is not found in Kannada, might have occurred due to borrowing from its neighboring languages viz. Toda and Kota. Is this tenable? We have to note that there are some features of Badaga language, which are different from Kannada equivalents. To cite a few

i.) In Kannada, there are some words, where the stops after nasals are voiceless sounds, where as in Badaga the stops after nasal is avoided and the nasals change into stops.

Kannada	Badaga	
kempu	*keppu*	- red
kuṇta	*kuṭta*	- lame
eṇtu	*eṭtu*	- eight
eñjalu	*eccalu*	- that which in eating is left on the plates or leaves
santē	*satte*	- market

ii.) In Kannada the locative case marker is -*alli*. Even though *alli, illi,* demonstrative pronouns are used in Badaga, its locative case marker is -*ōge,* which is cognate with Kannada -*oḷ* and Tamil -*uḷ.*

iii.) In Kannada the plural suffix -*avu* or -*vu,* is affixed to verbal stems and pronouns. In Badaga the plural suffix is -*ga*, which is cognate with Tamil -*kaḷ* and Kannada -*gaḷ.*

Kannada   Badaga

tāvu	*taṅga*	- they (hon.sg.)
nāvu	*naṅga*	- we (inclusive)
nīvu	*niṅga*	- you (plural)
avu	*avaka*	- they (remote)
ivu	*ivaka*	- they (proximate)

So, the better hypothesis will be that Badaga has retained the archaic usage which has not survived in Kannada.

5.) In addition to *tā-*, and *koḍu-*, the other verb *ī-*, (= to give) is also in frequent usage in Badaga, but with suffix *-su*, i.e. the form is *īsu-*. The suffix *-su* or *īsu* is nothing but a causative suffix, which is added to verbs to get causative meaning. e.g. *tōrisu* - to cause to show, *baresu* -to cause to write, *buḍusu* - to cause to leave. Though normally the imperative verb occurs without any suffixes in Dravidian languages the verb *ī-*, is exceptional in getting *-su* suffix in Badaga. So it is apt to mention that the verb itself as *īsu*.[2] (In Kannada the imperative form is *ī-*, to give, bestow, to allow, causative form *īyisu-*, *īsu-*, to cause to give, yield, allow).

6.) Due to the influence of the causative the meaning of the verb gives the sense of 'to get' instead of 'to give'.

īsu-, to get

past and future tense *īsu-*, imperative 2nd person singular *īsu-*, imperative 2nd person plural *īsi-*, negative *īsā-*,

e.g. 23. *nī bōjana kōḍa gāsu īsu*   - You get potato from Boja

24. *nī enna kōḍa gāsu īsu*   - You get potato from me

25. *beḷḷa bōjana kōḍa gāsu īsida* - Bella got potato from Boja

26. *nī enna kōḍa gāsu īside*   - You got potato from me

27. *nā ninna kōḍa gāsu īsine*   - I will get potato from you

28. *beḷḷa ninna kōḍa gāsu īsina* - Bella will get potato from you

In modern Tamil *ī-*, is not in use in this sense. The verb ' *vāṅgu-*,'serves as '*īsu-*,' does in Badaga.

e.g. Badaga : *nī bōjana kōḍa gāsu īsu*

Tamil   : *nī bōjaniṭamirunda kiḻaṅgu vāṅgu*

(You get potato from Boja)

Badaga : *beḷḷa bōjana kōḍa gāsu īsida*

Tamil   : *beḷḷa bōjaniṭamirundu kiḻaṅgu vāṅkinān*

(Bella got potato from Boja)

To sum up, in Badaga the three verbs *tā-, koḍu-, īsu-(ī-),* are in frequent usages. Among these *tā-,* gives the sense of 'to give to 1st or 2nd person and *koḍu-,* gives the sense of 'to give to 3rd person*, īsu-,* to get, always occur with the causative suffix *(ī +su).*

Foot note

l. Emeneau, M.B., Dravidian verb 'come' and 'give', Language (2l) l945, pp.l84-2l3, reprinted at pp.9l-l22 of Collected Papers, Annamalai University, l967,

also L.V.Ramaswamy Aiyar Indigenous Tamil grammar on the verbs 'come' and 'give', Journal of the American Oriental Society (67), l947, pp. 2l5-2l6.

2. In a few other places *ī-,* occurs with other suffixes. e.g. *īnu-,* to bring forth young, to yean, to cub; *ītu-,* the act of bringing forth.

14.   The Badaga case system

Abstract

There are nine cases in Badaga viz. nominative, accusative, instrumental (causal), sociative, dative (purpose), ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative. -zero; -zero, -a; -enda, -ōḍa, kōḍa , ondige, saṅgaḍa; -ga,   -ga+āgi; -inda, iddu, sāre+enda, kay +y+enda; -zero, -a; -ō, ōge, sāre are the case markers and postpositions of the Badaga language. In Badaga, there is always a clear distinction between postpositional morphemes and case endings. The nominative functions as subject in a sentence. The vocative forms do not participate in usual morphophonemic alterations and do not govern the use of any postpositions. Except the vocative all the cases are formed by means of case suffixes joined to the base or the oblique forms of personal pronouns. Most of the Badaga case suffixes are cognates with Tamil or Kannada case markers. However, in a few places Badaga developed its own new case markers (or postpositions). The glides 'y' and 'v' are inserted in the word boundary. In some places inflectional increments occur.

