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Similarity and equality demonstratives in Kambaata

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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 Omoto 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

		<i>dum-á</i> (masculine) 'back room'	<i>gat-í-ta</i> (feminine) 'backyard'
Accusative	ACC	<i>dum-á</i>	<i>gat-í-ta</i>
Nominative	NOM	<i>dúm-u</i>	<i>gát-i-t</i>
Genitive	GEN	<i>dum-í</i>	<i>gat-é</i>
Dative	DAT	<i>dum-íi(-ha)</i>	<i>gat-ée(-ha)</i>
Ablative	ABL	<i>dum-íichch</i>	<i>gat-éechch</i>
Instrumental/Comitative/Perlative	ICP	<i>dum-íin</i>	<i>gat-éen</i>
Locative	LOC	<i>dum-áan</i>	<i>gat-éen</i>
Oblique/Vocative	OBL	<i>dúm-a</i>	<i>gát-e</i>

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) *Bóq* {*Makkeeb-éechch*} *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) *Buttu’ll-a-sí* *hagár-u* {*garad-d-a-sí=hann-iichch*}
 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) {*Hór-aa=r-üchchi-n*} *abbishsh*
 all-mOBL=NMZp-mABL-N exceed.3mPCO
kichche’-ishsh-o-’ée-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) {*Haqq-áan*} *fárr-u* *tontóon-a-a*,
 wood-mLOC bad-mNOM plant_species-mPRED-mCOP2
 {*cii’-áan*} *fárr-u* *hagas-óo-t*,
 birds-fLOC bad-mNOM wattled_ibis-mACC.VV-COP3
 {*mann-áan*} *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-í=g-a*} *bínn* *y-í*
 ashes-mGEN=G-mACC/OBL disperse.IDEO say-2sIMP
 (Curse) ‘May you be dispersed {like ashes}!’ [AN2016-02-19_002]
- (6) *Án* {*qurxummeem-á=g-a*} *waachch-ú* *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?’) [TD2016-02-11_001]
- (7) *Aní-i* *kii-haa=g-anka*
 1sNOM-ADD 2sGEN-mCOP2=G-mPRED<N>
 ‘Me, too, I do/am like you.’ [Elicited]

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=güichch* ‘from/than Shaameebo’s way’.

- (8) {*Shaameeb-í=g-üichch*} {*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}, {Shameebo’s way} is better).’ [Elicited]

5. Comparison of equality

- Manner schema: ‘**C is P (in) S’s manner**’ (cf. similitive 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, similitive 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'll-ó=g-a*}
 1sNOM now-fGEN swamp-mGEN type_of_bird-fGEN=G-mACC/OBL
dan-aam-íta *m-úi* *ih-áam-ba'a* *y-itóo'u*
 beauty-AAM-fACC what-mDAT be-1sIPV-NEG say-3fPVO
 ‘‘Why am I not beautiful like/as beautiful {as that flamingo}?’’ she said.’
 [TD2016-02-11_001]
- (10) {*Zoobb-ée=g-a*} *xalig-á* *ik-kumbóochch*
 lions-mGEN=G-mACC/ACC strong-mACC be-2sNREL.ABL
urr-ú-' *kad-dókkooont*
 frontyard-fACC-1sPOSS step-2sPREV
 ‘Unless you are strong like/as strong {as lions}, don’t dare to step into my front yard!’
 (K89: 6.124; corrected by DW)
- (11) *Riyéen-u* {*haarr-í* *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.’ (K89: 6.45)

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) *Á'á'ā* *Caakkís-u* {*Da'llis-ó* *qax-á*}¹ *qeráa'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-í-i* {*isé* *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 amount²
- (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]

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’.

- (15) *Kan* *boos-i* *wó'-u* *qakkíchch-u-a*
DDEM1mOBL water_pot-mGEN water-mNOM tiny-mPRED-mCOP2
- ka[n]* *isí=biihú-u* *kánni-anka*
DDEM1mOBL 3mGEN=NMZ1.mNOM-ADD IDEM1mGEN-mCOP2<N>
- qáx-a*
extent-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).’ [Elicited]

Qax-á ‘extent’ is an independent masculine noun with full case-marking potential (Table 2).

ACC	<i>qax-á</i>
NOM	<i>qáx-u</i>
GEN	<i>qax-í</i>
DAT	<i>qax-íi(-ha) ~ qax-éé(-ha)</i>
ABL	<i>qax-íichch ~ qax-éechch</i>
ICP	<i>qax-íin</i>
LOC	<i>qax-áan</i>
OBL	<i>qáx-a</i>
PRED (with COP2)	<i>qáx-a</i>

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

Polysemous noun *qax-á*: ‘amount, quantity, number’ (16), ‘volume, contents’, ‘size, height, length, circumference’, ‘(spatial) distance, limit’, and ‘(temporal) distance, period of time, while’ (17).

