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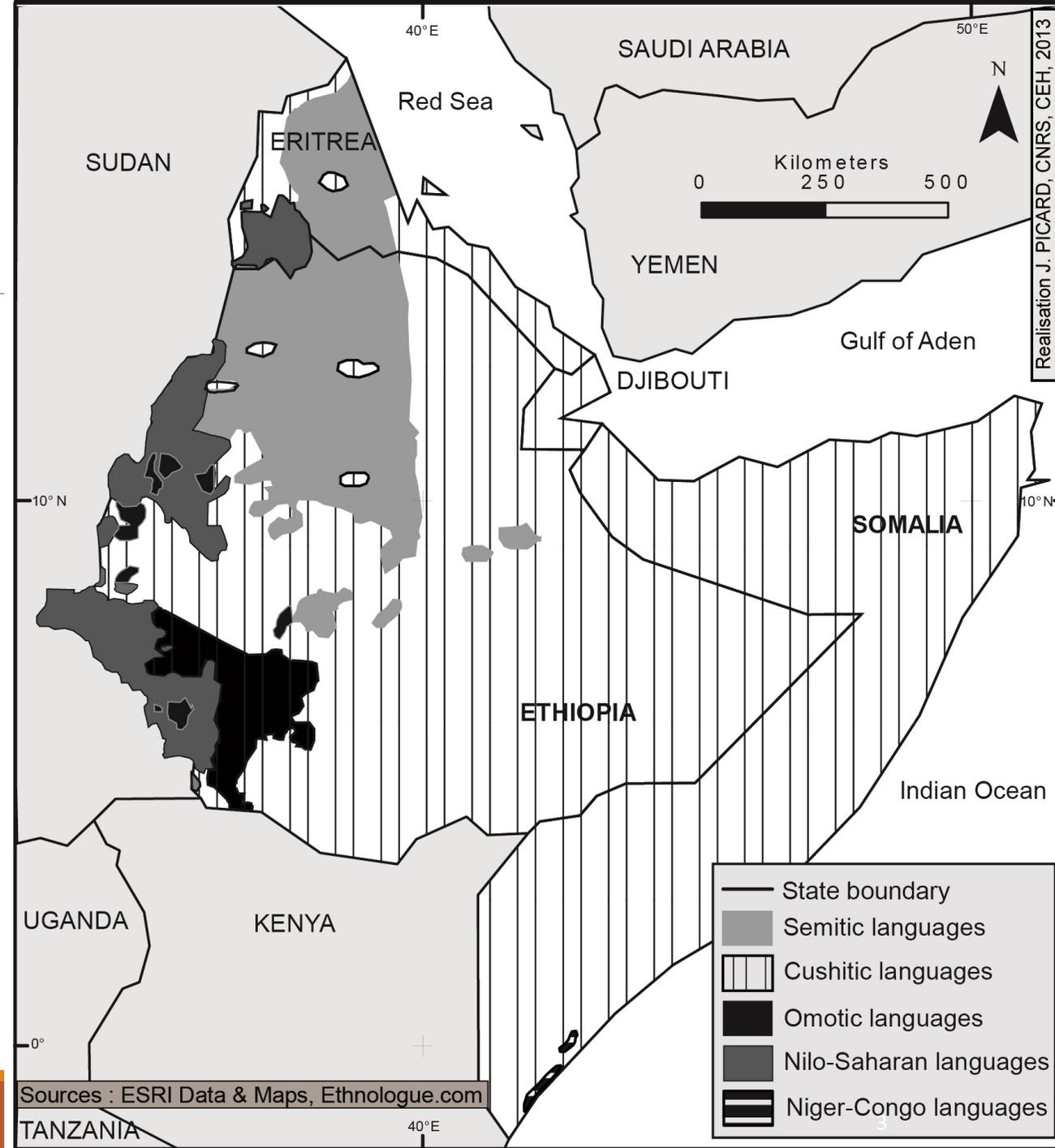
The grammaticalization of simulative morphemes and manner demonstratives in Ethiopian languages

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1. Introduction

Ethiopian Linguistic Area

- Languages spoken in Ethiopia
 - Afro-Asiatic:
 - Semitic
 - Cushitic
 - Omotic
 - Nilo-Saharan:
 - Kunama
 - Eastern Sudanic
 - Gumuz
 - Koman



Questions

- How widespread is the use of simulative morphemes as complementizers?
- How widespread is the use of manner demonstratives as complementizers?

