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Yvonne Treis
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1. Introduction

Afro-Asiatic > Cushitic > East Cushitic > Highland East Cushitic (HEC)

South of Ethiopia; immediate neighbours: speakers of other HEC languages (Hadiyya, Alaaba) and Ometo languages of the Omotic family (Wolaitta, Dawro)

Number of speakers: 615,000 (2007 Ethiopian census)

Database: narratives, conversational data and elicited data, yearly fieldtrips 2002-2007 and 2016; in addition: written corpus (schoolbook texts, Gospel of John, Little Prince etc.)

2. Typological profile

- Morphological type: agglutinating-fusional; strictly suffixing
- Head- and dependent-marking: elaborate case system; subject agreement on verbs
- Constituent order: consistently head-final
- Open word classes: nouns, adjectives, verbs, ideophones, interjections; closed word classes: pronouns, numerals & quantifiers, demonstratives; very few conjunctions and adverbs

Nouns: GENDER: feminine vs. masculine; CASE: see 2 example declensions below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GENDER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘back room’</td>
<td>dum-á</td>
<td>dum-u</td>
<td>dum-i</td>
<td>dum-ii(-ha)</td>
<td>dum-ii(-ha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘backyard’</td>
<td>gat-i-ta</td>
<td>gat-i-t</td>
<td>gat-é</td>
<td>gat-ée(-ha)</td>
<td>gat-ée(-ha)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Case paradigms of a masculine and a feminine noun.

Adjectives: case/gender agreement with head noun; CASE (as modifiers): nominative, accusative, oblique; GENDER: feminine, masculine; as NP-head: full case-marking potential

Verbs: fully finite main clause verbs vs. various types of dependent clause verbs, marked inflectionally for subject agreement, mood, aspect, subordination, switch reference
3. Comparison

- Comparison of relative superiority (comparative)
- Comparison of absolute superiority (superlative)
- Comparison of similarity (similative)
- Comparison of equality (equative)

3.1. Comparison of relative superiority

- Source schema (Heine 1997) / Separative comparative (Stassen 1985): ‘C is P from S’
- In predicative comparative constructions: Comparee (C) = nominative subject, Standard (S) = ablative-marked adjunct, Parameter (P) = adjective, property verb, property ideophone, no comparative degree marked on P (see lit. translation)

(1)  
\[ \text{Bóq} \{ \text{Makkeeb-éechch} \} \text{ qeráa’rr-u-a} \]
PN.mNOM PN-fABL long-mPRED-mCOP2

‘Boqe is taller than Makkeebe (lit. Boqe is tall {from Makkeebe}).’  (K89: 2.79)

(2)  
\[ \text{Buttu’ll-a-sí} \text{ hagár-u} \{ \text{garad-d-a-sí=hann-íichch} \} \]
cubs-fGEN-DEF colour-mNOM adult-PL1-fGEN-DEF=NMZ2-mABL

gambáll y-áano
black.IDEO say-3mIPV

‘The colour of the (civet) cubs is darker than that of the adults (lit. The colour of the cubs is dark {from that of the adults}).’  (K89: 6.56)

3.2. Comparison of absolute superiority

- Source schema: ‘C is P from all (S)’
  (Absolute Comparison Superlative in Gorshenin’s (2012) typology) (3)
- Location schema: ‘C is P among S’
  (see Type S[cope] in Gorshenin’s (2012) typology) (4)

(3)  
\[ \{ \text{Hór-aa=r-íichchi-n} \} \text{ abbishsh} \]
all-mOBL=NMZp-mABL-N exceed.3mPCO

kichche’-ishsh-o-’éé-hu m-á agújj-ee-he?
be_sad-CAUS-3mPVO-1sO.REL.VV-mNOM what-mACC seem-3mPVE-2sO

‘Which incidence do you think has made me saddest? (lit. {From all things}, the one that has made me very sad seems (to be) what to you?)’  (K89: 6.124)

(4)  
\[ \{ \text{Haqq-áán} \} \text{ fárr-u tontóon-a-a,} \]
wood-mLOC bad-mNOM plant_species-mPRED-mCOP2

\{ \text{cii’-áan} \} \text{ fárr-u hagas-óo-t,} 
birds-fLOC bad-mNOM wattled_ibis-mACC.VV-COP3

\{ \text{mann-áán} \} \text{ fárr-u ebal-óo-t} 
people-mLOC bad-mNOM PN-mACC.VV-COP3

