CLITIC DOUBLING OR OBJECT AGREEMENT: AN AMHARIC INVESTIGATION
Ruth Kramer, Georgetown University / April 29, 2011

1 INTRODUCTION[1]

<u>Initial Question:</u> what is the status of a particular morpheme that attaches to verbs in Amharic (Ethiosemitic)?
- This morpheme co-varies in form with the phi-features of an internal argument of the verb
- Referred to henceforth as the **object marker**

(1)   Almaz tämari-w-ɨn   ayy-ätʃtʃ-**ɨw**
        Almaz student-DEF-ACC see-3FS.S-**3MS.O**
        Almaz saw the male student.[2]

(2)   Almaz tämari-wa-n   ayy-ätʃtʃ-**at**
        Almaz student-DEF.F-ACC see-3FS.S-**3FS.O**
        Almaz saw the female student.

Is the complicated behavior of object markers best accounted for by analyzing them as…
- the reflex of object agreement (realization of a bundle of phi-features on some functional head) or as…
- doubled clitics (pronoun-like morphemes that move to be close to the verb)?

<u>Result:</u> despite superficially resembling agreement, the object marker is best analyzed as a doubled clitic.

<u>Analysis:</u> Doubled clitics in Amharic have the category D, and move to adjoin to *v* after an Agree relationship has been established between *v* and the doubled DP (Rezac 2008, Nevins 2010).
- This analysis captures both the agreement-like and the clitic-like properties of the object marker.
- NB: Work in progress

<u>Big Picture:</u>
- A case study in how to distinguish clitic doubling from agreement using multiple diagnostics (cf. Nevins 2010, Culbertson 2010, Coppock and Wechsler to appear)
- Investigation of how best to capture the differences and similarities between doubled clitics and agreement markers in terms of linguistic theory

---

[2] Gloss abbreviations: 1 - first person, 2 - second person, 3 - third person, ACC - accusative case, AUX – auxiliary, C – complementizer, DAT – dative, DEF - definite marker, F - feminine, GEN – genitive, GER – gerund, IMP – imperative, IMPF - imperfect, JUSS – jussive, M - masculine, NEG – negation, NEUT – neuter, NOM – nominative, .O - object marker, PASS – passive, PF - perfect, PL – plural, REFL – reflexive, .S - subject agreement, S - singular Examples without any attributed source are from my own fieldwork.

Amharic = **አማርኛ**
➢ Member of the Ethiosemitic branch of Semitic language family (along with Tigrinya, Tigre, Harari, etc.)
➢ National language of Ethiopia, ~15 million monolinguals, lingua franca
➢ Like Semitic: root and pattern morphology, similar basic vocabulary (**ቤት** *bet* = house, **ራስ** *ras* = head)
➢ Unlike Semitic: SOV, postpositions = head-final tendencies (influence of the neighboring Cushitic languages, e.g., Somali, Afar, etc.)

Plan
• Starter empirical and theoretical distinctions between agreement and clitic doubling (Section 2)
• Basics of the object marker: initially seems like agreement, but its distribution is nearly identical to that of a doubled clitic (Section 3)
• It also is like a doubled clitic in terms of its morphological properties and its behavior in ditransitive clauses (Sections 4, 5)
• Sketch an analysis that captures the agreement-like and doubled clitic-like properties of the object marker (Section 6)
• Conclusion (Section 7)

2 AGREEMENT AND CLITIC DOUBLING

2.1 Empirical Basics

What is the difference between 'agreement' and 'clitic doubling' empirically?

(3)   <u>Object Agreement:</u> Nahuatl
        ni-***(k)-**te:moa   šo:čitl
        1S.S-3S.O-seek   flower
        'I seek a flower.' (Stiebels 1999:790)

        • From the 108 languages surveyed in Baker 2008, roughly 50% have object agreement (although few Indo-European languages do; Baker 2008:196).

(4)   <u>Clitic Doubling</u>
        a. Rioplatense Spanish   b. Greek
            (lo)   vimos   a Juan.   **(ton)**   idhame   to   Jani
            3MS   saw.1PL a Juan   3MS   saw.1PL the John.ACC
            'We saw Juan.' (Jaeggli 1982:14)   'We saw John.' (Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2003)

        • Statistical distribution cross-linguistically unknown; best-investigated cases are Spanish (Standard and dialects), Greek, Romanian, (other) Balkan languages.[3]

One answer: not much. They both involve a morpheme that covaries in features with an internal argument.
• In much descriptive/typological literature, agreement is used as a cover term for both phenomena for this reason (see e.g., Steele 1978, Corbett 2006, discussion in Woolford 2003)

---

[3] On Spanish, see e.g., Jaeggli 1982, Bleam 1999, Suñer 1988, Uriagereka 1995, Ormazabal and Romero 2010. On Greek, see e.g., Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003, 2004 and Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2003. On Romanian, see e.g., Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, 1994. On Balkan languages, see Kallulli and Tasmowski 2008. See also Borer 1984 on Hebrew and Aoun 1999 on Arabic.

Another answer: a lot.

- There are many empirical differences between canonical agreement (Corbett 2006) and clitic doubling – mostly concerning distribution and morphological properties.
    - Basic distribution difference: obligatory (agreement) vs. optional (clitic doubling)
    - Basic morphological difference: inflectional affix (agreement) vs. clitic (clitic doubling)
- Many more differences to come!

Focus today: does the Amharic object marker have the morphological properties and distribution of an agreement marker, or of a doubled clitic?

2.2 Theoretical Approach

Another way of approaching the differences between agreement and clitic doubling is through the falsifiable predictions of their respective theories.

- What predictions do our theories of agreement and clitic doubling make? Are these predictions borne out for the object marker in Amharic?

Theory of Agreement: Minimalist Agree

- I adopt a conventional Minimalist formalization of agreement in terms of the Agree relation (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004) -- a relation between a functional head and a DP established in the syntax.

- A functional head with unvalued phi-features (v for object agreement; the 'probe') searches downwards into its c-command domain for a DP with valued phi-features (the 'goal').

(5)
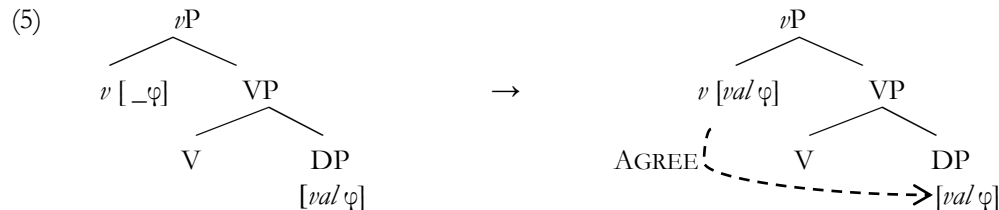
- When the probe finds a DP with valued phi-features, they enter into the Agree relation.
    - The DP values the phi-features on the probe.
    - The valued phi-features on the functional head are realized at PF as the agreement marker.

- Case: Baker (to appear) argues that accusative case in Amharic is not assigned via Agree, but is instead assigned when there is a c-command relationship between two DPs in a clause.
    - The lower DP receives accusative; cf. Marantz 1991
    - I will follow Baker in this respect, and therefore the theory of agreement does not make any predictions about Case/case in Amharic.

> Object agreement = realization of valued phi features on v

Theory of Clitic Doubling

- There is a bifurcation within the literature on clitic doubling, depending on whether the clitic is analyzed as an unusual agreement marker or a morpheme that moves into the verbal complex from within the DP.[4]

---

[4] This bifurcation can also be couched as the base-generation (=agreement) vs movement debate. See the detailed review of the clitic doubling literature in Anagnostopoulou 2006.

