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PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF KOYA LANGUAGE

Report submitted to the Tribal
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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abl	Ablative
Accus	Accusative
Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
Con	Connective
Dat	Dative
Dem	Demonstrative
Excl	Exclusive
Gen	Genetive
Incl	Inclusive
Inst	Instrumental
Loc	Locative
Masc	Masculine
n	Noun
Neg	Negative
Num	Numeral
Obl	Oblique
pl	Plural
Pron	Pronoun
prox	proximate
sg.	singular
tr	transitive
vb	verb
[]	phonetic transcription
/ /	phonemic transcription
:	length
→	is realized as
>	becomes
<	derived from

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INTRODUCTION

The Ko:ya language is the mother-tongue of Koya people, a tribal community related to Gonds. The Koya people refer themselves as 'koyito:r'.

Census of India, 1971 gives the number of Koya speakers at country level to be 1,40,776 among which the speakers from Andhra Pradesh are reported to be 108657. The number of speakers in Orissa is 31052.

The Koya people mainly live in the regions of Khammam, east Godavari, west Godavari, Adilabad and Wanngal forests as well as in the plains villages. In Bhadrachalam tq. (Khammam Dist.) the population of Koyas constitute 40% of the population.

Rev. John Cain from Dummagudem, during 1875-80, had published some essays in 'Indian Antiquary' with revealing observations about the culture of Koya people. Cain's writings were mainly about the origin of the tribe and about their way of life and about the marriage system. He wrote "even at present more disputes arise from bride - stealing than from any other cause, especially as upto the present time the government officials have not been able to stop this practice". (Indian Antiquary 5:357-359)

In 'Linguistic Survey of India' vol IV, a specimen of 'koi' is given by G.A. Grierson. (vol IV. pp 549-51) Grierson grouped the Koya language under Gondi dialects.

Koya language, a member of central Dravidian languages, shows extensive lexical borrowing from the contiguous Telugu language. The language of Koya people in Khammam District is hardly intelligible to Linga Koyas and Gattu Koyas of Bastar District in Madhya Pradesh.

Hitherto the Koya people's main occupation has been "po:du" cultivation where the land is cultivated for only one year. In recent times, their agriculture is getting regularized and improved. The Government agencies like, Small Farmers Development Agency, (S.F.D.A.) and Integrated Tribal Development Agency (I.T.D.A.) are encouraging them to adopt modern methods in agriculture, despite their cultural heritage being an obsession for an accelerated growth. Now at least some of them are using fertilizers, oil engines high yielding varieties of seeds due to the influence of non-tribal farmers.

Koya people are also engaged in wood-cutting under forest department for daily wages.

Their source of income in summer is collecting the 'beedi' leaves in the forest. At present the leaves are sold at the rate of 10 paise for 100 leaves. They also work as agricultural labourers in the farms of the non-tribal agriculturists.

The literacy percentage is very very low and one can hardly find any Koya person with higher education. Even the present elementary schools or Ashram schools are not making much headway to infuse interest in educa-

tion in these tribal people. The cause for this is two fold; one is the bad administration of the schools and the second is that the parents are less enthusiastic to send their children to the schools.

A village normally constitutes of about a hundred huts or even less. They seem to prefer to build their huts in a scattered and haphazard way. It appears they deliberately avoid planning and they think this saves the residents from infighting.

In every village the head-man 'po:yi' is the chief and he presides over all the village 'panchayats' to resolve any common problems. Another man as a deputy chief 'pina pedda' assists 'po:yi' in discharging his duties. If the village court fails to solve the problem, then people will go to another head-man 'durva:l' who is the chief for 24 villages.

There is a sub-sect among Koyas, who are called 'do:lu Koyas' who perform priestly functions for other Koyas. However they are required only for death rituals. They regularly charge for death rituals and may beg for grain in harvest season. They are also known for their 'reila' songs which they sing with the help of their drums. They may sing the songs for several days when they camp in a village.

Koyas mainly grow ~~f~~ jowar, paddy, and maize

for their food and the agriculture completely depends on monsoon. Fish is their delicacy and they do not care for walking miles together to fish in the tanks. They fix someday for fishing and all the people from surrounding villages gather at some tank for fishing, making it a festive look.

Monogamy is the general practice but the marriage bond is not so strong and at any time, the couple can break it. If the woman elopes with some new lover, he (new husband) has to pay an amount equal to the marriage expenditure to the first husband. The range of amount and the nature of the incident will be decided in the village 'panchayat', where 'po:yi' presides and all the villagers participate. In the village 'panchayats' vociferous arguments and fierce fightings are not unexpected. Generally 'panchayat' lasts for the whole day and ends with taking country liquor.

The second marriage for women in the case of the husband's death, does not carry any social stigma. Also the children are taken care of by the new husband.

Koya people observe mainly two festivals 1) bu:mi pandu:m and 2) kurmi:n pandu:m. The earth festival 'bu:mi pandu:m' is celebrated just before sowing. They go for hunting and get some animal either pig or spotted deer for their celebration of the festival. They also forecast the weather throughout the ensuing year. They drop a mahua flower

in the water on the name of every month and report the weather and rainfall basing on whether the flower floats or sinks in the water. After this earth festival they start sowing in the fields. Another festival 'kurmi:n pandu:m' is celebrated just before the new vegetables are ready for consumption. This is the celebration of the new crops and fresh vegetables and they also refer to this festival as 'kottala / pandu:m'. They believe that some goddess will be annoyed if they eat fresh vegetables without celebrating the 'kurmi:n pandu:m'.

Once in two or three years they perform a 'ja:tara' either 'maddira:mma ~~festivals~~ ~~liquor~~ and ~~for~~ kolupu 'or 'korra:ju kolpu'. In all these festivals liquor and pork are generally in their menu.

Regarding their political plane, all the seats for assembly parliament, panchayat samiti and panchayat board are reserved for tribal candidates in Bhadrachalam constituency. They not only participating in elections, but also actively join many processions and political demonstrations very frequently with a hope of improving their lot.

The language do not have any writing system or written literature but the women, children and rarely men sing number of folk songs with different styles. The songs are not sung by single persons, but groups of people standing in a circular way sing the 're:la' songs dancing to its tune and rhythm. Particularly

children are very ingenious in creating new songs and we can find innovations from time to time. During the marriage functions singing and dancing becomes a regular feature for three or four nights.

My main informant So:de Bojji (45) is the resident of Ayyavaripeta, in Kunavaram Samiti, Bhadrachalam Tq. He is an illiterate but a man of high common sense. He is very patient and cooperating, in eliciting the material. Above all ~~that~~ he is not much addicted for drinking country liquor, which could have become an impediment if it is otherwise. He is a bilingual who could speak Telugu with the accent of Koya, his mother-tongue.

CHAPTER I

SOUNDS OF KOYA

The phonemes of Koya language are as follows.

Vowels:

i	i:	u	u:
e	e:	o	o:
a		a:	

Consonants:

p	b	t	d	t̪	d̪	c	j	k	g
		s							
m		n		ɲ					
		r							
		l							
v						y			

Vowels: Koya has ten vowel phonemes, comprising of equal number of short and long vowels. The vowels correspond to different tongue heights: high, mid and low both in front and back regions. As it is expected the front vowels are unrounded and the back vowels are rounded. The phoneme /a/ is relatively a back vowel, but not as back as /u/ or /o/ and it is an unrounded vowel. The length contrast of the vowels is found only initially and medially as the volume of length is not contrastive at final position.

The contrast between /i/ and /i:/

/iguru/	'tender leaves	/pisike/	'sparrow
/i:ta:n/	'I give	/pi:ki:d/	'girl

In words like /vi:si/ 'fly /keriyadi/ 'parrots the final -i, alternates between short and long and this is also true with the other vowels.

/e/ and /e:/

/eruv/	'tank	/keriya:d/	'parrot
/e:r/	'water	/ye:ru:nd/	'younger brother of wife

/u/ and /u:/

/usta:n/	'I pounded	/puḍiy/	'insect
/u:sta:n/	'I smeared	/pu:ja:r/	'priest

/o/ and /o:/

/orpu/	'dry weather	/ko:ṭakasse:r/	'big knife
/o:nd/	'he	/koḍave:l/	'sickle

/a/ and /a:/

/arikay/	'palm	/kay/	'hand
/a:ki/	'leaf	/ka:ka:d/	'crow

The vowel before gemination (-CC-), is always a short vowel. The vowel following the gemination may be short or long.

e.g.	/kukka:l/	'a kind of deer
	/juṭṭi/	'hair
	/aṭṭu:m/	'a loft under the roof
	/duvve:n/	'comb
	/igga/	'here

/pette/	'ant
/dokke/	'lizard
/yakka/	'elder sister

In disyllabic nouns, the consonant is always in gemination between short vowels.

e.g.

/pocca/	'stomach
/butti/	'small basket
/likki/	'small sickle
/kissu/	'fire
/arra/	'room

In disyllabic and trisyllabic words, the final closed vowel is always long. In trisyllabic words, the peak of the second syllable is short.

e.g.

/pandi:r/	'pendal
/e:pu:r/	'broomstick
/kacce:l/	'digging instrument
/uspa:l/	'pestle
/gadde:m/	'chin
/yannalo:r/	'elder brothers
/pe:kalo:r/	'boys
/mangeli:r/	'barbers

In monosyllabic short vowel words, the final consonant is geminated.

e.g.

/kell/	'hair
/bedd/	'naval

/korr/	'fowl
/girr/	'feather
/kayy/	'hand

The words ending in consonants in fluent speech, are observed with a final non-morphemic vowel -u, in careful speech. Due to this phenomenon the monosyllabic words like /go:r/ 'nail, /ve:l/ 'finger, /kell/ 'hair appear to be disyllabic words as:

/go:r-u/	'nail
/ve:l-u/	'finger
/kell-u/	'hair

These items with the final -u, however lose this non-morphemic vowel while forming their plurals and manifest as monosyllabic forms.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
e.g.		
/go:r-u/	'nail	/go:ku/
/ve:l-u/	'finger	/ve:lku/
/korr-u/	'fowl	/korku/

The long vowel before a nasal + consonant is also nasalized.

e.g.		
/le:nga/	'calf	/lẽ:ɲga/
/na:nge:l/	'plough	/nã:nge:l/
/re:nɲay/	'kind of ounce	/rẽ:nɲay/

All the five vowel phonemes (i, u, e, o, a) occur in word final positions, whereas -u, is elided in further inflection.

e.g.

/e:ti/	'winnowing basket
/e:r-u/	'water
/pette/	'ant
/micco/	'scorpin
/kurra/	'calf

The front mid vowels /e/ and /e:/, are realized as their lower-mid counter parts /ɛ/ and /ɛ:/ whenever they are followed by non-high back vowel in the following syllable.

e.g.

/pedave/	'lip	/pɛdave/
/de:ka/	'curry vessel	/dɛ:ka/
/medo:d/	'brain	/mɛdo:d/

The short vowels before the clusters are relatively reduced in volume and abruptly pronounced. The front vowels in this position are more centralized and the approximation of the tongue is more higher as in /igga/ 'here /ɪgga/.

Initially, front vowels, and rounded back vowels are with an optional onset, y- and v-, respectively.

Consonants: The consonantal phonemes of Koya can be divided into obstruents and sonorants; obstruents comprising of stops and sibilant, and sonorants comprising of nasals, lateral, trill and semi-consonants.

The points of articulation of stop series; bilabial, alveolar, retroflex, palatal and velar and in every

configurational set both voiceless and voicing is phonemic. That gives the stop phonemes as: pb, td, td, cj and kg.

Aspiration is alien to Koya phonological system and the aspirated sounds in borrowed words are deaspirated as in /bu:mi/ 'earth (<bhu:mi). /

The only one slit sibilant /s/ is phonemic without any voiced counterpart.

There are three nasal phonemes /m/, /n/ and /ɲ/. The liquids /r/ and /l/ are phonemic. /v/ and /y/, the semi-consonants are phonemic.

There are no glottal phonemes like /ʔ/ or /h/ and lateral retroflex is also not found.

In one loan word -h- is changed to -b- as in /simba:m/ 'lion (simham).

The lateral -l- is substituted for its retroflex in loan words as observed in /pelli/ 'marriage (<pelli) /gala:s/ 'tumbler (<gala:s). loan word

All the phonemes except /c/, /j/ and /ɲ/ occur in all the positions, initially, medially and finally. /c/ and /j/ appear in initial and medial positions, but /c/ occurs initially in a small set of instances, where it also alternates with /s/. The phoneme /ɲ/ is observed only medially as a single consonant and also in clusters. /t/ initially occurs only in one borrowed word /te:kama:ra/ 'teak tree.

All consonants except /n/ occur in gemination intervocalically.

The voiceless stop phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ are more tense initially when compared with non-initial positions. /k/ gets more fricativised intervocalically.

e.g.

/porki/	'hair-louse	[<u>p</u> orki]
/tinagay/	'right hand	[<u>t</u> inagay]
/kissu/	'fire	[<u>k</u> issu]
/pe:ka:l/	'boy	[<u>p</u> ε:xa:l]

The phoneme /t/ does not appear initially except in one position, phoneme /d/ has more initially occurrences than /t/. /d/ is realized as its allophone /r/, in a consonantal cluster C₁C₂; and /d/ takes always the position of C₁-, exception being only one combination -nd-. In final position /d/ as a single consonant always occurs after a long vowel, as its variant /r/.

e.g.

/poɖdu/	'sun	[<u>p</u> oɖdu]
/eɖki/	'fever	[<u>e</u> ɖki]
/eɖju/	'bear	[<u>e</u> ɖju]
/verka:d/	'cat	[<u>v</u> εrka:r]
/e:la:d/	'younger sister	[<u>ε</u> :la:r]

Initially /d/ is more tense than in other positions, as in /dɔkke/ 'lizard [dɔkke] and /du:v/ 'tiger [du:v].

/c/ and /j/ get their phonetic variants as palatal affricates and dental affricates before front and back vowels respectively.

e.g.

