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Chapter 6

Reflexive constructions in Kambaata

Yvonne Treis

LLACAN (CNRS, INALCO)

Kambaata (Cushitic, Ethiopia) has a nominal and a verbal reflexivizer. The nominal reflexivizer *gag-á* ‘self’, a case-inflecting noun of masculine gender, is used to mark coreference between the subject and a direct, indirect or oblique object. Whereas the antecedent of the reflexive noun is most commonly the subject of the same clause, this chapter argues that *gag-á* ‘self’ also qualifies as a long-distance reflexive. As such, it can mark coreference between an NP in an infinite or finite subordinate clause and the subject of the matrix clause. Apart from being used in reflexive constructions, *gag-á* ‘self’ is a self-intensifier. The middle morpheme *-aqq / -’* on verbs is multifunctional. Most productively, it expresses autobenefactivity. It can also mark coreference between the subject and the direct object in the same clause. However, in typical reflexive situations (e.g. ‘see oneself’), it is rarely the only reflexivizer but cooccurs with the reflexive noun *gag-á*.

1 Introduction

Kambaata is a Highland East Cushitic (HEC) language spoken by more than 600,000 people (Central Statistical Agency 2007: 74) in the Kambaata-Xambaaro Zone in the Southern Region of Ethiopia. Immediate neighbors are speakers of other HEC languages (Hadiyya and Alaaba) and Omoto languages of the Omotic family (Wolaitta and Dawro). The most widespread second language of Kambaata speakers is the Ethiopian lingua franca Amharic. The description of reflexive constructions presented here is based on data from diverse sources obtained during field research between 2002 and 2019: a corpus of recorded narratives and conversations, my field notes of elicited sentences and mock-dialogues as well as a corpus of written texts, including locally published collections of oral literature, schoolbooks, a dictionary, religious texts and the translation of the *Little Prince*.

Gaps in the data were filled and open questions were discussed in interviews on the phone or through text and voice messages with a native speaker in 2020.

1.1 Typological profile

The constituent order of Kambaata is consistently head-final, hence all modifiers precede the noun in the NP, and all dependent clauses precede independent main clauses. The last constituent in a sentence is usually a fully finite main verb or a copula. Kambaata is agglutinating-fusional and, except for one partial pre-reduplication process,¹ strictly suffixing. Inflectional morphology is realized by segmental suffixes together with stress suprafixes. The following open word classes are defined on morphosyntactic grounds: nouns, adjectives, verbs, ideophones and interjections.

Kambaata has a nominative-accusative case-marking system. The nominative is the subject case, see ‘girls’ in (1). The accusative marks direct objects – see ‘good place’ in (1) – and certain adverbial constituents, it also serves as the citation form of nouns and adjectives. Nouns distinguish nine case forms: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, instrumental, locative, oblique and predicative. Nouns are marked for gender (masculine vs. feminine), the assignment of grammatical gender is mostly arbitrary. Attributive adjectives, such as ‘good’ in (1), agree with their head noun in case and gender.²

- (1) Conversation about circumcision traditions (EK2016-02-23_001)
(...) masal-aakk-atí-i danaam-íta ma’nn-íta aat-táa-s
 girl-PLV2-F.NOM-ADD good-F.ACC place-F.ACC give-3F.IPFV-3M.OBJ
(Speaking about the winner of a wrestling competition) ‘(...) and also the
 girls honor him (lit. give him a good place).’

Fully finite main verbs are distinguished from several types of dependent verbs, which are reduced in finiteness, i.e. relative verbs, converbs, purposive verbs and

¹See (27) for an example of a pre-reduplicated noun.

²Transcriptions in this chapter use the official Kambaata orthography, which is based on the Roman script (Treis 2008: 73-80; Alemu 2016). One important adaptation is here made to the official orthography: phonemic stress is marked by an acute accent on the vowel. The following graphemes are not in accordance with IPA conventions: <ph> /p’/, <x> /t’/, <q> /k’/, <j> /dʒ/, <c> /tʃ’/, <ch> /tʃ/, <sh> /ʃ/, <l> /l’/, <r> /r’/, <y> /j/ and <’> /ʔ/. Geminate consonants and long vowels are marked by doubling, e.g. <shsh> /ʃ:/ and <ee> /e:/. In clusters of a glottal stop and a sonorant, the sonorant is, by convention, written double, e.g. <’nn> for /ʔn/ and <’rr> /ʔr/. Nasalization is marked by a macron, e.g. <ã> /ã/.

(infinite) verbal nouns. Verbs inflect for aspect, mood, polarity and syntactic dependence. All verb forms apart from verbal nouns obligatorily index their subject; see the portmanteau morpheme *-táa* in (1), which encodes imperfective aspect and indexes a third person feminine subject. Object suffixes on verbs, such as the third person masculine object suffix *-s* in (1) and the first person singular object suffix *-’e* in (2), are pronominal in nature and usually substitute for object nominals. A finite verb form alone can constitute a complete utterance (2).

- (2) Narrative (EK2016-02-12_003)
 géel-teente-’e
 defeat-2SG.PRF-1SG.OBJ
 (Complete turn in a dialogue:) ‘You have defeated me.’

1.2 A preview of reflexive constructions

Kambaata uses a reflexive noun *gag-á* ‘self’ plus a possessive suffix (3) or a reflexive voice marker *-aqq / -’*, labelled “middle (derivation)” (MID) (4), to express coreference between the subject and an accusative object.

- (3) Elicited (DW2020-01-24)
 Gag-á-s ba’-ishsh-o
 self-M.ACC-3M.POSS be.destroyed-CAUS1-3M.PFV
 (Speaking about the actual cause of someone’s death whom the addressee thought to have died from an illness) ‘He killed himself (lit. his self).’
- (4) Elicited (DW2020-01-24)
 Kabár gagmooxx-iin **xuud-aqq-aammí**=da áda
 today.M.OBL mirror-M.ICP see-MID-1SG.IPFV.REL=COND then
 móok-i-’i sabáb-b darsh-ítee’u
 cheek-F.NOM-1SG.POSS ensue-3F.PFV.CV become.swollen-3F.PRF
 (Speaking about the consequences of a brawl) ‘Then when I saw myself in the mirror today, my cheek was badly swollen.’