Database

- Own fieldwork data
- Grammars
- Text collections

(For detailed references of the consulted sources see Treis 2017)

Overview

- 2. Similitive morphemes as complementizers
 - Examples from different language families
 - Multifunctionality of ‘like’ in the Ethiopian Linguistic Area
 - Morphosyntactic types of complement clauses in Kambaata
 - Which complement-taking verbs take which type of complement clause (i) in Kambaata and (ii) in the area?
- 3. Manner deictics as complementizers

2. Similative morphemes as complementizers

MULTIFUNCTIONALITY OF 'LIKE', MORPHOSYNTACTIC TYPES OF COMPLEMENT CLAUSES, SEMANTIC TYPES OF VERBS AND THEIR COMPLEMENTS

Similative morphemes

- Cover term for: ‘manner’ and ‘kind’-nouns, manner nominalizers, ‘resemble’-verbs, ‘like’-morphemes (affix, clitic or adposition) = standard marker in similative constructions (*She swims **like** a fish*), e.g.
 - KAMBAATA (C): N=*g-a* ‘N’s manner, way (of doing something); like N’
 - OROMO (C): *akka* + N ‘N’s manner; like N’
 - GAMO (O): N + *mála* ‘N’s kind; like N’
 - AMHARIC (S): *ənd(ä)*- ‘like’
 - ARGOBBA (S): *mɜss* ‘like’ (< verb ‘resemble’)

Similative morphemes as complementizers

Gamo (Hayward & Eshetu 2014: 231, 369, 599)

OmotiC

Ne *malappe* *tana* *Ts'oossi* *asšo*
2SG.POSS **kind.OBL+ABL** 1SG.ABS God.NOM save.3M.JUS

‘May God save me from the likes of you!’ (Glosses adapted)

Izi *ints'arsi* *aguntsa* *mala* *č'addees*
3F.OBL tongue.NOM thorn.OBL SIM pierce.3M.IPFV

‘Her tongue pierces like a thorn.’ (Glosses adapted)

<i>Imattsi</i>	<i>gam'onta</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>koikko</i> (...)
guest.NOM	pass.a.long.time.SUB.NEG	SIM	want.HYP

‘If [they] don’t want a guest to stay long (/that a guest stays long), ...’ (Glosses adapted)

Similative morphemes as complementizers

Hadiyya (Perrett 2000: 72, 78)

Cushitic

ni miine-nne is-am-ukk mare'-isa ih-ookko
our forehead-LOC do-PASS-3M.PRF sign-SIM become-3M.IPFV
'It will be like a sign which is made on our forehead.' (Glosses adapted)

ee meenticc-o c'iilicc amat ikk-o'-isa lak'-o'o-yyo
that woman-NOM baby.GEN mother become.3F-PRF-SIM know.3F-PRF-NEG
'She did not know that the woman was the baby's mother.' (Glosses adapted)

Similative morphemes as complementizers

Wolane (Meyer 2006: 190, 299)

Ethio-
Semitic

derē-m *yε-gwārē-kō* *ṭuli* *yāderqān*

Dare-FOC GEN-Gware-SIM wound 3M.SG-dry:IPFV-AUX:NONPAST

‘The Dare (= type of enset plant), too, dries wounds like the Gware (= type of enset plant).’

(Glosses and translation adapted)

gār *yε-tāt-ε-kō*

sεm-ε

house REL-build.house:PFV-3M.SG-SIM hear:PFV-3m.sg

‘he heard that he had built a house.’ (Glosses adapted)

> and many more examples could be presented from Cushitic, Semitic and Omotic languages of Ethiopia

The multifunctionality of the similative morphemes

- Versatile/multiply grammaticalized morpheme, common grammaticalization targets:
 - similative and accord clause marker
 - adverbialiser adjectives (e.g. ‘well’ = lit. ‘good-like’)
 - temporal clause marker (mostly immediate anteriority ‘as soon as’) (> 18 lgs.)
 - complement clause marker (‘that’) (> 33 lgs.)
 - purpose clause marker (‘so that’) (esp. in DS and negative contexts) (> 33 lgs.)
- Multifunctionality of ‘like’ shared across languages in central parts of Ethiopia (‘like’ morphemes themselves are not cognate across language (sub-)families)
- Important: similative morphemes are (generally) not used as quotatives in Ethiopia