/ci:ka:d/	'darkness	[tʃi:ka:r]
/niccala:m/	'ladder	[nitʃtʃla:m]
/vojje:l/	'oven	[vɔʃʃe:l]
/kanju/	'partridge	[kandʒu]

/c/, initially has become ϕ , or s-, though it is present in the contiguous language Telugu and this might be the result of the process in Gondi dialects.

e.g.

/alla/	'buttermilk
/eruv/	'tank
/e:pu:r/	'broomstick
/si:lamanɖe:m/	'heel

Initial /c/ is found in a pair of words, alternating with s-.

e.g.

/ci:ka:d/	'darkness
/ce:n/	'field

/c/ and /j/, medially do not occur as single consonants, but only as clusters or in gemination; an exception for this is /pu:ja:r/ 'priest.

The phonemic sibilant /s/ has a palatal variant before front vowels.

e.g.

/sippa/	'lid of the pot	/sippa/
/ki:se/	'prong of the pig	/ki:se/

/r/, /y/, /v/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

All the consonants occur in gemination except /n/. All the consonants appear in clusters as C₁- and -C₂, but /n/, /l/ and /y/ do not take the position of -C₂ in clusters.

/t/, /c/, /d/ and /g/ occur as -C₂ only in one position each and C₁- in these combinations being always the homorganic nasal consonant.

/n/ as -C₂ of the cluster is found only in one position where C₁- is y-.

/k/ and /t/ have more combinatory freedom because they are the plural and past tense markers.

The clusters of different types are allowed as: obstruent + obstruent, obstruent + sonorant; sonorant + obstruent, and sonorant + sonorant.

e.g.

-pk-	/vi:pku/	'backs
-ds-	/udsona:n/	'I plough
-rp-	/urpa:l/	'iguana
-rm-	/marma:m/	'gayal

The clusters are between voiceless and voiced consonants and in some cases belonging to the same

point of articulation.

e.g.

-dt-	/kudta:n/	'I sat
-dk-	/modku/	'logs
-gk-	/vogki:n/	'do not crash

In such cases, there is always a morphological boundary +, between voiced and voiceless stops of identical set.

e.g.

/kud + ta:n/
/vog + ki:n/

The speakers pronounce these paradigms (with initial consonantal suffixes) with a brief pause after the verb root by which such type of clusters are made possible.

Nasal phonemes generally, are homorganic to their following consonants. There are small set of examples counter to this assimilatory process.

e.g.

/re:ñcnay/	'a kind of ounce
/guñje/	'post
/kañki/	'ear of corn

e.g. /semku/	'vessels
/ce:nku/	'fields

In clusters, with non-homorganic nasals, there is a morphological boundary; / sem + ku / and /ce:n + ku/.

/n/ combines with retroflex stops and -j- to form its clusters being as C₁-; thereby creating the clusters -nd-, -nt-, -nj-.

The possible consonantal clusters including geminates are as follows.

/p/

-pk-	vi:pku	'backs
-pp-	sippa	'lid of a pot
-pt-	talapte	'asked

/b/

-bb-	mabbu	'cloud
-bk-	dabku	'money

/t/

-tt-	nettu:r	'blood
-tr-	patra:y	'grinding stone
-tp-	mutpa:l	'husband
-tk-	advi:tk	'to the forest

/d/

-dd-	adda:m	'mirror
-dk-	modku	'logs
-dm-	va:dma	'don't come
	(~va:dama)	
-dt-	kudta:n	'I sat
-dv-	va:dva:l	'have to come
	(~va:dava:l)	

/t/

-tt-	potṭa	'stomach
-tt-	pitti:n	'bird (accus)

-tk-	besketki	'never
-tm-	va:tma	'do not put
	(-va:tama)	

/d/

-dd-	boddu	'naval
-dk-	godku	'cows
-dj-	edju	'bear
-dd-	pddu	'sun
-dp-	ga:dp	'hot wind
-dt-	u:dta:n	'I saw
-ds-	udsona:n	'I plough
-dv-	udvo:n	'I do not plough
-dm-	udmu	'(you) plough!

/c/

-cc-	pocca	'stomach
-ck-	becku	'how many

/j/

-jj-	ojje:l	'oven
-jm-	unjma	'do not sleep

/k/

-kk-	pikkakanda	'calf
-kt-	dorakte	'be found

/g/

-gg-	agga	'there
-gt-	marigte	'boiled
-gk-	vogki:n	'd not crush
-gm-	vogma (-voggama)	'do not crush

/s/

-ss-	kasse:r	'knife
-sp-	uspa:l	'pestle
-st-	ka:ste:r	'hot water
-sk-	muski:r	'mouth of the pig

/m/

-mm-	gumma:m	'gate
-mk-	yedaromku	'chests
-mp-	sempa	'cheek
-mb-	simba:m	'lion

/n/

-nn-	jinnapandi	'A kind of fruit
-ng-	maringe	'bone
-nd-	pandi:r	'pendal
-nc-	re:ncnay	'a kind of ounce
-nk-	ce:nku	'fields
-nt-	tanta:n	'I beat
-nr-	penre:ɖki	'day after day after tomorrow
-nj-	gunje	'post

/n̥/

-nd̥-	kondgay	'elbow
-nt̥-	vi:nt̥i:n	'these (non-masc.-accus.)
-nj̥-	unjona:n	'I drink

/r/

-rr-	arra	'room
-rs-	varsandi	'sideway of the house
-rk-	su:rku	'ends of the roof

-rp-	urpa:l	'iguana
-rb-	garbo:m	'egg
-rm-	marma:m	'gayal
-rv-	verve	'morning
-rl-	tarli	'having moved
-rt-	visarta:n	'I threw
-rd-	arde	'In the route

/l/

-ll-	kellu	'hair
-lk-	ka:lku	'legs
-ld-	eldi:n	'mouse (accus)
-lt-	kaṭu:lte	'on the cot
-lp-	ra:lpiste	'made to fall
-lv-	nalvu:r	'four people

/v/

-vv-	duvve:n	'comb
-vd-	kavdita:n	'I laugh
-vs-	kavsi	'having laughed
-vm-	kavmu	'laugh!

/y/

-yy-	peyya	'calf
-yk-	kayku	'hands
-yn-	meynago:ro:d	'myna
-yd-	nayda:di	'dog's
-ys-	koyso:r	'cutting
-yv-	koyvo:n	'I do not cut

The following are the three consonantal clusters ($C_1C_2C_3$).

-dj \dot{k} -	edjku	'bears
-nd \dot{r} -	go:ndra:s	'a kind of animal
-dd \dot{k} -	poddku	'sums
-rv \dot{k} -	vervku	'mornings
-dp \dot{k} -	ga:dplu	'winds
-rp \dot{k} -	merpku	lightnings
-dt \dot{k} -	udtka:n	'even if one ploughed
-rt \dot{k} -	mirtka:n	'even if one ran
-nt \dot{k} -	tantka:n	'even if one throws
-nd \dot{t} -	pandte	'crop yielded
-nj \dot{t} -	unjto:nd	'he slept
-lt \dot{k} -	doltku	'if one dies
-nj \dot{k} -	unjku	'if one sleeps
-vt \dot{k} -	kavtku	'if one laughs
-rd \dot{v} -	murdva:l	'have to wash

In these $C_1C_2C_3$ combinations the final consonant is either -k- or -t- or -v- or -r-, whose combinatory freedom is of higher degree. Also it has to be noted that the initial consonant C_1 - has to be of sonorant quality, but the combination likes -dd \dot{k} - seems to be an exception. If we consider the allophonic nature of /d/, whose allophonic realization is sonorous /r/ in clusters; then it is not an exception and -dd \dot{k} - phonetically becomes /rdk/.

CHAPTER II

NOUN PHRASE

In Koya a noun phrase may be a noun or pronoun with or without one or more attributives qualifying it. In this chapter the morphology of the nouns, pronouns and their attributives will be discussed. Adjectives, demonstratives, numerals and other attributive nouns will be dealt under this noun phrase.

Noun: Noun and its further inflection in Koya is interesting for its various processes employed particularly in pluralization. As the canonical forms of the nouns are concerned, there are monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, tetrasyllabic and pentasyllabic phonological words.

e.g.

na:r	'village	(monosyllabic)
va:ya	'field	(disyllabic)
janaga	'leech	(trisyllabic)
kasselikki	'sickle	(tetrasyllabic)
siratagandi	'leopard	(pentasyllabic)

There are two genders in Koya masculine and non-masculine distinguished in verbal-concord with the subject. Human male nouns constitute the masculine and the other female nouns, non-human animate and inanimate nouns fall under non-masculine. Most of the nouns do not carry any overt marker for gender, but by its meaning the gender of any noun is determined.

Some singular male and female nouns carry derivative markers; male derivative marker being {-a:l} and female derivative marker being {-a:d}. There are also some human nouns without such sort of overt markers. In non-human nouns the male-female distinction is only expressed through a descriptive attribute. e.g.

po:tu nay	'male dog
a:d nay	'female dog
nay	'dog

The finite verb forms and derived pronominals carry overt markers of gender contrasts and thus reflect the gender and number of the subject noun.

There is twoway contrast in the number system of Koya: singular and plural. The singular form is always morphologically unmarked and the plural form is either marked or unmarked. The plural markers are of three types, male, female and non-human. We have also to note that there are some exceptions to these categories. In non-human nouns, the syllabic structure and the final segment of the singular form play a role in forming their corresponding plural forms.

The noun stems can be divided into simple, complex and compound stems. Simple noun stems are with only one root, complex noun stems with one root followed by certain derivative marker and compound noun stems with more than one root. The inflection of compound nouns agrees with only one of the constituents.

The non-human nouns adopt different processes in their plural formation.

All monosyllabic, non-human nouns, which generally end in a consonant /-c ~ cu/, take the plural marker {k ~ ku}

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/kay/	'hand	/kay-ku/
/go:r/	'nail	/go:-ku/

The non-morphemic final vowel -u of the singular form is lost in the plural before {-k}.

The compound nouns like /rubbuḍu kallu/ 'grinding stone, and /kaṭiki:n pa:m/ 'cobra manilla, apparently seem to be non-monosyllabic, as phonological words, but their final roots /-kall/ 'stone and /pa:m/ 'snake are monosyllables; the final -u, always being optional. So the whole phonological word acts like a monosyllabic noun and takes the same plural marker {-k}.

e.g.

/rubbuḍ kallu/	'grinding stone (sg.)
/kaṭiki:n pa:m/	'cobra manilla (sg.)
/rubbuḍ kalk/	'grinding stones(pl.)
/kaṭiki:n pa:mk/	'cobra manillas (pl.)

There are two disyllabic nouns with a final -i and in their plurals, they lose the final -i, realizing as monosyllabic forms before {-k}.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/elli/	'mouse	/elk/
/marri/	'son	/mark/

After dropping the final vowel (-u or -i), the final geminate -CC of the singular gets simplified to single consonant before {-k}.

Another aberration here is that the human noun /marri/ 'son, forms the plural by taking the marker {-k}, like a non-human noun.

Another remarkable process in plural formation is zero marking for plurality in non-human nouns. The notable feature is that this zero plural marking is of higher frequency when compared with various other processes. Among the nouns I have collected there are 90 forms with zero plural marker. This is the highest number of all other numbers of different processes. In order to minimize the complexity created by numerous ways of plural marking, it seems that this process of zero marking is getting high frequency.

Non-monosyllabic, non-human and vowel ending singular nouns, take zero plural morpheme in their plurals. Here the final vowel is other than the non-morphemic vowel -u, in disyllabic nouns.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/e:nige/	'elephant	/e:nige/
/bo:de/	'pigeon	/bo:de/
/vi:si/	'fly	/vi:si/
/sutta/	'cigar	/sutta/
/gulla/	'basket	/gulla/
/pette/	'ant	/pette/

There is only a pair of female nouns /mutte/ 'wife and /ka:ko/ 'mother's mother, falling under this type of pluralization, which are expected to take the plural marker /{sk ~ sku}/, generally taken by the female nouns.

Also there are two monosyllabic nouns with zero plural marker, which is an exception.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/ka:ng/	'big pot	/ka:ng/
/to:ng/	'valley	/to:ng/

Though the singular and plural form is the same in isolation because of zero marking; the distinction between the singular and plural is distinguished in verbal-concord by taking different pronominal suffixes. The difference is also manifested in case declension.

The non-human, non-monosyllabic nouns ending in -r, -d, -l, -y, and -n, take ~i, as the plural marker. The final vowel of the noun stem is shortened, probably as a strategy towards balancing the syllabic quantity.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/po:de:r/	'weed	/po:deri/
/goggo:d/	'cock	/goggadi/
/gubba:l/	'small hill	/gubbali/
/talaka:y/	'head	/talakayi/
/duvve:n/	'comb	/duvveni/

The non-human, non-monosyllabic nouns ending in -m, -r, and -ḍ, form their plural forms by dropping the final consonant. The final vowel of the plural form is always lengthened.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/mi:sam/	'moustache	/mi:sa:/
/ḍa:mo:r/	'vulture	/ḍa:mo:/
/verka:ḍ/	'cat	/verka:/

One ^{be} male noun /pi:ki:ḍ/ 'girl, falls under this process giving its plural form as /pi:ki:/ 'girls.

Some of the non-human nouns as ~~ḍ~~ /keriya:ḍ/ 'parrot, /verika:ḍ/ 'cat form their plurals either with -i, as plural marker, or by dropping their final -ḍ, as their structure is suitable to adopt both the processes.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/keriya:ḍ/	'parrot	/keriyadi/ or /keriya:/
/verka:ḍ/	'cat	/verkadi/ or /verka:/

In a pair of non-human nouns, which end in -nda, the plural is attained by changing nda > na. If the ending of the singular is -ndi, in plural -ndi > ne. If the ending in singular is -nda, nda > na, to form its plural form.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/pikkakanda/	'calf	/pikkakana/

/kunda/	'pot	/kuna/
/siratagandi/	'leopard	/siratangane/
/pandi/	'fruit	/pane/
/ko:nda/	'bullock	/ko:na/

The plural marker ~e is added to a small set of non-human polysyllabic nouns ending in -s.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/ojje:lkuppo:s/	'upper part of a the oven	/ojje:lkupppase/
/go:ndra:s/	'a kind of animal	/go:ndrase/

This also applies to a borrowed item from Telugu which in turn is a cultural borrowing from English.

e.g.

