Copular Clauses in Tigrinya

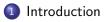
Gioia Cacchioli

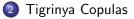
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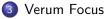
Oakland University - 18th of October 2023

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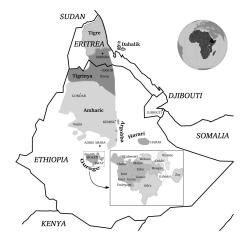






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Tigrinya



Adapted from The Semitic Languages (Weninger:2011; credit: Ronny Meyer)

Gioia Cacchioli

Copular Clauses in Tigrinya

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Copular Clauses

Sentences in which the contentful predicate is not a verb, but a category like AP, NP or PP.

In Standard English a verbal copula auxiliary **be** is used to join the subject and the predicate.

- (1) a. The cat is tired.
 - b. Mary is a doctor.
 - c. The books are in the library.

In Standard Arabic there is no verbal element at all in copular clauses.

- (2) a. ?al-qitt-at-u mutaSb-at-u-n DET-cat-FS-NOM tired-FS-NOM-INDEF 'The cat is tired.'
 - b. mariam-u-n tabībat-u-n
 Mary-NOM-INDEF doctor.FS-NOM-INDEF
 'Mary is a doctor.'
 - c. ?al-kutub-u
 bet-book.MP-NOM in DET-library.FS-OBL
 'The books are in the library.'

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 'The books are in the library.'

What about Tigrinya?

In Tigrinya:

- (3) a. ?it-a dmu dexeme-t ?all-a DET-FS cat tired-FS BE.PRES-S3FS 'The cat is tired.'
 - b. mari ħakim-a ?i-jja Mary doctor-FS BE.PRES-S3FS 'Mary is a doctor.'
 - c. ?it-om mets'hafti ?ab bet-mets'hafti ?all-ewu
 DET-FS book.MP at/in library BE.PRES-S3MP
 'The books are in the library.'

Predication

Stage-Level Predication : S-level predicates are only true of individuals during a certain period, or at certain stages (hence the name).

- (4) a. The cat is **tired**.
 - b. Mary is a doctor.
 - c. The books are in the library.

Individual-Level Predication : I-level predicates are true of individuals as a whole.

- (5) a. The cat is tired.
 - b. Mary is a doctor.
 - c. The books are in the library.

Predication

Stage-Level Predication is expressed with *?allo* in Tigrinya.

 (6) ?it-a dmu dɛxɛmɛ-t ?all-a DET-FS cat tired-FS BE.PRES-S3FS
 'The cat is tired.'

Individual-Level Predication is expressed with *?ijju* in Tigrinya.

 (7) mari ħakim-a ?i-jja Mary doctor-FS BE.PRES-S3FS
 'Mary is a doctor.'

Predication

What about...?

- (8) a. The cat is tired.
 - b. Mary is a doctor.
 - c. The books are in the library.

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Locative Copula : *?allo* is used in locative constructions.

 (9) ?it-om mets'hafti ?ab bet-mets'hafti ?all-ewu DET-FS book.MP at/in library BE.PRES-S3MP
 'The books are in the library.'

Locative Copula : *?allo* is used in locative constructions.

 (9) ?it-om mets'hafti ?ab bet-mets'hafti ?all-ewu DET-FS book.MP at/in library BE.PRES-S3MP
 'The books are in the library.'

Possessive Copula : *?allo* is used to express possession.

(10) han-ti habti ?all-at-ni one-FS sister.F BE-S3FS-O1S
'I have one sister.' (Lit.: 'One sister is to me.')

Subject Marking : both copulas show ϕ -agreement with a subject.

- (11) mɛsħaʁ ʔi-xa funny BE.PRES-S2MS 'You are funny.'
- (12) gobyE ?all-o-ni turtle BE.PRES-S3MS-O1s 'I have a turtle.'

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Object Marking : Only *?allo* can show ϕ -agreement with an object, in which case the possessive interpretation emerges.

Tigrinya has two verbal copular auxiliaries that have full or partially suppletive inflectional paradigms.

Present	Past(PFV)	NEG Present	NEG Past(PFV)
?i−jju	nɛyr-u	?ay-kon-ε-n	?ay-nεbεr-ε-n
?all-o	nɛyr-u	j-εll-ε-n	?ay-nɛbɛr-ɛ-n

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What about TAM information?

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In Standard English the copular auxiliary is used in progressive and future constructions.

- (13) a. We **are** eating pizza.
 - b. She is going/about to leave.

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Progressive Auxiliary : *?allo* marks present progressive. *nɛyru* marks past progressive. The verb is an Imperfective form.

- (14) a. ?indstra ni-belf ?all-tana injera S1P-eat.IPFV BE.PRES-S1P 'We are eating injera.'
 - b. ?indgera ni-bel? neyr-na injera S1P-eat.IPFV BE.PAST-S1P
 'We were eating injera.'

Figure: Injera is a sour fermented pancake-like flatbread with a slightly spongy texture, traditionally made of teff flour.



