Les marqueurs de personne du kurde sorani à l'interface morphologie-syntaxe

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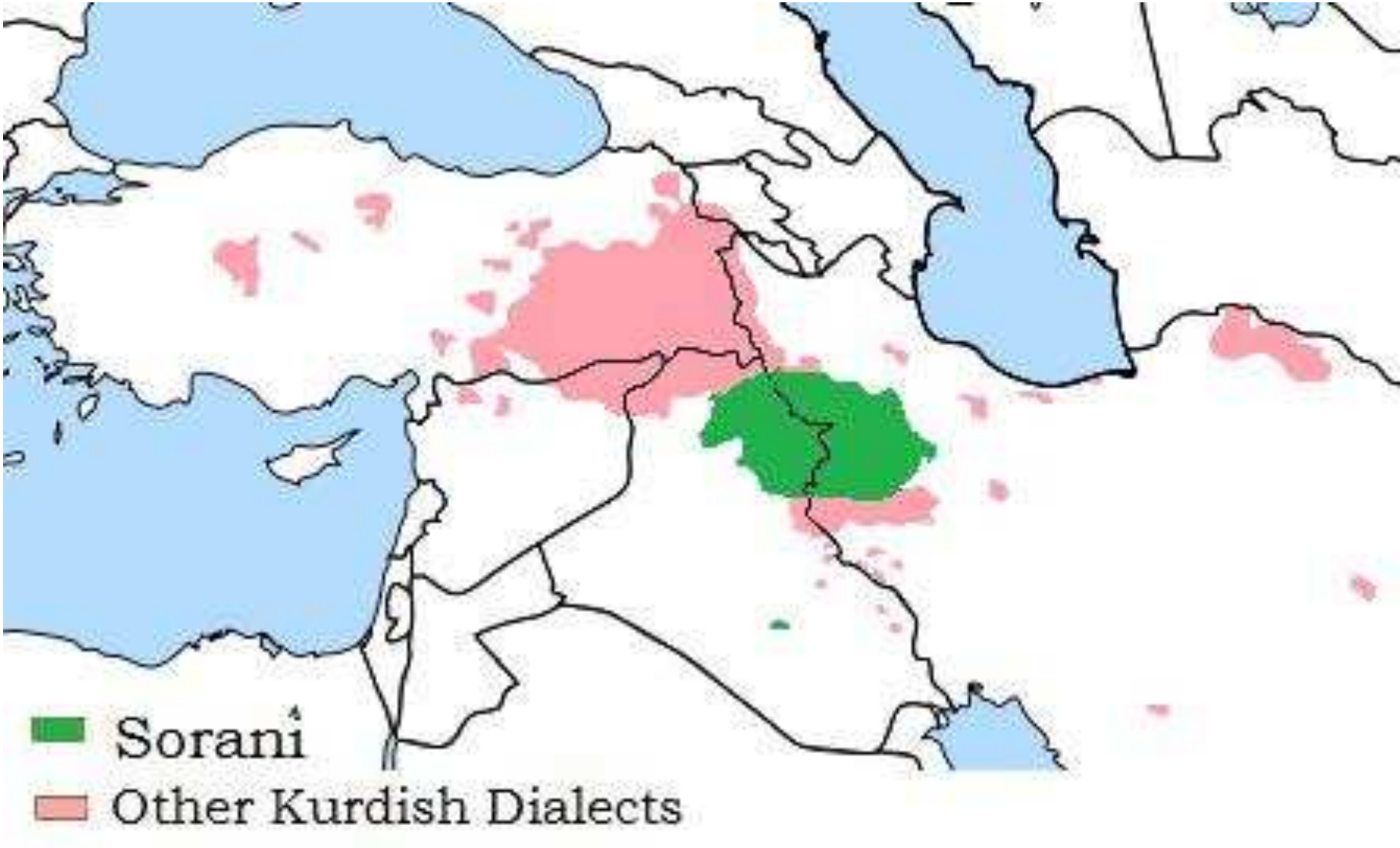
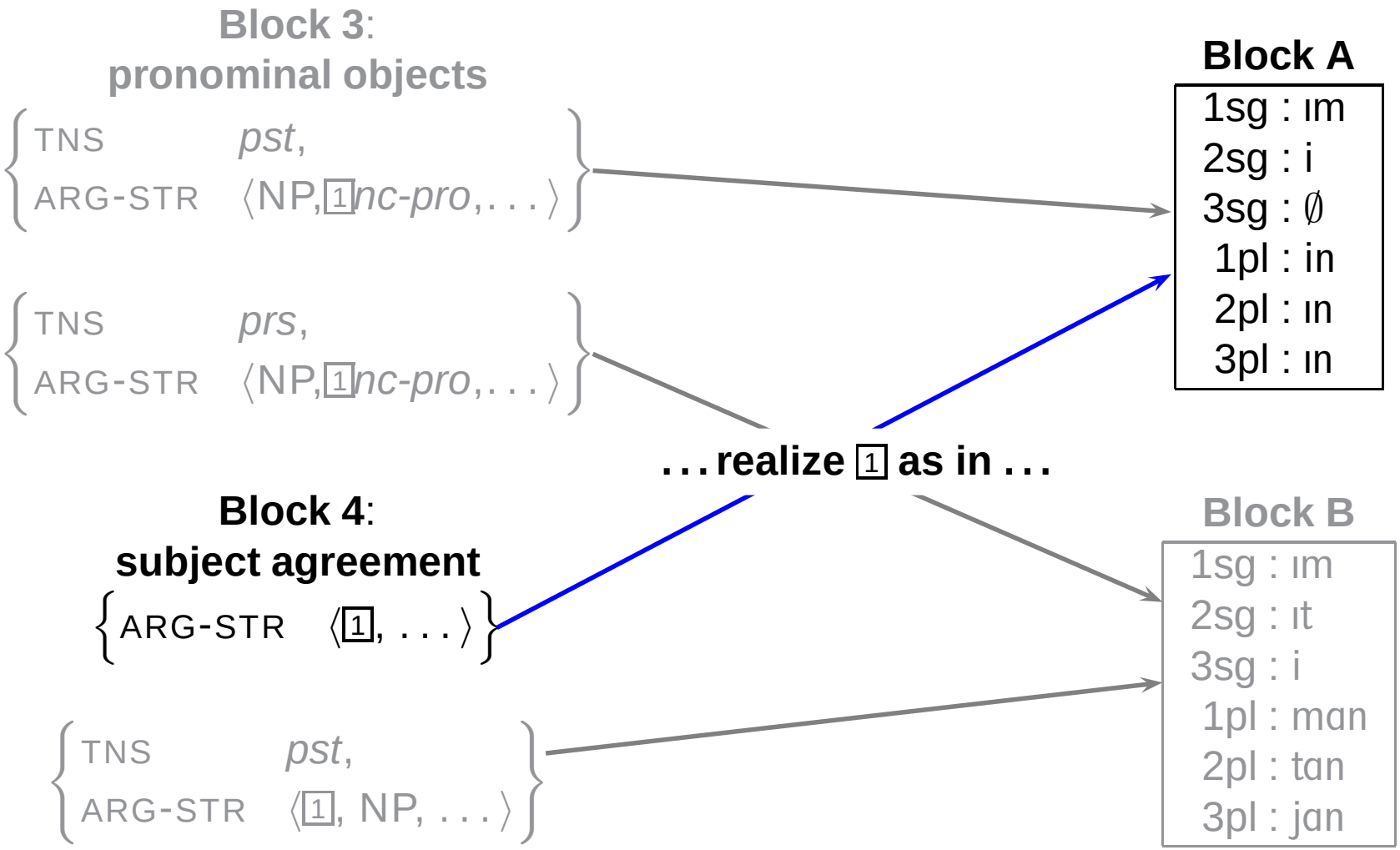