/gala:s/	'tumbler	/galase/
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There is a small number of nouns which form their plurals in a way irregular to some extent.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/arri/	'route	/arung/
/po:yi/	'head-man	/po:yurk/
/pudiy/	'insect	/pud(u)k/

The plural marker { o:r- r~ i:r } occurs with human male nouns.

The human male nouns which show the masculine derivative marker -a:l, take ~o:r as their plural marker.

/kunda/	'pot	/kuna/
/siratagandi/	'leopard	/siratangane/
/pandi/	'fruit	/pane/
/ko:nda/	'bullock	/ko:na/

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e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/yeyya:l/	'father	/yeyyalo:r/
/pe:ka:l/	'boy	/pe:kalo:r/
/mutpa:l/	'husband	/mutpalo:r/

In trisyllabics the second syllable is always short in Koya. To meet this syllabic strategy, the second syllabic vowel is shortened in plural formations.

There is one noun /da:do/ 'father's father without the masculine marker -a:l in the singular form, but it is added in plural form before it takes the plural marker ~o:r.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/da:do/	'father's father	/da:dalo:r/

The human male nouns ending in a vowel take {-r} as their plural suffix and the final vowel is lengthened in plurals.

In disyllabics, the second ~~clm~~ closed syllable is always lengthened in Koya, which is manifested here.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/ba:to/	'elder brother of the wife	/ba:to:r/
/a:ne/	'son-in-law	/a:ne:r/
/vadde/	'village doctor	/vadde:r/

The human male non-kinship terms and the nouns referring to lineage take the plural suffix {-i:r} in forming their plurals.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/pu:ja:r/	'priest	/pu:jari:r/
/mange:l/	'barber	/mangeli:r/
/si:da:r/	'one belonging to 'Seedara' lineage	/si:dari:r/

The human feminine nouns either ending in a feminine marker {-a:d} or without such marker, take the plural marker {sk ~ sku} and the final -d of the singular form is dropped.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/e:la:d/	'younger sister	/e:la:sku/
/yenge/	'elder brother's wife	/yenge:sku/
/po:da:d/	'elder sister of the wife	/po:da:sku/
/amma/	'father's mother	/amma:sku/

There are two feminine nouns which do not take -sk, as their plural morpheme, but takes only zero plural morpheme, manifesting the same form both in singular and plural.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/mutte/	'wife	/mutte/
/ka:ko/	'mother's mother	/ka:ko/

There are two masculine nouns /ba:to/ 'elder brother of the wife, and /ye:ru:nd/ 'younger brother of the wife forming their plurals with the feminine

plural suffix -sk, as in /ba:to:sk/ and /ye:ru:sk/. These two kinship terms are related to the ego through the wife (a female noun) as her brothers and so probably tend to take the feminine plural suffix. However in the case of /ba:to/, there is another regular form /ba:to:r/ falling under regular masculine pattern.

There is another set of non-human nouns also showing the marker -sk, in their plurals.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/go:ro:d/	'myna	/go:ro:sk/
/keriya:d/	'parrot	/keriya:sk/

These birds being the domestic birds, kept by the people with much affection, establish certain abstract relation. This relation might be the justification for these items in taking the feminine plural marker.

Besides this /go:ro:d/ and /keriya:d/ also show plural forms which generally fall under their non-human pattern.

In the fused compounds the plural is shown either by both the constituents or by the final one or by a human classifier.

e.g.

/tallu:r tappe:r/	'parents (plural in both the constituents)
/akkaya:la:sku/	'sisters (plural in one constituent)
/e:ru:ndiruvu:r/	'brother-in-laws (plural by a human classifier)

The mass nouns always remain as singular forms.

e.g.

/ney/	'ghee or oil
/kissu/	'fire
/e:r/	'water
/ja:va/	'gruel
/pindi/	'flour
/kallu/	'toddy
/ga:li/	'air

Case formation: In case formations the nominative is unmarked. The oblique stem formation is very common, while being inflected for other case relations. Instrumental and locative forms take the same case termination. The oblique stem has also got the use of genitive. Ablative is expressed both in singular and plural through a post position. Inst-Loc case formation in plural takes zero marker besides the use of post positions. In plural case formations, accusative takes only zero marker. All the case markers are added only to the oblique stem.

Oblique suffixes: The root does not take the case terminations directly, but only after taking the oblique suffix; the oblique stem is inflected for different cases. The augments taken as oblique suffixes are

d~t~n~i:n

~d, occurs after monosyllabic, non-human singular nouns ending in -r, -y, -n, -l, -d, -v.

e.g.

kor-d-i:n	'fowl (accus)
kay-d-e	'with/in the hand

se:n-d-e	'in the field
mal-d-i:n	'peacock (accus)
kand-d-e	'in the ye
kev-d-i:n	'ear (accus)

~t, after non-human singular nouns ending in a vowel or ending in -r, -d, -s, -l; where -r and -d get lost before ~t, after t > ṭ and where -l is the final segment of a non-monosyllabic singular noun.

e.g.

gampa:-t-e	'in the basket
vi:si-t-i:n	'fly (accus)
na:r-t-e → na:r-ṭ-e → na:-ṭ-e	'in the village
keriya:d-t-i:n → keriya:d-ṭ-i:n	keriya-ṭ-i:n
	'parrot (accus)
kis-te	'with/in the fire
katu:l-t-i:n	'cot (accus)

~n, after all singular human nouns and proper nouns, after all non-human plural ending in a vowel.

e.g.

mutte:-n	'wife (obl)
yeyya:-n	'father (obl)
ra:ma:-n	'Rama (obl)
vi:si:-n	'flies (obl)
gampa:-n	'baskets (obl)

~i:n, after all human plurals,

after all non-human plurals with pl_c (pl_c; plural marker with a consonant)

e.g.

muttek-i:n	'wives (obl)
pe:kalo:r-i:n	'boys (obl)
verkak-i:n	'cats (obl)

Some plural forms, which normally take zero plural marker as free forms; they take the plural marker -k-, in case formations. Such are the items /mutte-k-i:n/ 'wives (obl), /verka-k-i:n/ 'cats (obl) and /keriya-k-i:n/ 'parrots (obl). Their plural forms in isolation realize as /mutte/ 'wives, /verka:/ 'cats, and /keriya:/ 'parrots. This is an extended use of plural marker {-k} ; which generally pluralizes the monosyllabic ^u ~~n~~ter nouns.

The structural form of a case formation where it is inflected is, root + (pl) + obl + case marker.

The nominative use of the noun goes unmarked. The accusative case marker {i:n ~ ø} is added to the obl. stem. The zero case termination is added after the obl. stems with obl. suffixes i:n ~ n in singular and plural forms.

e.g.

mutte:n-ø	'wife (accus)
/mutteki:n-ø	'wives (accus)
vi:si:n-ø	'flies (accus)

~i:n occurs in other contexts as accusative marker.

e.g.

mal-d-i:n	'peacock (accus)
katu:l-t-i:n	'cot (accus)
nay-d-i:n	'dog (accus)
verka-t-i:n	'cat (accus)

The Instrumental-Locative is manifested as {e- ϕ }. The marker ~e is taken by the singular forms and ~ ϕ is taken by the plural forms. Also it has to be noted that - ϕ ~ -i, in slowly narrated speech.

e.g.

e:ti:t-e	'with/in the winnowing basket
/kayd-e	'with/in the hand
/kayki:n- ϕ	'with/in the hands
/e:ti:n- ϕ	'with/in the winnowing baskets

Besides the use of the Inst-Loc case marker, the use of different post positions for instrumental and locative is also prevalent.

The oblique stem itself is used for the purpose of genitive. - ϕ , genitive marker is taken by the obl. stem to act as the genitive formation both in singular and plural.

e.g.

paddi:t- ϕ	'of the pig
paddi:n- ϕ	'of the pigs
ra:ma:n- ϕ	'of Rama
venka:n- ϕ	'of Venka
mayd- ϕ	'of dog
nayki:n- ϕ	'of dogs

The proper names like 'Ramadu' and 'Venkadu' form their oblique forms as /ra:ma:n-/ and /venka:n-/.

The dative is expressed through its termination -k, alternating with -ki, which is added to the

obl. stem. The same case marker is used both in singular and plural case formations.

mutte:nk	'to the wife
~ mutte:nki	
mutteki:nk	'to the wives
~ mutteki:nk	

The ablative marker {-nunci} which could also be treated as a post position and is used after the obl. form.

e.g.

na:t-nunci	'from the village
muyd-nunci	'from the well
adivi:t-nunci	'from the forest

-o:-, -o:r-, -arrey-, kinship terms, proper names with an ending -a; are used as vocatives.

e.g.

o:venka	'oh!venka!
o:r venka	'oh!venka!
arrey pulla	'oh!pulla!
o:yevva	'oh!mother

Declension of a noun /kay/ 'hand

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Nom	kay	kayk
Accus	kayd-i:n	kayki:n
Inst-Loc	kayd-e	kayki:n
Gen.	kayd	kayki:n
Dat	kaydk(i)	kayki:nk(i)
Abl	kayd-nunci	kayki:n-nunci

In the case declension of the noun, there are six contrasts in the singular forms and only four contrasts in the plural forms. This is because of the absence of the overt formal difference between accus, Inst-Loc and genitive.

Post positions: Certain post positions mainly in the locative sense besides some instrumental usages are used after oblique formation.

e.g.

gampa:t parra	'on the basket
kald pakka:t	'by the side of the stone
ka <u>ṭ</u> u:lt idpa	'under the cot
ka <u>ṭ</u> ult perike	'behind the cot
kald to:ti	'with a stone
kald munne	'before the stone
marki:n da:n <u>ṭ</u> e	'among the sons
paddi:t to:ni	'along with the pig
vo:ni vella	'by him
vo:ni ko:sam	'for him
ko:pa:m se:ta	'with anger
donka vemma:t	'along the route
vor <i>i</i> kayde	'by them

Combinatory changes: The final non-morphemic vowel -u, is elided before the plural marker -k .

e.g.

/ro:l-u/	'mortar /ro:lk/
/ka:l-u/	'leg /ka:lk/

In a pair of cases, the final -i is elided before plural marker k .

e.g.

/elli/	'mouse	/elk/
/marri/	'son	/mark/

The geminate gets simplified to a single consonant, before another consonant.

e.g.

	CC	C/-C ₁
/kevvu/	'ear	/kevk/
/korru/	'fowl	/kork/
/mallu/	'peacock/	/malk/
/mabbu/	'cloud	/mabk/

The final consonants -d-, -j-, get partial assimilation in voicing to plural marker k .

$$\begin{bmatrix} d \\ j \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} t \\ c \end{bmatrix} \quad /-k$$

/bodd/	'naval	/botk/
/kand/	'eye	/kantk/
/edj/	'bear	/edck/

The final consonants r, n, v, preceded by a long vowel in monosyllabic words become zero before the plural suffix -k .

$$\begin{bmatrix} r \\ n \\ v \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset /CV: - \{ k \}$$

e.g.

/go:r/	'nail	/go:k/
/lo:n/	'house	/lo:k/
/du:v/	'tiger	/du:k/

The second vowel is shortened in trisyllabic plurals to meet the syllabic constraint of Koya.

e.g.

/mo:ka:l/	'knee	/mo:kali/
/kussi:r/	'curry	/kussiri/
/pavu:r/	'mouth	/pavuri/
/godde:l/	'axe	/goddeli/
/moso:r/	'nose	/mosari/
/yeyya:l/	'father	/yeyyalo:r/
/pu:ja:r/	'priest	/pu:jari:r/

The second closed vowel of a disyllabic word is always lengthened in Koya.

e.g.

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
/a:ne/	'son-in-law	/a:ne:r/
/ba:to/	'wife's elder brother	/ba:to:r/

After vowel shortening if the vowel is -o-, it is lowered to -a-.

$o \rightarrow a / CV(:)(C)C - CV$

e.g.

/moso:r/	'nose	/mosari/
/goggo:d/	'cock	/goggadi/
/ku:ko:d/	'cock's comb	/ku:kadi/

~~T/M~~ The final consonant -d or -nd of a singular noun will become \emptyset before the plural marker { -sk }

$\begin{bmatrix} d \\ nd \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / CV(:)(C) CV: - \begin{bmatrix} pl \\ sk \end{bmatrix}$

e.g.

/tammu:d/ 'younger brother /tammu:sk/

/ye:ru:nd/ 'younger brother of wife /ye:ru:sk/

In case declension, the final -l gets lost before -n.

$l \rightarrow \emptyset / -n$

e.g.

yeyya:l - n yeyya:n 'father (accus)

The oblique marker -t- becomes -ṭ- after the nouns ending in -d- or -r-.

$t \rightarrow ṭ / \begin{bmatrix} d \\ r \end{bmatrix} -$

In turn -d- and -r- gets lost before -ṭ-.

$\begin{bmatrix} d \\ r \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / - ṭ$

e.g.

verk ḍti:n → verka:ḍti:n
→ verkati:n 'cat (accus)
na:r̄te na:r-te na:te 'in the village

PRONOUN

The pronoun can replace the noun in a noun phrase as the qualified after the attributives.