	Significance	*Usual suffixes & Postpositions*
l. Nominative -	Subject of a sentence	-zero
2. Accusative -	Object of action	-zero, -a
3. Instrumental -	Means by which action is done	-enda

4. Sociative -	Association, or means by which action is done	-ōḍa, kōḍa, ondige, saṅgaḍa
5. Dative -	Object to whom action is performed	-ga
	Object for whom action is performed	-ga+ āgi
6. Ablative of motion -	Motion in respect of the inanimate object	-inda, -idda
	Motion in respect of the animate object	-sāre+inda, kay +y+inda
7. Genitive -	Possessive	-zero, -a
8. Locative -	Place in which (inanimate)	-ō, ōge
	On the person (of animate); in the presence of	-sāre
9. Vocative -	Addressing, calling	

Glide

In Badaga all nouns including simple nouns, pronouns, and numerical nouns are vowel-ended words. So the insertion of glide 'y' or 'v' is there when the vowel beginning case marker joins with it, i.e. the glide occurs in between the vowel ended base or the oblique forms and vowel beginning case markers or postpositions.

e.g.   mane (house) + a (acc./gen.) - maneya

haṭṭi (hamlet) + a (acc./gen.) - haṭṭiya

hola (field) + a (acc.) - holava

habba (festival) + a (acc.) - habbava

haṭṭi (hamlet) + inda (abl.) - haṭṭiyīnda

avve (mother) + a (acc./gen.) - avveya

mane (house) + enda (inst.) - maneyenda

mane (house) + ō (loc.) - maneyō

Nominative

There is no case marker for nominative singular or plural in Badaga. So the nominative case is unmarked, i.e nominal bases can function as nominative forms without taking any case-suffix. The other cases can be obtained by adding any one of the case suffixes.

Number

The nominative case in singular is the noun itself. The plural nominative is always formed from the singular nominative. The non-human plural nouns are formed merely by adding plural suffix '-go' to singular nominative. In Badaga human plural is marked in two ways viz. l.) With the epicene plural marker '-aru' and 2.) With the demonstrative plural pronoun 'avakka' (they). '-aru' occurs only with the stems and it is common for both males and females. The human epicene plural pronoun 'avaka' (they) also occurs as plural marker. Badaga uses only 'avakka' (they) as an honorific singular marker. Badaga '-go' and 'avakka' are derived from the Tamil plural suffix '-kaḷ', and the demonstrative epicene plural pronoun 'avarkaḷ ' (they) respectively (Balakrishnan l999:96).

Inflectional increment

The inflectional increments '-n-' , '-r-', and '-d-' are occur when case markers are added to the

nominatives. Among these three '-n-' occurs after the cardinal numerical nouns, singular nouns and the pronouns 'adu', 'idu', 'edu'.

e.g. rāmana (<rāma+n+a) 'Rama' (acc./gen.)

   mudukkana (<mudukka+n+a) 'aged man' (acc./gen.)

   adunenda (<adu+n+ enda) 'it' (inst.)

'-r-' occurs in between epicene plural pronouns and accusative, genitive, and instrumental cases.

e.g. avakkara (<avaka+r+a) 'them' (acc./gen.)

   avakkarenda (<avaka+r+enda) 'them' (inst.)

It is optional in genitive and instrumental cases.

e.g avakka+r+a/ avakka 'of them'

   avakka+r+enda/avakka+ enda 'by them'

'-d-' occurs between neuter nouns and genitive and locative cases.

e.g. mora+d+a +ele 'leaf of tree'

   mosaru+d+ō 'in the curd

Personal pronouns

   In Badaga 'nā' is the first person singular and 'naṅga' (or aṅga), 'eṅga' are the first person plurals. 'nī' is second person singular and 'niṅga' is second person plural. The third person (reflexive) singular is 'tā' and the plural is 'taṅga'. The final '-ga' of 'naṅga' (or eṅga), 'niṅga', 'taṅga' is the plural marker. The personal plural pronouns (naṅga, aṅga, eṅga, niṅga, taṅga) themselves act as oblique forms and case markers are added to these forms directly.

	Nominative	*Oblique*
1st sg.	nā	en- , ena-
1st pl, incl.pl.	naṅga/ aṅga	naṅga-/ aṅga-
1st pl. excl.pl.	eṅga	eṅga-
2nd sg.	nī	nin-, nina-
2nd pl (and sg. of respect)	niṅga	niṅga-
3rd sg.	tā	tan-, tana-
3rd pl.	taṅga	taṅga-

   In Tamil the second person singular 'nī' and the third person singular pronoun 'tān' get their long vowel shortened and the consonant 'n' is added thereto i.e. nī > nin 'your' (sg.), tān > tan 'his' (sg.) (TE l80, l93). Similarly in Badaga the second person singular 'nī' and the third person singular pronoun 'tā' get their long vowel shortened and the consonant 'n' is added thereto, i.e. nī > nin 'your' (sg.), tā > tan. Here the only difference is, in Tamil third person singular pronoun is 'tān', whereas in Badaga it is 'tā'.

   In Kannada first person singular pronoun is 'nānu' and plural is 'nāvu' and their oblique form are 'nan-' and 'nam-' respectively. The second person singular is 'nīn' and its oblique is 'nin-'. The second person plural is 'nīvu' and its oblique is 'nim-'. In Badaga first person singular pronoun is 'nā' and its

plural is 'naṅga' (and eṅga). 'en-' is the oblique of 'nā'. 'nin-' is the oblique of 'nī' (second person singular). In an odd way, sometimes 'nā' and 'nī' themselves take genitive case marker without getting their oblique forms. e.g. 'nāga' -to me; 'nīga'- to you. However Badaga personal plural pronouns (naṅga, eṅga, niṅga, taṅga) take case markers directly without changing into oblique forms.

	Before Dative	Before Acc., Inst., Gen., Abl., Loc.
nā	nā-, ena-	enn- , en-,
nī	nī-, nina-	ninn-, nin-
tā	tana-	tann-

Accusative

In Badaga '-a' is accusative case marker. And it is obligatory in human nouns and optional in non-human nouns. The accusative is very rarely added after the neuter nouns. When the case sign is absent the noun will be like the nominative. However the presence of the object shows the accusative.

l.) Obligatory

e.g.   nā amana koraccide - I called him

nañjana haṭṭiga kēgu - send Nañja to hamlet

kāḍeya gelasaga kēgide - I sent Kāḍe for work

dārava kēguvadu? - whom shall I send?