- (16) *Kánn* *qax-íichch* *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.)’ [Elicited]

- (17) *Halaalis-amm-óochch* *zakk-íin* *qah-ú* *qax-á*
cut_throat-PASS-3mPVO.REL.ABL after-mICP small-mACC while-mACC
- egérr* *fóol-u-s* *fülli-yan* *reh-ee'íichch (...)*
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 [...]’ [TH_Tä2003-09-26]

- (18) *Gaaz-í* *hír-at* *ammóo* *abbís-s* *barg-itán*
fuel-mGEN price-fNOM but exceed-3fPCO add-3fICO
- gal-táyyoo=bikkíiha* *zabb-i-sí* *hír-ati-i*
spend_time-3fPROG.REL=REAS medicine-mGEN-DEF price-fNOM-ADD
- hikkání* *qax-ánka* *le'-áyyoo'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. Similitive demonstrative manner pronoun *hittíta* ‘like this’ and its variants

Hittíta ‘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 (*hitt-íta*) but no other case/gender form possible
- formally related to feminine medial demonstrative modifier (‘that’): ACC *hitta*, NOM *hítt*, OBL *hítta* ~ *hittán* ~ *hittánn* (NB: Kambaata has a 4-degree/dimension demonstrative system: proximal, medial, distal, contrastive)
- *hittíta* largely synonymous with
 - o *hittigúta* ‘like this’ (which contains manner morpheme =g) (20)
 - o adverbial form of *hítt y-* ‘do (intr.) like this’ / *hítt a-* ‘do (tr.) like this’ (23) [demonstrative ideophone]
- *hittíta*, *hittigúta*, *hítt y-* / *a-* form a triplet with interrogative pronouns *hattíta* / *hattigúta* ‘how?’ and the interrogative ideophone *hátt y-* / *a-* ‘do (intr./tr.) how?’

Exophoric use

- (19) *Hitt-íta* *qumucc-ít* *uur-iteentii* *m-iíhaa-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) **like this**?’ (K89: 6.123)
- (20) *Hitt-íta* ~ *hittig-úta* *ass-í* *fann-óomm*
 like_this-fACC like_this-fACC do-1sPCO open-1sPVO
 ‘I opened it **like this**.’ (Exophoric: Speaker shows how he did it.)
 [DW2016-09-21]

Endophoric [anaphoric] use

- (21) (...) *hanaqal-í=g-u* *ikkodáa* *hittig-u-ta-ba’a*
 type_of_food-mGEN=G-mNOM however like_this-fPRED-fCOP2-NEG
 ‘(...) but the preparation (lit. way) of *hanaqalú* is not **like this** [= as mentioned earlier in the text].’
 [TH_Hanaqalu2007]
- (22) *Tah-íchch-u* *dángo* {*hitt-íta* *afiu’ll-ít* *zug-gáni-yan*}
 fly-SG-mNOM suddenly like_this-fACC sit-3fPCO lie_in_ambush-3fICO-DS
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 **like this**, [...]’
 [TD2016-02-11_001]
- (23) *Hítt* *a’-í* *ke’-ó=hann-íchch* *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 maccooc-itán egér-t hitt-íta y-itóo 'u: " _ "*
 monkey-SG-fNOM hear-3fICO stay-3fPCO like_this-fACC say-3fPVO
 '[...] 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 deictics

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:

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

- (25) *Kú'nn! xuud-daantí=g-anka minu-sí-i*
 PTV.DEM1m see-2fIPV.REL=G-mACC<N> house-m.NOM-DEF-ACC
hitt-íta uurr-ée=g-anka beet-u-'í-i
 like_this-fACC<N> stand-3mPVE.REL=G-mACC<N> child-mNOM-1sPOSS-ADD
ammóo mesel-aakk-áta aag-is-ú'nna-n yóo'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]

- (26) *Lal-i maal-á beess-áammi-a. Hittig-únta*
 cattle-mGEN meat-mACC cover-1sIPV.REL-mCOP2 like_this-fACC<N>
gid-iichchí-i wól-o daaf-iichchí-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. Similitive 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 similative 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 (proprietary) 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-íi sas-lokk-áam-u xaraphéez-u yóo-si-a*
 PN-mDAT three-leg-PROP-mNOM table-mNOM COP1.3-3mO.REL-mCOP2
Ansheeb-iihá-a hittigáam-unku / hittigóon-unku yóo-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.’
[DW2016-09-21]