Personal pronouns: The normal paradigm of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons is as follows:

1st person

	<u>Nom</u>	<u>Accus</u>	<u>Gen.</u>
1st Sg.	nanna	na:ni:n	na:
1st Pl. (Excl)	mamma	ma:mi:n	ma:
(Incl)	manna:d	manna:n	mana

2nd person

2nd Sg.	nimma	ni:ni:n	ni:
2nd Pl.	mi:r	mi:mi:n	mi:

3rd person

Masc. Sg. (Distant)	vo:nd	vo:ni:n	vo:n(i)
(prox)	vi:nd	vi:ni:n	vi:n(i)
Masc. Pl. (Distant)	vo:r	vo:ri:n	vo:r(i)
(prox)	vi:r	vi:ri:n	vi:r(i)
Non-Masc. Sg. (Distant)	addu	da:ni:n	da:n
(prox)	iddu	di:ni:n	di:n
Non-Masc. Pl. (Distant)	avvu	va:ti:n	va:t
(prox)	ivvu	(v)i:ti:n	(v)i:t

The first person plural has two forms /mamma/ and /manna:d/ the former exclusive of the hearer and the latter inclusive of the hearer. The oblique -genetive forms are also used in the associative sense as in /na:to:ti/ 'along with me, /ma:to:ti/ 'along with us (Excl) and /manato:ti/ (Incl) 'along with us.

The 2nd person pronoun /nimma/ 'you, is singular and /mi:r/ 'you is plural. /mi:r/ 'you (Pl.) is only used for the plural purpose, when the number of hearers is more than one and it does not have any honorific usage. Koya language does not show any honorific distinction.

Even when they refer to 3rd person during the conversation, they use 3rd person singular form /vo:nd/ 'he, irrespective of his (3rd person) social status, either he hails from the tribal community or from non-tribal community.

The 1st and 2nd person pronouns are not distinguished for gender. The 3rd person is distinguished for masculine and non-masculine. The demonstrative pronouns /addu/ 'that, /iddu/ 'this, /avvu/ 'those and /ivvu/ 'these are used for 3rd person non-masculine.

The demonstrative pronouns are formed on the deictic bases a: 'that and i: 'this.

The pronominal suffixes in derived pronouns are given below. These are different from those in finite verbs:

	Sg.	Pl.
1st	o:ni, va:n	o:ram (Excl) o:ra:d (Incl)
2nd	o:n	o:r
3rd Masc.	o:nd, va:nd	o:r
Non-Masc.	a:d	v, ^{we} are

e.g.

nanna erat-o:ni	'I am a red one
nanna manci-va:n	'I am a good one
nanna erat-o:ram	'We (excl) are red people
nanna:d erat-o:ra:d	'We (Incl.) are red people
ninna erat-o:n	'You are a red one
mi:r erat-o:r	'You (Pl.) are red people
vo:nd erat-o:nd	'He is a red one
vo:nd manci-va:nd	'He is a good one

vo:r erat-o:r	'They are red people
addu erat-a:d	'She is a red one
avvu erat-av	'They (non-Masc.) a-re red ones.
avvu manci-v	'They (non-Masc.) are good ones.

The predicative use of possessive pronouns is formed by obl. + a:di (demonstrative pronominal suffix)
e.g.

i: lo:n na:va:di	'This house is mine
i: lo:n mi:va:di	'This house is yours
i: lo:n vo:ra:di	'This house is theirs

The interrogative pronouns are formed basing be:- and ba:- the ~~who~~ elements in Koya. The same wh- element is also the base for the interrogative adverb formation. The interrogative pronoun 'who' is formed by adding different pronominal suffixes to be: n-

e.g.

vo:nd be:n-o:nd	'Who is he?
vo:r be:n-o:r	'Who are they?
ninna be:n-o:n	'Who are you?
ba:ta da:nik	'What for
ba:ta pedde:r	'What name?
ni: lo:n be:do	'Which is your house?

The interrogative pronoun /ba:ta/ 'what, is realized as /ba:ta:d/ 'what, with a pronominal suffix -a:d, in predicative use.

e.g.

ni: pedde:r ba:ta:d	'What is your name?
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/be:do/ 'which, is realized in the same form

e.g.

be:do ni: lo:n	'Which is your house?
ni: lo:n be:do	'Which is your house?

Attributives:- Attributives qualify the head noun or pronoun in their function. For the descriptive purpose, the attributives of different kinds; demonstrative, adjectival, pronominal and numerical, are discussed here.

The deictic bases function as the demonstrative attributes to the nouns.

e.g.

a: lo:n	'That house
i: lo:n	'This house

Adjectives as the attributives of the noun or pronoun do not carry any gender -number concord.

There is a suffix -ti added to some adjectives in their qualifying function. This suffix is mainly taken by the attributes referring to different colours.

e.g.

era-ti pi:ki:d	'red girl
ka-ti ko:nda	'black bullock
nalla-ti goddu	'black cow
tella-ti ko:nda	'white bullock

The adjectives of quality as descriptive attributes do not take any suffixes.

e.g.

manci mutte	'good wife
sinna na:r	'small village

beri yavva	'mother's elder sister
kurasa kommu	'short horn
adda:la pi:ki:d	'vulgar girl
a:da mallu	'she - peacock
po:tu nay	'male dog
pacc(i) a:ki	'green leaf
kosa konda	'last sky (sky)

Derived adjectives of the verbs as present and past participles function as the attributives of the following noun. (The structure of present participle is, root + a:n, and that of the past participle is past stem + a).

e.g.

mirr-a:n pe:ka:l	'the boy who is running
und-a:n mukka:l	'the old man who is drinking
mirt-a pe:ka:l	'the boy who ran
nada ^{tt} -a nay	'the dog which walked

The negative participle as an attribute takes the structure, root + ill + o (where, -ill, is the negative auxiliary base 'not to be').

e.g.

narik-illo ma:ra	'tree which is not cut
u:d-illo na:r	'the village which is not seen
uss-illo vanji	'paddy which is not pounded

The oblique -genetive pronominal forms /na:/ 'my, /ma/ 'our (Excl.) /mana/ 'our (Incl.), /ni:/ 'your and other genetive pronominals also function as possessive attributes.

e.g.

na: nay	'my dog
ma: na:r	'our village
mana lo:n	'our house
ni: kasse	'your knife

There are some nouns qualifying the head -noun, as nominal attributes. The attributive nouns take the form of oblique -genetive, whenever the noun qualified is prepared from the qualifier or the qualified is meant for the qualifier.

e.g.

ki:ke:n kussi:r	'fish curry
avvi:n kussi:r	'mutton curry
ikki:n kallu	'mahua liquor
kayki:n ga:ju	'bangle for the hands
matti:n karsu	'expenditure for medicine

There is another major set of nominal attributes, without any inflection in juxtaposition to the qualified.

e.g.

pikka kanda	'calf
korr pi:se	'chick of a fowl
a:ki sutta	'leaf cigar
me:ka pocca	'goat bowel
vanji do:da	'rice food
bu:mi pandu:g	'earth festival
PELLI katnam	'marriage expenditure

The attributives of quantity are /nindu/ 'full, /arasegam/ 'half, /rend sega/ 'double, /pidiked/ 'palmsful, /do:sed/ palmsful, /icco:ti/ 'this much, /acco:ti/ 'that much.

Numerals: The numerals for 'one' and 'four' being the exceptions, all other numerals are borrowings from Telugu.

The cardinals are /orro:t/ 'one, /rend/ 'two, /mu:(n)d/ 'three /na:lu/ 'four, /aydu/ 'five, /a:ru/ 'six /e:du/ 'seven, /enimidi/ eight, /tommiidi/ 'nine, /padi/ 'ten.

The ordinals are completely from Telugu and hence need not be listed.

As a numerical attribute /orro:t/ 'one realizes as /orra/

e.g.

orra	lo:n	'one house
orra	pe:ka:l	'one boy
orra	pi:ki:d	'one girl

In masculine numerical formations, there is a classifier -vu:r, from the numerals 'two' to 'seven' and from the numeral 'eight' onwards, the classifier is /mandi/ 'people. The form for 'one man' is /orr-o:nd/ 'one he.

The numerals /rend/ 'two /mu:(n)d/ 'three, /aydu/ 'five are manifested as ir-, muv- and ay- before the classifiers.

e.g. /orro:nd/ 'one man, /irvu:r/ 'two people, /muvvu:r/ 'three people, /na:lv:r/ 'four people, /ayvu:r/ 'five people, /a:rvu:r/ 'six people, /e:dvu:r/ 'seven people, /enimidi-mandi/ 'eight people, /tommiidi mandi/ 'nine people, and /padimandi/ 'ten people.

The forms /irvu:r/, /muvvu:r/ na:lvu:r/ are similar to the forms in old Telugu (iruvuru, muvuru, and nalvuru).

The non-masculine numerical formations use the cardinals as they are, without any further inflection.

e.g.

addu	orro:t	'that is one (non-Masc.)
avvu	rend	'those are two (non-Masc.)
avvu	mu:(n)d	'Those are three (non-Masc.)

CHAPTER III

VERB PHRASE

Verbs are a class of words inflected for the categories of tense or mode.

The verb stems are either simple or complex or compound. The simple stems are those with one root, complex stems have one root followed by one or more derivative suffixes and compound stems constitute more than one root and may include one or more derivative suffixes the whole sequence constituting a single nucleus of the verb.

Simple stems are mostly monosyllabic besides a small set of disyllabic roots, with the following canonical forms.

Monosyllabic:

(C)V:	i:	'give
	a:	'become
	ve:	'boil (Intr.)
V:C	u:d	'see
	u:s	'smear
CV:(C)C	pa:d	'sing
	ke:nj	'listen
	va:t	'put
	de:v	'dig
	nu:r	'grind
(C)VC	naɖ	'walk
	uɖ	'plough
	nur	'wash

ar	'fall	
pey	'hold	
ad	'weep	
man	'be, stay	
tin	'eat	
an	'go	
un	'drink	
kav	'laugh	
uk	'wash	
at	'cook	
us	'pound	
al	'sprinkle	
tar	'climb	
kic	'pinch	
mir	'run	
kud	'sit	
vog	'crush	
koy	'cat	
tos	'pour	
pat	'lie	
tar	'bring	Irregular verb roots
var	'come	
kel	'say	
nil	'stand	
tot	'build	
(c)VCC	unj	'sleep
	tung	'do
Disyllabic:		
CVCV(C)C	narak	'cut
	karang	'call
	minang	'swallow

Complex stems constitute a single root added with a transitive /causative derivational suffix.

The transitive /causative derivational suffix is added either to an intransitive verb root or to an inherently transitive verb root to derive the corresponding transitive /causative verb nucleus.

The transitive /causative morpheme is { is ~ pis }
 ~ pis occurs after the following verbs.

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived stem</u>
ra:l	'fall	ra:l-pis
nil	'stand	nil-pis
nad	'walk	nad-pis
un	'drink	u-ppis
tin	'eat	ti-pis
ad	'weep	ad-pis
mey	'graze	me:-pis
tir	'speak	tir-pis

In the case of the roots { tin } 'eat, and { un } 'drink, the final nasal is dropped before the transitive /causative suffix. After the nasal dropping the root vowel of tin is lengthened; whereas the initial consonant of the derivational marker is geminated in the case of the root { un } .

e.g.

tin-pis	ti-pis	ti:pis
un-pis	u-pis	uppis

There is another root with final nasal { tan } 'beat

which does not take ~pis as the transitive /caustive marker, but takes ~is, which is of high frequency.

~is, occurs after the remaining verb nuclei.

e.g.

<u>Root</u>		<u>derived stem</u>
tan	'beat	tann-is
koy	'cut	koyd-is
ud	'plough	udd-is
ka_v	'laugh	kavv-is
us	'pound	uss-is
uk	'wash	ukk-is
vog	'crush	vogg-is

However there is another set of verbs (Intr-tr) which do not take the marker { pis ~ is } .

e.g.

<u>Intr</u>		<u>Tr</u>
ka:ng	'boil	ka:p
a:ng	'stop	a:p
dig	'descend	dip
pay	'break	pac
te:d	'get up	te:c

Here one can show the intransitive markers as -ng, -g, -y, -d and transitive markers as -p and -c, treating ka:-, a:-, di- pa- and te:- to be the basic roots. Such sort of analyses do not reveal much either about the transitivization or about the verb root formation. Hence we can treat this intransitive-transitive distinction is kept by internal alternation without any general derivative marker.

The compound verbs, where the stem constitute more than one root undergo the inflectional processes offering the final root for inflection. The final root takes the inflectional suffixes in the sameway how it participates as a single stem.

In a number of compound verbs, the second stem is -deng; the first stem being the main carrier of the meaning.

e.g.

sa:vadeng	'kill
dengdeng	'scold
pagaldeng	'break
anagadeng	'crush

Wherever deng- is the first stem, the second stem is the main carrier of the meaning.

e.g.

dengday	'push off
dengva:t	'pelt
dengun	'drink

The other compound stems are {a:si-an} 'become {ars:si-an} 'fall {pe:si-var} 'bring, where the first root takes the form of a non-finite imperfective form showing no change in further inflection.

Infinitive: The infinitive is formed by adding -a to the stem. The infinitive is used predicatively in ^{obligative} ~~oblique~~ mood without the agreement in number and person with the subject. It is followed by an emphatic marker -va:l, meaning 'must' or 'have to'.

e.g.

nanna	da:yava:l	'I must go
nimma	u:dava:l	'You must see
vo:nd	pattava:l	'He has to lie

Verbs taking the augment: There is a class of verbs which take an augment -d- before the inflectional suffixes with initial vowel. These roots are of (C)VC type ending in -d, -y, -n, -ṇ, -v and some of the (C)VC roots ending in -r, and also (C)V: type roots.

e.g.

<u>root</u>		<u>Stem before suffixes with initial vowel.</u>
ud	'plough	udd-
nad	'walk	nadd-
ad	'weep	add-
koy	'cut	koyd-
pey	'hold	peyd-
kav	'laugh	kavd-
man	'be	mand-
tin	'eat	tind-
un	'drink	und-
nur	'wash	nurd-
ar	'fall	ard-
i:	'give	i:d-
a:	'become	a:d-
ve:	'boil	ve:d-

The roots {tar-} climb and {mir-} 'run with -r ending, do not take any augment in their inflection.