In (5), both reflexivizers cooccur in the same clause. The verb *saaxx-* ‘praise oneself’ is the middle derivation of *saad-* ‘praise (someone)’.

- (5) Elicited (DW2020-01-24)
 Isú mánn-u galaxx-u’nnáachchi-s
 3M.ACC people-M.NOM thank-3M.NEG4-3M.OBJ

birs-í-n-in ís gag-á-s
do.before-3M.PFV.CV-EMP-EMP 3M.NOM self-M.ACC-3M.POSS
saaxx-án biir-óochch biir-úta zahh-áyyoo'u
praise.MID-3M.IPFV.CV office-F.ABL office-F.ACC walk-3M.PROG
'Before people (could) thank him (for the job), he walked from office to
office praising himself.'

In the following sections, I will first introduce the personal pronoun system of Kambaata (§2) and then discuss the form and functions of the noun *gag-á* ‘self’ (§3). Apart from being used as a reflexivizer in various syntactic functions (except in the subject function), it is used as a self-intensifier. In §4, I present the multifunctional middle derivation, whose most productive function is to signal coreference between the subject and a beneficiary (a dative adjunct). It also marks coreference between the subject and a direct (accusative) object, but here it usually cooccurs with the reflexive noun. Thirdly, the middle derivation has an intersubjective use and expresses the emotional involvement of the subject in a state-of-affairs. Together with the passive morpheme, the middle derivation marks reciprocity. In the conclusion (§5), I lay out the contexts in which the reflexive noun is preferred over the middle morpheme and when double expression is preferred over the use of only one reflexive marker.

2 Personal pronouns

Kambaata has free (§2.1) and bound personal pronouns (§2.2), but no pronoun-like reflexive nominals (i.e. pronominoids). Personal pronouns are used to refer to humans, less often to other animates, and usually not to inanimate referents like things or events, for which demonstratives are preferred.

2.1 Free personal pronouns

Free personal pronouns (Table 1) distinguish person, number, gender (in the third person), honorificity (in the second and third person) and case. The case paradigm of personal pronouns is partly suppletive; see, for instance, the different stems that are used for the nominative and accusative forms of 1SG, 2SG, 2HON, 1PL and 2PL. In principle, personal pronouns distinguish as many case forms as nouns. However, there is systematic syncretism of the instrumental-comitative-perlative (ICP) and locative (LOC) forms for all persons except 3M. Furthermore, the oblique and the predicative case forms are only minimally distinct in the first

person plural. The singular predicative forms combine with the copula (COP3) -Vt. In the plural, the copula (F.COP2) ' -taa is required (see Treis 2008: 397-426 for information on the distribution of Kambaata copulas).

Table 1: Free personal pronouns

	NOM	ACC	GEN	DAT	ABL	ICP	LOC	OBL	PRED
1SG	án	ées	ii	esáa(ha)	esáachch	esáan	esáan	áne	áne
2SG	át	kées	kii	kesáa(ha)	kesáachch	kesáan	kesáan	áte	áte
2HON	á'nnu	ki'nnéta	ki'nné	ki'nné(ha)	ki'nnéechch	ki'nnéen	ki'nnéen	á'nno	á'nno
3M	is	isú	isi	isii(ha)	isiiichch	isiin	isóon	iso	iso
3F	ise	iséta	isé	isé(ha)	iséechch	iséen	iséen	ise	ise
3HON	issa	issáta	issá	issáa(ha)	issáachch	issáan	issáan	issa	issa
1PL	na'óot	nées	nii	nesáa(ha)	nesáachch	nesáan	nesáan	na'ó	na'óo
2PL	a'nno'óot	ki'nne'éeta	ki'nne'ée	ki'nne'ée(ha)	ki'nne'éechch	ki'nne'éen	ki'nne'éen	a'nno'óo	a'nno'óo
3PL	isso'óot	isso'óota	isso'óo	isso'óo(ha)	isso'óochch	isso'óon	isso'óon	isso'óo	isso'óo

2.2 Bound personal pronouns

Bound object pronouns on verbs and bound possessive pronouns on nouns and adjectives (Table 2) are only minimally distinct: for 1SG possessors and 2SG objects, speakers can choose between two freely distributed allomorphs, whereas only one of the allomorphs is admitted for the respective 1SG object and the 2SG possessor form. A comparison with free pronouns (§2.1) shows that bound pronouns neutralize the distinction between honorific and plural referents in the second and third person. The right column of Table 2 exemplifies the use of possessive suffixes on the accusative form of the reflexive noun *gag-á* 'self'.

Possessive pronouns never cooccur with full nominal possessors. Object pronouns typically substitute for direct or indirect object nominals; recall (1). However, in case of high referential prominence, an object can be doubly expressed by a full object nominal – a noun or pronoun phrase – and a bound object pronoun on the verb, as seen in (6) and later in (14).

(6) Narrative (EK2016-02-12_003)

Harr-ée buud-á kesáa m-á buchch-íichch
 donkeys-F.GEN horn-F.DAT 2SG.DAT what-M.ACC soil-M.ABL
 eeb-ó<kke>ta-at?

bring-1SG.PURP.SS<2SG.OBJ>-COP3

'From where on earth am I going to bring you a donkey horn?'

