CHAPTER 5

MORPHOPHONEMICS

5.0 Telang Ali has relatively simpler morphophonemic structure than Standard Telugu. The present chapter attempts to describe the synchronic variations in the phonemic representations of the morphemes in terms of external and internal sandhi. None of the conventional model descriptions such as item and arrangement (IA), item and process (I&P), and word and paradigm (WP) is strictly adopted here to the exclusion of the other, but rather a combination of all these models is presented. Wherever possible morphophonemic rules are given in the form of formulae, but occasionally plain descriptive statements have been resorted to.

The internal sandhi is an event that takes place inside a word. The morphemic variations caused by the arrangement of words in larger constructions are explainable in terms of external sandhi. The internal sandhi seems to be more frequent than the external sandhi in the dialect. The following charts summarize the possible morphophonemic changes in the dialect, their conditioning factors and other details.
5.1. INTERNAL SANDHI

Morphophonemic changes occurring in

5.1.1 stems.

5.1.1.1 phonologically conditioned.

5.1.1.2 morphologically conditioned.

5.1.1.3 phonologically conditioned.

5.1.2 suffixes

5.1.2.1 phonologically conditioned.

5.1.2.2 morphologically conditioned.

5.1.2.3 morphophonologically conditioned.

5.2. EXTERNAL SANDHI

Morphophonemic changes occurring in

5.2.1 first of the two words.

5.2.1.1 phonologically conditioned.

5.2.1.2 morphologically conditioned.

5.2.1.3 phonologically conditioned.

5.2.2 second of the two words.

5.2.2.1 phonologically conditioned.

5.2.2.2 morphologically conditioned.

5.2.2.3 phonologically conditioned.

5.2.3 middle of the three words.

5.2.3.1 morphologically conditioned.

5.2.3.2 morphophonologically conditioned.

5.2.3.3 morphophonologically conditioned.
5.1.1.1 Phonologically conditioned morphophonemic changes occurring in stems.

5.1.1.1.1 [i] → [u] // lu

By the process of vowel harmony /i/ and /a/ of the last two syllables are changed to /u/ when the plural morpheme /lu/ is added to the word.

Examples:

/ manisi / → / mandisulu / 'men'
/ manasu / → / mansulu / 'minds'
/ reyi / → / re:yulu / 'nights'
/ ra:yi / → / ra:yulu / 'stones'
/ pil:i / → / pil:ulu / 'cats'
/ gir:i / → / gir:ulu / 'pulleys'
/ pandi / → / pandulu / 'pigs'
/ tandri / → / tandrulu / 'fathers'

5.1.1.1.2 [u] → [i] // ki

By the same process the reverse type of change can be observed in the following examples:

rendu + ki ren:tki 'to two'
m:ndu + ki m:ntki 'to three'

5.1.1.1.3 [l:V] → [m:V] // -ti

In the following stems, when they are followed by
the adjectivizing suffix -ti, the /i/ of the suffix 
asimilated the final /a/ of the stem to /e/. Examples:

- nala:ti → n:a:ti  
  'black'
- pac:ati → pac:e ti  
  'green'
- del:ati → tel:et i  
  'white'
- era:ti → er:eti  
  'red'

#### 5.1.1. (IV) \( V \rightarrow V / // \) lu

Stems ending in -li -le, -la and -lu lose their respective vowels before the plural suffix /lu/ with the elision of the vowel the /l/ of the stem and the /l/ of the plural morpheme are merged into one long consonant /ll/. Thus the shape of the stem may be shown as consisting of the final /l/ and that of the suffix as /lu/. Examples:

- gali +lu → ga:l:u  
  'winds'
- moseli +lu → mosel:u  
  'crocodilas'
- mogili +lu → mogili:u  
  'clouds'
- bu:le +lu → bu:lu:u  
  'bones'
- tala +lu → tal:u  
  'heads'
- mola +lu → mol:u  
  'waists'
- ka:lu +lu → ka:lu:u  
  'legs'

#### 5.1.1.1. (V) \( u \rightarrow \emptyset / // \) lu

- mets:u +lu → metlu  
  'hills'
  'forests'
taːndu + lu > taːndlu 'ropes'
poːru + lu > poːrlu 'fights'
boːru + lu > boːrlu 'islands'
ceːnu +lu > ceːnu 'fields'

5.1.1.1 (VI) Cs CØ // p

The final member /s/ of the cluster before the noun-making suffix /pu/. Examples:

kals + pu > kalpu 'a meet'
gels + pu > galpu 'a a win'
pods + pu > podpu 'a prick'
nuːra+pu > nuːrpu 'grinding'

5.1.1.2 (VII) Vːs -> Vːm // p

In the following stems final /s/ is changed to /m/ the noun making suffix /pu/. Examples:

cuːs+pu > cuːmpu 'a show'
toːs+pu > toːmpu 'a push'
leːs+pu > leːmpu 'a rise'

5.1.1.2. Morphologically conditioned morphophonemic changes occurring in stems.

6.1.1.2.1 d (u) -> Ø // case ending

By the process of elision the final or pre-final /d/ is lost when the case marker /ki/ is added to the stem.

Examples: - waːnd(u)+ki > waːnkip 'to him'
dowːaːnd(u)+ki > dowːaːnki 'to whom'
5.1.1.2 (ii) \[ d V \rightarrow tV / case ending: \]

/ d / is changed to / t / when the stem is followed by a case ending. Examples:

rendu + ki renți ki
mündu + ki muntiki
rendu + andu rentiyandu
mündu + andu muntiyandu

The change of / u / to / i/ in the above examples is already explained in terms of vowel harmony (5.1.1.1 (II)).