(6)   Clitic Doubling Literature

| Doubled clitics = | Doubled clitics = |
unusual agreement markers	moved weak pronoun
(Borer 1984, Suñer 1988,	(Torrego 1988, Uriagereka 1995,
Sportiche 1996, Anderson 2005)	Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003, 2004,
	Rezac 2008, Roberts 2010)
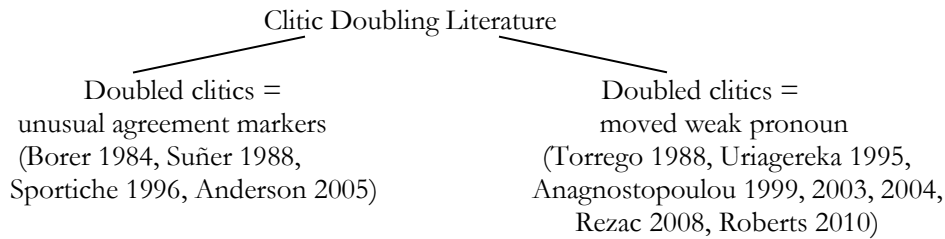
  o Some research combines both analyses, depending on the type of clitic (Bleam 1999, Ormazabal and Romero 2010)

- Within Minimalism, movement approaches have mostly been pursued (partially because this approach fits better within the theory itself) although the details are still being hammered out.
    o Will adopt this approach so we stay within one framework

- The movement approach captures certain pronoun-like properties of the doubled clitic by saying the clitics are actually D heads that move from within the DP to a functional head close to the verb.[5]
    o T for Anagnostopoulou 2003, v for Nevins 2010, F for Uriagereka 1995

(7)
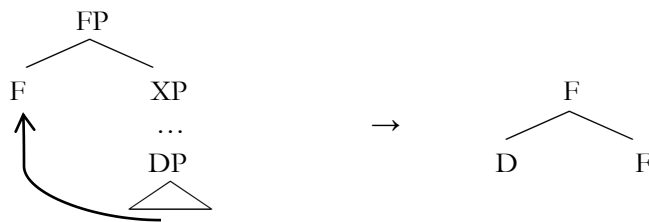
- The movement approach raises questions about the structure of the doubled DP, since clearly the determiner is still present within the DP.

(8)   **la** oían   a **la** niña   **Rioplatense Spanish**
        3FS listen.3PL to the girl
        'They listened to the girl.' (Roberts 2010:130, (146a))

- There are various potential answers to this question.
    o Feature movement: the formal features of the D move to F (Anagnostopoulou 2003)
    o The clitic is a pronominal copy of the whole DP, similar to a resumptive pronoun.
    o The structure of the DP is unusual (the 'big DP' hypothesis: Uriagereka 1995, Nevins 2010, Roberts 2010, and many others)
        ▪ Specific example: the clitic may be adjoined to the DP (Nevins 2010)

(9)

---
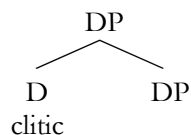
[5] As for case, early work on clitic doubling (e.g., Jaeggli 1982) assumed that the clitic 'absorbed' accusative case since clitic doubled DPs must be marked with the preposition *a* in Spanish ('Kayne's Generalization'). However, Kayne's Generalization has not held up under closer scrutiny of clitic doubling in Spanish (Suñer 1988) and across languages (Anagnostopoulou 2006). I thus set case aside for most of the present discussion, until the very end.

> Doubled clitic = D that has undergone movement to a verbal functional head (T, *v*, F)

Summary of Differences between Agreement and Clitic Doubling
- Agreement = affix, obligatory, realization of valued phi features on a functional head
- Clitic doubling = clitic, optional, D that has moved to a verbal functional head

2.3 Previous Work on the Amharic Object Marker

- Most previous research has referred to the object marker as object agreement (see e.g., Amberber 1996, Amberber 2005, Engdashet 1998, Demeke 2003, Gasser 1983, Yabe 2007, Yimam 2004, 2006).
  - In most cases, though, the term 'agreement' seems to be being used in its cover term sense, without any particular theoretical commitment.

- Mullen 1986 and Yabe 2001 both argue to some degree that the object markers are doubled clitics, and today I build on their arguments and bring new evidence to bear on the question.[6]

- Recent Development: Baker (to appear) explicitly argues that the Amharic object marker is object agreement, and not a doubled clitic.
  - I will be addressing his arguments as we move through the evidence, and will address his broader conclusions about Amharic near the end of the talk.

3 THE AMHARIC OBJECT MARKER : BASIC FACTS

3.1 First Impression: Agreement

Initially, the object marker seems to be an instantiation of object agreement on *v*.

Point 1: There can only be one object marker per clause (Mullen 1986:260, Leslau 1995:417, Demeke 2003:67; Yabe 2007:69, Baker to appear):

(10)   Almaz   tämari-w-ɨn   ayy-ätʃtʃ-**ɨw**   (repeated from (1))
        Almaz   student-DEF-ACC   see-3FS.S-**3MS.O**
        Almaz saw the male student.

(11)   *lä-Aster   lɨdʒ-u-n   asayyä-hʷ-**at-ɨw**   (✓ asayyä-hʷ-at)
        DAT-Aster.F   child-DEF-ACC   show-1S.S-**3FS.O-3MS.O**   show-1S.S--3FS.O
        'I showed Aster the child.' (Baker to appear, (15))

  - Contrast with clitic doubling where both internal arguments (usually Theme and Goal) can be doubled simultaneously (in all languages with clitic doubling to the best of my knowledge!)

---

[6] See also Halefom 1994 where the object markers are classified as clitics but there is no discussion of doubling per se.

(12)   **tu   to**   edhosa   to vivlio   tu jani   **Greek**
        3MS.GEN 3MS.ACC gave.1S   the book.ACC the John.GEN
        'I gave the book to John.' (Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2003:969, (7c))

Point 2: The object marker can only attach to the verbal stem, as if it were (relatively) low in the clausal spine like *v*.

(13)   däbdabbe-w-ɨn lɨk-o-**t**   näbbär
        letter-DEF-ACC send-3MS.S-**3MS.O** AUX
        'He had sent the letter (but it didn't get there).' (Leslau 1995:375)

(14)   s'ähafi-wa-n   ɨ-fällɨg-at   -allähu
        secretary-DEF.F-ACC 1S.S-look.for-**3FS.O**   AUX.1S.S
        'I am looking for the secretary.'

- Contrast with clitic doubling, where the clitic can attach to the finite auxiliary

(15)   **to**   echo   ghrapsi to ghrama   **Greek**
        3MS   have.1S   written the letter
        'I have written the letter.' (Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2003:969, (7b))

Point 3: The object marker also (seems to) reference the highest internal argument, e.g., a goal (not a theme) in a ditransitive clause.
- Thus, it seems to be subject to the locality restrictions on the Agree relation (highest DP in the domain of *v*), cf. object agreement in Nez Perce (Deal 2010).

(16)   Gɨrma mäs'haf-u-n   lä-Almaz   sät't'-**at**   (*sät't'a-w)
        Girma book-DEF-ACC DAT-Almaz.F give-(3MS.S)-3FS.O   give-(3MS.S)-3MS.O
        'Girma gave the book to Almaz.'

- As opposed to clitic doubling where either Theme or Goal may be referenced

(17)   **(tis)   (ta)**   estile   o Petros   tis Marias   ta hrimata   **Greek**
        3FS.GEN 3PL.NEUT.ACC send.3S the Peter.NOM the Maria.GEN the money.NEUT.ACC
        'Peter sent Mary the money.' (Kordoni 2004:155, (19))

So, it is not unreasonable to analyze the object marker as agreement…
- …and some of the arguments here were used in Baker to appear to argue that the object marker is agreement.

However, a closer look reveals some deviations from canonical agreement that render the object marker much more similar to a doubled clitic.

Preview:
- Distribution (rest of Section 3)
- Morphology (Section 4)
- Ditransitives (Section 5)

3.2 Distribution

The basic distribution of the object marker in Amharic is very similar to the distribution of doubled clitics in other languages (Mullen 1986, Yabe 2001).

Optionality: The object marker is optional.

(18)   Almaz tämari-w-ɨn   ayy-ätʃtʃ(-ɨw)   (repeated from (1))
        Almaz student-DEF-ACC see-3FS.S-(3MS.O)
        'Almaz saw the male student.'