The final consonants of all the monosyllabic short vowel roots other than the augment roots are geminated before a vowel.

e.g.

uk	'wash,	ukko:r	'washing
mir	'run,	mirro:r	'running
vog	'crush ,	voggo:r	'crushing
pat	'lie,	patti	'having lied
kic	'pinch,	kicco:r	'pinching
tar	'climb,	tarro:r	'climb
		tarri	'having climbed
al	'sprinkl,	allo:r	'sprinkling
us	'pound,	usso:r	'pounding

If the root vowel is long this gemination process does not occur with those roots.

u:d	'see	u:do:r	'seeing
u:s	'smear	u:do:r	'smearing
va:t	'put	va:to:r	'putting

FINITE VERBS

All verbs in Koya fall into two categories i.e. finite and non-finite. The finite verbs function as the predicates of the main clauses and the non-finite verbs as the predicates of the sub-ordinate clauses. Morphologically non-finite verbs do not have person references, which most of the finite verbs do.

The basic dichotomy in the tense system is past and non-past. The non-past form denotes both habitual and future.

The durative is expressed through an auxiliary

e.g.

uk	'wash,	ukko:r	'washing
mir	'run,	mirro:r	'running
vog	'crush ,	voggo:r	'crushing
pat	'lie,	patṭi	'having lied
kic	'pinch,	kicco:r	'pinching
tar	'climb,	tarro:r	'climb
		tarri	'having climbed
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The durative is expressed through an auxiliary

{man ~ min} 'to be, occurring after the continuous form of the main verb. The auxiliary takes the personal suffixes. The durative is distinguished for three way aspectual contrast; past, present and future.

Past tense: The past tense of a verb is formed by adding the past tense marker {tt~ tt~ t}, to the stem and the personal suffixes follow the past morpheme.

Past paradigm of tin 'eat

	Sg.	Pl
1.	ti-tt-a:n	ti-tt-a:m (Excl) ti-tt-a:d (Incl)
2.	ti-tt-i:n	ti-tt-i:r
3. Masc	ti-tt-o:nd	ti-tt-o:r
Non-Masc	ti-tt-e	ti-tt-a

Past paradigm of u:d 'see

1.	u:d-t-a:n	u:d-t-a:m u:d-t-a:d
2.	u:d-t-i:n	u:d-t-i:r
3. Masc	u:d-t-o:nd	u:d-t-o:r
Non-Masc	u:d-t-e	u:d-t-a

~tt, as the past marker occurs with the verb roots which take the augment except the roots ending in -r. It also occurs with five irregular verb roots {var} 'come, {tar} 'bring, {nil} 'stand, {kel} 'say and {tot} 'build; and with the suppletive verb an 'go.

e.g.

ud	'plough	uda-tt-a:n	'I ploughed
nad	'walk	nada-tt-a:n	'I walked
ad	'weep	ada-tt-a:n	'I wept
koy	'cut	koyi-tt-a:n	'I cut
pey	'hold	peyi-tt-a:n	'I held
kav	'laugh	kava-tt-a:n	'I laughed
tin	'eat	ti-tt-a:n	'I ate
man	'be	ma-tt-a:n	'I was
i:	'give	i-tt-a:n	'I gave
a:	'become	a-tt-e	'became
ve:	'boil	ve-tt-e	'boiled
un	'drink	u-tt-a:n	'I drank

~tt is realized as -tt after the root un-
'drink, with a final retroflex nasal.

The final nasal of the roots is dropped before the
past marker -tt. and the root variants are realized
as ti-, ma-, u- before the past morpheme from tin-
'eat, man- 'be, un- drink.

The roots with long vowel ending realized with a
short vowel; as in i-tt-a:n, a-tt-e, ve-tt-e from
the roots i: 'give, a: 'become and ve: 'boil.

An epenthetic vowel -a- is inserted after the roots
with final -d and -v before the past marker -tt. The
epenthetic vowel becomes high front vowel -i-, after
the verbs {koy} and {pey} which end in -y.

There are five irregular verbs in Koya showing
non-automatic alternations in their inflections. These

irregular verbs and the suppletive verb an 'go take -tt- as the past tense marker to form their past paradigms.

e.g.

va-tt-a:n	'I came (var 'come)
ta-tt-a:n	'I brought (tar 'bring)
ni-tt-a:n	'I stood (nil 'stand)
ke-tt-a:n	'I said (kel 'say)
to-tt-a:n	'I built (tot 'build)
an-tt-a:n	atta:n 'I went

~t, occurs in all the remaining verbs.

e.g.

u:d-t-a:n	'I saw (u:d 'see)
u:s-t-a:n	'I smeared (ū:s 'smear)
pa:d-t-a:n	'I sang (pa:d 'sing)
uns-t-a:n	'I slept (unj 'sleep)
kud-t-a:n	kutta:n 'I sat (kud 'sit)
vog-t-a:n	'I crushed (vog 'crush)
uk-t-a:n	'I washed (uk 'wash)
pad-t-a:n	'I lied (pat 'lie)
al-t-a:n	'I sprinkled (al 'sprinkle)
kis-t-a:n	'I pinched (kic 'pinch)

Among the past markers ~tt and ~t, we have to see which allomorph has to be taken as the basic form. If ~t is taken as the basic form, it is not possible to explain the dropping of the final nasal in nasal ending roots {tin} 'eat, {man} 'be and {un} 'drink. The final long vowel roots, shortening their vowel before the marker -t, cannot be explained with proper justification.

If the past marker ~tt is taken as the basic form, then these things can be explained with better understanding. The final nasal of the nasal ending root is dropped before -tt, and the long vowel of (C)V: type roots is shortened before -tt, a geminate.

e.g.

tin-tt-a:n	ti-tt-a:n	'I ate
i:-tt-a:n	i-tt-a:n	'I gave

Basing on these things, taking ~tt, as the underlying form is preferred. ~tt, occurs after monosyllabic short vowel roots ending in -d, -y, v, -n- -n, and after (C)V: type roots and after the irregular verbs.

In the rest of the roots ~tt gets simplified to ~t, after a consonant.

e.g.

ud -tt-a:n	u:d-t-a:n	'I saw
u:s-tt-a:n	u:s-t-a:n	'I smeared
us -tt-a:n	us-t-a:n	'I pounded
unj-tt-a:n	unj-t-a:n → uns-t-a:n	'I slept
pa:d-tt-a:n	pa:d-t-a:n	'I sang
vog-tt-a:n	vog-t-a:n	'I crushed
uk-tt-a:n	uk-t-a:n	'I washed
al-tt-a:n	al-t-a:n	'I sprinkled
tar-tt-a:n	tar-t-a:n	'I climbed
mir-tt-a:n	mir-t-a:n	'I ran
mur-tt-a:n	mur-t-a:n	'I washed

The short vowel roots like vog - 'crush, uk- 'wash

al- 'sprinkle, tar- 'climb and mir ^{'run} /if they are taken as roots with final geminates, the processes will be more unnatural. The geminate reduction has to operate both on root final and on the past marker.

e.g.

vogg-tt-a:n	vog-t-a:n
ukk-tt-a:n	uk-t-a:n
mirr-tt-a:n	mir-t-a:n

To avoid this double reduction, the roots are posited with a single final consonant instead of a geminate, though these roots manifest with final gemination in their paradigms before a vowel.

In the forms kic-t-a:n kis-t-a:n 'I pinched
and unj-t-a:n uns-t-a:n 'I slept:

$$\begin{bmatrix} c \\ j \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow s / -t$$

In pat-t-a:n → pad-t-a:n 'I lied, and at-t-a:n →
ad-t-a:n 'I ~~ma~~ cooked:

$$t \rightarrow d / -t$$

Personal suffixes:- Most of the finite verb forms carry the personal suffixes at the end. They denote the person and number of the subject and also the gender in the case of 3rd person subject.

	Sg.	Pl.
1st	a:n ~ n	a:m ~ m (excl) a:d ~ d (Incl)
2nd	i:n	i:r
3rd Masc	o:nd ~ nd	o:r r
Non-Masc	e	a

1st person and 3rd person (masc.) suffixes have alternations in their forms; with initially occurring vowel and without such a vowel. Forms without a vowel occur after a vowel; mainly manifesting after the negative marker { o: }

e.g.

u:d-t-a:n 'I saw

u:d-o:-n 'I do not see

The negative verbal forms with 3rd person non-masculines as the subjects, do not carry and personal suffixes both in singular and plural.

e.g.

addu varr-o: 'that/she does not come

avvu varr-o: 'they (non-Masc.) do not come

The formal structure of a positive finite verb is: stem + tense marker + personal suffix.

e.g.

va:t-t-a:n va:d-t-a:n 'I put (past)

mir-t-a:n 'I ran

In case of negative finite forms, the structure is: stem + (negative marker) + person suffix

When the personal suffix is referring to the 2nd person; the morphological absence of the negative marker is observed.

2 e.g.

mirr-i:n 'you do not ~~go~~ run

und-i:r 'you (pl) do not drink

pa:d-i:n 'you do not sing

att-i:r 'you (pl) do not cook

Non-past: The non-past stem is formed by adding the non-past morpheme {it~t~t} to the verb stem and the personal suffix is added to give the finite non-past form.

~t occurs after the verbs ending in a nasal, and after the verbs (C)V: form. Three of the irregular verbs tar 'bring, kel 'say, var 'come and the suppletive verb form dey 'go take t as their non-past marker.

e.g.

tin-t-a:n	'I will eat	
tan-t-a:n	'I will beat	
man-t-a:n	'I will stay	
i:-t-a:n	'I will give	
vey-t-e	'that will boil (ve: 'boil)	
ay-t-e	'that will boil be become (a:beco -me)	
tay-t-a:n	'I will bring	} irregular verbs roots
key-t-a:n	'I will say	
vey-t-a:n	'I will come	
dey-t-a:n	'I will go	

The roots ve : 'boil (Intr.) and a: 'become are partially irregular showing the non-past stems as vey- and ay-. The non-past stems tay-, key-, and ~~vey-~~ vey- are from the irregular roots tar- 'bring; kel- 'say, and var- 'come. The root i: 'give does not show any formal alternant in non-past form whereas it is shortened in past tense form. The form for verb 'go has the suppletive forms an, 'go and dey~da: y 'go. The

occurrences are grammatically conditioned that the form an- 'go occurs in past-tense form, in durative form and in Imperative, whereas dey- 'go occurs in other contexts with an alternant da:y- 'go.

e.g.

a-tt-a:n	'I went
an-jo:r minna:n	'I am going
an-jo:r matta:n	'I was going
an-jo:r manta:n	'I will be going
annu 'go	
deyta:n	'I will go
da:yatam	'going (gerund)

~t is the assimilated form of ~t, after a retroflex nasal.

e.g.

un-t-a:n → un-ṭ-a:n	'I will drink
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~it, as the non-past marker occurs in the rest of the verbs. In disyllabic roots, the second vowel is harmonized fully to the vowel in the suffix -it as in;

narik-it-a:n	'I will cut (narak 'cut)
mining-it-a:n	'I will swallow (minang 'swallow)

The roots of augment except final nasal roots and (C)V: type take an inflectional increment -d- before the addition of the marker -it-. The nasal ending CVC roots also take the same increment in prohibitive and gerund formations.

e.g.

nad-it-a:n	nadd-it-a:n	'I will walk
------------	-------------	--------------

ud-it-a:n	udd-it-a:n	'I will plough
ad-it-a:n	add-it-a:n	'I will weep
nur-it-a:n	murd-it-a:n	'I will wash
ar-it-a:n	ard-it-a:n	'I will fall
pey-it-a:n	peyd-it-a:n	'I will hold
kav-it-a:n	kavd-it-a:n	'I will laugh
koy-it-a:n	koyd-it-a:n	'I will cut

The other forms with -it- as the non-past marker, for example:

e.g.

vogg-it-a:n	'I will crush (vog ^{root})
mirr-it-a:n	'I will run (mir)
uss-it-a:n	'I will pound (us)
u:s-it-a:n	'I will smear (u:s)
all-it-a:n	'I will sprinkle (al)
u:d-it-a:n	'I will see
narik-it-a:n	'I will cut
mining-it-a:n	'I will swallow

If ~t, non-past marker is taken as the basic underlying form, the vowel in ~it is to be predicted. ~t, being the non-past marker after final nasal roots and (C) V: type roots, -i- has to be inserted after the other consonants except the final nasal. After the vowel insertion, the final consonant has to be geminated in the monosyllabic short vowel roots before the vowel initial suffix -it. Also the augment verbs except final nasal endings and (C)V: forms, have to take the augment -d- before the suffix -it-.

Or if we take ~~xx~~~it as the basic form and derive ~t by vowel dropping after final nasals and after (C)V: type roots.

e.g.

tin-it-a:n	tin-t-a:n	'I will eat
man-it-a:n	man-t-a:n	'I will stay
un-it-a:n	un-t-a:n	'I will drink
i:-it-a:n	i:-t-a:n	'I will give
a:-it-e	ay-t-e	'that will become
ve:-it-e	vey-t-e	'that will boil

The dropping of the vowel -i- between final nasal and -t is not unexpected as the cluster of the nasal with homorganic stops is very natural. The suffix vowel is also dropped after (C)V: roots as in i:-t-a:n 'I will give. The (C)V: roots a: 'become and ve: 'boil, realize as ay-, and vey-. Probably the final -y, is the result of suffix i > y. The length of the root vowel is also shortened.

Taking ~it as the basic form is more preferred and the suffix vowel is dropped after nasals and changed to -y in the (C)V: type roots. This is less costlier than the other choice taking ~t as the basic allomorph.

~it, also occurs with two irregular verbs as tott-it-a:n 'I will build, nitt-it-a:n 'I will stand from the roots tot 'build, and nil 'stand.

Durative: The durative in Koya is distinguished for three-way contrast by the help of an auxiliary 'man 'to be. The continuous form of the main verb is followed by the auxiliary carrying the tense marker followed by the personal suffix.

The continuous form of the root is formed by adding the marker {o:r~ so:r~ jo:r} to the stem.