(Context: Speaker A mentions the creeper tontoona in a conversation, which makes Speaker B recite a mock poem) ‘The worst tree is the [smelly] tontoona-creeper, the worst bird is the wattled ibis, [and] the worst person is So-and-so.’  [overheard]
4. Comparison of similarity

- Comparee: any syntactic function/semantic role in the clause
- Standard: genitive-marked
- Standard marker: enclitic =g < *noun meaning ‘manner’, marked for ACC/OBL case (if adjunct) (5)-(6) or PRED (if predicate) (7); NB: =g no longer used as an independent noun but still used as a fully productive manner nominaliser with full case-marking potential (see (8) below)

(5) \{Xabar-i=g-a\} binn y-i
ashes-mGEN=G-mACC/OBL disperse.IDEO say-2sIMP
(Curse) ‘May you be dispersed {like ashes}!’

(6) Án \{qurxummeem-á=g-a\} waachch-íi dand-eemmi=da
1sNOM fish-fGEN=G-mACC/OBL swim-mACC be_able-1sPVE.REL=COND
m-á ih-áno
what-mACC be-3mIPV
(Wish) ‘If only I could swim {like fish}!’ (lit. ‘What would be if I was able to swim like a fish?’)

(7) Aní-i kíi-haa=g-anka
1sNOM-ADD 2sGEN-mCOP2=G-mPRED<N>
‘Me, too, I do/am like you.’

Excursus on the function =g: The enclitic can be attached to any type of modifier phrase and thus generates nominalised phrases that are translatable as ‘manner/way of [pro)noun’ (8), ‘[adjective] manner/way’, or ‘manner/way that [relative clause]’. The resulting manner phrases can assume any syntactic function and any semantic role in the clause. Ex. (8) contains two manner-nominalised phrases, the subject noun phrase Sabir-ó=g-u ‘Sabiro’s way’ and the ablative-marked adverbial noun phrase Shaameeb-í=gíichch ‘from/than Shaameebo’s way’.

(8) \{Shaameeb-í=g-íichch\} \{Sabir-ó=g-u\} wóyy-a-a
PN-mGEN=G-mABL PN-mGEN=G-mNOM better-mPRED-mCOP2
‘Shaameebo’s way (of doing things) is better than Sabiro’s way (lit. {From Sabiro’s way}, {Shaameebo’s way} is better).’

5. Comparison of equality

- Manner schema: ‘C is P (in) S’s manner’ (cf. similitative construction)
- Amount schema: ‘C is P (to) S’s amount/extent’
- Constructions differ with regard to frequency as well as origin, multifunctionality and degree of grammaticalisation of standard marker
  o Manner schema more frequent than amount schema
  o Manner morpheme =g highly multifunctional (cf. Treis in press): manner nominaliser, similitative standard marker, marker of complement, temporal, purpose clauses etc.; =g is phonologically enclitic, case-marked but not used as an independent noun
  o Amount schema: standard marker qax-á ‘amount’ used as an independent noun
Manner and amount schema are syntactically parallel: Comparee = nominative subject; Standard Phrase = genitive modifier plus ‘manner’ (ACC/OBL) or ‘amount/extent’ (ACC), adjunct to parameter; Parameter = adjective, property verb/ideophone

5.1. Equative construction with =g ‘manner’

(9) Án {tees-ó caf-i doo’il-ó=g-a} 1sNOM now-fGEN swamp-mGEN type_of_bird-fGEN=G-mACC/OBL
dan-aam-ita m-ii ih-áam-ba’a y-itóo’u beauty-AAM-fACC what-mDAT be-1slPV-NEG say-3fPVO
“Why am I not beautiful like/as beautiful {as that flamingo}?” she said.’

(10) {Zoobb-ée=g-a} xalig-á ik-kumbóochch lions-mGEN=G-mACC/ACC strong-mACC be-2sNREL.ABL
urr-ú’ kad-dókoont frontyard-fACC-1sPOSS step-2sPREV
‘Unless you are strong like/as strong {as lions}, don’t dare to step into my front yard!’

(11) Riyéen-u {haarr-i oddishsh-á=g-a} al-éen-ta-nne rayon-mNOM silk-mGEN clothes-fGEN=G-mACC/OBL body-mLOC-L-1pPOSS
laaf-áno-ba’a be_soft-3mIPV-NEG
‘Rayon is not soft like/as soft {as silk clothes} on our body.’