Semantic Restrictions on the Associated DP: the object marker is licensed only for definite/specific arguments (Yabe 2001, Haile 1970).

Simple Contrast:

(19)   Almaz doro   wät'-u-n   bäll-atʃtʃ-ɨw   Definite DP = ✓ Object Marker
        Almaz chicken stew-DEF-ACC eat-3FS-3MS.O
        'Almaz ate the chicken stew.'

(20)   Almaz doro   wät'   bäll-atʃtʃ(*-ɨw)   Indefinite DP = * Object Marker
        Almaz chicken stew   eat-3FS-3MS.O
        'Almaz ate chicken stew.'

Wh-words:

(21)   Almaz tɨnant   yätɨññaw-ɨn tämari ayy-ätʃtʃ-ɨw   D-linked wh-word = ✓ Object Marker
        Almaz yesterday which-ACC   student see-3FS.S-3MS.O
        'Which student did Almaz see yesterday'?

(22)   Gɨrma tɨnant   männ-ɨn ayy-ä(*-w)   Non-d-linked wh-word = * Object Marker
        Girma yesterday who-ACC see-3MS.S-3MS.O
        'Who did Girma see yesterday?'

Obligatory with Pronouns: The object marker is obligatory when the direct object has been pro dropped…

(23)   a. bäll-atʃtʃ   b. bäll-atʃtʃ-ɨw
           eat.-3FS.S   eat.-3FS.S-3MS.O
           'She ate. / *She ate it.'   'She ate it.'

…and obligatory with an overt pronoun.

(24)   Almaz ɨssu-n   ayy-ätʃtʃ*(-ɨw)
        Almaz he-ACC see-3FS.S-3MS.O
        'Almaz saw him.'

Semantic Effects: The object marker triggers an (as yet) poorly-understood semantic effect or some kind of emphasis/focus on the argument which it references for some speakers (Haile 1970; see also Demeke 2003).

(25)   Almaz doro   wät'-u-n   bäll-at∫t∫-**ɨw**
         Almaz chicken stew-DEF-ACC   eat-3FS.S-3MS.O
         'Almaz ate the chicken stew.'
         Comment: Almaz ate **that** chicken stew, as if you used the definite marker

<u>Inalienable Possession:</u> The object marker is obligatory with an inalienable possessor, and can refer to the possessor itself.

(26)   bärr-u   t'at-e-n   k'ärät'äfä-***(ññ)**
         door-DEF finger-my-ACC   pinch-(3MS.S)-1S.O
         'The door pinched my finger.' (cf. Leslau 1985:187)

<u>Clitic Doubling in Spanish:</u> This pattern of facts is very similar to one of the most well-known cases of clitic doubling: Rioplatense Spanish (Jaeggli 1982), where clitic doubling is…
* optional for full DP direct objects
* conditioned by the specificity of the object
* obligatory for pronouns
* the trigger for an effect of emphasis on the argument it doubles for some speakers (Gutierrez-Rexach 1999:fn.6)
* obligatory with inalienable possessors and refers to the possessor[7]

In the interest of analyzing empirically similar phenomena in a similar way, this is evidence in favor of the object marker being a doubled clitic.

Also, canonical agreement does not share this behavior.
* Agreement is not canonically optional (Corbett 2006:14-15)
* Agreement is not canonically obligatory only with pronouns (Nevins 2010) and inalienable possessors
* Agreement is not canonically conditioned by any feature of the controller of the agreement (Corbett 2006:26)
* Agreement does not canonically have any semantic effects (Corbett 2006:26-27)

<u>Final Touch:</u> An additional argument can be made using part of the same set of facts by appealing to a diagnostic specifically for distinguishing clitic doubling and agreement developed by Preminger (2009).

(27)   **Preminger's Diagnostic**
         Given a scenario where the relation R between a morpheme M and the corresponding full noun phrase X is broken -- but the result is still a grammatical utterance -- the proposed diagnostic supplies a conclusion about R as follows:
         a.   M shows up with default phi-features (rather than the features of X) → R is Agree
         b.   M disappears entirely → R is clitic doubling

The diagnostic begins by setting up a scenario where the agreement or clitic doubling relation is broken.
* For example, if the morpheme and its corresponding full noun are not in a local enough relationship

---

[7] A wrinkle here: in Spanish, the doubled clitic **must** refer to the possessor. In Amharic, the object marker may refer to either the possessor or the possessed DP as whole. This is likely due to a difference in the structure of inalienable possession in each language. In Amharic, an inalienable possessor has the syntax of other possessors, i.e., probably the DP specifier of DP. This would render the inalienable possessor (Spec,DP) and the entire DP as a whole equidistant to any downwards-looking probe since they do not c-command each other (see Deal 2010: fn. 39). In Spanish, the inalienable possesor is externalized to the point of being (arguably) its own DP; see Jaeggli 1982:13.

- In some languages, this causes the morpheme in question to surface in default form (Icelandic) = agreement.
    - The unvalued phi-features are given a default value since they cannot be valued through Agree.
- In other languages, the morpheme in question simply does not appear in the structure (Basque)= clitic doubling.
    - Instead of there being phi-features left stranded, there is simply no generation of a clitic

Back to Amharic: In Amharic, recall that the relation between the object marker and the DP it refers to is only capable of being established if the DP is definite/specific.

(28)   *Almaz   lam   ayy-ätʃtʃ-**at**
          Almaz   cow   saw-3FS.S-3FS.O
          Almaz saw a cow.

The question now becomes: how can (28) be repaired?
- If a default object marker is grammatical, then object markers are object agreement.
- If the absence of an object marker is grammatical, then the object marker is clitic doubling.

Results: a default object marker (third person masculine singular) is ungrammatical.

(29)   *Almaz   lam   ayy-ätʃtʃ-**ɨw**
          Almaz   cow   saw-3FS.S.-3MS.O
          Almaz saw a cow.

Leaving out the object marker entirely, though, is perfectly grammatical.

(30)   Almaz   lam   ayy-ätʃtʃ
          Almaz   cow   saw-3FS.S
          Almaz saw a cow.

Thus, the object marker is a doubled clitic by Preminger's diagnostic, and not the reflex of an Agree relation.

An Important Detail: default agreement is not null in Amharic (otherwise we could not tell whether there was default agreement in (30)).

(31)   zare   zännäb*(-ä)   **Default Subj Agr = 3ʳᵈ Masc Singular**
          today rain-3MS.S
          'It rained today.'

Conclusions:
- The distribution of the object marker is very similar to the distribution of doubled clitics in Rioplatense Spanish = evidence for object markers being doubled clitics
- According to the default diagnostic in Preminger 2009, Amharic object markers are doubled clitics.

3 MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES

The morphological evidence for the Amharic object marker being a doubled clitic:
- formal invariance wrt verbal features (Section 3.1)
- formal similarity to D (Section 3.2)
- morphophonological clitic (Section 3.3)

3.1 Morphological Invariance

Recall that agreement morphemes are the realization of phi-features on functional heads.
- The realization of those phi-features may vary depending on other features that the functional head itself has e.g., a past tense feature on T or a voice-related feature on *v*.

It is common for agreement morphemes to vary formally depending on these features cross-linguistically.
- Even in a very impoverished agreement system like English, subject agreement is null in the past tense, but *-s* in the 3rd person singular present tense.[8]
- There are languages where object agreement varies depending on voice or argument structure (i.e., whether a verb is passive or reflexive; e.g., Chichewa, Mohawk, Mapudungun, Baker to apper:14).

In Amharic, subject agreement varies depending on aspect (perfect or imperfect), so it is plausible that Asp bears the phi-features involved in subject agreement.