2.) Optional

e.g.   nā pāme ēgide/nā pāmeya ēgide - I told a story

ama baṭṭe ikkida/ama baṭṭeya ikkida - he put dress

kūsuga hālu koṭṭe/kūsuga hāla koṭṭe - I gave milk to the child

nā mane nōḍiṇḍu idde/nā maneya nōḍiṇḍu idde - I am looking for a house (for renting/purchase)

nā dana nōḍiṇḍu idde/nā danava nōḍiṇḍu idde - I am looking after (grazing) the cow

When the accusative marker '-a' is added either the glide or an inflectional increment '-n-' will occur before the case marker.

e.g.   kaḷḷa   'thief'   kaḷḷana

ondu   'one'   onduna

ave   'they'   aveya

kēri   'street'   kēriya

The inflectional increment '-n-' is optional in some places; however when '-n-' is absent the glide should occur.   e.g.   ava   'she'
avva/avana (<ava+n+a)

In some places neither the glide nor the inflectional increment occurs. i.e. case marker is added directly.

e.g.   kūsu   'child'   kūsa

hālu   'milk'   hala

bālu   'tail'   bāla

Instrumental

'-enda' is instrumental suffix. The instrumental proper and cause are expressed when '-enda' is suffixed to nouns and pronouns . When '-enda' is suffixed to the non-human nouns the sense of instrument proper is expressed.

e.g.   kallūnda (<kallu+enda) mane kaṭṭu - build house by stones

morānda peṭṭi māḍu - make box by using wood

When '-enda' is added to non-human animate nouns and in a few other places to inanimate nouns a causal meaning is conveyed.

e.g.   danānda hālu sikkira - milk is available because of cows

nēyenda nāsa āttu - because of the dog (it) is ruined

saṅgaṭānda olli āda - (he) became lean because of illness

mēyenda jōrira - (it is) leaking because of rain

The causal meaning is always conveyed while '-enda' is added to human nouns and pronouns.

e.g.   nañjanenda (<nañjana+enda) - because of Nañja

ennenda (<en+enda) - because of me

eṅgānda (<eṅga+enda) - because of us (excl.)

naṅgenda (<naṅga+enda) - because of us (incl.)

ninnenda (<nin+enda) - because of you (sg.)

niṅgenda (<niṅga+enda) - because of you (pl.)

tannenda (<tan+enda) - because of him

taṅgenda (<taṅga+enda) - because of them

The locative marker '-ō' is used to express instrumental meaning.

e.g.   kattiyō beṭṭida - (he) cut (it) by using a knife

kayyō taṭṭida - (he) slapped (some one) by using (his) hand

Sociative

'-ōḍa' is the sociative case marker and it always occurs with inanimate nouns. 'kōḍa' and 'hondige' are the sociative post positions. 'saṅgaḍa' is occurring as sociative postposition in folk songs. [kōḍa <Tam. kūḍa. It is to be noted here that in Tamil 'kūḍa' occurs as sociative postposition too.]

e.g.   haṇaōḍa - with money

baṭṭeyōḍa - with clothes

l.) 'kōḍa' occurs with the genitive added nouns.

e.g.   amana kōḍa hōgu - go with him

ama nēya kōḍa ōḍida - that man ran along with a dog

2.) 'hondige' is a free variation with 'kōḍa'.

ennondige huṭṭidama/ennakōḍa huṭṭidama - a man who born with me, my brother

3.) 'saṅgaḍa'

saṅgaḍa ākki banda - (he) came in company (with someone)

Dative

The dative case is formed by affixing case marker '-ga' to an inflexional base.

e.g.   manega (<mane+ga) - to a house

hattiga (<hatti+ga) - to hamlet

iduga (<idu+ga) - to this

moraga (<moraga+ga) - to a tree

ēnaga (<ēna+ga) - for what?

hittuga udakka attu - serve curry broth to boiled rice

udakkaga uppu ākku - put salt to the curry broth

I^{st} person singular pronoun and 2nd person singular pronoun take dative suffix without getting its oblique forms too.   e.g.   nāga/enaga - to me

nīga/ninaga - to you

The dative proper, dative of direction, and dative of purpose are expressed by the nouns inflected with dative suffix '-ga'. The dative proper has a non-location noun, an object, and a transitive verb with reference to transferring something to someone.

e.g.   kūsuga hittu kotte - I gave food to (a) child

nañja enaga hattu uruppi tanda - Nañja gave me ten rupees

A location noun, and a motion verb with reference to the moment of something or someplace are found in the dative of direction.

e.g.   gelasakāraru holaga hōdāra - workers are going to field

annanavakka manega bandāra - elder brothers are coming to the house

The dative of purpose is expressed by adding the postposition '-āgi' to the inflected form of dative case.

e.g.   enagāgi (<enaga + āgi) - for my sake

avvegāgi (<avvega+āgi) - for mother' sake

habbagāgi (habbaga+āgi) - for the sake of the festival

hittugāgi (<hittuga+āgi) - for the sake of the food

Any noun inflected with dative marker '-ga' is said to be in the dative case. But the marker '-ga' denoting dative elsewhere occurs from dative - adverbial too. A few adverbial nouns are inflected only with the dative case marker '-ga'.

e.g.   nangi+ga - to day after tomorrow

nē+ga - tomorrow

orakkadu+ga – to morning

santu+ga - to evening

bappa tinguva+ga - to next month

sōvāra+ga - to monday

hagalu+ga - to day time

iru+ga - to night

nākku jena+ga - for four days

These adverbial nouns do not occur as subjects. All the time nouns or numerals are in the dative adverbial class.

e.g.   jenaga mūru paḍi akki - three measure of rice per day

tiṅguvaga mūvattu jena - there are thirty days to a month

In some instances the dative marker is used in order to show the relation between two nouns, instead of the noun and verb.

e.g. nañjaga kāḍe heṇḍaru - Kāḍe is wife to Nañja

enaga ava mammi - for me she is mother-in-law

Dative suffix is added when comparing things.

e.g.   onduga ondu doḍḍa mīnu - fishes of which one is larger than the other

gōsuga gāsu oḷḷittu - comparing cabbage potato is better than cabbage

amaga ima oḷḷiyama - this man is better than that one

enna manega ninna mane doḍḍadu - your house is larger than mine

maḍiyaga kāḍa doḍḍama - Kāḍa is elder than Maḍiya

Ablative

'-inda' is ablative case marker and 'iddu' and 'sārēnda' are ablative postpositions. The ablative indicates the movement of something from something else.

e.g.   kēri   'street'   kērīnda   'from a street'

mane 'house'   manenda 'from a house'

nā   'I'   ennenda   'from me'

kālu   'leg'   kālunda   'from a leg'

"In Kannada, the instrument and the ablative are homophonous (-inda), whereas in Badaga they are different" (Balakrishnan l999:ll6).

