snippets

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Contents

Non-local allomorphy in Kannada

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Within the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993), the exact mechanisms of contextual allomorphy depend on what locality restrictions are imposed during Vocabulary Insertion (Bobaljik 2012, Embick 2003). The marking of tense in Kannada indicative verb forms suggests that allomorphy can be linearly and structurally non-local.

   Kannada indicatives are inflected for tense, person, gender, and number. In affirmative forms (1), a tense suffix attaches to the root, followed by agreement. In negative forms (2), agreement surfaces directly after the root, without a tense suffix or overt negative marker. The table (3) is a partial agreement paradigm for Kannada (Hodson 1859, Melinamath 2014).

(1) nōḍ-utt-ēne
     see-PRES-1.SG
     'I see.'

(2) nōḍ-∅-enu
     see-NEG-1.SG
     'I do/did/will not see.'

(3) Partial indicative verb agreement paradigm

			PRES (-utt-)	PAST (-id-)	FUT (-uv-)	NEG
1		SG	-ēne	-enu	-enu	-enu
		PL	-ēve	-evu	-evu	-evu
3	M	SG	-āne	-anu	-anu	-anu
		PL	-āre	-aru	-aru	-aru
	F	SG	-āḷe	-aḷu	-aḷu	-aḷu
		PL	-āre	-aru	-aru	-aru
	N	SG	-ade	-adu	-adu	-adu
		PL	-ave	-avu	-avu	-avu

I propose the parse in (4). In negative forms, Neg is projected and an impoverishment rule (5) deletes all tense features on T; then, by the Subset Principle (Halle and Marantz 1993), none of the vocabulary items for tense (6) can apply to T. Impoverishment here allows us to capture the systematic lack of tense marking in negative forms.

(4) $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$-v-(Neg)-T-Agr$_1$-Agr$_2$-FV

(5) T $\rightarrow$ ∅ / Neg ___

(6) [PRES] $\leftrightarrow$ -utt̄-
     [PAST] $\leftrightarrow$ -id-
     [FUT] $\leftrightarrow$ -uv-

The issue of locality becomes apparent in agreement marking. Traditionally, the forms in (3) have been treated as a whole as agreement. I argue that "agreement" in Kannada actually reflects three morphemes: Agr_1, a vowel that marks person (7); Agr_2, a consonant that marks gender and number (8); and a final vowel (FV) that is conditioned by tense. As the person and gender/number markers function rather independently, they should not be considered a single Agr morpheme. Furthermore, FV patterns with tense features and should not be considered part of the Agr morphemes.

(7) $[1] \leftrightarrow$ -e-
     elsewhere $\leftrightarrow$ -a-

(8) $[\text{-PL}] \leftrightarrow$ -n-
     $[\text{+F -PL}] \leftrightarrow$ -ḷ-
     $[\text{+N -PL}] \leftrightarrow$ -d-
     $[\text{+PL}] \leftrightarrow$ -v-
     $[\text{-N +PL}] \leftrightarrow$ -r-

What challenges the theory of adjacency is that FV is conditioned by information on T. As shown in (9), the more specified vocabulary item *-e* is inserted in context of $T_{[\text{PRES}]}$, while the elsewhere case *-u* is inserted for past, future, and negative forms. This corroborates the impoverishment rule in (5), as all negative forms have the elsewhere case *-u*.

(9) $[\text{FV}] \leftrightarrow$ -e / $[\text{PRES}]$ ... __
     $[\text{FV}] \leftrightarrow$ -u

However, FV is linearly and structurally separated from T by the Agr morphemes. Positing tense features on FV could resolve the adjacency issue, but this would wrongly predict *-e* and not *-u* in present negative forms. There would need to be two impoverishment rules, one for T and one for FV, but this misses the generalization that negative forms are tenseless. Thus it appears that FV is sensitive to features on T, exhibiting both linearly and structurally non-local contextual allomorphy.

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