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Similarity and equality demonstratives in Kambaata

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 Omotic 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>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Case Marking</th>
<th>Gender</th>
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<td></td>
<td>dum-a</td>
<td>gat-e</td>
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</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) Bóq  {Makkee-ëetchch} 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-ìichch}
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-ìichchi-n} abbíshsh
all-mOBL=NMZp-mABL-N exceed.3mPCO
kichche’-ìishsh-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
{ciì’-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 tontóona in a conversation, which makes Speaker B recite a mock poem) ‘The worst tree is the [smelly] tontóona-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}!’  [AN2016-02-19_002]

(6) Án \{qurxummeem-á=g-a\} waachch-ú dand-eemmí=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 kíi-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=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}, {Shameebo’s way} is better).’  [Elicited]

5. Comparison of equality

- Manner schema: ‘C is P (in) S’s manner’ (cf. simulative 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
  - Manner schema more frequent than amount schema
  - Manner morpheme =g highly multifunctional (cf. Treis in press): manner nominaliser, simulative standard marker, marker of complement, temporal, purpose clauses etc.; =g is phonologically enclitic, case-marked but not used as an independent noun
  - 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) \( \text{Án} \{\text{tees-ó caf-i doo'll-ó=g-a}\} \)
\( 1s\text{NOM now-fGEN swamp-mGEN type_of_bird-fGEN=G-mACC/OBL} \)
\( \text{dan-aam-ita m-ii ih-áam-ba’a y-ítóo’u} \)
beauty-AAM-fACC what-mDAT be-1sIPV-NEG say-3fPVO

‘Why am I not beautiful like/as beautiful {as that flamingo}?’ she said.’

(10) \( \{\text{Zoobb-ée=g-a}\} xalig-á ik-kumbóochch \)
lions-mGEN=G-mACC/ACC strong-mACC be-2sNREL.ABL
\( \text{urr-ú-’ kad-dókoont} \)
frontyard-fACC-1sPOSS step-2sPREV

‘Unless you are strong like/as strong {as lions}, don’t dare to step into my front yard!’

(11) \( \text{Riyéen-u} \{\text{haarr-í oddishsh-á=g-a}\} \)
\( \text{al-éen-ta-nne} \)
rayon-mNOM silk-mGEN clothes-fGEN=G-mACC/OBL body-mLOC-L-1pPOSS
\( \text{laaf-áno-ba’a} \)
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) \( \text{Á’á’á Caakkis-u} \{\text{Da’llis-ó qax-á}\} \)
\( \text{geráa’rr-u-a-ba’a} \)
nô 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) \( \text{Siggis-i-i} \{\text{isé qax-á}\} \)
\( \text{biishsh-a-ta} \)
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) \( \text{Ku} \text{bóos-u hikkánni-a qáx-a} \)
\( \text{DDEM1mNOM water_pot-mNOM IDEM2mGEN-mCOP2 extent-mPRED} \)

‘This water-pot is as (implicit parameter: big) as that one.’ [Elicited]

1 A native speaker noted that \( \text{Da’llis-ó qax-á} \) could here be replaced by \( \text{Da’llisó=g-a} \) 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-í wó’-u qakkíchch-u-a
DDEM1mOBL water_pot-mGEN water-mNOM tiny-mPRED-mCOP2
ka[n] isni=bióhú-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).’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>GEN</td>
<td>qax-i</td>
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<td>DAT</td>
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<td>ABL</td>
<td>qax-íichch</td>
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<td>ICP</td>
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<td>LOC</td>
<td>qax-án</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>qáx-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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


(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.)’

(17) Halaalis-amn-íichch zakk-íin qah-ú qax-á
cut_throat-PASS-3mPVO.REL.ABL after-mICP small-mACC while-mACC
egèrr fóol-u-s fuûli-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) Gaaaz-i hír-at ammóo abbís-s barg-itán
fuel-mGEN price-fNOM but exceed-3fPCO add-3fICO
gal-táyyoo=bikkíiha zabb-i-sí hír-atí-i
spend_time-3fPROG.REL=REAS medicine-mGEN-DEF price-fNOM-ADD
hikkanni 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. Similative demonstrative manner pronoun *hittita* ‘like this’ and its variants

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

Exophoric use

(19) *Hitt-íta* *qumucc-it* *uurr-iteentii* *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) 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-i=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 *hanqalú* is not like this [= as mentioned earlier in the text].’  
[TH_Hanaqalu2007]

(22) *Tah-íchch-u* *dángo* {*hitt-íta* *afuu’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) *Hitt* *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 maccoocc-itán egér-t hitt-íta y-itóó’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 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:

- hittíta ‘like this’ + <n> = hittinta ‘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)
- hittinta and hittigúnta are not synonymous (while the manner deictics without -n, hittíta and hittigúta are synonymous, see above)

(25) Kú’n! xuud-daantí=g-anka minu-sí-i
PTV.DEM1m see-2fIPV.REL=G-mACC<N> house-m.NOM-DEF-ACC
hitt-ínta uurr-éé=g-anka beet-u-i-i
like_this-fACC<N> stand-3mPVE.REL=G-mACC<N> child-mNOM-1sPOSS-ADD
ammőo 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]

Hittig-únta
cattle-mGEN meat-mACC cover-1sIPV.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 st ory:) ‘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 (proprietary) derivation -aam plus adjectival case/gender morphology > *hittig-aam-ú/-íta ‘such (m/f)’

corresponding interrogative forms: *hattigoon-á(ta)* and *hättigaam-ú/íta ‘of which type, kind?’