The postposition 'iddu' (having been) is used as ablative case marker.

gāsu holanō iddu banda - (he) came from potato field

elli iddu bandā? - from where (he) came from?

The ablative is formed from a locative post position 'sāre' plus a case marker '-inda'.

e.g.   ammeyasārenda - from younger sister

avakkasārenda - from them

To get the comparative sense the ablative marker '-inda' is added to accusative inflected noun.

e.g.   ninnenda ama doḍḍama - he is older than you

ennenda ama haṇakāra - he is richer than me

Genitive

The suffix '-a' is used to denote the sense of genitive in Badaga. In Badaga, the accusative and the genitive are homophonous and sometimes, neither is overtly marked. When any noun with the marker '-a' is followed by another noun, the case is referred to as genitive, whereas any noun with the marker '-a' is followed by a transitive verb, the case is referred to as accusative.

The absence of an overt marker of the genitive is noticed in many sentences. In the same way the

oblique stem of pronouns themselves may function as genitive. But case marker is added optionally to the oblique.

e.g.   appa mane/appana mane - father's house

akka gaṇḍa/akkana gaṇḍa - elder sister's husband

Sometimes the stem also function as a genitive.

e.g.   en mane/enna mane - my house

nin heṇḍaru/ninna heṇḍaru - your wife

The speech of the older generation is mostly without the genitive case marker with oblique stem of pronouns, while the younger generation uses the case marker with oblique stem of pronouns.

"All commentators of Tolkappiyam add '-a' as a genitive (sixth) case marker, but Tolkappiyar does not mention it. Naccinārkkiniyar also adds -ātu to the genitive, and Teyvaccilaiyār and Naccinārkkiniyar add '-āl' to the instrumental. Whereas '-a' probably belongs to the most ancient strata of the language, -ātu, and -āl are almost certainly later developments" (Zvelebil l982; l2 foot note).

Locative

'-ō' is locative case marker and it occurring with non-human nouns.

e.g.   kayyō (< kay+ō) - in the hand

maneyō (mane+ō) - in a house

haṭṭiyō (<haṭṭi+yō) - in a village

l.) The postposition 'ōge'.

Besides the above suffix for the locative case the forms like 'ōge' (inside), 'orāsu' (outside), 'hindāḍu' (backside) are used for dative.

e.g.   manegōge (<manega+ōge) - inside the house

haḷḷagōge (<haḷḷaga+ōge) - inside a river

manegorāsu (<manega+orāsu) - out side of a house

peṭṭigindāḍu (<peṭṭiga+ hindāḍu) - backside to a box

2.) Locative case is formed from a dative case marker '-ga' plus a post position '-ōge'.

e.g.   ama manegōge (< manega +ōge) hōda - he went inside the house

haḷḷagōge (< haḷḷaga+ōge) - inside a river

The post position 'sāre' is usually described as a locative marker and it is used only with human subjects. It has two meaning (i.) 'near' and (ii.) 'with'. The second meaning 'with' 'sāre' occurs as locative case marker. 'sāre' is in free variation with 'ōge'.

e.g.   enna sāre aḍade/ennōge aḍade - it is with me

Vocative

The vocative case is always formed from the nominative, and usually by lengthening of the final vowel of subject noun.

e.g.   bōja (mas. proper name) - bōjā   'O Bōja'

             kāḍe (fem. proper name) - kāḍē   'O Kāḍe'

             beḷḷi (mas. proper name) - beḷḷī   'O Beḷḷi'

             ammu (younger sister)   - ammū 'O younger sister'

In some places the long vowel 'ē' is added to other vowel ending words too. But in that occasion inflectional increment   '-n-' or glide occurs always.

e.g.   siva (god Siva) + ē (voc.) - sivanē 'O Siva'

             appa (father) + ē (voc.) - appanē 'O father'

             sōmi (god.) + ē (voc.) - sōmiyē 'O God'

             avve (mother) + ē (voc.) - avveyē 'O mother'

Conclusion

       The Badaga personal plural pronouns (naṅga, eṅga, niṅga, taṅga) act as nominative as well as oblique forms. Even the first person singular pronoun 'nā' and the second person singular pronoun 'nī' act as oblique forms optionally while taking dative marker. A glide occurs between the inflectional base and vowel beginning case markers. Badaga retains the probable ancient accusative marker '-a'. The locative marker '-ō' is used to express instrumental meaning.

References

l.) Balakrishnan, R., Badaga a Dravidian language, Annamalai University, l999

2.) Tolkappiyam Collatikaram

3.) Zvelebil, Kamil V., Tolkappiyam Collatikaram (Translation), Journal of Tamil Studies, International Institute of Tamil Studies, l982

15. Accusative Case in Badaga

Abstract: In Badaga -a is the accusative marker and it is used to mark the direct object of the verb. The accusative marker is obligatorily used with human nouns, as a marker of definiteness in the case of non-human and inanimate nouns. The nouns which take the accusative marker are the objects of the action. The accusative case marker is suffixed to the nouns and pronouns which are the objects of transitive verb. Tamil recognizes -ai as the only accusative marker where as in Kannada -am, -annu (-an) (-a), -anna, and -nu are the accusative case markers. Badaga accusative morph looks like the reflex of Tamil -ai. But there is a room to consider it as a reflex of Kannada -an. The accusative marker usually follows the object and in Badaga accusative marks the direct object noun phrase of a transitive verb. The accusative case marker is a sign of being acted upon and it appears to have been suffixed to nouns to denote that in that instance they were to be regarded not as agents but as objects. Comparing Badaga

accusative case marker with Tamil and Kannada this paper examines the distribution of accusative case morphology in Badaga.