(32)   <u>Perfect</u>   <u>Imperfect</u>
          a. säbbär-ku   ɨ-säbr
              break.PF-1S   1S-break.IMPF

          b. säbbär-ɨh   tɨ-säbr
              break.PF-2MS   2MS-break.IMPF

          c. säbbär-ä   yɨ-säbr
              break.PF-3MS   3MS-break.IMPF

<u>Object Marker Invariance:</u> do Amharic object markers vary in this way? No! The form of the object marker is invariant across all verb forms (Mullen 1986),
- …although there are phonologically conditioned allomorphs for each slot in the paradigm.

---

[8] Technically, the T and the Agr morphemes have fused into a single node that is then realized as e.g., *-s* or ∅ depending on the tense feature. See Halle 1997.

Table 1: Object Marker Paradigm

	Singular	Plural
1st person	-(ä)ññ	-(ä)n
2nd person	-(ä)h (masc.) | -(ä)ʃ (fem.)	-atʃtʃɨhu
3rd person	-(ä)w, -t after *u* or *o* (masc.) -at (fem.)	-atʃtʃäw
2nd person polite	-wo(t)	
3rd person polite	-atʃtʃäw	

- Even though the object marker is part of the same complex head as subject agreement, it does not vary based on aspect.

(33)   <u>Perfect</u>   <u>Imperfect</u>

a. säbbär-ä-**ññ**   yɨ-säbr-**äññ**
   break.PF-3MS.S-1S.O   3MS.S-break.IMPF-1S.O

b. säbbär-ä-**h**   yɨ-säbr-**äh**
   break.PF-3MS.S-2MS.O   3MS.S-break.IMPF-2MS.O

c. säbbär-ä-**w**   yɨ-säbr-**äw**
   break.PF-3MS.S-3MS.O   3M.S-break.IMPF-3MS.O

- It does not vary based on tense.
  - In Nevins 2010, tense invariance is designated a diagnostic of clitic-hood.

(34)   yɨ-nägr-u-**t**   -all   Finite Clause = ✓ Object Marker
        3PL.S-tell-3PL.S-**3MS.O** -AUX.3MS.S
        'They tell/will tell him.' (Leslau 1995:422)

(35)   säwɨyye-w-ɨn wɨʃʃa näks-o-**t**   wädä hakim bet   wässäd-u-t
        man-DEF-ACC dog bite.GER-3MS.S-**3MS.O** to   doctor house take-3PL.S-3MS.O
        'A dog having bitten the man, they took him to the hospital.' (Leslau 1995:362)
        Nonfinite clause = ✓ Object Marker

- The object marker does not formally vary based on the features of *v* -- the object marker is grammatical on passive and reflexive verbs.

(36)   Almaz mäs'haf-u tä-sät't'-**at**   Passive Verb = ✓ Object Marker
        Almaz.F book-DEF PASS-give-(3MS.S)-**3FS.O**
        'The book was given (to) Almaz.' (Baker to appear, (16b))

(37)   ɨdʒdʒ-wa-n   t-at't'äb-ätʃʃ-**at**   Reflexive Verb = ✓ Object Marker
        hand-her-ACC   REFL-clean-3FS.S-**3FS.O**
        'She washed her hands.' (Leslau 1995:464)

- Just to be thorough, the object marker does not vary in form on verbs inflected for different moods, e.g., the jussive and the imperative.

(38)   bunna lɨ-st'-**ɨh**?   Jussive = ✓ Object Marker
       coffee 1S.S-give.JUSS-**2MS.O**
       'May I offer you a cup of coffee?' (Leslau 1995:350)

(39)   ɨski mättawäk'iya wäräk'at-ɨh-ɨn asayy-**äññ**   Imperative = ✓ Object Marker
       please identification card-your-ACC show.IMP-**1S.O**
       'Please show me your identification card!' (Leslau 1995:354)

Conclusion: The object marker varies in form only according to the phi-features of the argument which it refers to, which is characteristic of clitics (Nevins 2010) but not agreement.[9]

3.2 Object Markers as D's

Since it is invariant wrt all verbal features but varies wrt phi features, the object marker seems more akin to pronominals or definite determiners (i.e., D heads; Postal 1969).
- Predicted by a clitic doubling analysis where the clitic is a D head

(40)   DP   (repeated from (9))
              /   \
          D   DP
       clitic

There is additional evidence that the Amharic object marker is a D.

Evidence 1: Formal Similarities to D[DEF]: Object markers are like D's in that the third person masculine object marker is formally similar to masculine definite determiners.

(41)   *–(ä)w*   3rd masculine singular object marker
       -u/-w   masculine singular definite determiner
       (Cf. Uriagereka 1995, Bleam 1999 for Romance; Anagnostopoulou 2004:212 for Greek.)

- However, the object marker seems to have an extra allomorph that the definite determiner lacks:

3rd person	-(ä)w, -t after *u* or *o*

(42)   t'ɨru-w   tämari
       good-DEF student
       'the good student'

- But, the definite determiner also has this allomorph when it attaches to a **verb** ending in *–u* or *–o*!
  - When does a definite determiner attach to a verb…?
  - When a DP is definite and contains a relative clause, the definite determiner attaches to the verb within the relative clause (Kramer 2010).

---

[9] Clitics occasionally have positional allomorphs, i.e., allomorphs depending on whether they precede or follow the verb (e.g., in European Portuguese, see Nevins 2010). The Amharic object marker has a fixed position wrt to the verb (always following), so this kind of allomorphy would not be possible. It remains to be seen to what extent positional flexibility correlates with clitic-hood (and positional fixedness correlates with agreement) and how to integrate this into the analysis below.

(43)   [lɨbs   yä-särräk'-ä-**w**]   lɨdʒ
         clothes C-steal-3MS.S-**DEF** child
         'the child who stole the clothes' (Leslau 1995:86)

       o   If that verb ends in –*u* or –*o*, the definite determiner is realized as –*t*.

(44)   [bä-fätäna yämmi-wädk'-u-**t**] tämar-otʃtʃ
          at-exam   C-fail-3PL.S-**DEF**   student-PL
         'the students who fail the exam' (Leslau 1995:84)

       o   This allomorph in general seems to be conditioned by a D element being adjacent to a verb.

- Similar morphological facts are found in Spanish for definite determiners and doubled clitics: the definite determiner is realized in the same form as a third person masculine clitic when the determiner has a non-NP complement (Bleam 1999)

<u>Evidence 2: Formal Similarities to Possessive Pronouns:</u> The object marker also shares parts of its paradigm with the paradigm for pronominal possessors (*my, her, our,* etc; Yabe 2001).

(45)   a. bet-e   'house-my'   my house
         b. bäk'lo-h   'mule-your.M' your mule
         c. tämari-yatʃtʃɨn 'student-our'   our student   (Leslau 1995:50ff.)

Table 2: Pronominal Possessor Paradigm

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	-e	-atʃtʃɨn
2nd Person	-(ɨ)h (masc.) | -(ɨ)ʃ (fem.)	-atʃtʃɨhu
3rd person	-u (masc.) | -wa (fem.)	-atʃtʃäw
2nd person polite	-wo(t)	
3rd person polite	-atʃtʃäw	

       o   The object marker and the pronominal possessor share more than half of their respective paradigms (indicated by graying out).[10]
       o   Moreover, the 3MS forms, while not identical, are strikingly similar.

If the pronominal possessors are analyzed as D heads (cf. Lyons 1986, Giorgi and Longobardi 1991), then the syncretism here is easily explained.

- Both pronominal possessors and object markers would be the realization of a D with phi-features.[11]

---

[10] For the sake of comparison, the object marker and the perfect agreement paradigm (Leslau 1995:287) share less than half of their prardigms and the object marker and the imperfect agreement paradigm (Leslau 1995:301) have no overlap whatsoever. It is perhaps expected that if the object marker would overlap with any agreement paradigm. it would overlap with the perfect rather than the imperfect. This is because perfect verb forms are often historically derived from possessive constructions (see Allen 1964 for general discussion, Bergsträsser 1928 for the development of the Semitic perfect in particular).

