

Features

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Distributed Morphology – WS 2009/2010

A simple system for Person Features

1st person	[Person 1]
2nd person	[Person 2]
3rd person	[Person 3]

(e.g. Stump 2001)

Potawatomi Personal Pronouns

n-in	'I'
k-in	'thou'
w-in	'(s)he/it'
n-in-an	'we (exc.)'
k-in-an	'we (inc.)'
k-in-wa	'ye'
w-in-wa	'they (animate)'

- ▶ cannot be captured by the simple feature system

A Standard System for Person Features (Noyer 1992)

1st person exclusive	[+1 -2]
1st person inclusive	[+1 +2]
2nd person	[-1 +2]
3rd person	[-1 -2]

Potawatomi Personal Pronouns: Affixes by Features

k-	addressee involved	[+2]
n-	addressee excluded but speaker involved	[+1]
w-	referent not local	[-1-2]
-nan	lful plural	[+1 -pl]
-wa	lless plural (animate)	[-1 -pl]

An even Richer Feature System for Person

[+1] A FS containing [+1] denotes a non-empty group containing the Speaker

[-1] A FS containing [-1] denotes a non-empty group **not** containing the Speaker

[+2] A FS containing [+2] denotes a non-empty group containing the Hearer

[-2] A FS containing [-2] denotes a non-empty group **not** containing the Hearer

[+3] A FS containing [+3] denotes a non-empty group containing exclusively non-SAPs

[-3] A FS containing [-3] denotes a non-empty group **not** containing exclusively non-SAPs

(Trommer 2008)

Ambiguous Inverse: The Dumí Marked Scenario Affix

“This pattern reflects a pronominal markedness hierarchy The Dumí marked forms express all scenarios involving a first or second person actant except those with a first person agent or subject.” (van Driem, 1993:123)

a-	-
2 → 1	1 → 2
3 → 1	1 → 3
3 → 2	3 → 3
2 → 3	1
2	3

Ambiguous Inverse: The Dumi Marked Scenario Affix

marked		unmarked	
$2_s \rightarrow 1_o$	$[+Nom -1]_s[-3]_{s,o}$	$1_s \rightarrow 2_o$	$*[+Nom -1][-3]_{s,o}$
$3_s \rightarrow 1_o$	$[+Nom -1]_s[-3]_o$	$1_s \rightarrow 3$	$*[+Nom -1][-3]_s$
$3_s \rightarrow 2$	$[+Nom -1]_s[-3]_o$	$3_s \rightarrow 3$	$[+Nom -1]_s *[-3]$
$2_s \rightarrow 3$	$[+Nom -1]_s[-3]_s$	1_s	$*[+Nom -1][-3]_s$
2_s	$[+Nom -1]_s[-3]_s$	3_s	$[+Nom -1]_s *[-3]$

$[+Nom -1] / \text{_____}[-3]$

$[+Nom -1] / [\text{_____}-3]$

$+Nom -1 / \{-3\}$

Possible Person Categories

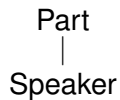
- 3rd person** [+3 -1 -2] a nonempty group containing exclusively non-SAPs and not containing Speaker or Hearer
- 1st exclusive** [-3 +1 -2] a nonempty group **not** containing exclusively non-SAPs containing the Speaker but not the Hearer
- 1st inclusive** [-3 +1 +2] a nonempty group **not** containing exclusively non-SAPs containing the Speaker and the Hearer
- 2nd person** [-3 -1 +2] a nonempty group **not** containing exclusively non-SAPs containing the Hearer but not the Speaker

Impossible Person Categories

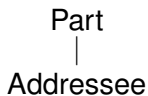
- *[+3 +1 +2] a nonempty group containing exclusively non-SAPs and containing the Speaker and the Hearer
- *[+3 +1 -2] a nonempty group containing exclusively non-SAPs and containing the Speaker but not the Hearer
- *[+3 -1 +2] a nonempty group containing exclusively non-SAPs and containing the Hearer but not the Speaker
- *[-3 -1 -2] a nonempty group **not** containing exclusively non-SAPs and not containing the Hearer or the Speaker

A privative feature system

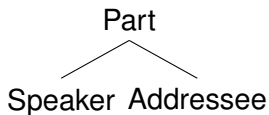
1st Per Exc.