Accusative marker

-a is the accusative marker in Badaga. "The accusative case-termination may be suffixed whenever it appears to be desirable to do so, either for the sake of euphony or to prevent ambiguity, but it is rarely employed except when it is required for those purposes. When this case termination is used without necessity, it sounds stiff and unidiomatic; and this is one of the peculiarities by which the Tamil of foreigners is marked. Tamil-Malayalam masculine and feminine nouns and their corresponding pronouns invariably take the accusative case-suffix when they are governed by active verbs" (Caldwell l987:27l). Badaga adheres to these rules and in Badaga this marker is obligatory in human nouns and optional in non-human nouns.

In human nouns

The accusative marker is obligatory with the human nouns

    E.g. kāḍa nañjana koraccida   - Kada called Nanja
          kuḷḷa amana paḷḷiga kēgida - Kulla sent him to school
          nañja amana nōḍida   - Nanja saw him

In non-human nouns

The accusative marker is optional with the non-human nouns

    E.g. beḷḷa mane kaṭṭida or beḷḷa maneya kaṭṭida   - Bella built a house
          sevana dana mēsida or sevana danava mēsida - Sevana grazed a cow
          ama seṇḍu ettida or ama seṇḍa ettida   - he took the ball

It is common practice in Badaga (and in other Dravidian languages as well), that the accusative marker is very rarely added after the neuter nouns

    E.g. nā pāme hēgide   - I narrated a story
         ama kuppasa ikkida   - He put on a shirt
         nā kallu ariccinḍu idde - I am looking for a stone
         nā dana ariccinḍu idde - I am searching (a) cow

The case marker -a is absent in all these examples where as the accusative meaning is conveyed. The meanings are not different when the accusative marker is added after the neuter nouns.

    E.g. nā pāmeya hēgide   - I narrated a story
         ama kuppasava ikkida   - He put on a shirt
         nā kalla ariccinḍu idde   - I am looking for a stone
         nā danva ariccinḍu idde - I am searching (a) cow

However, exceptions are there, i.e., in few human nouns use accusative marker optionally and few non-human nouns use accusative marker obligatorily.

Optional with human nouns

E.g. enna haṇa kētta or ennava haṇa kētta - he asked me for money

Obligatory with non-human nouns

E.g. nēya kollu   - kill the dog
     danava ēdu   - chase the cow
     haḷḷava kaḍeda - (he) crossed the stream

With these examples one may come to conclude that there are two kinds of direct object in Badaga those that are overtly marked with accusative case marker and those that have no overt case marker.

Definiteness

"Languages very often use morphological means to distinguish two types of direct objects, marking some direct objects with morphological case and leaving others unmarked or, in some instances marked with different case. Such marking generally distinguishes objects on the basis factors like animacy, definiteness, and spceificity" (Jeffrey Lidz 2005:l0). With inanimate nouns the use of an accusative is a sign of definiteness that the speaker intends to convey.

E.g. dana mēsu   - graze cow
     danava mēsu - graze the cow

Reflex

In Tamil the accusative case marker is -ai. According to Tolkappiyam that the use of accusative marker is obligatory with the rational nouns and common nouns and optional with non - rational nouns (TE.l57). In the same way, Badaga accusative case marker is obligatory with human nouns and optional with non-human nouns.

"Kannada: -am, -an, -ān, -ā in the inscriptions. The long-vowel forms etc., occurred in earlier records. In Modern Kannada -annu is the accusative marker, obligatorily used in human nouns or as a marker of definiteness in the case of non-human and inanimate nouns" (Bhadriraju Krishnamurti 2003:228).

 "Old Tamil: -ai is the accusative marker obligatorily used with [+animate] nouns. It is optionally dropped after personal pronouns in Old Tamil. In Modern Tamil -ai becomes -e and it is obligatory with animate nouns; with inanimate nouns the use of an accusative is a sign of definiteness that the speaker intends to convey"(Ibid 2003:227). The Badaga accusative morph is reflex of Old Tamil -ai or more

accurately reflex of the Modern Tamil -e. But Krishnamurti thinks instead that the Badaga -a reflexes with Kannada -an and in this regard he pointed out as "Badaga: the final nasal is lost (?) and the accusative morph looks deceptively like a reflex of -ai, but it is not so, since Badaga is closer to Kannada than to pre-Tamil" (Ibid 2003:228).

There are two main points to be considered in this regard. First, the idea of considering the Badaga as dialect or closely related with Kannada is to be abandoned. "Badaga language is said to be related to or a dialect of Kannada as they have some common innovations like PDr. p->h-, v->b- etc. But this hypothesis is nullified as Badaga language has prevailed many innovations shared with other SDr. languages and restrained a few specific features pertaining to it in the point of view of phonology and morphological structures" (Balakrishnan l999:44).

Second, it seems that the accusative marker -a existed even in Kannada too. In this regard Kittel's remark is to be remembered. "It is reasonable to think that the accusative ending in -a existed already in the colloquial dialect of the ancient period, but had not been generally accepted by classical writers"(Kittel l982:48).

Kittel enumerates accusative markers of Kannada as, in the ancient dialect -am, -anu, (-a); in the medieval dialect -am, -anu, - annu, - a ; in the (later and) modern dialect -anu, -annu, -a, -anna (Ibid l982: 47-49).

