

Contrasting (Doubled) Clitics & Agreement Affixes: A View from Tigrinya Pronominal Affixes
Keffyalew Gebregziabher
University of Toronto

In this paper, I will discuss the nature of Tigrinya (Semitic, Ethiopia & Eritrea; SOV) pronominal affixes in possessives, modal necessity and copular clauses, and determine whether they are (doubled) clitics or agreement markers (cf. (1)). Tigrinya employs different pronominal affixes to code full subject and object DPs: While subject affixes always appear on the verb, object affixes only present when the full object DPs are pragmatically prominent or specific (2). When both a goal argument and a theme argument are present, only a single argument is represented on the verb; i.e., the object affix must be associated with the goal, not the theme (3). Using several syntactic diagnostics (Zwicky and Pullum 1983, Perlmutter 2009, Nevins 2011, Baker and Kramer 2018 among others), I argue that Tigrinya subject and object pronominal affixes of the type in (1) are agreement markers, but object pronominal affixes of the type in (2)-(3) may have a hybrid property – both as agreement and doubled clitics (in the sense of Baker and Kramer 2018).

I will also address the mismatch in grammatical coding of the pronominal affixes in (1) – why the object pronominal affix codes the possessor and the subject pronominal affix codes the possessed DP – as well as the issue of whether the element *ʔall(əw)*- warrants the same treatment in all appearances. I argue that the mismatch is the result of “quirkiness” (in the sense of Baker 2012a) which involves raising and that *ʔall(əw)*- spells out an applicative head (McGinnis 1998, Pylkkänen 2008, Cowper and Bjorkman 2016) – an affected argument-introducing head whose specifier merges the subject before raising to the specifier of a higher functional head.

- (1) a. Clausal possession
 kilitə məs'hafti *ʔalləww-u-wwə*
 two book.PL COP-3M.PL.Subj-3M.SG.Obj
 ‘He has two books.’
 b. Modal necessity
 lomʕanti ki-məs'iʔ *ʔallə-wwə*
 today FUT-come.IMPF COP-3M.SG.Obj
 ‘He has to come today.’
 c. Modal Auxiliary
 yi-məs'iʔ *ʔall-o*
 3SG.Subj-come.IMPF COP-3M.SG.Obj
 ‘He is coming.’
- (2) Differential Object Marking
 a. [nissu] [nə-t-a məkina] wəsɨd-u-*(**wwa**)
 He ACC-D-F.SG book take.PF-3M.SG.Subj-3F.SG.Obj
 ‘He took the car.’
 b. [nissu] *(nə-t-a) [məkina] wəsɨd-u-**wwa**
 He ACC-D-3F.SG car take.PF-3M.SG.Subj-3F.SG.Obj
 Intended: ‘He took a car.’
- (3) Single argument = only Goal co-referenced
 a. [ni-t-a səbəyti] [ʔi-t-i gənzəb] hib-u-**wwa**/***wwə**
 D-3F.SG woman ACC-D-3M.SG money give.PF-3M.SG.Subj-3F/M.SG.Obj
 ‘He gave (the/a) money to the woman.’
 b. [ni-t-a səbəyti] [ʔit-i gənzəb]sərrix'-u-**wwa**/***wwə**
 ACC-D-3F.SG woman D-3F.SG money steal.PF-3M.SG.Subj-3F/M.SG.Obj
 ‘He stole the money from the woman.’

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