Table 2: Bound personal pronouns and the reflexive noun

	Pronominal suffixes	Reflexive noun (ACC) with possessive suffix
1SG.OBJ	-’e	
1SG.POSS	-’e ~ -’	<i>gag-á-’e ~ gag-á-’</i>
2SG.OBJ	-(k)ke ~ -he	
2SG.POSS	-(k)k	<i>gag-á-kk</i>
3M	-s	<i>gag-á-s</i>
3F	-se	<i>gag-á-se</i>
1PL	-(n)ne	<i>gag-á-nne</i>
2PL (= 2HON)	-(k)ki’nne ~ -’nne	<i>gag-á-kki’nne ~ gag-á-’nne</i>
3PL (= 3HON)	-(s)sa	<i>gag-á-ssa</i>

3 Reflexive noun

3.1 Form and meaning

Kambaata uses the reflexive noun *gag-á* ‘self’, usually combined with a possessive suffix (Table 2),³ to express coreference between the subject and another participant in the clause. *Gag-á* ‘self’ is clearly noun-like in nature. It inflects for case (Table 3)⁴ like any regular common noun of the masculine declension M1 (Treis 2008: 103). In the text of this chapter, the reflexive noun is always cited in its accusative form *gag-á*.

Table 3: The case paradigm of *gag-á* ‘self’

ACC	<i>gag-á</i>	ABL	<i>gag-íichch</i>
NOM	<i>gág-u</i>	ICP	<i>gag-íin</i>
GEN	<i>gag-i_’</i>	LOC	<i>gag-áan</i>
DAT	<i>gag-íi(ha)</i>	OBL=PRED	<i>gág-a</i>

³There are two instances in the Gospel of John in which the possessor of *gag-á* ‘self’ is expressed by a free genitive pronoun, e.g. *íi* (1SG.GEN) *gag-íi* (self-M.DAT) ‘for myself’. For the use of unmodified reflexive nouns see §3.2.5.

⁴In Table 3, the notation *-i_’* of the genitive morpheme indicates that the case is realized by a segment *-i* and a stress suprafix on the rightmost syllable of the word.

Gag-á ‘self’ is a transnumeral noun and thus allows for singular and plural reference. It is not attested with plurative (PLV) marking, but a singulative (sgv) example is presented in (13). The reflexive noun is marked for distributivity through partial pre-reduplication (‘each ... oneself’), as seen in (27). Other morphemes that can attach to the reflexive noun are the emphasis marker *-n* (13), the additive marker *-V* (20), and – when ‘self’ is the head or modifier of the non-verbal predicate (32) – the copula. The stem of the reflexive noun can be the input of the status noun derivation with *-oom-áta* (Treis 2008: 171): *gag-oom-áta* ‘identity (lit. selfhood, selfness)’ (Alemu 2016: 349), as shown in (7).⁵

- (7) (Adane [no date]: 4)

Gag-oom-á-nne

self-STAT-F.ACC-1PL.POSS

caakk-is-soonti-nné=g-a<n>ka

become.light-CAUS1-2SG.PFV-1PL.OBJ.REL=SIM-M.ACC<EMP>

bír-i-kk

caakk-ítu

future-F.NOM-2SG.POSS become.light-3F.BDV

‘As you brought our identity to light, may your future be bright!’

The noun *gag-á* ‘self’ can be used metaphorically to express a ‘person like oneself’, or a ‘close relative’, as illustrated in (8).

- (8) Proverb (Alamu & Alamaayyo 2017: 52)

Gág-u buud-á woqqarr-ó=da allagg-íchch-u

self-M.NOM horn-M.ACC strike-3M.PFV.REL=COND strangers-SGV-M.NOM

ill-íta qas-áno

eye-F.ACC poke-3M.IPFV

‘If a next of kin (lit. a self) strikes the horn (of your bull), a stranger (can) poke (you in your) eye.’

While ‘head’ is the most common source for reflexive nominals in the languages of the world (Schladt 1999) – see also the reflexivizer *ras* ‘head’ in Amharic (Leslau 1995: 57-58), the primary contact language of Kambaata, and the reflexivizer *umo* ‘head’ in the closely related HEC language Sidaama (Kawachi 2007: 184-187) –, there is no indication that Kambaata *gag-á* goes back to a noun ‘head’. A reflexive noun cognate to that of Kambaata is used in the HEC languages Alaaba, K’abeena and Hadiyya (Schneider-Blum 2007: 188-199; Crass 2005: 257-259; Tadesse 2015: 90-91).

⁵ All examples taken from publications in the Kambaata language are stress-marked, segmented, glossed and translated to English by the present author.

3.2 Reflexive constructions

3.2.1 Autopathic domain

Coreference between the subject and its direct object in a monotransitive clause is expressed by an accusative-marked reflexive noun. The possessive suffixes on *gag-á* ‘self’ are coreferential with the subject of the clause, e.g. 3M in (3), 1SG in (9) and (13), 2PL in (10) and 3PL in (11). The examples (9)-(11) illustrate that the subject is not necessarily expressed by an independent nominative NP, it suffices to have it indexed on the verb. As the seven subject indexes and the seven possessive suffixes are not fully congruent, a mismatch is observed in (11). The ordered persons are indexed as 3F (= 3PL) on the verb *torr-* ‘throw’ but as 3PL (= 3HON) on ‘self’.⁶

- (9) (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 11)

(...) *gag-á-* *isso’oo-sí* *qax-á<n>ka* *ass-í*
 self-M.ACC-1SG.POSS 3PL.GEN-DEF level-M.ACC<EMP> do-1SG.PFV.CV
kot-íshsh=ké’ (...) *become.small-CAUS1.1SG.PFV.CV=SEQ*
 ‘(...) I lower myself to their level (...)’

- (10) (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 93)

Gag-á-’nne *xa’mm-iyyé: áā-ndo áā-bay?*
 self-M.ACC-2PL.POSS ask-2PL.IMP yes-Q yes-NEG1.Q
 ‘Ask yourselves: Yes or no (lit. not yes)?’