(27)  *Shaameeb-ii*  *sas-lókk-ám-u*  *xaráphéez-u*  *yóó-sí-a*
      PN-mDAT  three-leg-PROP-mNOM  table-mNOM  COP1.3-3mO.REL-mCOP2

      Ansheeb-iíhá-a  *hítítigáam-unku / hítítigóon-unku*  *yóó-sí-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*  *hítítigáam-u / hítítigóon-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) (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. 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    bún-u
this_much-fOBL width-fLOC plant-PASS-3mPVO.REL coffee-mNOM
bobir-is-aqq-ihá-a   ih-ano-sí arriichch-ó
wind-CAUS1-MID-mDAT-ADD be_enough-3mIPV-3mO.REL sun.SG-fGEN
caakk-á       daqq-ihá-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?”*

Adverbial use as degree deictic (endophoric)

(34) *Ansheeb* lam-ú    meetir-á    qeráa’rr-u-a.
PN.mNOM  two-mACC  mete r-mACC  tall-mPRED-mCOP2
*Shaameeb-i-sí-i* kank-ánka qeráa’rr-u-a.
PN-mNOM-DEF-ADD this_much-mACC<=> long-mPRED-mCOP2
[or:] hikkann-i       qax-ánka ...
DDEM2m-mGEN amount-mACC<=>

‘Ansheebo is two meters tall.’
‘Shaameebo, too, is that/as tall / (or:) tall to that extent.’  
[DW2016-09-21]
Át kank-á y-itaanti 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 gén-it yöo-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-åmm 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.REN
(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-üm-b-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)  \[ \text{Yam-ée \ gén-it \ kánk-aa-n-\text{-}ta} \]
\[ \text{mice-mGEN \ harm-fNOM \ this\_much-fPRED-N-fCOP2} \]
\[ \text{‘The damage (caused by) mice is not that much.’} \quad \text{[DW2016-09-21]} \]
(42)  \[ \text{Wáag-u-s \ kánk-aa-n-ka} \]
\[ \text{price-mNOM-DEF \ this\_much-mPRED-N-mCOP2} \]
\[ \text{‘The price is not that high.’} \quad \text{[DW2016-09-21]} \]

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

- seems functionally equivalent to \textit{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)  \[ \text{Án \ ammòo \ j-eechch-ú-s \ \textit{hibank-á \ gizz-á}} \]
\[ \text{1sNOM \ but \ time-SG-fACC-DEF \ this\_much-mACC \ money-mACC} \]
\[ \text{baat-íi \ dand-im-bá’ \ ikke} \]
\[ \text{pay-mDAT \ be\_able-3mNIPV-NEG \ INACT} \]
\[ \text{(Preceding sentence in the dialogue: The amount of money that he requested for the land lease was three-fold higher than he had asked for the same plot in the years before.)} \]
\[ \text{‘But I was not able to pay that much money by then.’} \quad \text{[DW_Dialogue_2015-02-04]} \]

7. Conclusion

Unlike German (\textit{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{hittíta} and formally related synonyms (\textit{hittígúta, hitt y-/a’-}) (§6.1) used as adverbial manner modifiers of verbs or as predicates
  - Form: verbal manner deictics are based on the (feminine) medial demonstrative; one of the verbal manner deictics, \textit{hittígíta}, contains (historically) the manner morpheme =g
  - Non-deictic use: In combination with the ubiquitous (albeit still unanalysed) “emphatic” -\textit{n}-morpheme the verbal manner pronouns are used non-deictically (\textit{hittínta ‘simply, without any use …’} and \textit{hittígínta ‘likeweise, and’})
- Nominal quality: \textit{hittigoon-á(ta)} and \textit{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 \textit{such})
  - Form: nominal quality deictics are derived (in a transparent way) from one of the verbal manner deictics, namely \textit{hittígíta}
- 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 (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

  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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAM</td>
<td>proprieteive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>additive (‘also’, ‘and’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
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<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
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<tr>
<td>COP1</td>
<td><em>yoo</em>-copula</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>demonstrative adjective</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
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<td>different subject</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>feminine</td>
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<td>G</td>
<td>multifunctional =g-morpheme (source meaning: ‘manner’)</td>
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<td>GEN</td>
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<td>ICO</td>
<td>imperfective converb</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICP</td>
<td>instrumental-comitative-perative</td>
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<td>IDEM</td>
<td>demonstrative pronoun</td>
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<td>N</td>
<td>pragmatically determined morpheme (function as yet unclear)</td>
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<td>negation</td>
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<td>NIPV</td>
<td>non-imperfective</td>
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</table>
NMZ.VV nominalisation marked by a long vowel
NMZ1 nominalisation with =biit(-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