Similative morphemes as complementizers

- Cushitic: all Central Cushitic languages, all Highland East Cushitic languages, Oromo, Bayso, Rendille (Kenya), Tunni (Somalia)
- Ethio-Semitic: all languages
- Omotic: all Ometo languages, Yemsa, Sezo
- Nilo-Saharan: Berta (Sudan/Ethiopia)

Alternative ways to mark complement clauses

- The similative morpheme is usually only *one* of several ways to mark complement clauses
- (“Fairly”) finite
 - Relative verb plus ‘like’-complementizer
 - Headless nominalized relative clauses
- Semi-finite
 - Purposive verbs or other dedicated subordinate verbs
- Non-finite
 - (Case-marked) verbal nouns

NB: Often these verb forms are also used in adverbial clauses. Often there is no neat distinction between complementation and adverbial subordination.

Examples from Kambaata (I)

{*hugaaxáann-u-s qee'rr-ú-ssa*}
hunters-M.NOM-DEF be.far-M.ACC-3PL.POSS

Case-marked verbal
noun complement

*mooshsh**-eemá=hann-íichch* *zakk-íin (...)*
make.sure-3HON.PFV.REL=NMZ3-M.ABL after-M.ICP

‘After he had made sure that the hunters were far, (...).’
(Lit.: ‘After he had made sure the hunters their being far ...’)
(Kambaatissata 1989.4: 76)

Examples from Kambaata (III)

Headless nominalized relative clause

{*kan-toonti-nné-e*}

refuse.to.give-2SG.PFV-1PL.OBJ.REL-NMZ1.M.ACC

qáag-i-be

remember-2SG.IMP-PRAG

‘Remember that you refused to give (us anything)!’

*Also note the superordinate complement clause (headless nominalized relative clause dependent on *agud-* ,seem‘.)

Examples from Kambaata (IV)

Similative as complement clause marker: Object complement clause

wotár-ch-u-s {*iséta* *aass-íiha* *iittam-eemá=g-a*}
foal-SGV-F.NOM-DEF 3F.ACC give-M.DAT decide-3HON.PFV.REL=SIM-M.ACC

hattig-óon ***kaar-íi*** *dand-ítoó 'í-i** *agud-áno-he*
how-F.ICP suspect-M.DAT can-3F.PFV.REL-NMZ1.M.NOM seem-3M.IPFV-2SG.OBJ

‘According to you (lit. ‘[it] seems to you’), how could the tiny foal suspect that one had decided to sacrifice (lit. give) her?’

Similative as complement clause marker: Subject complement clause

{*Mannoom-a-nné* *aaz-éen* *maxín-it* *yóo=g-u*}
body-F.GEN-1PL.POSS inside-M.LOC salt-F.NOM exist.3.REL=SIM-M.NOM

dag-ámm-ee-haa
know-PASS-3M.PRF.REL-M.COP2

‘It is known {that there is salt in our bodies}.’ (Kambaatissata 1989: 7.73)

When is which marking pattern chosen?

- The choice of the complementation strategy in Kambaata seems partly dependent on morphosyntactic parameters and on the semantic class of the complement-taking verb.
- Morphosyntactic parameters:
 - Verbal nouns cannot be morphologically negated, are restricted to SS contexts, cannot be marked for aspect
 - Purposive verbs cannot be morphologically negated, cannot be marked for aspect

Semantic classes of complement-taking verbs*

Verbal noun complements:

- desiderative verbs (e.g. *has-* ‘want’)
- modal verbs (*dand-* ‘can; may’)
- verbs of assistance (e.g. *kaa ’ll-* ‘help, be used for’)
- phasal verbs (e.g. *ke ’-* ‘start’)
- achievement verbs (*akeek-* ‘try’)
- commentative verbs (e.g. *bajig-is-* ‘be pleasant, appealing’).

Purposive complements:

- desiderative (e.g. *has-* ‘want’)
- modal (e.g. *dand-* ‘can; may’)
- manipulative (e.g. *ass-* ‘do, make, cause’, *kul-* ‘tell (s.o. to do s.th.)’), including verbs of assistance (e.g. *kaa ’ll-* ‘help, be used for’)
- commentative verbs (e.g. *makk-* ‘be suitable’)

Semantic classes of complement-taking verbs*

Headless nominalized rel.-clause:

- ‘seem’
- ‘remember’

Similative complements:

- utterance verbs (e.g. *xa'mm-* ‘ask’, *kul-* ‘tell (s.th.)’)
- propositional attitude verbs (e.g. *amma'nn-* ‘believe’)
- knowledge verbs (e.g. *dag-* ‘know’)
- perception verbs (e.g. *maccooc-* ‘hear’)**
- manipulative verbs (e.g. *ass-* ‘do, make, cause’, *kul-* ‘tell (s.o. to do s.th.)’)