[11] This idea can be straightforwardly fleshed out under the theory of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993; more specifically, Late Insertion and the Subset Principle). Roughly, there would be a single (underspecified) morphophonological realization of the feature bundle [D, phi-features] for all cells of the paradigm where the possessor and the object marker are identical.

<u>Evidence 3: More about Relative Clauses:</u> A puzzle in the distribution of the definite determiner: when a determiner and an object marker attach to the same host underlyingly, only the object marker surfaces.
- Recall that when a DP is definite and contains a relative clause, the definite determiner attaches to the verb within the relative clause – see (43).
- However, if the verb within the relative clause has an object marker, no determiner is possible.

(46)   No Definite Marker if RC Verb has Object Marker

[wäre-w-ɨn   yä-näggär-**at**]   lɨdʒ   (*yä-näggär-at-u)
news-DEF-ACC C-tell-(3MS.S)-**3FS.O** child
'the child who told her the news' (Leslau 1995:85)

Analysis: haplology (see e.g., Stemberger 1981, de Lacy 2000, Kramer 2009 for Amharic)
- The determiner attaches to the relative clause verb late in the derivation -- post-syntactically (Kramer 2010).
- In a sequence of two D morphemes attached to a stem, delete the outermost D.

(47)   **Morphological Haplology of D**
        Stem – D_1 – D_2 →   Stem – D_1

        D_1 = Object Marker
        D_2 = Definite Determiner

Thus, claiming that the object marker is a D solves an otherwise somewhat opaque restriction on the definite determiner.

<u>Conclusion:</u> due to its invariance with respect to verbal features, its formal similarities to the definite marker and to possessive pronouns and its ability to trigger haplology with the definite marker, the object marker has the category D.

3.3 Clitic vs Affix

It was observed earlier that agreement markers are generally affixes whereas doubled clitics are (as the name suggests) clitics.
- Thus, morphophonological status (affix or clitic) is often correlated with syntactic status (valued phi features or D head).

When the classic Zwicky and Pullum (1983) criteria for distinguishing clitics and affixes are applied to the object marker, it is classified on the main as a clitic.
- NB: no particular theoretical commitment to **how** affixes and clitics are attached – there is merely a difference between the two
- Affix = 'closely attached morpheme,' clitic = 'loosely attached morpheme'

<u>Idiosyncrasies:</u> Three of the Zwicky and Pullum criteria involve idiosyncrasy.

(48)   Criterion B: Arbitrary gaps are more common for affixes than for clitics
        Criterion C: Morphophonological idiosyncrasies are more common for affixes than for clitics.
        Criterion D: Semantic idiosyncrasies are more common for affixes than for clitics.

- To the best of my knowledge, the Amharic object marker behaves like a clitic according to all three of these criteria.

- o No arbitrary gaps (i.e., the object marker is not different/barred with a particular verb like *stride* lacks a past participle in English)[12]
- o No morphophonological idiosyncrasies(i.e., the object marker does not vary formally depending on particular verbs, like irregular past tense forms in English)
- o No semantic idiosyncrasies (no unique meaning for verb plus object combinations, like *brethren* for the plural in English)

Movement and Selection:

(49)   Criterion A: Clitics have low selectivity wrt their hosts; affixes have high selectivity
           Criterion E: Syntactic rules can affect affixed words, but not clitic groups.

By Criterion A, the object marker seems like an affix: it only attaches to verbs.
o   However, see Miller 1992 for criticism of this criterion.

Investigation of Criterion E has to be tabled for Amharic.
o   The relevant movement would be of the verb, e.g., to T or C.
o   However, it is difficult to determine whether the verb moves in Amharic, as in other head-final languages (see e.g., Han et al. 2007).[13]

Final Zwicky and Pullum Criterion: attachment

(50)   Criterion F: Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot.

We'll go about investigating this criterion in an indirect fashion.

We saw above that the object marker always attaches to the verbal stem, which might indicate that it is attached to *v*.
- However, it is always outside of subject agreement, contrary to Mirror Principle expectations (Baker to appear, Halefom 1994, Yimam 2004).

(51)   Almaz tämari-w-ɨn   ayy-ätʃtʃ-**ɨw**   (repeated from (1))
           Almaz student-DEF-ACC see-3FS.S-**3MS.O**
           Almaz saw the male student.

(52)   Object Agreement: Nahuatl   (repeated from (3))
           ni-***(k)-**te:moa   šo:čitl
           1S.S-3S.O-seek   flower
           'I seek a flower.' (Stiebels 1999:790)

If the object marker is a clitic and subject agreement is an affix, then this has an explanation (of sorts) under Criterion F.
o   If the object marker attached to the verb first, the subject agreement affix would not be able to attach later.
o   Further evidence that the object marker is a clitic!

NB: the object marker is not necessarily the furthest element from the verb -- it can be followed by negation.

---

[12] Since there can be only one object marker, Person Case Constraint effects do not apply.
[13] If the verb does move, it definitely takes the object marker with it – the object marker is never stranded.. However, other pronominal clitics similarly can move with their verbal hosts, e.g., French inversion (*le lis-tu?* 'Are you reading it?')

(53)   al-näggär-ä-**ññ**-ɨmm
        NEG-speak-3MS.S-1S.O-NEG
        'He didn't speak to me.' (Leslau 1995:417)

Sandwiched between the verb and negation is typically the position of doubled clitics.

(54)   No   le   compramos un regal   a María   **European Portuguese**
        NEG 3MS bought.1PL a   present a Maria
        'We bought Maria a present.' (Héctor Campos, p.c.)[14]

Conclusion: The Amharic object marker behaves like a morphophonological clitic ('loosely attached') in the four out of five criteria that can be applied.

Interim Summary: The object marker is like a doubled clitic in its…
• basic distribution (optionality, lack of a default, etc.)
• invariance wrt verbal categories (tense, aspect, etc.)
• formal similarity to D
• morphophonological clitic-hood

Some of these individual traits can be explained away while maintaining an agreement proposal (Baker to appear).
o lack of a default = null default for object agreement in Amharic
o clitic-hood = morphophonological clitic, but syntactically, still valued phi features
o invariance = agreement is on a functional head that has no other purpose but to agree (e.g., AgrO)

However, viewed as a whole, the collection of properties form a simpler picture: that the object marker is a doubled clitic.

4 DITRANSITIVES

So far we have focused on doubled clitics in transitive clauses with one internal argument. What about ditransitives?

As mentioned above, it seems that the object marker references the highest internal argument, i.e., a goal when there is a goal.
• It seems to be subject to the locality restrictions on the Agree relation (highest DP in the domain of *v*).

(55)   Gɨrma   mäs'haf-u-n   lä-Almaz   sät't'-**at**   (*sät't'a-w)
        Girma.M book-DEF-ACC DAT-Almaz.F give-(3MS.S)-3FS.O   give-(3MS.S)-3MS.O
        Girma gave the book to Almaz

        o NB: the order of the Theme and the Goal is not fixed and seems to be determined by
            information structure.
        o The order does not affect which argument the object marker references (see also Baker to
            appear).[15]

---

[14] The same is true for Spanish.
[15] For one speaker, the order did seem to have an effect – a preference for the object marker to reference the leftmost argument that emerged over the course of an elicitation session.

Considering a broader range of data reveals a more complicated array of facts (perhaps unsurprisingly).

<u>Animacy:</u> It is well-known that in Rioplatense Spanish, only animate direct objects can be clitic doubled.

(56)   a. ***La** vimos   la   casa   de Mafalda.   b. **Lo**   vimos   a Juan
            3FS see.1PL the house of Mafalda   3MS see.1PL a Juan
            'We saw Mafalda's house.'   'We saw Juan.' (Jaeggli 1982:14, (1.9ab))

       o   Similar animacy restrictions exist for Romanian clitic doubling (Anagnostopoulou 2006:541)[16]

In Amharic, animacy restrictions at first do not seem relevant.
o   Inanimate direct objects can be referenced by the object marker, although the object marker is more
     likely to be omitted than with an animate direct object.