2nd Per



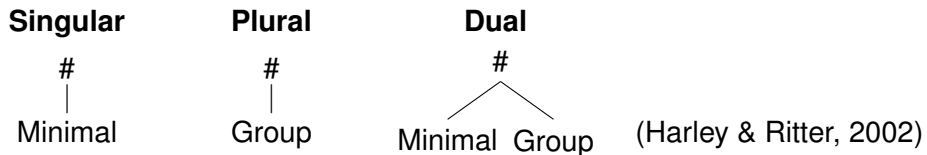
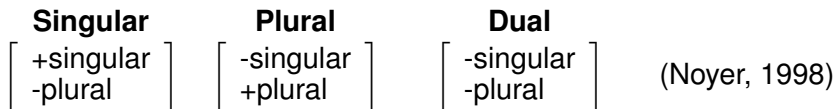
1st Per Inc



3rd Person

(Harley & Ritter, 2002)

Feature Systems for Number



Constructed Dual in Hopi (Corbett, 2000)

Singular

- (1) Pam **wari**
 that ran(sg.)
 'He/she man ran'

Plural

- (2) **Puma** yu?tu
 those ran(pl.)
 'They (pl.) ran'

Dual

- (3) **Puma wari**
 those ran(sg.)
 'They (2) ran'

Pronominale Flexion

	Maskulinum	Neutrum	Femininum	Plural
Nominativ	dies- er	dies- es	dies- e	dies- e
Akkusativ	dies- en	dies- es	dies- e	dies- e
Dativ	dies- em	dies- em	dies- er	dies- en
Genitiv	dies- es	dies- es	dies- er	dies- er

Pronominale Flexion (Endungen)

	Mask	Neut	Fem	Plu
Nominativ	er	es	e	e
Akkusativ	en	es	e	e
Dativ	em	em	er	en
Genitiv	es	es	er	er

Bierwisch (1967) über Merkmalszerlegung

[mɛnən]

man + masculine + plural + dative

[+ masculine
+ plural
+ dative
MAN]

Wald-und Wiesen-Synkretismus: -es

	Mask	Neut	Fem	Plu
Nominativ	er	es	e	e
Akkusativ	en		e	e
Dativ	em	em	er	en
Genitiv	es	es	er	er

Merkmalszerlegung für Kasus

Nominativ = [−governed **−oblique**]

Akkusativ = [+governed **−oblique**]

Dativ = [+governed +oblique]

Genitiv = [−governed +oblique]

Merkmalszerlegung und -es

		Mask	Neut	Fem	Plu
Nominativ	[-gov -obl]	er	es	e	e
Akkusativ	[+gov -obl]	en		e	e
Dativ	[+gov +obl]	em	em	er	en
Genitiv	[-gov +obl]	es	es	er	er

[**-oblique** -masculine -feminine] → **es**

Bierwisch (1967) über Geordnete Regeln

“The choice between unordered and ordered rules is obvious. The use of ordered rules is to be preferred not only because of the economy of features, but also because the simplification is achieved by very general principles governing the form of grammars” (p. 266).

Um-die-Ecke-Synkretismus: -er/-en

	Mask	Neut	Fem	Plu
Nominativ	er	es	e	e
Akkusativ	en	es	e	e
Dativ	em	em	er	en
Genitiv	es	es		

Geordnete Regeln und -er/-en

		Mask	Neut	Fem	Plu
Nominativ	[+gov +obl]	er	es	e	e
Akkusativ	[+gov +obl]	en	es	e	e
Dativ	[+gov +obl]	em	em		en
Genitiv	[+gov +obl]	es	es	er	

[+obl +gov +plur] → **en**

[+obl] → **er**

([] → **er**)