- (11) (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 38)

Át *gashsh-itaantí* *mann-á*
 2SG.NOM pass.the.night.CAUS1-2SG.IPFV.REL people-M.ACC
gag-á-ssa *már-t* *baar-í* *aazéen*
 self-M.ACC-3PL.POSS go-3F.PFV.CV sea-M.GEN inside-M.LOC
torr-ítunta *azzaz-zoonti-ssá=da* (...) *throw-3F.PURP.DS order-2SG.PFV-3PL.OBJ.REL=COND*
 ‘If you ordered the people you govern (lit. make pass the night) to go and throw themselves into the sea (...)’

⁶Free personal pronouns distinguish nine forms (Table 1), possessive/object pronouns (Table 2) and subject indexes only seven. In the possessive/object paradigm, we see the following syncretism: 1SG, 2SG, 3M, 3F, 1PL, 2PL (= 2HON), 3PL (= 3HON). Another type of syncretism is found in the subject index paradigm: 1SG, 2SG, 3M, 3F (= 3PL), 3HON, 1PL, 2PL (= 2HON).

In (12), the subject that serves as the antecedent of the reflexive noun is expressed by a possessive pronoun (-ssa 3PL.OBJ) on the infinite verbal noun.⁷

- (12) (Kambaata Education Bureau 1989: 3.118)
 (...) **gag-á-ssa-n** ikko ées haww-íichch
 self-M.ACC-3PL.POSS-EMP or 1SG.ACC trouble-M.ABL
 fa'-is-ú-ssa dag-áam-ba'a
 be.saved-CAUS1-M.ACC-3PL.POSS know-1SG.IPFV-NEG1
 '(...) I don't know whether they can save themselves and me (lit. I don't know their saving themselves or me) from trouble.'

The transnumeral reflexive noun can indicate coreference with singular and plural subjects, see *gag-á* in (9) and (10)-(12), respectively. However, we still find a small number of overtly singulative-marked forms in the corpus (13). The pragmatic reason for this marking is still unknown.⁸ In contrast, overt plurative marking (hypothetically **gag-g-áta* PLV1 or **gag-aakk-áta* PLV2 'selves') is unattested and was rejected by the native speaker I consulted.

- (13) Narrative (TD2016-02-11_001)
Gag-ichch-ú-'e-n ikk-oommí=da esáa
 self-SGV-F.ACC-1SG.POSS-EMP become-1SG.PFV.REL=COND 1SG.DAT
 woyy-áno-'e
 become.better-3M.IPFV-1SG.OBJ
 (Protagonist of a story who has adopted body parts of other animals:) 'It would be better if I became myself (again).'

A non-reflexive free accusative pronoun or a non-reflexive object suffix on the verb is necessarily interpreted as being referentially disjoint with the subject. See, for instance, the clause marked in bold in (14): the free accusative pronoun *isú* 'him' and the object suffix -*sí* (here infixes into the purposive verb) are always interpreted as being referentially disjoint from the subject of 'help' (reflected in the subject index 3M). The same is true of the object suffix -s on the main verb 'ask'; neither in this nor in any other context can it be coreferential with the subject 'little prince'.

⁷Unlike other verb forms, verbal nouns cannot index their subjects. The subject is either expressed by a nominative NP, a genitive NP or a possessive pronoun.

⁸Note that one of the functions of singulative marking on transnumeral nouns is to express affection (Treis 2014: 118f).

- (14) (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 44)

“(…)” y-í=ké’ xa’mm-ée-s qakkíchch-u láah-u,
 say-3M.PFV.CV=SEQ ask-3M.PFV-3M.OBJ little-M.NOM prince-M.ACC
 isú kaa’ll-o<sí>ta hashsh-o-sí=biiha
 3M.ACC help-3M.PURP.SS<3M.OBJ> want-3M.PFV-3M.OBJ.REL=REAS2
 ““(…)” said the little prince to him (*himself), because he wanted to help
 him (*himself).’

3.2.2 Oblique domain

Kambaata also makes use of the reflexive noun *gag-á* ‘self’ to signal coreference between the subject of a clause and its indirect or oblique objects. In (15), the dative-marked beneficiary is coreferential with the subject ‘doves’. In (16), the ablative-marked source is coreferential with the 2SG subject. In (17), the locative-marked indirect object is coreferential with the 3F (= 3PL) subject of its clause.

- (15) (Kambaata Education Bureau 1989: 8.19f)

Wól-i-s handar-ití-i (...) gag-íiha-n-sa
 other-F.NOM-DEF doves-F.NOM-ADD self-M.DAT-L-3PL.POSS
 it-táa=r-a bajig-óon hacc-itáyoo’u
 eat-3F.IPFV.REL=NMZ4-M.ACC happiness-F.ICP look.for.MID-3F.PROG
 ‘And the other doves (...) were happily looking for food (lit. what they eat)
 for themselves.’

- (16) (Kambaata and Hadiyya Translation Project Hosaina 2005: 83)

Át káan y-itaantí-i
 2SG.NOM P_DEM1.M.ACC say-2SG.IPFV.REL-NMZ1.M.NOM
 gag-íichchi-kke-eti-ndo (...)?
 self-M.ABL-2SG.POSS-COP3-DISJ
 (John 13:32) ‘Is this your own idea (lit. is it from yourself that you say
 this) or (...)?’

- (17) (The Bible Society of Ethiopia [no date]: 16)

Gag-áan-ta-ssa dikka’-áa-na wol-ú mann-á
 self-M.LOC-L-3PL.POSS rely-3F.IPFV.REL-CRD other-M.ACC people-M.ACC
 gad-dán “Ná’oot xumm-áan-n-u-a”
 despise-3F.IPFV.CV 1PL.NOM peace-AG-PLV3-M.PRED-M.COP2

y-itáa mann-íi (...) kúll-o-ssa
 say-3F.IPFV.REL people-M.DAT tell-3M.PFV-3PL.OBJ
 ‘(He) said (...) to the people who trusted in themselves, who despised
 others and who said, “We are righteous”.’