** not frequent

Which complement clauses are marked with ‘like’?

- Are similar parameters identifiable in other languages?
- > Survey of similitive-marked complement clauses and the semantic class esof the complement-taking verbs (based on examples in grammars and text collections)

- **Cushitic**

- | | |
|---|--|
| • Knowledge (‘know, forget’): | Alaaba, Burji, Hadiyya, K’abeena, Libido, Oromo, Sidaama, Xamtanga |
| • Utterance (‘tell’): | Burji, Gedeo, Hadiyya, Libido, Sidaama, Oromo, Xamtanga |
| • Manipulative (‘do, cause s.o. to V’, ‘tell s.o. to V’): | Burji, Gedeo, Hadiyya, K’abeena, Libido, Oromo, Sidaama |
| • Perception (‘hear’, ‘see’): | Burji, Hadiyya, K’abeena, Oromo, Sidaama |
| • Propositional attitude (‘believe’, ‘doubt’): | Hadiyya, Oromo |
| • Commentative: | K’abeena |
| • Desiderative (‘want s.o. to V’): | Sidaama, Oromo |

Which complement clauses are marked with ‘like’?

- **Ethio-Semitic**

- Knowledge (‘know, forget’): Amharic, Gumer, Harari, Tigre, Tigrinya, Wolane, Zay
- Utterance (‘tell’): Amharic, Argobba, Gumer, Inor, Tigre, Tigrinya, Wolane
- Manipulative (‘do, cause s.o. to V’, ‘tell s.o. to V’): Amharic, Argobba, Inor, Wolane, Zay
- Perception (‘hear’, ‘see’): Amharic, Argobba, Muher, Tigre, Tigrinya
- Desiderative (‘want s.o. to V’): Amharic, Argobba, Tigre, Wolane

Which complement clauses are marked with 'like'?

- **Omotic**

- Knowledge ('know, forget'): Koorete, Yemsa
- Utterance ('tell'): Yemsa
- Manipulative ('do, cause s.o. to V', 'tell s.o. to V'): Gamo, Maale, Wolaitta, Zayse
- Perception ('hear', 'see'): Yemsa
- Desiderative ('want s.o. to V'): Gamo, Koorete, Maale, Wolaitta, Zayse

Semantic classes: Summary of tendencies observed

Similative complements commonly attested with:

- Knowledge verbs
- Utterance verbs
- Manipulative verbs
- Perception verbs
- (and in Ethio-Semitic and Omotic) desiderative verbs (usually used in DS contexts: ‘want s.o. to V’)

Similative complements uncommon with:

- Propositional attitude (‘think’, ‘believe’ etc.)

Similative complements unattested (impossible?) with:

- modal, achievement and phasal verbs

→ Still to be investigated: morphosyntactic parameters influencing the choice of the complementation strategy

3. Some words on 'so, like this'

Manner deictics in Kambaata

- The extended uses of manner deictics are hardly investigated in the area.
- Nikitina & Treis (forthc.): extended uses of Kambaata *hittíta* / *hittigúta* ‘like this’
- Reference to manner demonstrated in the speech situation or as suggested by an accompanying gesture:

Lankíi harabas-á hitt-íta torr-itókkooont!

again dirt-M.ACC like_this[1]-F.ACC throw-2F.APPR

(Speaker sees addressee dropping dirt in the front yard and tells her off:) ‘Don’t throw the dirt away again like this!’

Manner deictics in Kambaata

- Reference to instances of reported (direct) speech

- Cataphoric:

(...) *qamál-ch-ut* *maccoocc-itán egér-t*
monkey-SGV-F.NOM hear-3F.IPFV.CV stay-3F.PFV.CV

hitt-íta *y-itóo 'u:* “[direct speech]
like_this[1]-F.ACC say-3F.PFV

‘(...) the monkey listened and (then) said like this: “[direct speech]”
Kambaatissata 1989: 4.77)

- Anaphoric:

“Xumm-á hós-s?” *hittig-íta* *y-í=ké’*
peace-M.ACC pass_the_day-2SG.PFV.CV like_this[2]-F.ACC say-3M.PFV.CV=SEQ
marbaat-á-s af-síishsh-o
lamp-M.ACC seize-CAUS2-3M.PFV

“(...) Have you spent the day in peace?” he said like this and then lighted his lamp.’

