PART

II
CHAPTER II

MORPHOPHONEMICS

2. Morphophonemics as described by Hockett subsumes every phase of the phonemic shapes of the morphemes—the typical shape of the alternants, the types of alternations and various environmental factors which elicit one or the other of the alternants of those morphemes which occur in more than one shape.

Morphophonemics is thus one aspect of phonology dealing with the alternations in the shapes of morphemes, when they enter into larger constructions.

2.1. Morpho-phonemics of Gawdi-

Languages consist of at least some morphemes which occur in more than one shape giving rise to different morpho-phonemic alternations. This dialect of konkani is no exception to it. The morpho-phonemic alternations in this dialect affect both the vowels and the consonants.

2.2. Morphophonemic alternations in vowels—

2.2.1.

If a morpheme contains the vowels / ι/ and /ο/ in the final syllable, followed by another morpheme—containing the higher vowels / ι/ or / ο/, the vowels / ι/ and /ο/ are raised to / ι/ and /ο/. e.g.
now + i = nowi = new (fem)
səw + i = sowi = sixth (fem)
jəl + i = jeli = went (fem)
bəsləl + i = basloli = had sat (fem)
fəl + un = felun = having played
məl + ći = meluci = to be got

2.2.2.

When a morphemes ends in the phoneme /e/ due to the loss of the following morpheme (mostly the suffixes of cases) it is replaced by /e/, as no final /e/ is allowed in this language. e.g.

baylek  >  bayle  = 'to the wife'
raniyek  >  raniye  = 'to the queen'
osontek  >  osonte  = 'to the woman'
səpek  >  səpe  = 'to the tail'
dimek  >  dime  = 'to the knee'

2.2.3.

In a morpheme, a nasalized vowel, loses its nasalization, when it is immediately preceded or followed by a nasal consonant in another morpheme (except /m/)

toklyā + ni = toklyani = 'by heads'
səl + naka = sənaka = 'do not go'
jəlī + nay = jelinay = 'did not go'
fəl + n + ă = fənna = (I) do not play'

2.3. Morpho-phonemic changes in consonants -
2.3.1.

The final consonant / ŋ / develop a homorganic stop, when a morpheme with vowel is added e.g.

\[ \text{sin} + \text{a} = \text{singa} = \text{'horns'} \]
\[ \text{san} + \text{u} = \text{sangu} = \text{'to say'} \]
\[ \text{so} + \text{o} = \text{songo} = \text{'legs'} \]
\[ \text{ron} + \text{a} = \text{ronga} = \text{'to the colour'} \]

2.3.2.

The consonant / c /, / ŋ / and / s / are replaced by consonants / č /, / ŋ / and / š / respectively, when some morpheme beginning with a front vowel, or with / -y / is added to them. e.g.

\[ \text{sos} + \text{c} = \text{sosč} = \text{'rabbits'} \]
\[ \text{poys} + \text{c} = \text{poysč} = \text{'money'} \]
\[ \text{tσc} + \text{i} = \text{tecč} = \text{'his'} \]
\[ \text{nač} + \text{-i-ta} = \text{načita} = \text{'dances'} \]
\[ \text{mej} + \text{-i-ta} = \text{mejita} = \text{'counts'} \]
\[ \text{oyc} + \text{ya} = \text{očya} = \text{ito go'} \]
\[ \text{muj} + \text{ya} = \text{mučya} = \text{'mine'} \]

2.3.3.

The retrogloss consonants / d / and / l / change to / t / before / t / and to / n / before / n /; e.g.

\[ \text{mεl} + \text{t} = \text{mεtt} = \text{'meets'} \]
\[ \text{pič} + \text{t} = \text{pičt} = \text{'squeezes'} \]
\[ \text{pod} + \text{t} = \text{potč} = \text{'falls'} \]
ad + t = aṭṭ- = 'brings'
fəl + t = fəṭṭ- = 'plays'
fəl + n = fəln- = 'does not play'
pod + n = pumn- = 'does not fall'

2.3.4.

retroflex consonant assimilates a non-retroflex consonants (except when / t / followed by / l /). In case of final / ḍ / and / l /, they change first to the homorganic consonants according to the rule No. 2.3.3., then they assimilate the following non-retroflex consonant, e.g.

məl > məṭ + t = məṭṭ- = meets
dəl > dəṭ + t = dəṭṭ =
pil > pɪṭ + t = pɪṭṭ = 'squeezes'
sod > sol + l = soll- = 'left'
cod > col + l = coll- = 'climbed'
uṭ + t = uṭṭ = 'gets up'
məl + l = məll- = 'met'

but- uuml + l = uṭl- = 'got up'

This tendency of assimilation is also found on word level e.g.

/ mɪt ʈəwɔn jəlɔ /
'The salt was dissolved'
/mit do\v{w}on o\v{y}tal\v{o} /
'used to go keeping the salt'

2.3.5. The trill / r / is assimilated by the following dental, post-dental and retroflex consonants. e.g.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{dor + t} &= \quad \text{dott-} &= \text{catches} \\
\text{kor + t} &= \quad \text{kott-} &= \text{does} \\
\text{mar + t} &= \quad \text{matt-} &= \text{kills} \\
\text{kor + l} &= \quad \text{koll-} &= \text{did} \\
\text{mar + l} &= \quad \text{mall-} &= \text{killed} \\
\text{kor + c} &= \quad \text{koc\'c-} &= \text{'to be done'} \\
\text{mar + c} &= \quad \text{ma\c{c}\'c-} &= \text{'to be dug'} \\
\text{kor + s} &= \quad \text{ko\c{s}\'s-} &= \text{'will do'}
\end{align*}\]

2.3.6. The dental stop / d / is devoiced before / t / e.g.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{sod + t} &= \quad \text{sott-} &= \text{'searches'} \\
\text{nid + t} &= \quad \text{nitt-} &= \text{'sleeps'}
\end{align*}\]

2.3.7. Initial / l / freely varies with / n /

/limp ~ nimp/- 'clean'
/lis\~w~ nis\~w/- 'lesson'
/lok ~ nok /- 'people'
/lay\~n/ nay\~n /- 'line'
/la\~p ~ nap /- 'pencil'
/lan ~ nan/- 'small'

but not = /nal~ lal /-
2.3.8.

The final semi-vowel /-y/ after a consonant is dropped when any other morpheme is added to it. e.g.

\[ \text{muṭy} + yə = \text{muṭyə} = '\text{fists}' \]

\[ \text{dāḍy} + yə = \text{dāḍyə} = '\text{molars}' \]

\[ \text{kory} + t + a = \text{kotta} = '\text{does}' \]

\[ \text{olỳ} + t + a = \text{ottà} = '\text{turns}' \]