Shades of meanings

Tolkappiyam enumerates 28 different shades of meanings in which the second case occur (TC, 7l). Badaga accusative case marked nouns accommodates almost all these shades of meaning.

l.) Thing that is protected: haṭṭiya kāttana - (he) protects the hamlet

2.) Thing that is compared: avveya mākke   - (she) resembles (her) mother

3.) Thing that is used as vehicle: baṇḍiya buṭṭana - (he) drives vehicle

4.) Thing that is made: maneya māḍu - (you) build a house

5.) Thing that is scared away: gubbisiya ēdida – (he) scared away the sparrows

6.) Thing that is praised: māttina hogaḷida – (he) praised (his) son

7.) Thing that is despised: ama olladavakkara nuḍadana – he despised bad people

8.) Thing that is acquired: ama hēgida mātta ettida – he took the words (advice) which is told

9.) Thing that is lost: ama mane sāviya kāli maḍida – he lost the house key

l0.) Thing that is loved: ama mammana heṇṇa gava māḍina – he loves his uncle's daughter

ll.) Thing that is scorned: ama ellāva eḷakkina – he scorns all

l2.) Thing that is destroyed: ama maneya kāli māḍida – he destroyed the house

l3.) Thing that is appreciated: avve tanna heṇṇa meccida – mother appreciated her daughter

l4.) Thing that is learned: ama obba gelasava katta – he learned sewing work

l5.) Thing that is cut: ama morava beṭṭida - he cut the tree

l6.) Thing that is decreased: hitta kunnadu māḍida – he made the ragi ball small

l7.) Thing that is gathered: avareya oṭṭuga sēttu - gather the beans together

l8.) Thing that is separated: ama haṭṭiya buṭṭu hōda - he left hamlet and gone (somewhere else)

l9.) Thing that is weighed: gāsa eḍe ākku - weigh potato

20.) Thing that is measured: akkiya āye - measure rice

2l.) Thing that is counted: haṇava lekka māḍu - count money

22.) Thing that is improved in condition: ama saṅgaṭṭa tērisida -

23.) Thing that is depended upon: ama gōḍega settida

24.) Thing that is reached: - ama dāriya dāṭṭida - he crossed the way

25.) Thing that is detested: ava kivi kalla kāsida - she removed ear-stud

26.) Thing that is seen: ama amana avveya nōḍida - he saw his mother

27.) Thing that is feared: ama nēya añcida - he frightened the dog

28.) Thing that is shattered: ama gañjeya giñjal añjal mādida - he shattered the barley seeds

Exception

Among these, the human nouns which convey comparing shade of meaning optionally take accusative marker and this is an exception to the general rule that the accusative marker is obligatorily used with human nouns.

E.g. appana mākke or appa mākke - like father

avakkara mākke or avakka mākke - like them

avveya mākke or avve mākke (like father), amana makke or ama makke (like him) are commonly used.

In the same way, the accusative marker is obligatorily used with neuter nouns when that the thing is in gathering shade of meaning. E.g. the sentence 'avareya oṭṭuga sēttu' without accusative marker does not give clear meaning. Hence this neuter noun (avare) uses accusative case marker obligatorily.

Homophonous

In Badaga the accusative case marker and genitive case marker are homophonous (-a), but they show difference in meaning. Sometimes, both the cases are not overtly marked. When any noun with the marker -a is followed by another noun, the case is referred to as genitive, whereas any noun with the marker -a is followed by a transitive verb, the case is referred to as accusative.

E.g. haṇa kaṭṭu (acc.) - pay money
     haṇa kaṭṭu (gen.) - money bundle

In Kannada the genitive case marker is -a and optionally -ā is used. In Tamil the sixth case marker is -atu only. The commentators of Tolkappiyam add -a also to the sixth case as plural genitive marker. In Badaga, the case markers are same for singular as well as plural nouns.

Two nouns in accusative

A same case cannot occur twice in a simple sentence. But, we come across with such sentences.

E.g. nañjana kāḍana āṭṭaga koraccide - I called Nañja and Kāda to play
    maneya holava īside - I bought house and field

The above sentences are ungrammatical because they have two nouns in accusative. They become grammatical only if we add a conjunctive marker -u (-vu) as a link between the two nouns in accusative case. As a result we get the following pairs of sentences.

E.g.nañjanavu kāḍanavu āṭṭaga koraccide   - I called Nanja and Kada to play
    maneyavu holavavu īside   - I bought a house and a field

Instead of using conjunctive marker -u with the two nouns in accusative a numeral in accusative with conjunctive marker -u is used.

E.g.nañja kāḍa eraḍāvu āṭṭaga koraccide   - I called Nanja and Kada to play
    mane hola eraḍunavu īside   - I bought a house and a field

In this way any number of nouns with accusative meaning can be used in a sentence added a numeral in accusative and conjunctive marker.

Conclusion

In Badaga -a is the accusative marker mostly obligatorily used with human nouns, as a marker of definiteness in the case of non-human and inanimate nouns. However in some sentences it is optional with human nouns and obligatory with non-human nouns. The Badaga accusative morph is reflex of Old Tamil -ai or more accurately reflex of the Modern Tamil -e. A same case cannot occur twice in a simple sentence. Nouns and pronouns used as objects of intransitive verbs.

Bibliography

l.) Balakrishnan, R., (l999), Badaga a Dravidian Language, Annamalai University

2.) Bhadriraju Krishanmurti, 2003, The Dravidian languages, Cambridge University Press, London

3.) Caldwell, Robert, l987, A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages, 2ndEdn. AES, (First Published l9l3)

4.) Jeffrey Lidz, 2004, The Grammar of Accusative Case in Kannada, University of Maryland,

5.) Kittel, Rev. F., (l982), A Grammar of the Kannada Language, AES, New Delhi (First Published l908)

6.) Tolkappiyam, Eluttatikaram, Collatikaram

Badaga Numerals

Abstract

"Our ability to estimate numbers without using speech, is extremely limited, …… The numerals one, two, three, four, and so on, are simply a series of words which we have learned to say in a fix order" (Bloomfield l935: 28-29). "Numerals are often given a separate part of speech; it would be better to treat them as a separate sub-class under pronouns, with which they have some points in common" (Jesperson, Otto l922:85). Badaga follows the Dravidian numerals with minor variations. kālu (quarter), are (half), ondu (one), eraḍu (two), mūru (three), nākku (four), aydu (five), āru (six), iyyu (seven), eṭṭu (eight), ombattu (nine), hattu (ten), nūru (hundred), āvira (thousand), lacca(lakh) and kōḍi (crore) are the basic numerals in Badaga. The majority of basic cardinal numbers are formed with mono-morphic roots. Badaga numerals have cardinal- ordinal distinction and the ordinal numbers are formed by adding -ane or -āvadu to the cardinal numbers. The numerals occur as nouns, and as well as adjectives. Since numerals belong relatively stable part of lexicon and it is worth to study in detail. Comparing Badaga numerals with Tamil and Kannada this paper tries to elucidate few salient features of the Badaga numerals.