(28) *Hannó hittigáam-u / hittigóon-u háww-u yoo-sí*
 please such-mNOM problem-mNOM COP1.3-3mO.REL
man-ch-i=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].’
(K89: 4.41 [correction DW])

Not to be confused with (see next section):

(29) *Hannó kánk-u háww-u yoo-sí*
 please this_much-NOM problem-mNOM COP1.3-3mO.REL
man-ch-i=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.’
[DW2016-09-21]

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) (invariably 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. 34ff 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-amm-ó bín-u*
 this_much-fOBL width-fLOC plant-PASS-3mPVO.REL coffee-mNOM
bobir-is-aqq-iihá-a ih-ano-sí arriichch-ó
 wind-CAUS1-MID-mDAT-ADD be_enough-3mIPV-3mO.REL sun.SG-fGEN
caakk-á daqq-iihá-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-iíhaa-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]

- (35) *Át kank-á y-itaantí qax-á maqáam-u-a-ba'a*
 2sNOM this_much-mACC say-2sIPV.REL extent-mACC strong-mPRED-mCOP2-NEG
 (Context: Snake claims that it is stronger than the finger of the king. The Little Prince doubts that and says:) ‘You are not **that** strong, as (strong) as you said.’
 [Qakkichchu Laaha: §17]

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 géen-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'-áni-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-í mann-í 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) *Yam-ée gén-it kánk-aa-n-ta*
 mice-mGEN harm-fNOM this_much-fPRED-N-fCOP2
 ‘The damage (caused by) mice is not that much.’ [DW2016-09-21]
- (42) *Wáag-u-s kánk-aa-n-ka*
 price-mNOM-DEF this_much-mPRED-N-mCOP2
 ‘The price is not that high.’ [DW2016-09-21]

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

- seems functionally equivalent to *kanká(-ta)*: used as modifier in the noun phrase (43) and used adverbially
- but: only few examples in the database
- meaning and phonological variation still to be explored further

- (43) *Án ammóo j-eechch-ú-s hibank-á gizz-á*
 1sNOM but time-SG-fACC-DEF this_much-mACC money-mACC
baat-ii dand-im-bá’ ikke
 pay-mDAT be_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: *hittíta* and formally related synonyms (*hittigúta*, *hitt y-/a’-*) (§6.1) used as adverbial manner modifiers of verbs or as predicates
 - o Form: verbal manner deictics are based on the (feminine) medial demonstrative; one of the verbal manner deictics, *hittigúta*, contains (historically) the manner morpheme =g
 - o Non-deictic use: In combination with the ubiquitous (albeit still unanalysed) “emphatic” -*n*-morpheme the verbal manner pronouns are used non-deictically (*hittínta* ‘simply, without any use ...’ and *hittigúnta* ‘likewise, and’)
- Nominal quality: *hittigoon-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*)
 - o Form: nominal quality deictics are derived (in a transparent way) from one of the verbal manner deictics, namely *hittigúta*

- Adjectival degree: *kank-á(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
 - o Non-deictic use: *kank-á(ta)* is not used deictic in all contexts but it is also used to express a (non-deictic) high degree (relative 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
 - o 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

AAM	propriative
ABL	ablative
ADD	additive (‘also’, ‘and’)
CAUS	causative
COND	conditional
COP1	<i>yoo</i> -copula
COP2	<i>ha-/ta</i> -copula
COP3	VV- <i>t</i> -copula
DAT	dative
DDEM	demonstrative adjective
DEF	definite
DS	different subject
f	feminine
G	multifunctional = <i>g</i> -morpheme (source meaning: ‘manner’)
GEN	genitive
ICO	imperfective converb
ICP	instrumental-comitative-perlative
IDEM	demonstrative pronoun
IMP	imperative
INACT	inactual
IPV	imperfective
LOC	locative
m	masculine
MID	middle
MIT	mitigative
N	pragmatically determined morpheme (function as yet unclear)
NCO	negative converb
NEG	negation
NIPV	non-imperfective

NMZ.VV	nominalisation marked by a long vowel
NMZ1	nominalisation with = <i>bii</i> (-ta/-ha)
NMZ2	nominalisation with = <i>hann</i> /= <i>tann</i>
NMZp	nominalisation with = <i>r</i>
NOM	nominative
NREL	negative relative
O	object
OBL	oblique
p	plural
PASS	passive
PCO	perfective converb
PL1	plurative with – <i>C-áta</i>
PL2	plurative with – <i>aakk-áta</i>
PN	proper noun
POSS	possessive
PRED	predicative
PREV	preventive
PROG	progressive
PVE	<i>e</i> -perfective
PVO	<i>o</i> -perfective (perfect)
REL	relative
s	singular
SG	singulative
VV	vowel lengthening

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