The reflexive noun is also attested in morphologically complex oblique object NPs, e.g. those that are headed by a case-marked relational noun, such as *al-éen* ‘on top’ (18), or a case-marked nominalizer (19). Relational nouns and nominalizers govern genitive-marked modifiers.

- (18) (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 40)

Gag-i-kkí al-éen gar-é murat-úta
 self-M.GEN-2SG.POSS top-M.LOC justice-F.GEN judgement-F.ACC
 aass-itaantí manch-ú ik-koontí=da (...)
 give-2SG.IPFV.REL person.SGV-M.ACC become-2SG.PFV.REL=COND
 ‘If you are a person who (can) pass a fair judgment on yourself (lit. on top
 of your self) (...)’

- (19) (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 52)

Ku máncu-u gag-i-sí=tann-ée
 A_DEM1.M.NOM person.SGV-M.NOM self-M.GEN-3M.POSS=NMZ3-F.DAT
 xall-íi sáww=y-u’nnáan (...)
 only-M.DAT think=say-3M.NEG4
 ‘This man does not only think about himself (lit. for the one of his self)
 (...)’

Kambaata does not have any adpositions but uses case markers or case-marked relational nouns to mark circumstantial adjuncts, e.g. locative adjuncts. Circumstantial adjuncts usually do not contain a reflexive noun in case of coreference with the subject. The phrase *shiin-áan-ta-se* ‘beside her, at her side’ in (20) is ambiguous and can be interpreted as ‘at her own side’ or ‘at her (= another feminine referent’s) side’. (See also §3.2.4 on the reflexive possessor.)

- (20) Elicited (DW2020-01-24)

Worr-iichch-ú mexx-é-nin shiin-áan-ta-se
 snakes-SGV-M.ACC single-MULT-EMP-EMP side-M.LOC-L-3F.POSS
 xúud-d (...)
 see-3F.PFV.CV
 ‘She suddenly saw a snake beside her(self) (lit. at her side) (...)’

3.2.3 Long-distance domain

In Kambaata, the antecedent of the reflexive noun does not have to be an argument of the same minimal clause. Even though my database does not provide a large number examples, there is sufficient proof that *gag-á* ‘self’ qualifies as a long-distance reflexive, i.e. a reflexive noun that “can occur in a subordinate clause and take its antecedent in the matrix clause” (Haspelmath this volume: §9). In some diagnostic examples, the reflexive noun is found in an infinite verbal noun clause (VNC) and its antecedent in the matrix clause. In (21), the antecedent of ‘self’ is the subject of the matrix clause – see the 1SG index on the main verb. In (22), the antecedent is the indirect object, expressed as a 2SG object pronoun, of the main verb.

- (21) (Kambaata Education Bureau 1989: 4.120)

[Gag-a-’i-i, min-i-nné-e,
self-M.ACC-1SG.POSS-ADD house-M.ACC-1PL.POSS-ADD
hegeeg-u-’i-i muccur-ú ass-ii]_{VNC} abb-á
area-M.ACC-1SG.POSS-ADD clean-M.ACC make-M.DAT big-M.ACC
yakitt-á ass-áamm
effort-M.ACC make-1SG.IPFV

‘I will make a great effort to clean myself, our house and my environs.’

- (22) (Kambaata and Hadiyya Translation Project Hosaina 2005: 32)

[(...) gag-á-kk mann-ii hor-ii<n>ka
self-M.ACC-2SG.POSS people-M.DAT all-M.DAT<EMP>
lall-íis-u]_{VNC} hasis-áno-he
appear-CAUS1-M.NOM be.necessary-3M.IPFV-2SG.OBJ

(John 7:4) ‘(...) you need to show yourself to everybody (lit. to show yourself to everybody is necessary for you).’

Examples (21)-(22) do not seem surprising from the perspective of European languages where reflexive pronouns can be employed in the non-finite long-distance domain (cf. Haspelmath (this volume: §9)). However, Kambaata goes a step further. As (23) illustrates, an antecedent can just as well be coreferential with a reflexive noun in a finite subordinate clause. The ablative-marked standard of comparison *gag-íichchi-s* ‘from/than himself’ – found in a relative clause inside another relative clause that modifies the subject of the main clause – is coreferential with the 3M subject of the hierarchically superior matrix clause, i.e. the subject indexed on *he’-áno* ‘(who) lives’.

- (23) (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 20)

[Mát-o dooll-áan [[haraarím-a-s mát-o
 one-M.OBL time-M.LOC width-F.NOM-3M.POSS one-M.OBL
 gag-íichchi-s kank-á<n>ka abb-itúmb-o]_{RC}
 self-M.ABL-3M.POSS that.much-M.ACC<EMP> become.big-3F.NEG5-M.OBL
 plaaneet-í al-éen he'-anó]_{RC}-na [jaal-á
 planet-M.GEN top-M.LOC live-3M.IPFV.REL-CRD friend-M.ACC
 has-áyyoo]_{RC} qakkíchch-u láah-u yóo' ikke]_{Main C}
 look.for.MID-3M.PROG little-M.NOM prince-M.NOM COP1.3 PST
 'Once upon a time there was a little prince who lived on a planet the
 width of which was not much bigger than (the little prince) himself and
 who was looking for a friend.'

3.2.4 Adpossessionive domain

The adnominal possessor of a non-subject participant can be coreferential or non-coreferential with the subject. Kambaata does not make a distinction between subject-coreferential and subject-disjoint free possessor (genitive) pronouns or possessive suffixes. In (24), the suffix *-s* 3M.POSS on an instrumental-comitative-perlative participant is coreferential with the subject 'Father God', whereas the subject 'he' (as indexed on the verb) and the possessor are disjoint in (25).