5.2. Equative construction with qax-á ‘extent’

- Less common equative construction
- Especially for measurable equality (size, amount)
- Expression of non-measurable equality only in elicited qax-á-constructions, as in (13)

(12) Ā’a’ā Caakkis-u {Da’llis-ó qax-á}1 geráa’rr-u-a-ba’a no PN-mNOM PN-mGEN extent-mACC tall-mPRED-mCOP2-NEG
‘No, Caakkiso isn’t as tall {as Da’lliso}.’ [DW_Dialogue_2014-12-10]

(13) Siggis-i-i {išé qax-á} biishsh-a-ta PN-fNOM-ADD 3fGEN extent-mACC red-fPRED-fCOP2
‘Siggise, too, is as light-skinned (lit. red) {as she (is)}.’ [Elicited]

- If parameter not overtly expressed: implicit parameter always size or amount

(14) Ku bóos-u hikkánni-a qáx-a DDEM1mNOM water_pot-mNOM IDEM2mGEN-mCOP2 extent-mPRED
‘This water-pot is as (implicit parameter: big) as that one.’ [Elicited]

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1 A native speaker noted that Da’llis-ó qax-á could here be replaced by Da’llisó=g-a without any apparent change in meaning.
2 Note that size/amount polysemy is also observed in the adjectives qah-ú(-ta) ‘small (size); little (amount)’ and abb-á(-ta) ‘big; much’.
Kan  boos-í  wó-’u  qakkíchch-u-a
DDEM1mOBL  water_pot-mGEN  water-mNOM  tiny-mPRED-mCOP2

ka[n]  isi=biühü-u  kánni-anka
DDEM1mOBL  3mGEN=NMZ1.mNOM-ADD  IDEM1mGEN-mCOP2<N>

qáx-a
text-mPRED
‘The water in this pot is very little, and the one in this (one) here is as (implicit parameter: much/little) as the (first).’  

Table 2. Case paradigms of qáx-á (m.) ‘extent’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>qáx-á</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>qáx-á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>qáx-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>qáx-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>qáx-í(í) ~ qáx-íe(í)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>qáx-íechch ~ qáx-íechch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICP</td>
<td>qáx-íin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>qáx-áan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>qáx-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRED (with COP2)</td>
<td>qáx-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(16)  Kánñ  qáx-íechch  m-á  aass-áan-ke-la?
DDEM1.mOBL  amount-mABL  what-mACC  give-1sIPV-2sO-MIT
‘What can I give you from this amount? (i.e. It is too small to share.)’  

(17)  Halaalis-amm-ööechch  zakk-íin  qah-ú  qáx-á
cut_throat-PASS-3mPVO.REL.ABL  after-mICP  small-mACC  while-mACC
egérr  fóol-u-s  fuulli-yan  reh-ee’íechch (...) 
wait.3mPCO  soul-mNOM-3mPOSS  leave.3mPCO-DS  die-3mPVE.REL.ABL
‘After (the bull’s) throat has been cut, one waits a little while, and when the soul has left (the bull) and it has died […]’  

(18)  Gaaz-í  hir-at  ammóo  abbís-s  barg-itán
fuel-mGEN  price-fNOM  but  exceed-3fPCO  add-3fICO
gal-táyyoo=bikkíiha  zabb-i-sí  hir-ati-i
spend_time-3fPROG.REL=REAS  medicine-mGEN-DEF  price-fNOM-ADD
hikkanni  qáx-ánka  le´-áywoo’u
IDEM2m.GEN  degree-mACC<N>  grow-3fPROG
‘Because the price of fuel is rising, the price of medicine is rising at the (same) rate as that one (= the fuel).’  