(57)   Almaz bet-u-n   ayy-ätʃtʃ(-**ɨw**)
          Almaz house-DEF-ACC   see-3FS.S(-3MS.O)
          'Almaz saw the house.'

However, consider ditransitive examples like (55).
o   In (55), as in most examples of this type in the Amharic literature, the Goal is animate and the Theme is
     not.
o   Varying the animacy of the two arguments here reveals that the object marker need not always reference
     the Goal.

<u>Generalizations:</u>
•   If the Goal is animate and the Theme is not, the object marker refers to the Goal. (= (55))
•   However, if the Theme is animate and the Goal is inanimate then the object marker refers to the Theme.

(58)   Gɨrma   lä-laboratori-w   tämari-wa-n   sät't'-**at**
          Girma.M DAT-lab-DEF   student-DEF.F-ACC give-(3MS.S)-3FS.O
          'Girma gave the student to the lab.'

•   If both Theme and Goal are animate, the object marker refers to the Theme (cf. Leslau 1995:191).[17]

(59)   Almaz   Gɨrma-n   lä-Tɨgɨst   sät't'-ätʃtʃ-**ɨw**
          Almaz.F Girma.M -ACC   DAT-Tigist.F   give-3FS.S-3MS.O
          'Almaz gave Girma to Tigist.'

(60)   Gɨrma   lä-astämari-w   tämari-wa-n   sät't'-**at**
          Girma.M DAT-teacher-DEF student-DEF.F-ACC give-(3MS.S)-3FS.O
          'Girma gave the student to the teacher.'

•   The doubled DP must be animate. If both Theme and Goal are inanimate, then the object marker is
     ungrammatical.

---

[16] Although there is evidence that these animacy restrictions are relaxed in colloquial Spanish (Suñer 1988, Héctor
Campos, p.c.).
[17] One speaker could reference either the Theme or the Goal if the Theme was feminine.

(61)   *Almaz mäs'haf-u-n   lä-mäs'hɨft-bet-u   sät't'-ätʃtʃ-ɨw
        Almaz.F book-DEF-ACC   DAT-book-house-DEF give-(3FS.S)-3FS.S
        'Almaz gave the book to the library.'

There are also definiteness/specificity restrictions on which argument the object marker refers to in a ditransitive clause.
- If the Theme and the Goal are of equal animacy, but differ in definiteness, the object marker refers to the more definite argument.

(62)   Almaz   lɨdʒ-wa-n   lä-hakim   sät't'-ätʃtʃ-**at**   (or sät't'-ätʃtʃ-ɨw if child is male)
        Almaz.F child-her-ACC DAT-doctor give-3FS.S-3FS.O
        'Almaz gave her child to a doctor.'   **Theme More Definite**

(63)   Gɨrma   lä-astämari-wa   tämari sät't'-**at**
        Girma.M DAT-teacher-DEF.F student give-(3MS)-3FS.O
        'Girma gave a student to the teacher.'   **Goal More Definite**

Indefiniteness trumps animacy: even if one argument is animate and the other is not, the animate argument still cannot be referenced if it is indefinite. In such cases, the object marker is ungrammatical.

(64)   *Gɨrma   lä-laboratori-w   tämari sät't'-ä-w
         Girma.M DAT-lab-DEF   student give-3MS.S-3MS.O
         'Girma gave a student to the lab.'

Conclusions: which argument the object marker refers to in a ditransitive clause depends on the relative animacy and definiteness of the arguments, not locality.
o   When both arguments are equally animate, the Theme is referred to by the object marker.

Agreement Still Possible?: Baker (to appear) suggests that whenever the object marker references the Theme, the Goal is a PP and cannot be agreed with.
- This makes sense in that inanimate Goals are perhaps more likely to be construed as PPs.

However, an animate Goal must be capable of being analyzed as a PP also to account for examples like (59) and (62).
- Suspiciously, this can only happen for an animate Goal when the Theme is also animate (contrast (55))

Back to Clitic Doubling: As in clitic doubling languages, both Theme and Goal are in principle available to be referenced by the object marker
- Only one object marker can surface, though, so animacy/definiteness used to decide which one surfaces
- Unlike typical clitic doubling: definiteness/specificity and animacy relevant for indirect object doubling – they are not in e.g., Spanish (Bleam 1999)
- Perhaps definiteness/animacy are relevant here **because** only one object marker can surface, as opposed to Spanish

The distribution of the object marker in ditransitives is further evidence for it being a doubled clitic.

5 THE OBLIGATORY OBJECT MARKER: A LOOSE END

Baker (to appear) marshals one further argument for an agreement account of the object marker: that it is obligatory in certain contexts.
- Obligatory = no restrictions on definiteness/specificity (or animacy?)

Contexts: The OM is obligatory...
- the goal argument when (certain) ditransitive verbs are passivized

(65)   Almaz   mäs'haf-u   tä-sät't'-**at**
         Almaz.F book-DEF PASS-give-(3MS.S)-3FS.O
         'A book was given (to) Almaz.' (Baker to appear, (16b))

- the affected argument in a dyadic unaccusative verb, e.g., *die*

(66)   Almaz-(ɨn)   zämäd   mot-**at**
         Almaz.F (-ACC)   relative   die-(3MS.S)-3FS.O
         'Almaz had a relative die on her.' (Baker 2010, (20))

- the experiencer in certain nonagentive verbs (called impersonal in Leslau 1995, see also Amberber 2005)
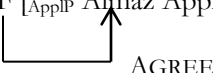
(67)   Aster(-ɨn)   tʃ'ännäk'-**at**
         Aster.F (-ACC)   worry-(3MS.S)-3FS.O
         'Aster is worried.' (Baker to appear, (20))

- the Possessor in an existential *have*-predication

(68)   set-otʃtʃ   ts'agga   all-**atʃtʃäw**
         woman-PL   grace   be-(3MS.S)-3PL.O
         'Women have grace.' (Baker to appear:, (21))

Under Baker's Agree-based account, this is a locality effect.
- The object marker is obligatory in these cases because the Experiencer/Goal argument is high enough to be automatically within the domain of the agreeing head F -- say, in Spec,ApplP.

(69)   [$_{TP}$ T [$_{vP}$ v [$_{FP}$ F [$_{ApplP}$ Almaz Appl [$_{VP}$ relative die]]]]]

                                        AGREE

- In contrast, the object marker is optional with a Theme because a Theme's base position is low in the VP
    o It must undergo optional object shift to be in the domain of F and trigger agreement.

However, there is also an alternative explanation for these obligatory object markers compatible with clitic doubling.

These contexts arguably all involve A-movement of a lower argument across a higher argument
- Ditransitive passive (65): *mäs'haf-u* 'the book' has moved to subject across the goal (despite lower position, triggers subj agr)
- Dyadic unaccusative (66) : *zämäd* 'relative' has moved to subject across the Experiencer (triggers subj agr)

- Nonagentive predicate (67): a (null) cognate theme is the subject; can be overt

(70)   rab   rab-ä-**ññ**
         hunger hunger-3MS.S-1S.O
         'Hunger hungered me.' (Leslau 1995:436)

- *have* existentials (68)
  - Following Freeze 1992 and much subsequent work, possessor is higher than possessum
  - However, possessum is subject, triggers subject agreement

In Greek, clitic doubling is required whenever a lower argument is moved across a higher argument (Anagnostopoulou 2003).
- Clitic doubling establishes an A-movement chain between the clitic and the doubled DP.
- Only the head of an A-chain is visible to Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001).
- A probe at/below the clitic doubling site will thus only see the lower argument.
- In sum: clitic doubling make the Theme accessible to the probe that triggers the movement.

At worst, then, these facts do not definitively argue for either agreement or clitic doubling.