- (24) (Kambaata and Hadiyya Translation Project Hosaina 2005: 68)

Ánn-u Magán-u beet-íin-ta-s ább-unta (...)
 father-M.NOM God-M.NOM son-M.ICP-L-3M.POSS be.glorified-3M.PURP.DS
 (John 14:13) (Literal translation of the Kambaata version:) 'So that Father
 God is glorified through his (own) son (...).'

- (25) Elicited (DW2020-02-22)

A: Manch-í_i min-í márr-o_j-ndo? – B: Márr-ee_j ikke,
 person.SGV-M.GEN house-M.ACC go-3M.PFV-Q go-3M.PRF PST
 mánch-u-s_i yóo-ba'a, beet-íin-ta-s_i
 person.SGV-M.NOM-DEF COP1.3-NEG1 son-M.ICP-L-3M.POSS
 daqq-ámm-ee'u_j
 meet.MID-PASS-3M.PRF
 A: 'Did he_j go to the man's_i house?' – B: 'He_j went there, (but) the man_i
 was not there, he_j met his_i (= the man's) son.'

Explicit coreference between the subject and the possessor of a non-subject

participant in the same clause is expressed with a genitive-marked reflexive noun plus a possessive suffix, see ‘the mother’ and ‘her (own) part’ in (26), ‘these’ and ‘their (own) language’ in (27) and ‘they’ and the distributive phrase ‘(each) their (own) people’ in (28).

- (26) Conversation about circumcision traditions (EK2016-02-23_001)
 (...) am-atí-i gag-i-sé wud-íin qixxan-táa’u
 mother-F.NOM-ADD self-M.GEN-3F.POSS side-M.ICP get.ready-3F.IPFV
 ‘(...) and the mother gets ready for her (own) part.’

- (27) Symposium speech (DW2016-09-24)
 “Kúru gag-i-ssá afóo haasaaww-ú
 P_DEM1.PL.M.NOM self-M.GEN-3PL.POSS mouth-M.ACC speak-M.NOM
 iitt-ít bá’-ee-haa=rr-a”
 love-3F.PFV.CV do.very.much-3F.PRF.REL-M.COP2=NMZ4-M.PRED
 y-isiicc-iiyé!
 say-CAUS2.MID-2PL.IMP
 ‘Make them say to themselves: “These are (people) who love to speak
 their (own) language (lit. mouth) very much.”’

- (28) Elicited (DW2004-11-03)
 Gág-gag-i-ssá mann-á<n>ka
 RED-self-M.GEN-3PL.POSS people-M.ACC<EMP>
 aag-is-sáa-haa
 enter-CAUS1-3F.IPFV.REL-M.COP2
 ‘They intermarry in their own kin-group (lit. they marry each their own
 people).’

However, the genitive-marked reflexive noun is not strictly subject-oriented. It may also signal coreference between a possessor and a non-subject participant in the same clause. In my database, one finds, among others, examples in which the antecedent is the dative NP in a predicative possessive construction with *yoo-* ‘exist’ (COP1), see ‘for the ones who hunt’ in (29), or an accusative object, see ‘the flower’ in (30).

- (29) (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 70)
 (...) ées hugaax-xaa=r-iihá-a_i gag-i-ssá_i
 1SG.ACC hunt-3F.IPFV.REL=NMZ4-M.DAT-ADD self-M.GEN-3PL.POSS

seer-u yóo-haa
rule-M.NOM COP1.3.REL-M.COP2

‘(...) and the ones who hunt me have their own rules (lit. for the ones_i who hunt me, there are their_i own rules).’

- (30) (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 91)

(...) qakkíchch-u láah-u fiit-ichch-úta_i ankar-í
little-M.NOM prince-M.NOM flower-SGV-F.ACC night-M.ACC
ankar-í gag-i-sé_i burcuq-óonin iffíshsh (...)
night-M.ACC self-M.GEN-3F.POSS glass-M.LOC-EMP close.3M.PFV.CV

‘(...) the little prince shuts the flower_i under her_i glass (globe) every night and (...)’

There are even several attested instances in which the reflexive noun is coreferential with an antecedent in an embedded clause: In (31), *gag-i-sí* ‘his own’ is coreferential with the direct object *man-ch-ú* ‘man’ (ACC) in the relative clause (RC). In (32), *gag-i-ssá* ‘their own’ is coreferential with the dative possessor in the conditional clause. In the adpossession domain, Kambaata thus violates the cross-linguistic tendency of antecedent-reflexive asymmetry, which states that “[t]he antecedent must be higher on the rank scale of syntactic positions than the reflexive pronoun” (Haspelmath this volume: §7).⁹

- (31) Periphrasis of proverb in common speech (Alamu & Alamaayyo 2017: 115)

[Manch-ú_i abbíshsh gen-anó]_{RC}
person.SGV-M.ACC exceed.CAUS1.3M.PFV.CV harm-3M.IPFV.REL
díin-u_j gag-i-sí_i ilam-íichch ful-áno
enemy-M.NOM self-M.GEN-3M.POSS relatives-M.ABL come.out-3M.IPFV

‘A person’s worst enemy is found among his relatives (lit. An enemy_j who harms a person_i very much comes out from his_i own relatives).’

- (32) Periphrasis of proverb in common speech (Alamu & Alamaayyo 2017: 10)

[Ám-at il-áa_i ánn-u gizz-íi_j
mother-F.NOM children-F.DAT owner-M.NOM cattle-M.DAT
yoo-ba’í=d_{da}] gag-i-ssá_{i+j} hé’-u<n>ku
COP1.3-NEG1.REL=COND self-M.GEN-3PL.POSS live-M.NOM<EMP>

⁹A consulted native speaker confirmed that *-sí* could in principle also be coreferential with *díinu* ‘enemy’ (NOM) but that world knowledge would make a listener favor the first interpretation.

bárch-i-ta

misery-F.PRED-F.COP2

‘If children_i have no mother (and) cattle_j no owner (lit. if there is not a mother for children (and) an owner for cattle) their_{i+j} life is a misery.’