~so:r, after the roots of augment

~jo:r, is the variant of so:r, after final nasals.

e.g.

nad-so:r	'walking
ud-so:r	'ploughing
nur-so:r	'washing
ar-so:r	'falling
pey-so:r	'holding
kav-so:r	'laughing
i:-so:r	'giving
ve:-so:r	'boiling
a:-so:r	'becoming
tin-jo:r	'eating

One irregular verb {var} 'come form its continuous form as va:so:r, 'coming; by taking the marker -so:r. ~or, with all other roots as a general type of marker.

e.g.

de:vo:r	'digging
ukk-o:r	'washing
ke:nj-o:r	'listening
kicc-o:r	'pinching
tung-o:r	'doing

The continuous form in turn is followed by the auxiliary {man - min} 'be † (tense morpheme) † personal suffix.

The auxiliary in present progressive aspect is

realized as {min}'to be, directly followed by the personal suffix with the formal absence of the tense marker.

e.g.

anjo:r	minn-a:n	'I am going
anjo:r	minn-i:n	'You are going
anjo:r	minn-o:r	'They are going
anjo:r	minn-a	'They (non-masc) are going

The past progressive aspect is formed as:
present continuous form + past stem of the ~~aux~~
auxiliary + personal suffix.

e.g.

anjo:r	matt-a:n	'I was going
anjo:r	matt-i:n	'You were going
anjo:r	matt-o:r	'They were going
anjo:r	matt-a	'They (non-Masc) were going

The future progressive aspect is formed as:
present continuous form + non-past stem of the
auxiliary + person suffix.

e.g.

anjo:r	mant-a:n	'I will be going
anjo:r	mant-i:n	'You will be going
anjo:r	mant-o:r	'They will be going
anjo:r	mant-a	'They (non-masc.) will be going

In present progressive aspect form, the auxiliary min- 'to be, when it refers to 3rd person non-masculine singular subject, takes an augment -d-.

e.g.

addu anjo:r minde

'that (non-masc)
is going

addu i:so:r minde

'that (non-masc) is
giving

nay va:so:r minde

'dog is coming

Imperative: The imperative marker for 2nd person singular is { a ~ u ~ mu }. The imperative marker for 2nd person plural is { a:t ~ u:t ~ mu:t }. The imperative form is formed by adding the imperative marker to the stem. The markers distinguish singular and plural.

(2nd sg.) Imperative a ~ u ~ mu .

~ u, occurs after the roots with final nasal except 'man', 'be. Also the imperative with ~ u show alternants with the marker ~ a.

e.g.

tinnu
~ tinna

'eat! (sg)

unnu
~ unna

'drink! (sg)

annu
~ anna

'go! (sg)

~ mu, as an imperative marker occurs after the augment verb roots except final nasal endings, and after one irregular verb tot, 'build.

e.g.

ud-mu

'plough! (sg.)

nad-mu

'walk! "

nur-mu

'wash! "

pey-mu

'hold! "

ar-mu

'fall! "

kav-mu	'laugh! (sg)
i:-mu	'give! ,,
to-mmu	'build! ,,

~a, the imperative marker which is frequently used occurs with other stems and with a nasal final stem man, 'be.

e.g.

u:da	'see! (sg)
mirra	'run! ,,
paṭṭa	'lie! ,,
naraka	'cut! ,,
va:ṭa	'put! ,,
unja	'sleep!,,

The stem man 'be, takes ~a as the imperative marker, only after taking an augment -d-.

e.g.

man-d-a	'stay (sg)
---------	------------

The plural imperative markers { a:t~ u:t~ mu:t } are just the corresponding plural forms of the singular markers { a~ u~ mu } .

~u:t, as plural imperative marker occurs with those roots which take ~u as their singular imperative morpheme.

e.g.

tinn-u:t	'eat! (pl)
unn-u:t	'drink! ,,
ann-u:t	'go! ,,

~mu:t, as the plural imperative marker, occurs with those roots which take ~mu as their singular imperative morpheme.

e.g.

ud-mu:t	'plough! (pl)
nad-mu:t	'walk! ..
nur-mu:t	'wash! ..
pey-mu:t	'hold! ..
ar-mu:t	'fall! ..
kav-mu:t	'laugh! ..
i:-mu:t	'give! ..
to-mu:t	'build! ..

~a:t, as the plural imperative marker occurs with those roots which take ~a as their singular imperative morpheme.

e.g.

u:d-a:t	'see! (pl)
mirr-a:t	'run! ..
patt-a:t	'lie! ..
narak-a:t	'cut! ..
va:t-a:t	'put! ..
unj-a:t	'sleep! ..
mand-a:t	'stay ..

The irregular verbs except tot 'build, take ~a as their singular imperative marker and a:t as their plural imperative marker.

e.g.

kell-a	'say	kell-a:t
nill-a	'stand	nill-a:t
tarr-a	'bring	tarr-a:t
varr-a	'come	varr-a:t

Prohibitive: The prohibitive is formed by adding {ma} and {ma:t}; singular and plural prohibitive markers respectively to the infinitive form.

e.g.

ta:ga-ma	'Do not drink (sg)
mirra-ma	'Do not run "
vogga-ma	'Do not crush "
pa:da-ma:t	'Do not sing (Pl)
va:ta-ma:t	'Do not put "
u:da-ma:t	'Do not see "

The verb roots which take the augment; they add the singular or plural prohibitive morphemes after the augment with the infinitive vowel -a.

e.g.

tinda-ma	'Do not eat (sg)
tinda-ma:t	'Do not eat (pl)
manda-ma	'Do not stay (sg)
manda-ma:t	'Do not stay (pl)
naɖda-ma	'Do not walk (sg)
naɖda-ma:t	'Do not walk (pl)
arda-ma	'Do not fall (sg)
arda-ma:t	'Do not fall (pl)
peyda-ma	'Do not hold (sg)
peyda-ma:t	'Do not hold (pl)
kavda-ma	'Do not laugh (sg)
kavda-ma:t	'Do not laugh (pl)
i:da-ma	'Do not give (sg)
i:da-ma:t	'Do not give (pl)

The inflectional increment -d- is realized as -d-

after a root with a final retroflex nasal.

e.g.

un-da-ma	'Do not drink (sg)
un-da-ma:t	'Do not drink (pl)

Under the influence of contiguous Telugu language, the prohibitive in Telugu -vaddu is also used in Koya as -oddu, with Koya verb stems.

e.g.

mirr-oddu	'Do not run
va:t-oddu	'Do not put
nadd-oddu	'Do not walk
ard-oddu	'Do not fall
kavd-oddu	'Do not laugh

Permissive: Verbs of this type are used to denote a 'wish' or 'permission'. They are non-past in time reference, although they do not carry any tense marker.

The permissive verb formation is as: s_{tem} + the permissive marker { -i:m } .

e.g.

na:ni:n	patt-i:m	'Let me lie
na:ni:n	da:y-i:m	'Let me go
na:ni:n	tiriy-i:m	'Let me speak

The roots which take the augment, they add the permissive morpheme after the augment -d-.

e.g.

na:ni:n	nadd-i:m	'Let me walk
vo:ni:n	udd-i:m	'Let him plough
da:ni:n	peyd-i:m	'Let her hold

after a root with a final retroflex nasal.

e.g.

un-da-ma	'Do not drink (sg)
un-da-ma:t	'Do not drink (pl)

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e.g.

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va:t-oddu	'Do not put
nadd-oddu	'Do not walk
ard-oddu	'Do not fall
kavd-oddu	'Do not laugh

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The roots which take the augment, they add the permissive morpheme after the augment -d-.

e.g.

na:ni:n	nadd-i:m	'Let me walk
vo:ni:n	udd-i:m	'Let him plough
da:ni:n	peyd-i:m	'Let her hold

vo:ni:n	i:d-i:m	'Let him give
da:ni:n	ve:d-i:m	'let it boil

Obligative: The obligative verb denoting 'must' or 'should' is formed in Koya as: the Infinitive - va:l; without any personal suffixes.

nanna	da:ya-va:l	'I have to go
nimma	u:da-va:l	'You have to see
addu	tarra-va:l	'That has to climb

The verbs which take the augment; they add -va:l only after the augment with the infinitive vowel,

e.g.	tinda-va:l	'I have to eat
nanna	manda-va:l	'I have to stay
nanna	nadda-va:l	'You have to walk
nimma	udda-va:l	'He has to plough
vo:nd	i:da-va:l	'I have to give
naana	nurda-va:l	'That has to wash
addu		

The obligative morpheme -va:l is from Telugu morpheme -va:li.

Potential: Potential is expressed by adding -galag- to the infinitive stem.

e.g.	mirra-galig-it-a:n	'I can run
	pa:da-galig-it-a:n	'I can sing sing
	tinda-galig-it-a:n	'I can eat
	udda-galig-it-a:n	'I can plough
	nurda-galig-it-a:n	'I can wash
	i:da-galig-it-a:n	'I can give

The second vowel in -galag- is harmonized to the next vowel -i- and -galag- is realized as -galig-. This vowel harmony is also seen in disyllabic verbs.

e.g.

narak-it-a:n narik-it-a:n 'I will cut

Hortative: Hortative verb form refers to the 1st person plural (Incl), as its subject and agrees in showing the corresponding person suffix -a:d. The hortative is formed by adding -ka:d to the verb stem.

e.g.

manna:d	mir-ka:d	'Let us run
manna:d	va:t-ka:d	'Let us put
manna:d	tiri-kka:d	'Let us speak
manna:d	u:sa-kka:d	'Let us smear
manna:d	da-kka:d	'Let us go

The -k- of the hortative marker is geminated intervocalically as in /dakka:d/.

In augment verbs, augment -d > t, before hortative marker ka:d.

e.g.

tintka:d	'Let us eat
na dt ka:d	'Let us walk

Habitual:- Besides the use of non-past as habitual, there is another habitual form referring to usual habits. As the non-past is used to express the habitual, this habitual form is used in the contexts of the non-past tense.

The habitual form is the result of contraction of the present progressive aspect form.

The form anjo:r minna:n 'I am going through contraction, it results as anjo:r-a:n 'I go (hab).

e.g.

- | | | | |
|----|------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | nadso:r | minn-a:n | 'I am walking |
| | ↓ | | |
| 2. | nadson-a:n | | 'I walk (hab) |
| 3. | mirro:r | minn-a:n | 'I am running |
| | ↓ | | |
| 2. | mirron-a:n | | 'I run (hab) |
| 1. | u:so:r | mind-e | 'That (non-Masc) is smearing. |
| | ↓ | | |
| 2. | u:so:nde | | 'That (non-masc.) smears (hab) |
| 1. | kecco:r | minna:n | 'I am saying |
| | ↓ | | |
| 2. | keccona:n | | 'I say (hab) |

The use of non-past and this habitual form seems to be overlapping. The exact nature of their contextual usages is to be further investigated.

Negative: The negative verb form is formed by adding the negative morpheme after the stem before the suffix. The negative marker is {o: ~ vo: ~ ø}.

~ ø/ occurs before the second person suffixes.

e.g.

- | | | |
|-------|----------|------------------|
| nimma | varr-i:n | 'You do not come |
| nimma | patt-i:n | 'You do not lie |

~ vo: occurs after the verbs taking the augment except the nasal final verbs.

e.g.

nanna	nadv-o:n	'I do not walk
nimma	udv-i:n	'You do not plough
nanna	pey-vo:-n	'I do not hold
nanna	ar-vo:-n	'I do not fall
nimma	kavv-i:n	'You do not laugh

Two of the irregular verbs form their negative paradigms by taking vo:, as their negative morpheme.

e.g.

to-vvo:-n	'I do not build
ni-vvo:-n	'I do not stand

The negative marker ~vo; in the augment verbs can be treated in otherway also. The consonant v- in -vo: can be taken as an augement after these augment verbs, leaving just -o:- as the negative marker, which is also a generalised negative morpheme. This treatment also gets support from the forms with 2nd person suffix, where the negative marker lacks its morphological presence. In forms like udv-i:n 'you do not plough, and nadv-i:n 'You do not walk, the negative part o: is formally absent but the consonantal v- does not lack its presence.

~o:, occurs elsewhere in other negative forms, with more frequency.

e.g.

nanna	tung-o:-n	'I do not do
nanna	tim-o:-n	'I do not eat
nanna	unn-o:n	'I do not drink
nanna	u:d-o:-n	'I do not see
nanna	ukk-o:-n	'I do not wash

Three of the irregular verbs {kel} 'say, {var} 'come, {tar} 'bring form their negative paradigms with o:, as their negative morpheme.

e.g.

kell-o:-n	'I do not say
varr-o:-n	'I do not come
tarr-o:-n	'I do not bring

A pair of verbs with (C)V: form ve: 'boil, and a: 'become form their negatives with o:- as negative marker, with a geminated glide before the negative morpheme.

e.g.

ayyo	'That does not become (that is not so)
veyyo	'That does not boil (Intv.)

Third person non-masculine negative verb forms do not show the formal presence of the personal ~~ni~~ suffix, both in singular and plural.

e.g.

addu	varr-o: 'That (non-Masc.) does not come
avvu	varr-o: 'They (non-Masc.) does not come.

These 3rd person non-masculine person suffixes being vowels -e and -a ; they are getting dropped after the negative morpheme o:
Negative paradigm of u:d 'see.