Future/Current Research: identifying additional environments (beyond those mentioned above) where Baker's locality-based approach and a clitic doubling approach make different predictions

6 ANALYSIS

Summing Up : A Table

Agreement	Clitic Doubling	Either
One object marker per clause	Optional (generally), no default	Obligatory for Experiencer/Goal arguments / when a Theme is A-moved past a Goal
Attaches to verbal stem	Sensitive to specificity/definiteness	
	Obligatory for pronouns	
	Semantic effect of emphasis	
	Obligatory for inalienable possessors	
	T/Asp/Mood/*v* invariant	
	Morphologically like a D	
	Clitic (including outside subject agreement)	
	Can refer to either Goal or Theme	
	Sensitive to animacy (in ditransitives)	

This is a large amount of data, and the analysis here is an initial step towards covering all of it.

The proposal that works best for the majority of the data is a combination of Rezac 2008 and Nevins 2010.

Rezac 2008: Clitic doubling is the result of movement of a D to a functional head, after an Agree relationship has been established between a functional head and the containing DP.

(71)   Step 1: Agree relation between functional head and DP (functional head's phi features valued)
         Step 2: D clitic moves from within DP to adjoin to functional head

- Result: valued phi features and doubled clitic on functional head + a full DP in argument position
- All components can be spelled out, as in West Flemish complementizer agreement in (72)…

(72)   da-ni-ki   iki   komm-en   **West Flemish**
         that-1S –I(clitic) I.NOM come-1S
         'that I am coming' (Rezac 2008:91, (8))

  - …but they need not be (and perhaps usually are not due to functional considerations)

Nevins 2010: Agreement is a precondition to movement of D under clitic doubling (same as above), but the movement is explicitly labeled as object shift.[18]
- The multiple clitics found in most clitic doubling languages are licensed through Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001, 2004, Nevins 2007).
- Doubled clitics are D's adjoined to DP, like a floated quantifier (Haegeman 2006)

(73)   DP
                     ╱   ╲
                  D   DP
                clitic

  o Also like a floated quantifier, they can be detached from the DP during the derivation

Amharic Application:
- Amharic has object agreement (Agree relationship between v and a DP)
  o It is always phonologically null.
  o There is no Multiple Agree.
- The object marker is a D adjoined to DP -- it optionally undergoes Object Shift to adjoin to v after the DP it is adjoined to enters into an Agree relation with v.
-

(74) vP vP
          ╱   ╲   ┌─────────────────────────┐   ╱   ╲
    v [_φ]   VP   │ Agree between v and DP │   ┌───┐   VP
              ╱   ╲   └─────────────────────────┘   │ v │   ╱   ╲
            V   DP [val φ]   → v [val φ] D   V   ┌──────┐
                 ╱   ╲   │ DP │[val φ]
               D   DP   ╱   └──────┘
             clitic   Đ   DP

What this buys us for free:
- One object marker per clause (no Multiple Agree)
- Attaches to verbal stem (target of movement is v)
- Optional and no default (not required to value the uninterpretable phi features on v)
- Sensitive to specificity/definiteness (like object shift in other languages; see Diesing 1992 and much related work; cf. Baker to appear)
- Invariant wrt Tense/Aspect/Mood/v (not valued phi features)

---

[18] See Chomsky 2000, 2001 on Agree as a precondition for object shift.

- Morphologically treated like a D (has the category D)
- Morphophonological clitic (looser relationship with functional head than the phi features themselves)
- Obligatory when a lower argument moves past a higher argument (Section 5; movement chain established between doubled DP and clitic makes lower argument accessible)[19]

What this buys us with a little work:
- Obligatory for pronouns and inalienable possessors

Both of these can (hopefully) be accounted for similarly to how they are accounted for in standard analyses of clitic doubling (e.g., Jaeggli's 1982 analysis of the obligatoriness for pronouns carries over cleanly).

What this will potentially buy us in the future:
- Ditransitives: an account where Agree is a precondition for clitic doubling predicts that the highest argument should always be referenced by the object marker, but we saw above that it depends on animacy and definiteness.
    - Some deeper and relevant questions: what **is** the highest argument in Amharic ditransitives? What is their internal structure?
- A potential way forward: ditransitive v has an unvalued animacy feature as part of its phi features (cf. animacy restrictions on double object constructions).
    - It agrees with the highest animate argument (and ignores any intervening inanimate arguments).

Overall: a solid starting point.

Bonus: This analysis allows for a reconciliation between the present work and Baker to appear.
- Baker's main point: accusative case is assigned via a different mechanism than Agree in Amharic.
    - DPs that are referred to by the object marker need not receive accusative case (and vice versa)
    - Object marker = agreement
    - Therefore accusative case is not assigned via agreement
- In the current analysis, the doubled clitic is evidence that an Agree relation has been established.
- If there are DPs that can be referenced by a doubled clitic (Agree relation holds) but not receive accusative case, then Baker's point still stands…
    - And indeed there are many, among them (55), (68) and (65) (whenever a goal is referenced)

7 CONCLUSION

The object marker in Amharic is best analyzed as a doubled clitic.
- It strongly resembles a doubled clitic (distribution, morphology, ditransitives)
- It has some similarities to agreement, but one such similarity (highest argument) was shown not to hold across a broad range of data, and two of the similarities can be captured within a clitic doubling approach (single marker on v, obligatory in certain contexts)

---

[19] Recall that the object marker is required in these cases regardless of definiteness/specificity. Under an analysis where clitic doubling is object shift, this can be accounted for taking the approach of Baker to appear. Baker (to appear) argues that the Experiencers are higher than other internal arguments, and thus they need not be definite/specific since they do not need to shift out of the VP into the domain of v. Note that we still need to assume that movement has taken place in order to explain the obligatoriness of the object marker in these contexts.

<u>Big Picture</u>
- Investigation of the status of the object marker across a wide range of diagnostics = case study
- Best hope for an analysis: clitic doubling as movement post-Agree (Rezac 2008, Nevins 2010)
- Clitic doubling requires the establishment of an Agree relation, but is a distinct operation

<u>Future Directions</u>
- A second ditransitive construction in Amharic where both Theme and Goal have accusative case

(75)   lɨdʒ-u-n   bet-u-n   asayy-ä-**w**
        child-DEF-ACC house-DEF-ACC show-3MS.S-3MS.O
        'He showed the house to the child.' (Leslau 1995:893)

- The use of object markers with incorporated prepositions

(76)   däbtär-ɨh-ɨn   lak-**ill-ɨññ**
        notebook-your-ACC send-to-1S.O
        'Send me your notebook.' (Leslau 1995:426)

REFERENCES

Allen, W. Sidney. 1964. Transitivity and possession. *Language* 40. 337-343.

Amberber, Mengistu. 1996. Transitive alternations, event-types and light verbs. Doctoral dissertation; McGill University.

Amberber, Mengistu. 2005. Differential subject marking in Amharic. In Mengistu Amberber and Helen de Hoop, eds. *Competition and Variation in Natural Languages: The Case for Case.* Amsterdam: Elsevier. 295-319.

Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 1999. On clitics, feature movement and double object alternation. In Pius Tamanji et al., eds., *NELS* 29. Amherst, MA: GLSA. 41-55.

Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2003. *The Syntax of Ditransitives: Evidence from Clitics.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2004. On clitics, feature movement and double object alternation. In Arthur Stepanov et al., eds., *Minimality Effects in Syntax.* 15-36.

Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2006. Clitic doubling. In Martin Everaert and Henk van Riemsdijk, eds. *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax.* Malden, MA: Blackwell. 519-581.

Anderson, Stephen. 2005. *Aspects of the Theory of Clitics.* Oxford: OUP.

Aoun, Joseph. 1999. Clitic-doubled arguments. In Kyle Johnson and Ian Roberts, eds. *Beyond Principles and Parameters: Essays in Memory of Osvaldo Jaeggli.* Dordrecht: Kluwer. 13-42.

Baker, Mark C. 2008. *The Syntax of Agreement and Concord.* Cambridge: CUP.

Baker, Mark C. 2010. Obliqueness as a component of argument structure in Amharic. Ms., Rutgers University.

Baker, Mark C. to appear. On the relationship of object agreement and accusative case: evidence from Amharic. *Linguistic Inquiry.*

Bergsträsser, Gothelf. 1928. *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen.* Munich: Max Hueber.