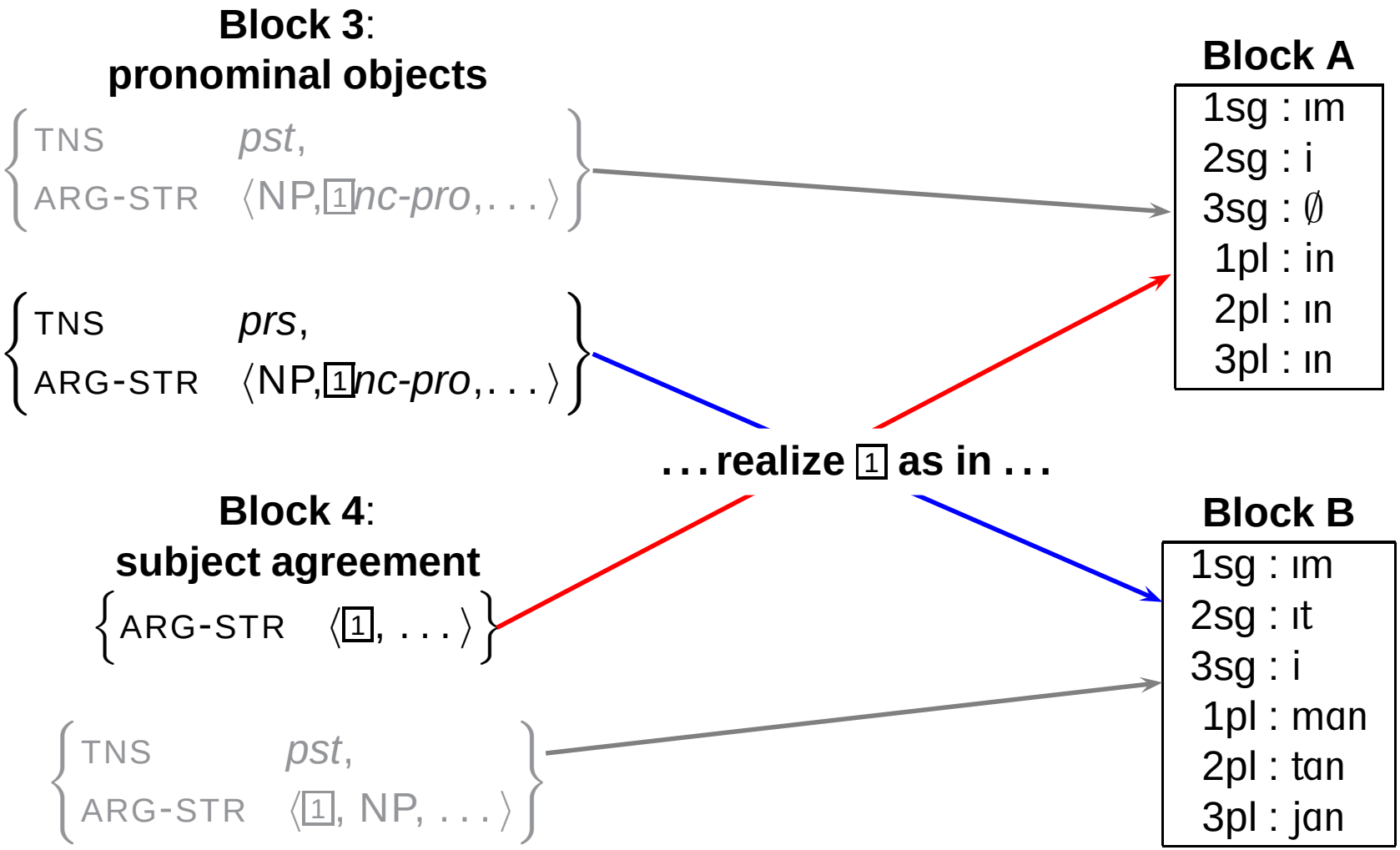
Répartition géographique des dialectes kurdes