The use of the reflexive noun in the adpossessionive domain is optional and serves the purpose of emphasis. This can be illustrated with examples from natural language use, such as (33), in which possession is expressed by juxtaposing a regular genitive pronoun and a genitive reflexive noun.

- (33) Narrative (TH2003-05-28_001)

Kúun ammoonsii kii-haa-ba’a, **ii-haa**,
P_DEM1.M.NOM however 2SG.GEN-M.COP2-NEG1 1SG.GEN-M.COP2
gag-í-’e-a<n>ka béet-u
self-M.GEN-1SG.POSS-M.COP<EMP> son-M.PRED

‘But this is not yours, (it) is mine, (it) is my own son.’

The optionality of the reflexive noun is also reflected in two variants of the same proverb in (34)-(35): the first uses the genitive pronoun *isé* 3F.GEN ‘her’ (34), while the second uses the reflexive noun *gag-i-sé* ‘her own’ (35).

- (34) Proverb variant 1 (Geetaahun 2002: 28)

Ball-ó wonan-á mogga’-óo
mother-in-law-F.GEN enset.ring-M.ACC steal-3F.PFV.REL
beet-í=biit **isé** beet-í ar-é bar-í
SON-M.GEN=NMZ2.F.NOM 3F.GEN son-M.GEN wife-F.GEN day-M.ACC
wonan-á hoog-gáa’i
enset.ring-M.ACC loose-3F.IPFV

‘The son’s (wife) who stole (her) mother-in-law’s enset ring loses (her) enset ring on the day of **her** son’s wife(’s arrival).’¹⁰

- (35) Proverb variant 2 (Alamu & Alamaayyo 2017: 24)

(...) **gag-i-sé** beet-í ar-é bar-í (...)
self-M.GEN-3F.POSS son-M.GEN wife-F.GEN day-M.ACC

‘(...) on the day of **her own** son’s wife(’s arrival).’

¹⁰The enset (*Ensete ventricosum*) is a multi-purpose plant cultivated in the highlands of southern Ethiopia. The fermented corm, the fermented pulp and the starch are used for human consumption. Fresh or dried leaves, midribs and leaf sheaths as well as the fibers extracted from the plant serve to produce household utensils and packaging material.

3.2.5 Bare reflexive noun

The possessive suffix on the reflexive noun can be dispensed with in contexts where the antecedent and the reflexive are impersonal or generic, as is often the case in proverbs (37), in conversations about traditions (38) or in general truths (39). The suffix is also missing in the idiom *gag-á daqq-* ‘become an adult, come of age (lit. find oneself)’.

- (36) Proverb (Alamu & Alamaayyo 2017: 51)
 Gaazhzh-ó hór-u<n>ku gag-íi fun[n]úq
 wage.war-3M.PFV.REL all-M.NOM<EMP> self-M.DAT shove.away.IDEO
 ‘All who wage war struggle for themselves (i.e. not for the collective good).’
- (37) Conversation about mourning traditions (EK2016-02-23_003)
 (...) gag-í ilan-ch-ú, onxan-é ilan-ch-ú
 self-M.GEN relatives-SGV-M.ACC nearness-F.GEN relatives-SGV-M.ACC
 moog-eennó-o iill-án qax-ée
 bury-3HON.IPFV.REL-NMZ1.M.ACC reach-3M.IPFV.CV extent-M.DAT
 waas-á qammas-áno-ba’a
 enset.food-M.ACC take.a.bite-3M.IPFV-NEG1
 ‘(...) (one) did not (even) take a bite of food until (people) buried one’s relative, (one’s) near relative.’
- (38) (Kambaata Education Bureau 1989: 3.118f)
 Gag-á haww-íichch fa’-is-íi dánd-u ammóo
 self-M.ACC trouble-M.ABL be.saved-CAUS1-M.DAT be.able-M.NOM however
 qoorím-a-ta
 wisdom-F.PRED-F.COP2
 (The horse advises the hare: It is good to have friends.) ‘But being able to save oneself from trouble is wise(r).’

3.3 Self-intensifying constructions

As in many languages of the world (see, among others, König et al. 2013; König & Siemund 2000; Gast & Siemund 2006), the reflexive noun *gag-á* is also used as a self-intensifier. The description in this section is preliminary, as the diverse non-reflexive functions of *gag-á* are not yet well understood and still require further investigation. However, my corpus clearly shows that *gag-á* has self-intensifying

functions when used adnominally (in apposition to a preceding noun phrase) or on its own as an argument or adverbial adjunct. In the typological literature (König & Siemund 2000; Gast 2002; Gast & Siemund 2006), the adnominal use of self-intensifiers is associated with an alternative-evoking function (roughly paraphrasable as ‘no one other than N’, ‘as opposed to others related to N’), whereas two functions linked to the adverbial use are labeled “adverbial-exclusive” or “actor-oriented” (‘on one’s own, alone, without help’) and “adverbial-inclusive” or “additive” (‘also, too’). However, in Kambaata, no correlation between syntactic position and meaning can be observed.¹¹

In (39), *gag-á* is used in apposition to a subject noun with which it shares case and gender values. The central referent, *Kambáat-u* ‘Kambaata people’, is opposed to the contextually given foreign, non-native speaker of the Kambaata language.

(39) Book launch speech (DW2018-03-12)

(...) Kambáat-u gág-u<n>ku-s

Kambaata-M.NOM self-M.NOM<EMP>-3M.POSS

haasaaww-anó=hanní=g-a ass-ámm

speak-3M.IPFV.REL=NMZ2.M.GEN=SIM-M.ACC do-PASS.3M.PFV.CV

hiir-ámm-ee’i-i íh-u

translate-PASS-3M.PRF.REL-NMZ1.M.NOM become-M.NOM

hasis-áno-a

be.necessary-3M.IPFV.REL-M.COP2

(Context: We didn’t want that the dialogues in the book sounded as if they were spoken by a foreigner.) ‘(The book) had to be translated in a way (that it sounded) as if Kambaata people themselves would speak.’