The change of / u / to / i / in muntiyandu can be explained in terms of analogy.

5.1.1.2 (iii) \[ l:V \rightarrow nt V / case endings \]

Along with the vowel harmony, in the following constructions long / l / and / n / are changed to / nt / before case endings.

il:u + ki intiki
il:u + ni intini
kar:u + ki kantiki
kan:u + ni kantini

5.1.1.2 (iv) \[ - mu \rightarrow n:u / case // lu \]

The final / n : u / of the following stems is in free variation with / n / and / nd / before the plural morpheme / lu /
Examples:

pan:u lu  pan:ulu panlu pandlu 'teeth'
kan:u lu  kan:ulu kanlu kandlu 'eyes'
win:u lu  win:ulu winlu windly 'skies'

5.1.1.2 (v)  \( V \rightarrow o// ti \)

In the formation of ordinals, the final /i/ or /u/ is changed to /o/ before the ordinalizing suffic /ti/.

Examples:

(w)okti ti  (w)oktoti  'first'
rendu ti  rendoti  'second'
na:lugu ti  na:lugoti  'fourth'
padi ti  padoti  'tenth'

5.1.1.3. Morphophonologically conditioned morphophonemic change occurring in stems.

Although these changes are the critically possible, they are not available in the dialect.

5.1.2. Morphophonemic changes occurring in stems

5.1.2.1. Phonologically conditioned morphophonemic changes occurring in suffixes.

5.12.1 (i)  \( lu \rightarrow l:u // o(c) li \)

The stem final /i/ preceded by /nl/ or/ndl/ remains
unchanged before the plural suffix /lu/, but the plural suffix itself changed to /lulu/ in this situation. Example:

\[\text{penli } \rightarrow \text{ pendli +lu penlilu } \rightarrow \text{ pendililu} \quad \text{'marriages'}\]

5.1.2.2. **Morphologically conditioned morphophonemic changes occurring in suffixes.**

(i) \(-\text{ga} \rightarrow \text{nga} //\ a //\)

When the adverbial suffix \(-\text{ga}\) is added to the a-ending stems, the homorganic \(/n/\) intrudes in between the stem and the suffix becoming a part of the letter. Examples:

\[\text{tiiy:a + ga tiy:nga} \quad \text{'sweetly'}\]
\[\text{nali:nga nali:anga} \quad \text{'black'}\]
\[\text{teli:a + ga tel:anga} \quad \text{'white'}\]
\[\text{paci:a + ga paci:anga} \quad \text{'green'}\]

5.1.2.3. **Morphophonologically conditioned morphophonemic changes occurring in stems.**

Such changes are critically possible, but they are not available in the dialect.

5.2 **EXTERNAL SANHÍ**

5.2.1. **Changes occurring in the first of the two words.**

5.2.1.1. Phonologically conditioned morphophonemic changes occurring in the first of the two words.
When a short vowel ending word is followed by a word with the initial vowel, final vowel of the first word is lost. While the initial vowel of the following word prevails. We find the same process in Standard Telugu as well. Examples:

- ba:wa + endu  batwendu  "where is brother-in-law"
- mana + adi  manadi  "our"

5.2.1.2 Morphologically conditioned morphophonemic changes occurring in the first of two words.

(1) \[ l^2V \rightarrow m^2V // \text{post-position.} \]

Along with the vowel harmonizing effect long /l/ and /n/ are changed to /mV/ before post position. (Since postpositions in the Telangai are treated as words, this change is considered morphological rather than grouping it with 5.1.1.2) Examples:

- il:u + mi:nda  inti mi:nda  "on the house"
- kan:u + mi:nda  kanti mi:nda  "on the eye"
- il:u + bayata  inti bayata  "outside the house"

5.2.1.3 Morphophonologically conditioned morphophonemic changes occurring in the first of two words.

Inspite of the theoretical possibility this is not available in the dialect.
5.2.2 Morphophonemic changes occurring in the second of two words.

5.2.2.1 Phonologically conditioned morphophonemic changes occurring in the second of two words.

(1) \[ V : \rightarrow yV(\_)// V : \]

When a word ending with a long vowel in is followed by a word beginning with a vowel /y/ intrudes between the two words becoming a part of the second word whose vowel, if short, is optionally lengthened. Examples:

- na:adi na: yadi 'mine'
- ni + adi ni : yadi 'yours'
- ni + a: ndadi ni:ya:ndadi 'your woman'

5.2.2.1 Morphologically conditioned morphophonemic changes occurring in the second of two words.

Such changes are theoretically possible, but are not available in the dialect.

5.2.2.2 Morphophonologically conditioned morphophonemic changes occurring in the second of two words.

This is also not available in the data.

5.2.3 Morphophonemic changes occurring in the middle of the three words.
5.2.3.1  *Phonologically conditioned morphophonemic changes occurring in the middle of the three words.*

Not available.

5.2.3.2  _Morphologically conditioned morphophonemic changes_ not available in the data.

5.2.3.3  *Morphophonologically conditioned morphophonemic changes in the middle of the three words.*

(1)  \( muni \rightarrow m \)  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{numeral} \\
V \\
p
\end{array}
\]

The conjunctive word / muni / ' and is reduced to / m / when it is followed by a vowel / m / and a bilabial consonant respectively. Examples:

(w) ok:ati+muni+ara  \( \rightarrow \)  (w) ok:atin:ara  'one and a half'
rendu+muni+ara  \( \rightarrow \)  rendu:n:ara  'two and a half'
m:ndu+muni+pz:w  \( \rightarrow \)  m:ndumba:waw  'three and a quarter'

During the process of this change the / p / of the third word is voiced because of the nasal of the second word.