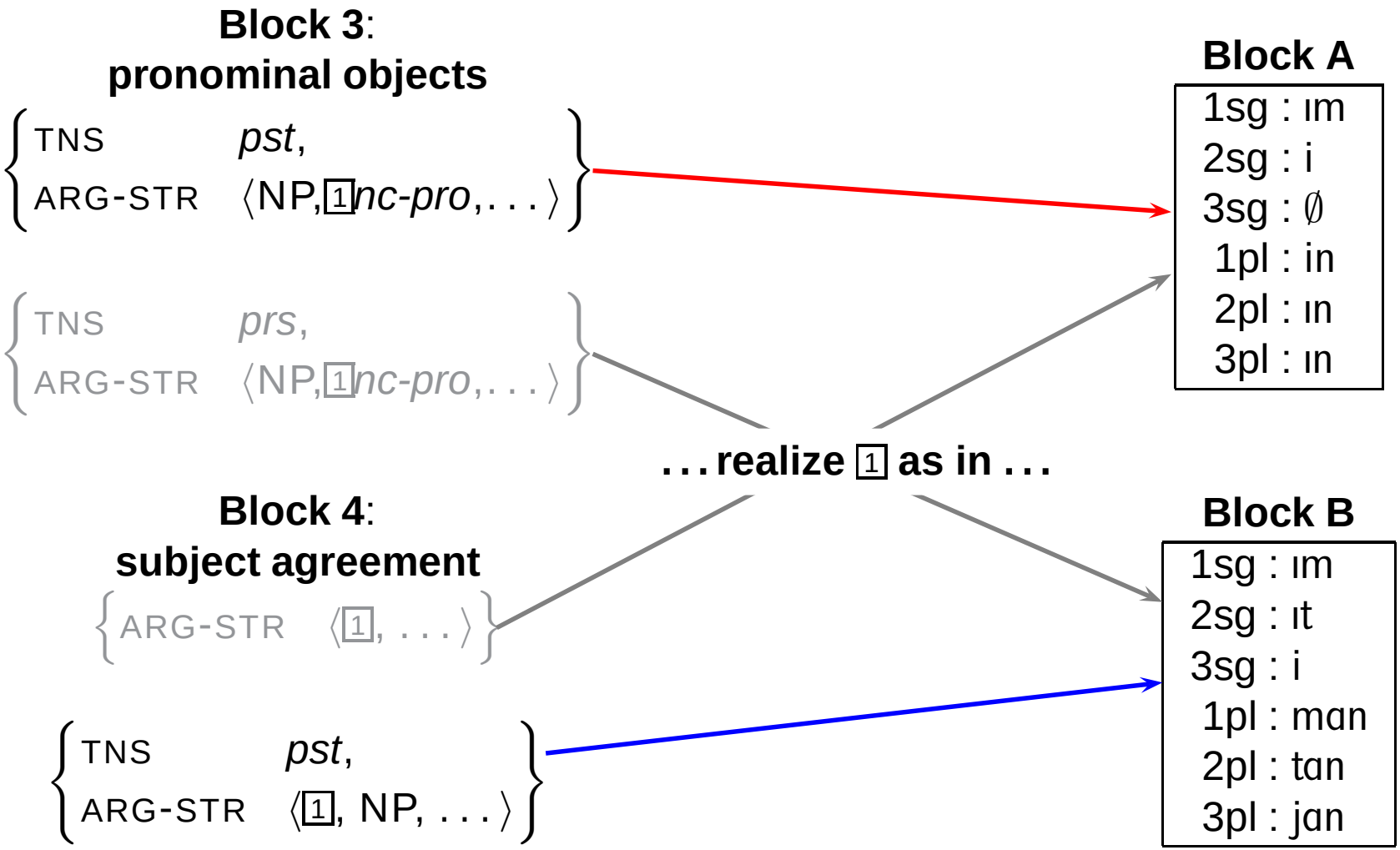
Past or present intransitive



Present transitive



Past transitive



Deriving Figures 7 and 8: block 0

- To be realized:

$$X, \begin{bmatrix} krın & \\ \text{STEMS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SLOT1} & \text{kr} \\ \text{SLOT2} & \text{kir} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{TENSE} & prs \\ \text{REALIS} & + \\ \text{POLARITY} & + \\ \text{ASPECT} & unbd \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \langle [canon, 3sg], [nc\text{-}pro, 3pl] \rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

- Compatible block 0 rules:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{BASE} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{FEATS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{TENSE} & prs \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CLASS} & \begin{bmatrix} verb & \\ \text{STEMS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SLOT1} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{SLOT2} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{BLOCK} & 0 \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \boxed{0} \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} stem & \\ \text{PH} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$$

- Output: $\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} stem & \\ \text{PH} & \text{kır} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$

Deriving Figures 7 and 8: block 1

- To be realized:

$$\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle, \textit{krɪn}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{TENSE} & \textit{prs} \\ \text{REALIS} & + \\ \text{POLARITY} & + \\ \text{ASPECT} & \textit{unbd} \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle [\textit{canon}, \textit{3sg}], [\textit{nc-pro}, \textit{3pl}] \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

- Compatible block 1 rules:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{BASE} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{FEATS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{ASPECT} & \textit{unbounded} \\ \text{REALIS} & + \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CLASS} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{BLOCK} & \textit{1} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \oplus \boxed{1}$$

- Output: $\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$

Deriving Figures 7 and 8: block 2

- To be realized:

$$\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle, \textit{krɪn}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{TENSE} & \textit{prs} \\ \text{REALIS} & + \\ \text{POLARITY} & + \\ \text{ASPECT} & \textit{unbd} \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle [\textit{canon}, \textit{3sg}], [\textit{nc-pro}, \textit{3pl}] \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

- Compatible block 2 rules: none
- Output: $\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$

Deriving Figures 7 and 8: block 3

- To be realized:

$$\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle, \textit{krɪn}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{TENSE} & \textit{prs} \\ \text{REALIS} & + \\ \text{POLARITY} & + \\ \text{ASPECT} & \textit{unbd} \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle [\textit{canon}, \textit{3sg}], [\textit{nc-pro}, \textit{3pl}] \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

- Compatible block 2 rules:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{BASE} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{FEATS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG-STR} & \langle [], \boxed{2}\textit{nc-pro}, \ldots \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CLASS} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{BLOCK} & \textit{3} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{narrowest}\left(\begin{bmatrix} \text{BASE} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{FEATS} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{CLASS} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{BLOCK} & \textit{B} \end{bmatrix} \right)$$

- Output: go check $\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle, \textit{krɪn}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{3pl} \end{bmatrix}$ in block B

Deriving Figures 7 and 8: block B

- To be realized: $\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle, \textit{krɪn}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{3pl} \end{bmatrix}$
- Compatible block B rules: $\begin{bmatrix} \text{BASE} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{FEATS} & [\textit{3pl}] \\ \text{CLASS} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{BLOCK} & \textit{B} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \boxed{1} \bigcirc \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$
- Output: either $\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$

  or $\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$

Deriving Figure 7: block 4

- To be realized:

$$\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle, \textit{krɪn}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{TENSE} & \textit{prs} \\ \text{REALIS} & + \\ \text{POLARITY} & + \\ \text{ASPECT} & \textit{unbd} \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle [\textit{canon}, \textit{3sg}], [\textit{nc-pro}, \textit{3pl}] \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