	Sg.	Pl
1st person	u:d-o:-n	u:d-o:-m (excl) u:d-o:-d (Incl)

2nd person	u:d-i:n	u:d-i:r
3rd person Masc	u:d-o:-nd	u:d-o:-r
Non-masc	u:do:	u:do:

The negative base -il:- The negative base -il meaning 'does not exist' or 'is not present' is generally used in Koya. The negative base occurs with the main verb distinguishing for past and non-past. The personal suffixes are carried by the negative base. In the non-past finite forms, the main verb takes the form of a gerund before the negative base.

e.g.

nanna	tindaṭam	ill-a:n	'I am not eating
nimma	va:daṭam	ill-i:n	'You are not coming
addu	aṭṭaṭam	ill-e	'That (non-masc.) is not cooking
vo:r	% tungaṭam	ill-o:r	'They are not doing

In the past finite forms the negative base with person suffix is added to the root itself, where no formal tense marker is present.

e.g.

nanna	ard-ill-a:n	'I did not fall
nimma	da:y-ill-i:n	'You did not go
addu	aṭṭ-ill-e	'That (non-Masc.) did not cook.
avvu	u:d-ill-a	'They (non-Masc.) did not see.
vo:nd	tind-ill-o:nd	'He did not eat
vo:r	tind-ill-o:r	'They did not eat

The negative base is also used in negative verb participles.

e.g.

narik-illo ma:ra 'Tree which is not cut

u:d-illo na:r 'Village which is not seen

The negative base -il- is used as a main verb.

e.g.

vo:nd lo:n ill-o:nd

'He is not at home

nanna lo:n ill-a:n

'I am not at home.

addu lo:n ill-e

'That is not at home

mi:r lo:n ill-i:r

'You are not at home

The negative base means exactly opposite to the
existential verb {man ~ main} 'be.

e.g.

nanna lo:n minn-a:n

'I am at home

nanna lo:n ill-a:n

I am not at home.

The root a: 'become, in its negative form
'ayyo' 'is not so'; is used to express the negation.

e.g.

vo:nd da:yatam mancid ayyo

he going good not

(his going is not good)

nimma va:datam mancid ayyo

you coming good not

(your coming is not good)

The negative in Koya is expressed through all these processes.

NON-FINITE VERBS

Morphologically a non-finite verb does not carry a marker of person-number in agreement with the subject; syntactically non-finite verbs are either adverbial, or adjectival and occur as the predicates of the subordinate clause.

Imperfective: This is formed by adding {ji ~ si ~ i} to the verb nucleus. The distribution of the allomorphs is parallel to {jo:r ~ so:r ~ o:r}. The imperfective form is used to denote an action just completed and antecedent to the action denoted by the succeeding verb.

~ si, after the verbs which take the augment before the initially vowel suffixes.

~ si, is manifested as ~ji after nasal ending roots:

e.g.

nad-si	'having walked
koy-si	'having cut
kav-si	'having laughed
ar-si	'having fallen
a:-si	'having become
i:-si	'having given
tin-ji	'having eaten
an-ji	'having gone
un-ji	'having drunk

~ i, occurs with all other verbs,

e.g.

vog-i	'having crushed
-------	-----------------

pa:d-i	'having sung
mirr-i	'having run
att-i	'having cooked
all-i	'having sprinkled
u:d-i	'having seen

nanna udsi vatta:m 'having ploughed, I came
nanna kuddi titta:m 'having sit, I ate
nanna sa: vadengi vatta:n 'having killed, I came
vo:nd tinji, unji vatto:nd 'having eaten and drunk,
he came

The imperfective marker ~i, can also be taken as monomorphemic form, treating -s- -j- in~si and ~ji, as the inflectional increments taken by the augment verbs, as -s- and -j- occur with only with augment verbs. This gives the justification for taking -i as the generalised imperfective morpheme after all the verbs.

Neg. Imperfective: This is opposed to imperfective, denoting 'not having done some action' before the action denoted by the following verb. This is formed by adding -akunda to the root.

e.g.

vog-akunda	• having not crushed
unj-akunda	• having not slept
tinn-akunda	• having not eaten
unn-akunda	• having not drunk

unn-akunda

The verbs which take the augment, except final nasal ending roots, take an augment -v- before the

neg. imperfective morpheme.

e.g.

nadv-akunda	'having not walked
udv-akunda	'having not ploughed
koyv-akunda	'having not cut
nurv-akunda	'having not washed
kavv-akunda	'having not laughed
i:v-akunda	'having not given
ve:v-akunda	'having not boiled

Conditional: This form marks a sub-ordinate clause meaning 'if'. The conditional form is built on the past stem adding -ku, conditional morpheme.

e.g.

va-t-ku	'If one comes
a-t-ku	'If one goes
ud-t-ku	'If one ploughs
kav-t-ku	'If one laughs
ti-t-ku	'If one eats

va:na vatku pan̄ta pandite 'If it rains crop will yield.
vo:nd kavtku na:k ba:gille 'If he laughs, it is not hear-
tening for me.

Negative Conditional: Negative conditional is opposed to conditional, denoting 'If not'. This is formed by placing the conditional form of the root 'man' 'be after negative imperfective form.

e.g.

tungakunda matku	'If one has not done.
annakunda matku	'If one has not gone.
attakunda matku	'If one has not cooked.

addu attakunda matku nanna tinno:n 'If she does not
cook, I cannot eat.

nimma annakunda matku keyta:n 'If you do not go,
I will tell.

Concessive: The concessive form denotes the meaning
'though' or 'even'. The structure of the form is
as: past stem + ka:n

e.g.

vat-ka:n	'though one came
udt-ka:n	'though one ploughed
ut-ka:n	'though one drank
tit-ka:n	'though one ate

nimma udtka:n se:n pando: 'even if you ploughed,
field does not yield crop.

sutta: vatka:n tind(i) ille 'though relatives came,
there is no food.

addu kavtkan vo:nd u:dillo:nd 'even she had
laughed he did not see:

The concessive form can also be analysed as:
past stem + conditional + a:n, i.e. past stem - ku - a:n,
by which the semantic relatedness of conditional and
concessive can also be made explicit.

Neg. Concessive: Neg. Concessive is opposed to
concessive in meaning; denoting 'even if not'.
stem + Neg. marker + ka:n - gives the neg.
concessive form.

e.g.

varr-o:- ka:n 'even one does not come

toss-o:-ka:n 'even though one does not pour
 tung-o:-ka:n 'even though one does not do
 nad-vo:-ka:n 'even though one does not walk
 vo:nd tosso:ka:n, nanna utta:n
 'though he had not poured, I drank
 vo:nd varro:ka:n nanna tinta:n
 'though he does not come, I will eat.

Negative concessive is also expressed through another construction. This is by placing negative imperfective before the concessive form of the root
 man 'be.

e.g.

mirr-akunda matka:n
 'even though one had not run
 att-akunda matka:n
 'even though one had not cooked

Relative participles: Relative participles are derived from verbs and they function as the attributes to the following noun or adverbial heads. The present participle is formed by adding -a:n, to the verb nucleus.

e.g.

mirr-a:n pe:ka:l na: marri
 running boy is my son
 un-a:n mukka:l na: yeyya:l
 drinking old man is our father
 nadd-a:n nay na:va:di
 'walking dog is mine

The past participle is formed by adding
-a, to the past stem.

e.g.

mirt-a pe:ka:l na: marri
'boy who ran is my son.
nadatt-a nay na:va;di
'do² which walked is mine.
utt-a pi:ki:d na: mayya:d
'the girl who drank is my daughter.
vatta pa:y 'after coming
atta pa:y 'after going

Negative participle form makes use of the negative
base -il, expressing non-occurrence. The negative
participle takes its structure as: stem + Neg. base
+ o-

e.g.

udd-ill-o se:n	'Field which is not ploughed
narik-ill-o ma:ra	'Tree which is not cut.
kett-ill-o ma:ta	'Word which is not said.
ve:d-ill-o do:da	'Rice which is not boiled.
uss-ill-o vanji	'Paddy which is not pounded.

Gerund: Gerunds are the derived forms of verbs and
used as nouns. The gerund is derived by adding -atam,
to the verb root.

e.g.

da:y-atam	'going'
doll-atam	'dying'

The verbs which take the augment, take the gerundial

derivative morpheme only after the augment -d-.

e.g.

madd-atam	'walking
koyd-atam	'cutting
kavd-atam	'laughing
nurd-atam	'washing
i:d-atam	'giving
ve:d-atam	'boiling
tind-atam	'eating
und-atam	'drinking

In positive sentences the gerund takes either
a: 'become, or jarag- 'happen as its finite verb.

e.g.

vo:nd doll-atam	jarag-t-e
his dying	happened (he is dead)
vo:nd tind-atam	jarag-t-e
his eating	happened (he ate)
vo:nd i:d-atam	a-tt-e
his giving	became (he gave)
vo:nd da:y-atam	a-tt-e
his going	became (he want)

In the verbs jargt-e and att-e, the person suffix is 3rd person singular non-masculine marker referring to the gerund as its subject.

In negative sentences, the gerund takes the negative base -il, for expressing the non-occurrence.

e.g.

vo:nd tind-atam illo:nd
'He is not eating.

nanna da:yaṭam illa:n

'I am not going.

addu kettatam ille

'That (non-masc.) is not telling.

mamma und-aṭam illa:m

'We (excl) are not drinking.

manṇa:d vogg-aṭam illa:d

'We (Incl.) are not ~~not~~ crushing.

Here in Koya, the negative base carries the personal suffix, unlike Telugu, where there is no verbal concord in such type of sentences.

REGULAR VERBS

Past -tt	past -t-	non-past -t-	non-past -it-	durative so:r~jo:r	durative o:r
1. Augment verbs except final -r verbs: ud, nad, ad, koy, pey kav, man~ma, tin~ti, un~u, i:~i, ai~a, ve:~ve.	After all other roots	Verbs ending in a nasal, tin, un, man, (C)V: verbs a:, ve: i:;	After all other roots	After aug-ment verbs	After other verbs
2. After the suppletive verb an~a		After the supple- tive verb stem dey.			

IRREGULAR VERBS

Stem	Past paradigm	Non-past paradigm	Durative paradigm	Imperative paradigm	Negative
1. nil 'stand	nitt-	nittit-	nicco:r-	nilla	nivvo:-
2. kel 'say	kett-	keyt-	kecco:r-	kella	kello:-
3. tot 'build	tott-	tottit-	tocco:r-	tommi	tovvo:-
4. var 'come	vatt-	veyt-	va:so:r-	varra	varro:-
5. tar 'bring	tatt-	tayt-	tacco:r-	tarra	tarro:-
6. 1. an 'go (suppletive)	att-	deyt-	anjo:r-	annu	anno:-

Attributives: Attributes to verb being adverbial need some discussion.

There are adverbs of place, time, manner and quantity and corresponding interrogative adverbs in Koya.

The simple adverbs of place /igga/ 'here /agga/ 'there are formed from the deictic bases a:-
'that and i:- 'this. The other adverbs of place one /munne/ 'before /perike/ 'behind, /idpa/ 'under, /porro/ 'on and /pakka:n/ 'beside. The place adverbs are used as post positions:

e.g.

katult idpa

'under the cot

kald porro

'on the stone

kald perike

'behind the stone

lo:t(i) munne

'before the house

The adverbs of time are: /inje/ 'now, /aske/ 'then, /onne/ 'long back /ro:j/ 'daily, /inga/ then, /pay/ 'afterwards, /na:du/ 'today, /ninne/ 'yesterday, /na:di/ 'tomorrow, /manne:dk/ 'day after tomorrow, /penre:dk/ 'day after day after tomorrow, /anneti/ 'day before yesterday, /attaneti/ 'day before day before yesterday, /verive/ 'morning, /mulipe/ 'evening, /payya:l/ 'day.

In narration of events, /aske/ 'then is used as a catch word after every two or three sentences as a connector between events. /ro:j/ 'daily is used in expressing habitual actions as in nanna ro:j tinta:n 'I eat daily. Three days before and three days after from /na:du/ 'today are referred by different forms. /onne/ 'long back, is used to refer

some remote past action long back.

e.g.

onne va:si matta:n

Long back I had come.

The adverbs of manner are mostly borrowed from Telugu. The manner attributes take -ga in qualifying the verbs.

/a:la:/	'thus
/alla:ga/	'in that way
/illa:/	'in this way
/mellinga/	'slowly
/tondarga/	'quickly
/ba:ga/	'in a better way
/ba:gane/	'in a better way
/gattiga/	'tightly
/biguvuga/	'tightly
/mancigane/	'with goodness
/nika:rge/	'without fault
/sakkanga/	'well
/a:mo:pu:ne/	'as it is
/addago:l/	'in vain
/tangana/	'completely
/ja:garataga/	'carefully

The quantity is expressed through the forms /icco:d/ 'this much, and /acco:d/ 'that much, which are formed on the deictic bases. There is another form /di:be/ 'many, to denote more number of items.

The interrogative adverbs /bega/ 'where, /beske/

'when, /be:la/ 'how /becku/ 'how many, /becco:d/
 'howmuch and /ba:ri/ 'why are formed on the interro-
 gative bases be:-, and ba:-, in Koya

e.g.

be:- agga	begga
be:- ske	beske
be:- la	be:la
be:- cco:d	becco:d

Where -gga, -ske, -la and -cco:d are the forms
 denoting the different adverbs without deictic bases.

The present adverbial form /injo:r/, (in 'to tell)
 is the quotative marker in the reported speech.

Onomatopoeic expressions: These expressions indicate
 the actions they refer by imitating in sound. The
 actions they indicate may be the movement of an ani-
 mate being or the sudden fall of man etc.

The forms /gab-gab/ and /tik-tik/ indicate the
 sound of buffalo walking. /gubukkun/ 'the falling
 of a man, /gubellun/ 'the falling of a tree, /kat-kat/
 'boiling of rice, /da:m/ 'blasting of a country bomb,
 /~~da:m~~/parapara/ 'taring of a cloth, /sara-sara/ 'the
 moving of a snake, /sayyina/ 'the sudden cut by a
 knife, are the other onomatopoeic forms.

Mainly the process of reduplication is observed
 in onomatopoeics as in /tik-tik/ and /para-para/.

CHAPTER IV

OTHER CATEGORIES

The following discussion is about connectives and clitics.

Connectives: {malla} 'and. This is used to connect two or more independent clauses, with identical subjects. This connective can repeatedly occur ~~in~~ producing sentences of considerable length.

e.g.

do:da tinji malla unji deytan injo:r keccimalla
vo:nd atto:nd 'Having eaten food and having
slept, he went saying that he is going.

lo:n va:si malla po:yi:n kamugondi malla manna:d
da:yava:lani malla..... 'Having come to the house and
having seen the priest and saying that we have to go...