(K89: 7.155)
6. Similarity and equality demonstratives

6.1. Similative demonstrative manner pronoun \textit{hittita} ‘like this’ and its variants

\textit{Hittita} ‘like this’

- deictic element expressing similarity in manner
- used adverbially in a verb phrase (19)-(20) or predicatively (21)
- looks formally like a feminine accusative noun (\textit{hitt-ita}) but no other case/gender form possible
- formally related to feminine medial demonstrative modifier (‘that’): ACC \textit{hitt}, NOM \textit{hitt}, OBL \textit{hitta} ~ \textit{hittán} ~ \textit{hittán} (NB: Kambaata has a 4-degree/dimension demonstrative system: proximal, medial, distal, contrastive)
- \textit{hittita} largely synonymous with \textit{o hitti} \textit{g úta} ‘like this’ (which contains manner morpheme \textit{=g}) (20)
- adverbial form of \textit{hít y-} ‘do (intr.) like this’ / \textit{hít a'} ‘do (tr.) like this’ (23) [demonstrative ideophone]

\textit{hittita} largely synonymous with 
- \textit{hittigúta} ‘like this’ (context: The tired horse just stopped on the road, let its ears hang down and rested. A fox came along and asked:) ‘Why are you squatting (here) \textit{like this}?’ (K89: 6.123)
- \textit{hittiga\textit{múm}} ‘I opened it \textit{like this}.’ (Exophoric: Speaker shows how he did it.)

Exophoric [anaphoric] use

(19) \textit{Hitt-\textit{ita}} \textit{qumucc-it uurr-iteentii} \textit{m-iihaa-t?}
like this-fACC squat-2sPCO stand-2sPVE.REL.NMZ.VV.mNOM what-fDAT.VV-COP3
(Context: The tired horse just stopped on the road, let its ears hang down and rested. A fox came along and asked:) ‘Why are you squatting (here) \textit{like this}?’ (K89: 6.123)

(20) \textit{Hitt-\textit{ita}} \textit{~ hittigúta} \textit{ass-i fann-óomm}
like_this-fACC like_this-fACC do-1sPCO open-1sPVO
‘I opened it \textit{like this}.’ (Exophoric: Speaker shows how he did it.)

Endophoric [anaphoric] use

(21) (…) \textit{hanaqal-i=g-u ikkodáa hittig-\textit{u-ta} ba’a}
type_of_food-mGEN=G-mNOM however like_this-FPRED-fCOP2-NEG
‘(…) but the preparation (lit. way) of \textit{hanqalú} is not \textit{like this} [= as mentioned earlier in the text].’

[TH_Hanaqalu2007]

(22) \textit{Tah-ichch-u dán-go \{} \textit{hitt-\textit{ita}} \textit{afiuw’ill-it zug-gání-yan} \}
fly-SG-mNOM suddenly like_this-fACC sit-3fPCO lie_in_ambush-3fICO-DS
\textit{waall-ó=da} […]
come-3mPVO.REL=COND
(Context: Speaker describes how a chameleon lies in ambush.) ‘When a fly comes suddenly while she (= the chameleon) is lying in ambush \textit{like this}, […]’

[TD2016-02-11_001]

(23) \textit{Hitt a’-i ke’-ó=hann-ichch zakk-íin} […]
like_this do-3mPCO get_up-3mPVO.REL=NMZ2m-mABL after-mICP
(Context: The horse lied down like the fox had advised him.) ‘After he (= the horse) had done like this, […]’

(K89: 6.123-131)
Catephoric use [introducing direct speech]

(24) [...]qamál-ch-ut maccoocc-itán egér-t hitt-ita y-itóo’u: “_”
monkey-SG-F NOM hear-3FICO stay-3FPCO like_this-fACC say-3FPO
‘[...] The monkey listened and (then) said like this (i.e. as follows): “…”’ (K89: 4.77)

Influence of the “emphatic” -n-morpheme on the meaning of manner deitics

The manner deictics are often combined with a morpheme -n. The functions of this (often pragmatically determined) ubiquitous morpheme are still a mystery to me. In the description of related languages, it is labelled an “emphatic” morpheme. The addition of -n to manner deictics trigger the following regular changes in meaning:

- hittita ‘like this’ + <n> = hittinta ‘simply, without doing anything, without any use, without having been finished’ [German einfach so] (25)
- hittigüta ‘like this’ + <n> = hittigünta ‘also, too, and’ [Dt. sowie], very common discourse particle (~ equally frequent as German also) (26)
- hittinta and hittigünta are not synonymous (while the manner deictics without -n, hittita and hittigüta are synonymous, see above)