- Compatible block 4 rules:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{BASE} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{FEATS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG-STR} & \langle \boxed{2}, \ldots \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CLASS} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{BLOCK} & \textit{4} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{narrowest}\left(\begin{bmatrix} \text{BASE} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{FEATS} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{CLASS} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{BLOCK} & \textit{A} \end{bmatrix} \right)$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{BASE} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{FEATS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{TENSE} & \textit{prst} \\ \text{ARG-STR} & \langle [\textit{3sg}], \ldots \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CLASS} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{BLOCK} & \textit{4} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \boxed{1} \oplus \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{sfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{ɛt} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \quad \leftarrow \text{most specific}$$

- Output: $\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{sfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{ɛt} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$

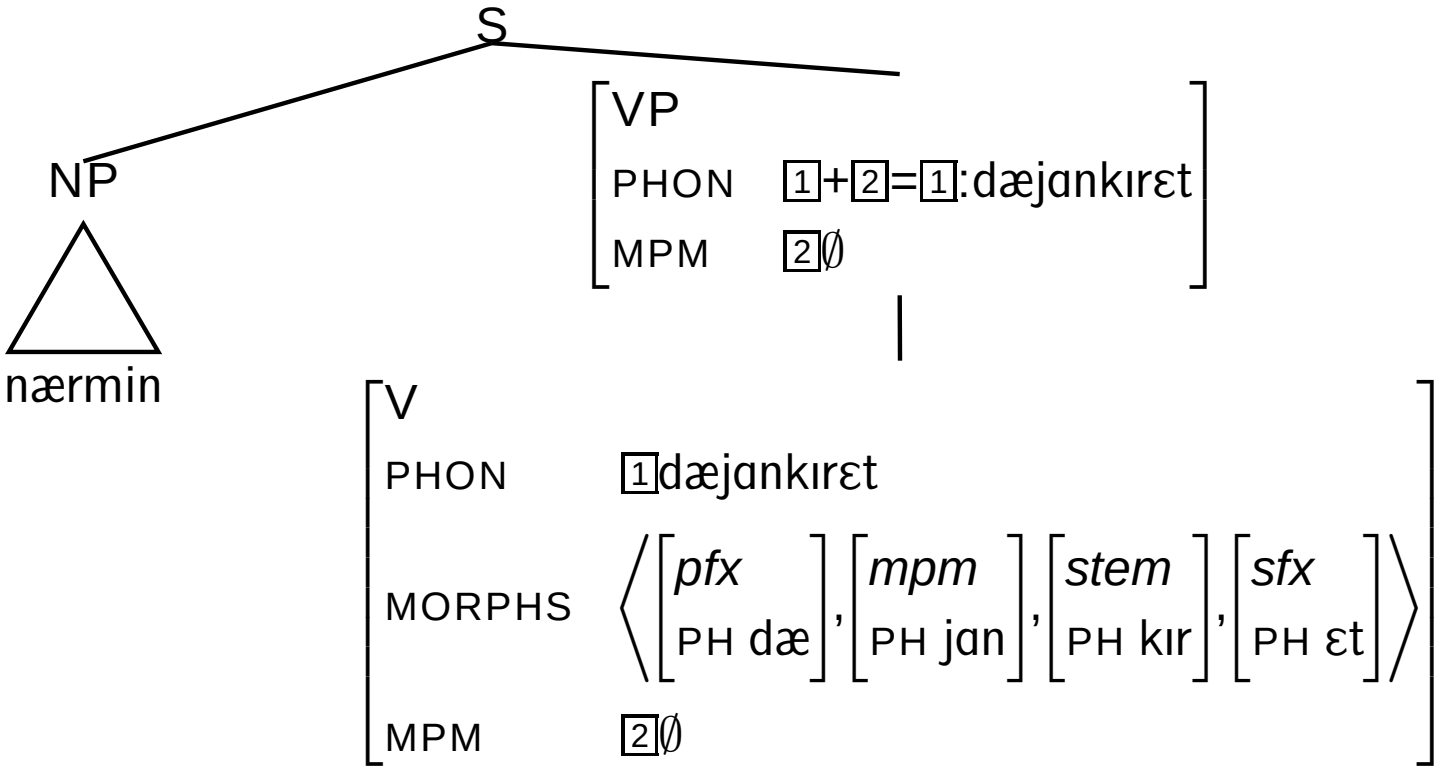
Deriving Figure 7: word-level phonology

(37) $$\textit{word} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{phon} & \boxed{1} + \cdots + \boxed{n} \\ \textsc{morphs} & \left\langle \left(\begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} & \\ \textsc{phon} & \boxed{0} \end{bmatrix} \right), [\textsc{phon} \quad \boxed{1}], \ldots, [\textsc{phon} \quad \boxed{n}] \right\rangle \\ \textsc{mpm} & \boxed{0} \end{bmatrix}$$

Here: $$\begin{bmatrix} \textsc{phon} & \text{dæ}+\text{jɑn}+\text{kɪr}+\text{ɛt} \\ \textsc{morphs} & \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{sfx} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{ɛt} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\ \textsc{mpm} & \emptyset \end{bmatrix}$$

Deriving Figure 7: syntax

The value of MPM is inserted after the first VP constituent (39). But here MPM is the empty string ⇒ no effect.



Back to block B

- To be realized: $\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle, \textit{krɪn}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{3pl} \end{bmatrix}$
- Compatible block B rules: $\begin{bmatrix} \textsc{base} & \boxed{1} \\ \textsc{feats} & [\textit{3pl}] \\ \textsc{class} & \textit{verb} \\ \textsc{block} & \textit{B} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \boxed{1} \bigcirc \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$
- Output: either $\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$

  or $\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$