The term numeral is often used to refer to a number such as one, two, three, four, etc. It is said that the decimal system is widespread among languages (Bloomfield l935: 508). Badaga has a decimal numerical system and the common ways to build higher numbers are multiplication, addition, multiplication plus addition.

In Dravidian languages "The numerals are partly used as adjectives and partly as nouns" (Sten Konow l906:293). In Badaga cardinal numbers occur as nouns as well as adjectives. For example

Noun -ondu (one); hattu (ten); hannondu (eleven)

Adjective – ondu uruppi (one rupee); eraḍu kunnave – two children

The cardinal numbers are the numbers that are used for counting something. The cardinal numbers are the counting numbers that start from one and goes on sequentially and are not fractions. Cardinal numbers are divided into two sub-divisions, viz. basic cardinal number and derived cardinal number. Basic cardinal number are free forms and the derived cardinal number are bound forms. The basic numeral in Badaga are nineteen in number and their equivalents in Tamil and Kannada are as follows

Badaga	Tamil	Kannada	
kālu	kāl	kāl	- quarter
are	aria	ardha, are	- half
ondu	onru	ondu	- one
eraḍu	irantu	eraḍu	- two
mūru	munru	mūru	- three
nākku	nanku	nālku	- four

aydu, ayidu	aindu	aydu	- five
aru	aru	aru	- six
ēḷu, iyyu, iḻḻu	ēḻu	ēḻu	- seven
ettu	ettu	eṇṭu	- eight
ombattu	onbatu	ombattu	- nine
hattu	pattu	hattu	- ten
nūru	nūru	nūru	- hundred
āvira, sāvira	ayiram	sāvira	- thousand
lacca	ilatcam	laksha	- lakh
kōḍi	kōṭi	kōḍi	- crore

The Badaga numerals up to ten are same as of Kannada except four and eight. The Kannada numeral four (nālku) maintains with a liquid (l) sound where as Badaga form is with velar stop (nākku) instead of the liquid and for eight Kannada form, eṇṭu is with voiceless stop after nasal and mostly Badaga avoids voiceless stop after nasal. So, it is as Tamil eight, eṭṭu. In other places, the equivalent of Kannada voiceless stop after nasal is voiced stop after nasal in Badaga(Badaga- gumbu (crowd), Kannada- gumpu).

Exceptions

Among these nineteen, in Badaga (as well as in Tamil and Kannada) the first three are singular numerals and the rest, sixteen are plural numerals. As a special case Badaga has two forms for five, three forms for seven and two forms for thousand.

In Badaga two forms are in use for the numeral five, aydu and ayidu, the second one is frequently used. In Kannada ayidu is said to be a medieval dialect usage (Kittel 25l). By this it is understood that the Badaga form ayidu is old and aydu later

Out of the three forms for seven, ēḷu, iyyu, iḻḻu the first one is identical with the Kannada form, ēḷu. The second one, iyyu, is a new development and it has another variation īyu. The third one, iḻḻu requires small explanation.

"The liquids r and ḻ are never geminated in Proto-Dravidian or in older descendant languages. The phoneme ḻ which apparently pronounced as a retroflex approximant (frictionless continuants), survives in some regional and social dialects of Tamil and Malayalam. In several modern dialects of Tamil and in the rest of languages it has merged with many other phonemes including ɸ"(Krishamurthi 2003: l52). The Proto - Dravidian ḻ changed in to ḷ, l, y, g, ṇ, v, and ɸ in Badaga. In fact, the scholars who studied Badaga language did not included ḻ as a phoneme and its occurrence also limited to this place only, that too with gemination, a peculiar to Dravidian languages.

It is interesting to note that among the two forms for thousand, one āvira is identical with Tamil āyiram and another one sāvira is identical with Kannada sāvira.

By multiplication plus addition

From eleven to nineteen the cardinal numbers are compounded with a preceding hattu takes the forms han – (hannondu- eleven, hanneraḍu- twelve), hadi- (hadimuru- thirteen, hadinayidu – fifteen, hadiriyyu- seventeen), hada- (hadanākku- fourteen, hadanāru- sixteen, hadareṭṭu- eighteen). hat-, (hattombattu-nineteen).

From twenty one to twenty nine, thirty one to thirty nine, forty one to forty nine, fifty one to fifty nine, sixty one to sixty nine, seventy one to seventy nine, eighty one to eighty nine, and ninety one to ninety nine all numerals are formed by multiplication plus addition process. For example   ippattiyyu (27) = is $2 \times 10 + 7$, ip-, +hattu+ iyyu

Badaga   **Tamil**   **Kannada**

Badaga	Tamil	Kannada	
hattu	pattu	hattu	- ten
	ippaattu	irupatu	ippaattu - twenty
	mūvattu	muppatu	mūvattu - thirty
	nalavattu	nārpatu	nalavattu - forty
	ayivattu	aimpatu	ayivattu - fifty
	aravattu	arupatu	aravattu - sixty
	eḷavattu	eḷupatu	eppattu - seventy
	embattu	eṇpatu	embattu - eighty
	tombattu	toṇṇūru	tombattu - ninety
	nūru	nūru	nūru - hundred

To count twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, and ninety, the derived cardinals are formed by multiplication of ten with the basic cardinal numbers two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, and nine respectively. The numerals two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, and nine have appellative bases before hattu (ten) and nūru (hundred). For example,

eraḍu (two): ip- (ippattu-twenty,ippere- the day after the new moon, when the crescent is scarcely visible). ir- (irunūru- two   hundred), in-, (innūru- - two hundred)
mūru (three): mū- (muvattu- thirty), mun-(munnūru- three hundred)
nākku (four): nala-(nalavattu-forty), nā- (nānūru -four hundred)
ayidu (five): ay- (ayvattu- fifty, aynūru- five hundred, ayḍivige- five-cornered   lamp)
āru (six):ara- (aravattu- six hundred, ara nūru - six hundred)
ēḷu (seven): eḷa - (elavattu- seventy)
eṭṭu (eight): em- (embattu- eighty)
ombattu (nine): tom- (tombattu-ninety), ombay- (ombaynūru- ninehundred)