Bleam, Tonia. 1999. Leísta Spanish and the syntax of clitic doubling. Doctoral dissertation, University of Delaware.

Borer, Hagit. 1984. *Parametric Syntax: Case Studies in Semitic and Romance Languages.* Dordrecht: Foris.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries, the framework. In Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka, eds. *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik.* Cambridge: MIT Press. 89-155.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In Michael Kenstowicz, ed. *Ken Hale: A Life in Language.* Cambridge: MIT Press. 1-52.

Chomsky, Noam. 2004. Beyond explanatory adequacy. In Adriana Belletti, ed. *Structures and Beyond.* New York: Oxford OUP. 104-131.

Cohen, Marcel. 1970. *Traité de Langue Amharique.* 2nd ed. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie.

Coppock, Elizabeth and Steven Wechsler. to appear. The objective conjugation in Hungarian: agreement without phi features. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory.*

Corbett, Greville. 2006. *Agreement.* Cambridge: CUP.

Culbertson, Jennifer. 2010. Convergent evidence for categorial change in French: from subject clitic to agreement marker. *Language* 85. 85-132.

Deal, Amy Rose. 2010. Ergative case and the transitive subject: a view from Nez Perce. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 28. 73-120.

Demeke, Girma A. 2003. The clausal syntax of Ethio-Semitic. Doctoral dissertation, University of Tromsø.

Diesing, Molly. 1992. *Indefinites..* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1990. Clitic doubling, wh-movement and quantification in Romanian. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21. 351-397.

Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1994. *The Syntax of Romanian: Comparative Studies in Romance.* New York: Mouton.

Embick, David. 2009. Localism versus globalism in morphology and phonology. Ms., University of Pennsylvania.

Engdashet, Haile Eyessus. 1998. Empty categories in Amharic and the theory of grammar. Doctoral dissertation, University of Delhi.

Freeze, Ray. 1992. Existentials and other locatives. *Language* 68. 553-595.

Gasser, Michael. 1983. Topic continuity in written Amharic narrative. In Talmy Givón, ed. *Topic Continuity in Discourse: A Quantitative Cross-Language Study.* Amsterdam: Benjamins. 95-139.

Giorgi, Alessandra and Giuseppe Longobardi. 1991. *The Syntax of Noun Phrases: Configuration, Parameters and Empty Categories.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gutiérrez Rexach, Javier. 1999. The formal semantics of clitic doubling. *Journal of Semantics* 16. 315-380.

Haegeman, Liliane. (2006). *Thinking Syntactically.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Haile, Getachew. 1970. The Suffix Pronouns in Amharic. *Papers in African Linguistics* 3.

Halefom, Girma. 1994. The syntax of functional categories: a study of Amharic. Doctoral dissertation, University of Quebec at Montreal.

Halle, Morris. 1997. Distributed morphology: impoverishment and fission. In Benjamin Bruening, et al., eds., *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 30: Papers at the Interface.* Cambridge: MITWPL. 425-449.

Han, Chung-hye, Jeffrey Lidz and Julien Masolino. 2007. V-raising and grammar competition in Korean: evidence from negation and quantifier scope. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38. 1-47.

Hiraiwa, Ken. 2001. Multiple agree and the defective intervention constraint in Japanese. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 40. 67-80.

Hiraiwa, Ken. 2004. Dimensions of symmetry in syntax: agreement and clausal architecture. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

Iatridou, Sabine. 1990. Clitics and island effects. In Roumyana Izvorski and Victoria Tredinnick, eds. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 2.1. Philadelphia: Penn Linguistics Club. 11-30.

Jaeggli, Osvaldo. 1982. *Topics in Romance Syntax.* Dordrecht: Foris.

Kallulli, Dalina and Liliane Tasmowski. 2008. *Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Kordoni, Valia. 2004. Between shifts and alternations: ditransitive constructions. In Stefan Müller, ed. *Proceedings of the HPSG 04 Conference.* Stanford: CSLI. 151-167.

Kramer, Ruth. 2009. Definite markers, phi-features, and agreement: a morphosyntactic investigation of the Amharic DP. Doctoral dissertation, UC Santa Cruz.

Kramer, Ruth. 2010. The Amharic definite marker and the syntax-morphology interface. *Syntax* 13. 196-240.

de Lacy, Paul. 2000. Morphological haplology and correspondence. In *University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers* 24: 51-88.

Leslau, Wolf. 1995. *Reference Grammar of Amharic.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Lyons, Christopher. 1986. The syntax of English genitive constructions. *Journal of Linguistics* 22: 123-143.

Marantz, Alec. 1991. Case and licensing. In *Proceedings of the 1991 Eastern States Conference on Linguistics.* Columbus: Ohio State. 234-253.

Miller, Philip. 1992. Clitics and constituents in phrase structure grammar. New York: Garland.

Mullen, Dana. 1986. Issues in the morphology and phonology of Amharic: the lexical generation of pronominal clitics. Doctoral dissertation, University of Ottawa.

Nevins, Andrew. 2007. The representation of third person and its consequences for person-case effects. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25. 273-313.

Nevins, Andrew. 2010. Multiple agree with clitics: person complementarity vs omnivorous number. Ms., University College London.

Ormazabal, Javier and Juan Romero. 2010. Object clitics and agreement. Ms., U. of the Basque Country/HiTT & U. de Extremadura/HiTT.

Philippaki-Warburton, Irene, Spyridoula Varlokosta, Michalis Georgiafentis, and George Kotzoglou. 2003. Moving from theta positions: pronominal clitic doubling in Greek. *Lingua* 114. 963-989.

Postal, Paul M. 1969. On so-called pronouns in English. In Roderick A. Jacobs and Peter S. Rosenbaum, eds. *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn and Company.

Preminger, Omer. 2009. Breaking agreements: distinguishing agreement and clitic doubling by their failures. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40. 619-666.

Rezac, Milan. 2008. Phi-agree and theta-related Case. In Daniel Harbour, David Adger, and Susana Béjar, eds. *Phi Theory*. Oxford: OUP. 83-129.

Roberts, Ian. 2010. *Agreement and Head Movement*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Sportiche, Dominique. 1996. Clitic constructions. In J. Rooryck and L. Zaring, eds. *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 213-276.

Steele, Susan. 1978. Word order variation: a typological study. In Joseph Greenberg, ed. *Universals of Human Language*: *Volume 4, Syntax*. Stanford: Stanford UP. 585-624.

Stemberger, Joseph Paul. 1981. Morphological haplology. *Language* 57. 791-817.

Suñer, Margarita. 1988. The role of agreement in clitic-doubled constructions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6:391-434.

Torrego, Esther. 1988. Pronouns and determiners: a DP analysis of Spanish nominals. Ms., University of Massachusetts, Boston.

Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in Western Romance. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26. 79-123.

Woolford, Ellen. 2003. Clitics and agreement in competition: ergative cross-referencing patterns. In Angela Carpenter et al., *Papers in Optimality Theory II*. UMOP 26. Amherst, MA: GLSA. 421-49.

Yabe, Tomoyuki. 2001. Clitic doubling and the link with possessed noun phrase constructions: the case of Amharic object marking. Paper presented at the CUNY/SUNY/NYU Mini-Conference.

Yabe, Tomoyuki. 2007. The morphosyntax of complex verbal expressions in the Horn of Africa. Doctoral dissertation, CUNY.

Yimam, Baye. 2004. Agreement phenomena in Amharic. In V. Böll, ed. *Studia Aethiopica*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 319-336.

Yimam, Baye. 2006. The interaction of tense, aspect and agreement in Amharic syntax. In John Mugane et al., eds., *Proceedings of ACAL 35*. Somerville: Cascadilla Press. 193-202.

Zwicky, Arnold and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 1983. Cliticization vs. inflection: English *n't*. *Language* 59. 502-513.

Ruth Kramer / Georgetown University / 37th and O St., NW / Washington, DC 20057 / rtk8@georgetown.edu