Deriving Figure 8: block 4

- To be realized:

$$\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle, \textit{krɪn}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{TENSE} & \textit{prs} \\ \text{REALIS} & + \\ \text{POLARITY} & + \\ \text{ASPECT} & \textit{unbd} \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle [\textit{canon}, \textit{3sg}], [\textit{nc-pro}, \textit{3pl}] \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

- Compatible block 4 rules:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{BASE} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{FEATS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG-STR} & \langle \boxed{2}, \ldots \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CLASS} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{BLOCK} & \textit{4} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{narrowest}\left(\begin{bmatrix} \text{BASE} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{FEATS} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{CLASS} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{BLOCK} & \textit{A} \end{bmatrix} \right)$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{BASE} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{FEATS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{TENSE} & \textit{prst} \\ \text{ARG-STR} & \langle [\textit{3sg}], \ldots \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CLASS} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{BLOCK} & \textit{4} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \boxed{1} \oplus \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{sfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{ɛt} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \quad \leftarrow \text{most specific}$$

- Output: $\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{sfx} \\ \text{PH} \quad \text{ɛt} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$

Deriving Figure 8: word-level phonology

(37) $$\textit{word} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{phon} & \boxed{1} + \cdots + \boxed{n} \\ \textsc{morphs} & \left\langle \left(\begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} & \\ \textsc{phon} & \boxed{0} \end{bmatrix} \right), [\textsc{phon} \quad \boxed{1}], \ldots, [\textsc{phon} \quad \boxed{n}] \right\rangle \\ \textsc{mpm} & \boxed{0} \end{bmatrix}$$

Here: $$\begin{bmatrix} \textsc{phon} & \text{dæ+kɪr+ɛt} \\ \textsc{morphs} & \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{mpm} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{pfx} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{dæ} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stem} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{kɪr} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \textit{sfx} & \\ \textsc{ph} & \text{ɛt} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\ \textsc{mpm} & \text{jɑn} \end{bmatrix}$$

Deriving Figure 8: syntax

The value of MPM is inserted after the first VP constituent (39). Here a genuine second position clitic (jɑn) is realized.