(25) Kú’nn! xuud-daantí=g-anka minu-si-i
PTV.DEM1m see-2fPV.REL=G-mACC<N> house-m.NOM-DEF-ACC
hitt-inta uurr-ée=g-anka beet-ú’-i-i
like_this-fACC<N> stand-3mPVE.REL=G-mACC<N> child-mNOM-1sPOSS-ADD
ammío mesel-aakk-áta aag-is-ú’ma-n yóó’u
but girl-PL2-fACC enter-CAUS-3mNCO-N COP1.3
‘Here we go! As you see, the house is not yet finished (lit. is standing like this = simply, without any use), and my son is not yet married.’ [Text_unreal_sit]

cattle-mGEN meat-mACC cover-1sI PV.REL=mCOP2 like_this-fACC<N>
gid-iichchi-i wól-o daaf-iichchi-i ka’mmam-áan-sa
cold-mABL-ADD other-mOBL danger-mABL-ADD protect[.REC]-1sIPV-3pO
(A leather skin speaking in a story:) ‘I cover the cattle’s flesh. And I protect them [= the cattle] from cold and other dangers.’ (K89: 3.47)

6.2. Similative demonstrative quality modifiers hittigoon-á(ta) and hittigaam-ú/-íta

‘such’

Hittigoon-á(ta) and hittigaam-ú/-íta ‘such’

- quality deictics, express similarity between the target of the demonstration and the referent of the demonstrative phrase
- used as modifier of a head noun (28) (case/gender agreement), or:
- used without head noun if head noun understood from the context (27)
used as a predicate in the same way as other adjectival modifiers (cf. German Er ist so.)
[example still to be added]
so far no meaning difference known between hittigoon-á(ta) and hittigaam-ú/-íta
interesting formal relation: directly derived from the simulative demonstrative pronoun
hittig-úta ‘like this’
  o stem hittig- ‘like this’ plus adjectival derivation -oon plus adjectival case/gender
    morphology > hittig-oon-á(ta) ‘such (m/f)’
  o stem hittig- ‘like this’ plus adjectival (proprietive) derivation -aam plus
    adjectival case/gender morphology > hittig-aam-ú/-íta ‘such (m/f)’
corresponding interrogative forms: hattigoon-á(ta) and hattigaam-ú/íta ‘of which type,
  kind?’

(27) Shaameeb-ii sas-løkk-áam-u xaraphéez-u yöo-si-a
      PN-mDAT three-leg-PROP-mNOM table-mNOM COP1.3-3mO.REL-mCOP2
Ansheeb-iihá-a hittigaam-unku / hittigóon-unku yöo-si-a
      PN-mDAT-ADD such-mNOM<N> COP1.3-3mO.REL-mCOP2
‘Shaameebo has a three-legged table.’ – ‘Ansheebo has such (a table), too.’

(28) Hannó hittigaam-u / hittigóon-u háww-u yöo-sí
      please such-mNOM problem-mNOM COP1.3-3mO.REL
man-ch-í=tannée xuundáamm
      men-SG-mGEN=about look.1pIPV
‘Let us look at a person who has such a problem [= problem to speak in public, as
described earlier in the text].’

(29) Hannó kánk-u háww-u yöo-sí
      please this much-NOM problem-mNOM COP1.3-3mO.REL
man-ch-í=tannée xuundáamm
      men-SG-mGEN=about look.1pIPV
‘Let us look at a person who has an equally difficult problem/serious problem/problem
of the same dimension.’

Not to be confused with (see next section):

6.3. Equative demonstrative modifier kank-á(ta) ‘this many, this much’

Kank-á(ta)
- See ex. (29) above
- degree deictic and quantity deictic
- used as modifier of a head noun (case/gender agreement) (30)
- unknown if used without head noun if head noun understood from the context (to be
  explored)
- used predicatively in the same way as other adjectival modifiers of the language
- used as adverbial modifier of adjectives (32) and verbs (33) (invariantly mACC)
- paraphrased as *ka qax-á /DDEM1mACC amount-mACC/ ‘this amount’ in a monolingual Kambaata dictionary (Alemu 2016) – but as the examples below show, this paraphrase is not an adequate paraphrase of *kanká(-ta) in all its uses
- not always used deictically (see ex. 34f below)

**Deictic use**

Use as modifier in NP (quantity deictic) (exophoric and endophoric)

(30) *Án kank-á buur-ú ass-áamm*
1sNOM this_much-mACC butter-mACC give-1sIPV

(a) Exophoric use (speaker indicates amount with his/her hands): ‘I give **this much** butter.’
(b) Use as a placeholder for a quantitative expression: ‘I give **so-and-so much** butter.’ [EK2016-02-23, meaning (b) in the recording]

(31) *Kánk-ata haraarim-áan kaas-ammm-ó bún-u*
this_much-fOBL width-fLOC plant-PASS-3mPVO.REL coffee-mNOM

bobir-is-aqq-íihá-a ih-ano-sí arriichch-ó
wind-CAUS1-MID-mDAT-ADD be_enough-3mIPV-3mO.REL sun.SG-fGEN

caaakk-á daqq-íihá-a dand-áno
light-mACC find.MID-mDAT-ADD be_able-3mIPV

Endophoric use: (Context: One digs rows at a distance of five span.) ‘Coffee (plants) that are planted at **such** a distance (lit. width) can receive air and enough sunlight.’ [K89: 8.95]

Adverbial use as degree deictic (exophoric)

(32) *Kank-á maqaam-ú hakkánn-e maax-áammi-la?*
that_much-mACC strong-mACC where-mOBL hide-1sIPV-MIT

‘Where can I hide **such** a big/strong (leopard as you are)?’ (K4: 76)

(33) *M-íihaa-t kank-á kichche'-áyyoontii?*
what-mDAT.VV-COP3 that_much-mACC be_sad-2fPROG.NMZ.VV.mNOM

(Context: The woodcutter stood at the bank of the river and cried, a water spirit called Meerkure appeared and asked him:) ‘Why are you **so** sad?’” (NJ 4.16)

Adverbial use as degree deictic (endophoric)

(34) *Anshéeb lam-ú meetir-á qeráa’rr-u-a.*
PN.mNOM two-mACC meter-mACC tall-mPRED-mCOP2

*Shaameeb-i-sí-i kank-ánka qeráa’rr-u-a.*
PN-mNOM-DEF-ADD this_much-mACC<N> long-mPRED-mCOP2

[or:] *hikkann-i qax-ánka *
DDEM2m-mGEN amount-mACC<N>

‘Ansheebo is two meters tall.’
‘Shaameebo, too, is **that/as** tall / (or:) tall to that extent.’ [DW2016-09-21]
Non-deictic use: ‘very (much/long)’

In many contexts, kank-á(ta) is not deictic, it rather has expresses an heightened (absolute) degree and is then best translated with ‘very’. [To be explored: How cross-linguistically common is it for degree and quantity deictics to be used non-deictically?]

Quantitative modifier in NP:

(36) **Yam-óo kánk-at gên-it yóo-si-ba’a**
mice-mNOM this much-fNOM harm-fNOM COP1.3-3mO-NEG

‘Mice are not that/not very harmful (lit. Mice, there is not this much harm to them).’
(Meaning: They are a bit harmful, but not much.) (K89: 3.32)

(37) **Án kank-á dooll-á ki’nne’éen barg-ámm he’-ání-yan […]**
1sNOM this much-mACC time-mACC 2pICP add-PASS.1mPCO live-1sICO-DS

‘I have lived together with you for such a long/for a very long time [but yet you haven’t recognized me].’
(John 14, 9)

Degree adverbial:

(38) **Kank-á abb-is-áno-ba’a**
this much-mACC be big-CAUS-3mIPV-NEG

(Context: I asked someone: “Do the Alaaba people celebrate the masaala-holiday?” – The person answered:) ‘They don’t celebrate it that much/very much.’ [Overheard]

(39) **Án he’-aammí=b-eechch-u kank-ánka**
1sNOM live-1sIPV.REL=PLACE-SG-mNOM this much-mACC<N>
cúlu ass-úmb-u-a
beautiful do-3mNREL-mPRED-mCOP2

‘The place where I live is not very (lit. this much) attractive.’ [Qakkichchu Laaha: §15]

Non-deictic negative use: ‘not very (much/long)’

- Negation by inference [!] when used as predicate
- Negation not overtly expressed (unlike in ex. (37)-(39))

(40) **Gíir-at katam-i mann-ii aass-itáa tám-it**
fire-fNOM town-mGEN people-mDAT give-3fIPV.REL use-fNOM
kánk-aa-n-ta
this much-fPRED-N-fCOP2

(From a right/wrong exercise in a schoolbook:) ‘Fire is not that useful/only little useful for townspeople.’ (K89: 4.56)
Possible re-phrase of (36):

(41)  \textit{Yam-ée gén-it kánk-aa-n-ta}  \\
\textit{mice-mGEN harm-fNOM this\textunderscore much-fPRED-N-fCOP2}  \\
‘The damage (caused by) mice is not that much.’ [DW2016-09-21]

(42)  \textit{Wáag-u-s kánk-aa-n-ka}  \\
\textit{price-mNOM-DEF this\textunderscore much-mPRED-N-mCOP2}  \\
‘The price is not that high.’ [DW2016-09-21]

6.4. Equative demonstrative modifier \textit{hibank-á(ta) / habank-á(ta) / hiwank-á(ta)} ‘this many, this much’

- seems functionally equivalent to \textit{kanká(-ta)}: used as modifier in the noun phrase (43) and used adverbia\textdagger
- but: only few examples in the database
- meaning and phonological variation still to be explored further

(43)  \textit{Án ammóo j-eechch-ú-s hibank-á gizz-á}  \\
\textit{1sNOM but time-SG-fACC-DEF this\textunderscore much-mACC money-mACC}  \\
\textit{baat-ií dand-im-bá’ íkke}  \\
\textit{pay-mDAT be\textunderscore able-3mNIPV-NEG INACT}  \\
(Preceding sentence in the dialogue: The amount of money that he requested for the land lease was three-fold higher than he had asked for the same plot in the years before.) ‘But I was not able to pay that much money by then.’ [DW\_Dialogue\_2015-02-04]

7. Conclusion

Unlike German (so), Kambaata spread the tasks of a deictic degree modifier, quality modifier and manner modifiers (at least) across three types of demonstratives (some of which have formally closely related synonyms).

- Verbal manner: \textit{hitti\textipa{a}} and formally related synonyms (\textit{hittigü\textipa{a}, hitt y-/a’-}) (§6.1) used as adverbia\textdagger
  - Form: verbal manner deictics are based on the (feminine) medial demonstrative; one of the verbal manner deictics, \textit{hittigi\textipa{a}}, contains (historically) the manner morpheme =g
  - Non-deictic use: In combination with the ubiquitous (albeit still unanalysed) “emphatic” -\textipa{n}-morpheme the verbal manner pronouns are used non-deictically (\textit{hitti\textipa{a}t\textipa{a} ‘simply, without any use …’} and \textit{hittigü\textipa{a}nt\textipa{a} ‘likewise, and’)}

- Nominal quality: \textit{hittigo\textipa{on-á(ta) and hittigaam-ú/-íta} (§6.2), used as nominal modifier, as head of a noun phrase if referent understood from the context, or as a predicate (similar to English such)
  - Form: nominal quality deictics are derived (in a transparent way) from one of the verbal manner deictics, namely \textit{hittigi\textipa{a}}
Adjectival degree: *kanká(ta)* used as a **degree** modifier, i.e. adverbial modifier to an adjective or property verb/ideophone (§6.3), but also used as a nominal quantity/extent modifier

- Non-deictic use: *kanká(ta)* is not used deictic in all contexts but it is also used to express a (non-deictic) high degree (elative degree, ‘very’) or a (non-deictic) high quantity (‘much’); in its non-deictic use it often occurs in negative contexts, if there is no overt negation, *kanká(-ta)* can be negative by inference

- Form: The degree deictic seems formally related to the (masculine) proximal demonstrative

Kambaata has a four-degree/dimension demonstrative system (proximal, medial, distal, contrastive). These deictic dimensions are neutralized in the manner, quality, degree demonstratives.

**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAM</td>
<td>proprietive</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>additive (‘also’, ‘and’)</td>
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<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
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<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
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<td>COP1</td>
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<td>COP2</td>
<td><em>ha/-ta</em>-copula</td>
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<td>COP3</td>
<td><em>VV</em>-t-copula</td>
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<td>DAT</td>
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<td>DDEM</td>
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<td>ICO</td>
<td>imperfective converb</td>
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<td>negation</td>
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<td>NIPV</td>
<td>non-imperfective</td>
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NMZ.VV nominalisation marked by a long vowel
NMZ1 nominalisation with =bii(-ta/-ha)
NMZ2 nominalisation with =hann/=tann
NMZp nominalisation with =r
NOM nominative
NREL negative relative
O object
OBL oblique
p plural
PASS passive
PCO perfective converb
PL1 plurative with –C-áta
PL2 plurative with –aakk-áta
PN proper noun
POSS possessive
PRED predicative
PREV preventive
PROG progressive
PVE e-perfective
PVO o-perfective (perfect)
REL relative
s singular
SG singulative
VV vowel lengthening

References