Complementizer with manner deictic origin

- **Sezo** (Omotic) is, to the best of my knowledge, the only Ethiopian language where a complementizer is said to have originated from a manner deictic verb (Girma 2014)
- Proximal: *ʔìnk'*- '(do) like this' (exophoric) (see below) /
Distal: *hánk'*- '(do) like that' (endophoric)

(Girma 2014: 253)

[já má:ʃ kjà:sínsté hìnkáp'já:]

jé-má:-ʃ *kjà:-* *síns-té* *hìnk'-* $\emptyset = káp'- j-á:$

DEF-man-NOM house inside-LOC like_this- 3SG.AGRS = look- go-DCL

'The man looked (from the deictic center) inside of the house like this

(with mimicking the action)'

Complementizer with manner deictic origin

- Use as standard marker in similitive and equative constructions

(Girma 2014: 276)

<i>kàltúm-f</i>	<i>[[hán = dèr-</i>	<i>hánk'-]</i>	<i>màsíwì]</i>	\emptyset
Kaltumi-NOM	3SG.AGRS = mother-	like_that	beautiful	COP

‘Kaltumi is beautiful like her mother.’

- Use as quotative marker

(Girma 2014: 253)

<i>?òwwá-f</i>	<i>hín-té-pìn</i>	<i>hín = kw-à:</i>	<i>hìnk'-</i>	<i>wá:n</i>
fox-NOM	where-LOC-ABL	2SG.AGRS = come-INTER	like_this	say-CVB1

jé-dùl-à $\emptyset = ?à:t-á:$

DEF-hyena-ACC 3SG.AGRS = ask-DCL

‘(The) fox said like this; ‘from where did you come?’’

Complementizer with manner deictic origin

- Use as complementizer (examples attested with perception, manipulative and desiderative verbs)

(Girma 2014: 253)

[dà:f híŋf dà:té dé:wá:ŋà hímmì:ntáŋk'dákè:sá:]

dà:f

[hín-f dà-té dé- wáŋ- híŋ = m̀nt-

1PL.EXCL.NOM

2SG-NOM

1PL.EXCL-DAT

true-

matter-

2SG.AGRS = tell-

hánk'-] dá = k̀s-á:

COMP-

1PL.EXCL.AGRS = want-DCL

'We (excluding you) want you to tell us (excluding you) the truth.'

4. Summary

Summary

- In a number of Ethiopian languages, a simulative morpheme (,manner‘, ,kind‘, ,like‘, ,resemble‘) is used not only as a standard marker in simulative constructions but also as a marker of complement clauses.
- In most (if not all) of these languages the simulative morpheme is only one of several means to mark complement clauses
- The present survey has tried to identify the complement-taking verbs that typically take simulative-marked complements: verbs of knowledge, utterance (indirect speech), manipulation and perception, and (in a subgroup of languages?) desiderative verbs.
- The simulative sources of the complementizers are all *non-deictic* – except for Sezo, which is, as far as I know, the only Ethiopian language that is reported to have extended the use of *manner deictics* to (simulative standard markers, quotatives and) *complementizers* with knowledge, manipulation and desiderative verbs.

Thank you for your attention!

Abbreviations

ABL ablative, ABS absolute, ACC accusative, AGRS subject agreement, APPR apprehensive, AUX auxiliary, CAUS causative, COND conditional, COP copula, CV converb, DAT dative, DCL declarative, DEF definite, DS different subject, EXCL exclusive, FOC focus, GEN genitive, HON honorific/impersonal, HYP hypothetical, ICP instrumental-comitative-perlative, INTER interrogative, IPFV imperfective, JUS jussive, LOC locative, NEG negative, NMZ nominalizer, NOM nominative, OBJ obj, OBL oblique, PASS passive, PL plural, PRAG pragmatically determined morpheme (function yet to be determined), PRF perfect, PURP purposive, REL relative, SG singular, SGV singulative, SIM similative, SS same subject, SUB subordination

References

(Please consult Treis 2017 for references of the grammars and text collections consulted for all the languages mentioned above.)

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