{ka:mo:ste} 'Therefore. This is used when the following clause means as the result from the preceding.

e.g.

vo:nd vatto:nka:mo:ste addu deyte 'He came; so
she will go.

va:na vatte ka:mo:ste panta pandite 'It rained
therefore crop will yield.

nanna utta:n ka:mo:ste, va:datam illa:n 'I drank
and therefore I am not coming.

{o...o} 'either or

e.g.

vo:ndo vando atto:nd 'Either that man or this
man went.

addu pa:pamo punnemo 'Is it either bad or good

vo:nd veyto:ndo varro:ndo?

'Either he comes or not?

{ ga:ni ~ go:n } 'but'

e.g.

mi:r putti:n ka:nnunci be:la tungono:r go:n

na:k la:k ille 'Right from birth how you are

working (I do not know) but it is not suitable

for me.

ku:l na:l tungi batikita:n ga:ni na:k ji:ta:m nacco.

'I can live as a kuli but as bonded labourer I do

not like.

{ pa:y } 'after words.

e.g.

vond titta pa:y e:r unto:nd 'After he ate the

food he is drinking water.

PELLI ATTA PA:Y SUTTA DENGİ DEYTO:R

'After the marriage is over, relatives will push off.

{ aske } 'then

e.g.

po:y kettaske vo:r atto:r

'Priest had told and then they went.

{ inga } 'further, 'then'

e.g.

nanna deyta:n inga mi:r vogga:t

'I go and further you crush

vo:r amukunto:r inga villi lodda peysi orra lanka:t

deyto:r 'They discuss and further having taken

bow and arrows, they go to a wooded hollow.

{injo:r} 'saying'. This is the quotative marker in Koya. Morphologically /injo:r/ is the incomplete participle of in- 'say'. The verb root-in- 'say' is not inflected for all other paradigms except for habitual as in, vo:r into:r 'they say'. The quotative marker occurs after the reported speech.

e.g.

vo:nd do:da tinta:n injo:r ketto:nd

'He said that he will eat food.

addu edki:va:so:nd(e) injo:r kette

'She said that she is getting fever.

vo:nd dokka nopp(i) injo:r ketto:nd

'He told that it is stomach pain.

vo:nd kall(u) unti:ne injo:r talpto:nd

'He asked if you drink the liquor.

Clitics are a class of syntactic markers of one or two syllables which enter into construction with words, phrases or clauses. Although they are phonologically bound, they have the mobility of words unlike derivational or inflectional morphemes which are limited in occurrence to particular classes of stems.

Interrogative: { e: ~ e:ne: }

The interrogative e: is used in 'yes-no' type questions.

e.g.

nimma do:da titti:n-e:?

'Did you eat your food?

nimma lo:n minni:n-e:.

'Are you in the house?

The answers for these questions may be 'yes or no' type or the word internally available in the sentence can be given as the answer.

The questions in confirmative sense; they take the interrogative marker ~ e:ne:

e.g.

addu nayye:ne:?

'Is it a dog?

addu gubbale:ne:?

'Is it a hill?

Emphatic: { -e } . This is an emphatic particle.

e.g.

nanna besk-e ukko:n

'I never wash.

nanna varr-e varro:n

'I do not come at all.

nanna vogg-e voggo:n

'I do not crush at all.

Verificative: { gadda } : This is added after the declarative sentences as a verificative particle.

e.g.

mana:k na:d ji:vam dorakte gadda

'Today an animal is found by us.

vitana:n va:tana:d kudarogadda

'It won't be feasible to sow the seeds.

- gadda-functions as a tag question at the end of the declarative sentence

{ le: } Expressing certainty.

keyta:m le: 'We will definitely say.

voyta:n le: 'I will come certainly.

V O C A B U L A R Y

agga	adv	'there
acco:d	adj	'that much
at	vb	'cook
attanne:ti	adv	'day before day 'before yesterday
attu:m	n	'loft under the roof
ad	vb	'weep
adivi	n	'forest
adda:m	n	'mirror
addu	pron	'that (non-masc.)
an	vb	'go
anneti	adv	'day before yesterday
amma	n	'father's mother
ar	vb	'fall
arikay	n	'palm
arra	n	'room
arri	n	'route
al	vb	'sprinkle
allipette	n	'red ant
avvu	pron	'those (non-masc.)
aske	adv	'then
a:	1. dem	'that
	2. vb	'to become
a:ki	n	'leaf
a:d	vb	'play
a:da	adj	'female
a:la:	adv	'thus
ikkakorr	n	'wildfowl
ikkagogo:d	n	'wild cock
ikki:nkallu	n	'mahua liquor

ikku	n	'mahua flower
iguru	n	'tender leaves
igga	adv	'here
icco:d	adj	'this much
ittama:ra	n	'tamarind tree
iddu	pron	'this (non-masc.)
ingatam	n	'A kind of fish
inje	adv	'now
irapa:l	n	'irapa' lineage man
irpama:ra	n	'mahua tree
il	vb	is not
ivvu	pron	'these (non-masc)
i:	1. dem	'this
	2. vb	'give
i:so:d	n	'comb
uk	vb	'wash
ukka	n	'star
utti	n	'fibrousling
ud	vb	'plough
un	vb	'drink
unj	vb	'sleep
ubbe:r	n	'warmwater
urpa:l	n	'Iguana
urmu	n	'thunder
us	vb	'pound
uspa:l	n	'pestle
u:d	vb	'see
u:ta	n	'fishbasket
u:s	vb	'smear

ek	vb	to scratch
edki	n	fever
edju	n	bear
eddi	n	hot sun
eruv	n	tank
erpu:m	n	shoe
elli	n	mouse
e:c	vb	to winnow
e:te	n	crab
e:ti	n	winnowing basket
e:nige	n	elephant
e:pu:r	n	bromstick
e:pma:ra	n	neam tree
e:r	n	water
erati	adj	red
e:la:d	n	younger sister
ojje:l	n	oven
onne	adv	long back
orpu	n	dry weather
orro:t	num	one
ovo:r	n	salt
o:di	n	one belonging to
		o:de lineage
		he
o:nd	pron	they
o:r	pron	digging instrument
kacce:l	n	cobra manilla
katikin pa:m	n	cot
katu:l	n	eye
kaṇḍu	n	woodpecker
kamma:rpitte	n	hand
kay	n	call
karang	vb	

kav	vb	laugh
ka:ka:d	n	crow
ka:ko	n	mother's mother
ka:ni	n	yoke
ka:ng	n	big pot
ka:lu	n	leg
ka:ste:r	n	hot water
kic	vb	pinch
kissu	n	fire
kirangte:r	n	cold water
ki:ke	n	fish
ki:se	n	prong of the pig
kukka:l	n	spotted deer
kutta	n	field
kudakakallu n2	n	grinding stone
kunda	n	pot
kud	vb	sit
kurra	n	calf
kussi:r	n	curry
ku:ko:d	n	cock's comb
ku:d	vb	gather
keriya:d	n	parrot
kel	vb	say
kellu	n	hair
kevvu	n	ear
ke:nj	vb	listen
kodave:l	n	sickle
kondgay	n	elbow
korr	n	fowl
ko:ta kasse:r n	n	big knife

konda	n	bullock
ko:r	n	horn
ko:su:l	n	leg of a cot
gadapa:ra	n	pointed iron rod
gaddo:m	n	chin
garbo:m	n	egg
ga:dp	n	hot wind
ga:n	con	but
girr	n	feather
gudda	n	cloth
gundega:y	n	heart
gunj	vb	pull
gunjo	n	post
gumma:m	n	gate
gu:te	n	firewood
gels	vb	win
ge:rapudiy	n	earthworm
goggo:d	n	cock
godde:l	n	axe
gonteka:y	n	adm's apple
gobbe:rney	n	cocunut oil
go:hdra:s	n	a kind of animal
go:ti	n	pit
go:ma:r	n	animal-louse
go:r	n	nail
go:ro:d	n	myna
ci:ka:d	n	darkness
ce:n	n	field
jakamokkallu	n	firestone
janaga	n	leech
jarag	vb	happen

ja:va	n	gruel
jinna	adj	a kind of tree
ji:ta:m	n	labour
ji:va:m	n	life
junumvi:si	n	honeybee
jerigoddu	n	whipsnake
jerru	n	centipede
jelamkorr	n	forest fowl
jonna	n	jowar
te:kama:ra	n	teaktree
dabbu	n	money
da:mo:r	n	vulture
dig	vb	descend
ding du:v	n	tiger
de:ka	n	currypot
de:v	vb	dig
dokke	n	lizard
dol	vb	die
do:l	n	drum
da tan	vb	beat
tammu:d	n	1. younger brother 2. son's son
tar	vb	1. climb 2. bring
talaka:y	n	head
ta:digal	n	toddy
ta:ta:l	n	mother's father
tin	vb	eat
tinagay	n	right hand
tiriy	vb	speak
ti:s	vb	take

tummi:r	adj	ebony
teddi	n	wooden spoon
tot	vb	build
to:ka	n	tail
to:ng	n	valley
to:l	n	skin
dandagay	n	the near arm
dande:m	n	wooden hanger
da:do	n	father's father
di:ba	adv	many
duddi	n	stick
duppi	n	deer
duvve:n	n	comb
du:la:m	n	woodenpole
dey	vb	go
de:va:r	n	goddess
do:da	n	food
do:me	n	mosquito
nakka	n	fox
nad	vb	walk
nanna	pron	I
narak	vb	cut
nay	n	dog
nalli	n	bug
na:di	adv.	tomorrow
na:du	adv	today
na:r	n	village
na:like	n	tongue
niccala:m	n	ladder
ninne	adv.	yesterday

nimma	pron.	you
nil	vb	stand
ni:k	dat	to you
nur	vb	wash
nuvney	n	musterd oil
nu:r	vb	grind
nettu:r	n	blood
nella	n	1. lever
		2. moon
ne:la	n	earth
notta	n	forehead
pat	vb	lie
paddinge	n	big comb
paddi	n	pig
palupu:m	n	rope
pavu:r	n	mouth
pa:d	vb	sing
pa:da:m	n	foot
pa:m	n	snake
pa:lapandi	n	minisops fruit
pikka	n	calf
pisike	n	sparrow
pi:ki:d	n	girl
pudiy	n	insect
pu:ja:r	n	priest
pu:rmallu	n	male peacock
pette	n	ant
pediga:l	n	father's elder brother
pey	vb	hold

pe:ka:l	n	boy
pocca	n	stomach
potta	n	stomach
poddu	n	sun
podu:r	n	bowel
porki	n	hair-louse
po:du	n	forest field
po:tunay	n	male dog
po:de:r	n	weed
po:yi	n	head-mun
baddi	n	wooden stand
ba:to	n	wife's elder brother
ba:tikorr	n	duck
ba:ba:l	n	father's younger brother
ba:ri	pron	why
ba:va:l	n	sister's husband
biguvu	adj	tight
butti	n	small basket
buraka	n	gourd
bu:mi	n	earth
begga	adv	where
becku	adj	howmany
becco:d	adj	how much
beske	adv	when
be:do	pron	which
be:no:d	pron	who
be:no:r	pron	who (pl)
be:la:	adv	how
boddu	n	naval

bo:de	n	pigeon
man	vb	be
manna:d	pron	we (incl.)
manne:dk	adv	day after tomorrow
mange:l	n	barber
mandu:l	n	mud
mabbu	n	cloud
mamma	pron	we (excl.)
maringe	n	bone
markama:ra	n	mango tree
marma:m	n	gayal
marri	n	son
ma:ma:l	n	paternal/maternal uncle
ma:ra	n	tree
micco	n	scorpin
minang	vb	swallow
mindu	n	house-lizard
mir	vb	run
mi:r	pron	you (pl)
mi:sa:m	n	moustache
mutte	n	wife
mutpa:l	n	husband
murusu:r	n	spine
muski:r	n	month of the pig
mu:njka:y	n	palm tree fruit
metta	n	hill
medaka:y	n	neck
medo:d	n	brain
merpu	n	lightning
me:ka	n	goat

me:di	n	ploughstaff
me:dipandi	n	glomerous tree fruit
mogajon	adj	maize
molo:l	n	rabit
moso:r	n	nose
mo:ka:l	n	knee
mo:toma:ra	n	butea frondosa
yakka	n	elder sister
yanna:l	n	elder brother
yavva	n	mother
ya:nda:d	n	younger sister of the wife
yedarom	n	chest
yenge	n	elder brother's wife
yeyya:l	n	father
ye:ndigarra	n	plough pole
ye:ru:nd	n	wife's younger brother
rubbu:d kallu	n	grinding stone
re:ngapandi	n	jujuba fruit
re:ncnay	n	kind of ounce
roddagay	n	* left hand
ro:j	adv	daily
ro:l	n	mortar
likki	n	small sickle
lekka	n	counting
le:nga	n	small calf
lodda	n	arrow
loddi	n	valley
lo:n	n	house
vattu:r	adj	dried
vanji	n	paddy
var	vb	come

varsandi	n	sideway of the house
va:t	vb	put
va:na	n	rain
va:nako:gil	n	watersnake
va:sa:m	n	wooden pole
vi:p	n	back
vi:si	n	fly
verka:d	n	cat
verve	adv	morning
velu:ng	n	light
vellu:m	n	fence
ve:	vb	boil
ve:ngvala:m	n	goat eating animal
ve:l	n	finger
vog	vb	crush
vo:nd	pron	he
vo:r	pron	they
sandrama:ra	n	a kind of tree
sinna	adj	small
sinna:l	n	younger brother
sippa	n	lid of a pot
simba:m	n	lion
si:da:r	n	one 'seedara' lineage man
si:lamande:m	n	heel
sutta	n	cigar
su:r	n	roof's end
sempa	n	cheek
semmal	n	lotha

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