Link: HERE.

Copular Clauses in Tigrinya

Future tense : *?ijju* is used in future constructions along with a *ki*- prefix attached to a verb in Imperfective.

(15) Tesfay ?aħmɨlti kɨ-belf ?ɨ-jju Tesfay vegetables COMP-eat.IPFV.S3MS BE.PRES-S3MS 'Tesfay will eat vegetables.'

Past Perfect : Along with a verb in Gerundive form, *nɛyru* marks past perfect.

 (16) gaîat bɛliſ-na nɛyr-na ga'at eat.GER-S1P BE.PAST-S1P
 'We had eaten ga'at.'

Figure: Ga'at is a stiff porridge-like substance that is normally formed into a round shape with a hole in the middle for the dipping sauce, a mixture of butter and red peppers.



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Copular Clauses in Tigrinya

Interim Summary

The uses of the verbal copular auxiliaries seen so far:

	?allo	?ijju
Agreement Predication	Subject & Object Stage-Level	Subject Individual-Level
TAM	Progressive Aspect	Future Tense
	Locative Copula Possessive Copula	?

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Interim Summary

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Agreement Predication	Subject & Object Stage-Level	Subject Individual-Level
TAM	Progressive Aspect	Future Tense
	Locative Copula Possessive Copula	Verum Focus

A: Did you see anything interesting when you were walking around my neighborhood yesterday?

B: I saw a cat.

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A: Did you see anything interesting when you were walking around my neighborhood yesterday?

B: I saw a cat.

A: No way! None of my neighbors have cats! You must have seen a squirrel! B: No, I swear! I **did** see a cat!

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A: Did you see anything interesting when you were walking around my neighborhood yesterday?

B: I saw a cat.

A: No way! None of my neighbors have cats! You must have seen a squirrel! B: No, I swear! I **did** see a cat!

In Standard English the emphatic **do** is used to add emphasis about the truth of what has been said and, at the same time, to assert that the alternative is false. This is VERUM FOCUS.

The case in Tigrinya:

- (17) a. dmu riɛj-ɛ cat.ms see.GER.1S 'l saw a cat.'
 - b. dmu riεj-ε ?i-jjε cat.ms see.GER-1S VERUM 'I did see a cat.'

In Tigrinya *?ijju* is used to mark Verum Focus.

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In my research I am trying to explain some mysterious properties of the Verum Marker in Tigrinya.

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The Verum marker cannot appear in a sentence where the copula *?ijju* or the auxiliary *?allo* are present.

- (18) *bɛlaħ ?i-jja ?i-jja intelligent.fs COP.PRES-3FS VER-3FS Intended: 'Indeed, she is smart.'
- (19) *?indʒɛra nɨ-bɛl? ?allɛ-na ?i-na injera 1p-eat.PC AUX.PRES-1p VER-1p Intended: 'Indeed, we are eating injera.'

But it can occur along with the past copula *neyru* and the auxiliary *kone*.

- (20) ?it-a lam nɛyr-a ?i-jja DEM-3fs cow COP.PAST-3FS VER-3FS 'Indeed, the cow was sick.'
- (21) Segen seb ti-higgiz ti-xiwwin ?i-jja Segen people 3FS-help.IPFV 3FS-AUX.might VER-3FS 'Indeed, Segen might help people.'

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- (21) Segen seb ti-higgiz ti-xiwwin ?i-jja Segen people 3FS-help.IPFV 3FS-AUX.might VER-3FS 'Indeed, Segen might help people.'

Can the Verum marker appear elsewhere?

A Focus marker?

(22) a. dmu ?i-jε riεj-ε cat.ms FOC-1S see.NSC-1S 'I saw A CAT (not a dog).'

- b. ?it-a mets' haf ?i-xa hibka-jo
 DEM.3ms book.ms FOC.2MS give.NSC-2MS-OM.3MS
 'You gave him THE BOOK (not the bottle).'
- c. ?iz-a g^wal ?izi-a ?i-jjɛ ji-fɛlt'-a
 PROX-fs girl LPROX-fs FOC-1S 1S-know.PC-OM.FS
 'I know THIS GIRL (not that girl).'

?ijju can appear adjacent (on the right) to the focalized element in a sentence (cf. Zellou 2010 for a discussion of this particular phenomenon).

Zellou, G. (2010). "Tigrinya fronted copula constructions: Focus and evidence of speaker marking information relevant to hearer expectations". *Rice Working Papers in Linguistics*, 2(Spring), 1–16.

Conclusion

The uses of the verbal copular auxiliaries:

	?allo	?∔jju
Agreement Predication	Subject & Object Stage-Level	Subject Individual-Level
TAM	Progressive Aspect	Future Tense
	Locative Copula Possessive Copula	(Verum) Focus

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If you have any questions about Tigrinya, if you need some references, if you want to chat about syntax or Eritrean food:

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I also have a website: www.gioiacacchioli.com