Among the Badaga numerals ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety and hundred. except eighty all other are same as of Kannada. For eighty, in Kannada eppattu where as in Badaga eḷavattu

Ordinal

The cardinal numbers are the numbers that are used for counting something and the ordinal numbers are used to indicate the position or order of something

In consonance with Dravidian languages, Badaga numeral system has cardinal-ordinal distinction. In Badaga ordinal numbers are formed by suffixing -ane (or -ne) or -āvadu to the cardinal numbers. Ordinal marker -ane is used in Kodagu, Kannada and Tulu. "The retainment of this marker may be an aerial feature" (Balakrishnan l999:l03); -āvadu (<ākuvatu) is Tamil ordinal suffix. For example

ond- ane / ond-āvadu - first
eraḍ-ane / eraḍa- āvadu - second
nūra-ane/ nūra –āvadu - hundredth

In Tamil "mutal is a special form for the first ordinal. All the other ordinals are formed by the addition ākuvatu to the cardinal numbers" (Isreal l973:66). In the same way the Badaga form modalu (first) is used without ordinal suffix. For example

modalubarusano – in the first year
modalubeḷḷaame – first crop
modalukūsu – first child

In a few places, modalu takes - āvadu. For example
modalāvadama- the first man
modalāvadava- the first woman

Except the first the other ordinal numbers are formed by suffixing - āvadu to the cardinal numbers. For example
eraḍāvadama- the second person

It is to be noticed here that the Badaga adopts both Kannada and Tamil ordinal suffixes. At present the suffix - āvadu is more common than -ane

Nouns derived from Numerals

Further, nouns formed from the cardinal numbers can be divided in to two categories, viz. rational numerals and non-rational numerals

In oruvan, iruvar, etc., of Tamil, obbanu, ibbaru, etc., of Kannada the gender - number suffixes are added with the numeral appellative bases. But, in Badaga, except obba, nouns derived from numerals are not formed in rational numerals.

The Badaga form obba, one man or one woman is common to the both the masculine and feminine genders, but it is not identical with Tamil oruvar and Kannada obbaru. Because the Tamil and Kannada forms are epicene plural forms where as Badaga form obba is singular and common to both masculine and feminine genders.

"The gender markers are added with the numeral appellative bases of the cardinal numbers in many languages like Tamil, Malayalam, Kannda, Kodagu, etc., But in Badaga, the word obba, one person, only is used to denote masculine as well as feminine gender" (Balakrishnan l02). The derived cardinals are less in Badaga in comparing with Tamil and Kannada equivalents.

One

The cardinal number ondu (one), occurs as a noun as well as adjective. oṭṭi and otte occur as adjectives. For example

oṭṭimane- solitary house
oṭṭikka- stray wild boar separated from the fold
ottekaṇṇu- single eye
ottekoḷḷi- burning single fagot
oṭṭimuṇḍu- single dhoti
oṭṭimora- solitary tree

op-, and ok- occur as bound appellatives with few other places

oppaṇa- one fanam, one(old) coin

okkōṇemane- a single column house

ōr

ōrage - same age, is a single word where we find the bound form ōr- occurs in Badaga. The word Badaga ōrage is identical with Tamil ōragavai. In Tamil ōr- occurs before vowels and semi vowels. In Badaga ōr- occurs in specific place that too in this compound word.

Two

ib-, occur as bound appellatives in addition with ip-, ir-, and in-, For example

ibbaṇa- two annas
ibbeḍutti- two wives

Three

mup-, mum-,occur as bound appellatives in addition with mu-, and mun-, For example

muppere- crescent moon, as seen on the third day from the new moon
mummalu- three times over, three-fold

kōga

In Badaga, as a special case with a kōga (T.kuḷagam, K.koḷaga) - standard grain measure with the numeral appellative of the cardinal numbers bases the following words are formed

okkuva (<ondu +koga) - one standard grain measure
ikkuva(<eraḍu+kōga) - two standard grain measure
mūguva(<muru+kōga) - three standard grain measure
nāguva(<naakku+kōga) - four standard grain measure
ayguva(<ayidu+kōga) - five standard grain measure
aruguva (<āru+kōga) - six standard grain measure

Of course, this is an exception case. One can assume that but because of the familiarity of measuring grains with kōga these numeral nouns were formed

Conclusion

Badaga numerals occur as adjectives and nouns as well. In Badaga cardinal- ordinal difference is there and Badaga uses the ordinal suffixes of Tamil and Kannada. More than one forms are available for five, seven and thousand. Phoneme ḻ is not in Badaga and it is found only with the word iḻḻu and that as exceptional to Proto-Dravidian rule with gemination. Badaga uses two forms for thousand and among these one is identical with Tamil and another one is with Kannada. Except obba, that too common to both gender, nouns derived from numerals are not formed as rational numerals in Badaga. kōga (standard grain measure) joins with appellative bases in an unusual way.

Bibliography

l. Balakrishnan, R., l999, Badaga A Dravidian Language, Annamalai University

2.Bhadriraju Krishamurthi, 2003, The Dravidian Languages, Cambridge University

3. Bloonfield, Leonard, l996, Language, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi (first published l935)

4.Caldwell, Robert, l987, A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages, AES, New Delhi (first published l9l3)

5.Grierson (Sten Konow), l906, Linguistic Survey of India, Calcutta

6 . Jesperson, Otto, Language. Its nature, Development and Origin, London George Allen and Unwin Ltd.,   l922

7. Kittel, F., l982, A Graammar of the Kannada Language AES, New Delhi (first published l908)

8. McAlpin, David W., l98l, Proto – Elamo – Dravidian: The Evidence and its Implications, The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia