

## Non-Uniformity in Kannada Case Suffixations

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Morpho-phonological boundaries are a common environment where phonological asymmetries emerge (McCarthy & Prince 1994a). In Kannada, stem final non-labial vowels, [i, e, a] attest consonant insertion with vowel-initial suffixation. The labial vowel [u] shows two divergent patterns. While some words ending in [u] behave like the non-labials, in others the final [u] fails to surface, as shown in (3). The former pattern is shown in (1 and 2) with the vowel-initial genitive case morpheme.

1) Nouns ending in palatal vowels [i, e] attach the case suffixes with a glide insertion.

benki ↔ benki-j-a	tale ↔ tale-j-a
fire ↔ fire-GEN	head ↔ head-GEN

2) [a]-ending nouns mark a further [± human] distinction in allomorph selection.

pustaka ↔ pustaka-d-a	huduga ↔ huduga-n-a
book ↔ book-GEN	boy ↔ boy-GEN

The genitive morpheme itself has two allomorphs [-a] and [-ina]. While [-a] is attached to stems ending in non-labials, the labial ending stems always attach [-ina], as shown in (3).

3) The two types of [u] ending stems

a.	No final [u] when suffixed	ka:lu ↔ ka:lina leg ↔ leg-GEN
b.	With final [u] when suffixed	guru ↔ gur-w-ina teacher ↔ teacher-GEN

Further, pluralized nouns in Kannada do not attach [-ina] genitive despite ending in [u].

4) Genitives of pluralized nouns

ka:lu ↔ ka:luga[u]	ka:luga[u] ↔ ka:luga[-a]
leg ↔ leg-PL	leg.PL ↔ leg.PL-GEN

In this paper we propose that pluralization and case suffixation form two distinct derivational cycles (Kiparsky, 1985; Kenstowicz, 1994) that interact producing opaque outputs. For example, if we assume that the stem final [u] in (3a) is not present in the UR and surfaces only if the word is ending in a consonant, then the plural of 'leg' should have been [[ka:l]- ga[u]] and not [[ka:lu]- ga[u]] as seen in (4). Further, despite the plural marker ending in [u], the genitive allomorph that attaches after the plural is not [-ina].

Selected References.

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