In (40), the self-intensifying *gag-á* expresses that the (male) addressee does not delegate or seek assistance but carries out the action himself.¹² The example illustrates the so-called “adverbial-exclusive” function. The typological label is hardly suitable for Kambaata, as the self-intensifier is not used adverbially in (40) but is the subject of the main clause.¹³

¹¹The following examples may give the (wrong) impression that the appositional use correlates with the alternative-evoking function and the non-appositional use with the “exclusive” and “inclusive” functions. This is, however, not the case, as other examples in my data show. Also note that – although all self-intensifiers in (39)–(41) are (parts of) subjects – alternative-evoking and “inclusive” self-intensifiers are also attested as direct objects, indirect objects, and predicates.

¹²See also (42).

¹³Note, however, that ‘on one’s own’ could, alternatively, be expressed by the ICP-marked form

- (40) (Kambaata and Hadiyya Translation Project Hosaina 2005: 95)
 (...) át harde'-oom-áan yoontí j-áata qabatt-óon
 2SG.NOM youngsters-STAT-F.LOC COP1.2SG.REL time-F.ACC belt-F.ICP
 gág-u-kki-n qo'rr-ít
 self-M.NOM-2SG.POSS-EMP gird.MID-2SG.PFV.CV
 has-soontí=b-a mar-táant íkke
 want-2SG.PFV.REL=PLC-M.ACC go-2SG.IPFV PAST
 (John 21:18) 'When you were in your youth you dressed yourself and
 went where you wanted.' (Following context: But when you are old you
 will stretch out your hands, and someone else will dress you and lead you
 where you do not want to go.)

The third self-intensifying function, the so-called “adverbial-inclusive” function, is exemplified in (41). Again, the self-intensifier is not used adverbially in Kambaata but on its own as the subject.

- (41) Narrative (TD2016-02-11_001)
 (...) hamiil-agúd-aa bonx-ichch-í al-éen qakkíchch-ut
 cabbage-seem-M.OBL leaf-SGV-M.GEN top-M.LOC tiny.SGV-F.NOM
 gaaroríin-ch-ut afuu'll-ítee'; gág-u-<n>ku-se-n
 chameleon-SGV-F.NOM sit-3F.PRF self-M.NOM<EMP>-3F.POSS-EMP
 hamiil-agud-áta agud-dáyyoo'u
 cabbage-seem-F.ACC seem-3F.PROG
 (The chameleon, which we, which I see here now,) the tiny chameleon
 sits on a cabbage-colored leaf; (and) she, too (lit. herself), seems
 cabbage-colored.'

One and the same clause can contain two forms of *gag-á*, one in reflexive and the other in self-intensifying use, as seen in (42). The genitive form *gag-i-kki* (lit. 'your self's' indicates coreference between the 2SG subject and the possessor, the nominative form *gág-u-kk* stressed that the addressee has to enforce their rights on their own.

- (42) Periphrasis of a proverb (Alamu & Alamaayyo 2017: 138)
 Gag-i-kki gar-íta gág-u-kk aphph-ii
 self-M.GEN-2SG.POSS right-F.ACC self-M.NOM-2SG.POSS grab.MID-M.DAT

of 'self', i.e. *gag-iin*-POSS 'by, with, through oneself', in adverbial function.

aphphám-i

struggle-2SG.IMP

‘Enforce (lit. struggle to grab) your own rights yourself!’ (i.e. Nobody grants them to you.)

Self-intensifying functions constitute only a subset of the non-reflexive uses of *gag-á*. The corpus also shows it in contexts such as (43), in which *gag-á* does not lend itself to a self-intensifying interpretation. With respect to (43), a native speaker I consulted considered it interchangeable with a free personal pronoun (§2.1), which here would be *isso’ootí-i* 3PL.NOM-ADD.¹⁴

(43) (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 30)

(...) *gag-u-ssá-a* ammóo ma’nn-íta
self-M.NOM-3PL.POSS-ADD and place-F.ACC

af-fúmb-u-a=rr-a (...)

take-3F.NEG5-M.PRED-M.COP2=NMZ4-M.PRED

(Context: They had only one ring of petals,) and they (lit. themselves) took up no room (...).

4 Middle derivation

Kambaata verb roots end in a single consonant or a consonant cluster.¹⁵ The root can be followed by one or several word-class maintaining or word-class changing derivational morphemes, which in turn are followed by inflectional morphemes. The most productive derivational categories on verbs are causative, passive, middle and reciprocal. Kambaata has a short (or simple) causative *-(i)s* (CAUS1) and a long (or double) causative *-(i)siis* (CAUS2). Their distribution is partly determined by the valency of the base, but is also partly lexicalized (and thus not predictable). The passive is marked by *-am*, e.g. *shol-* ‘cook’ > *shol-am-* ‘be cooked’, *biix-* ‘break (tr.)’ > *biix-am-* ‘be broken, break (intr.)’. Kambaata only has one labile verb: *gid-* ‘be(come) non-tactile cold; make (someone) feel non-tactile cold’.

The middle is realized by two predominately phonologically conditioned allomorphs: *-aqq* /ak’:/ and *-’* /ʔ/. The first allomorph is used on verb stems ending

¹⁴Note also that in a synonym matching exercise in a schoolbook, *gág-u-nne* (self-M.NOM-1PL.POSS) ‘ourselves’ has to be paired with the personal pronoun *ná’oot* (1PL.NOM) ‘we’ (Kambaata Education Bureau 1989: 4.122).

¹⁵Only a single verb root ends in a vowel: *re-* ‘die’. If the root is followed by a vowel-initial morpheme, *h* is inserted to avoid a vowel sequence.

in a consonant cluster, e.g. *iyy-* ‘carry’ > MID: *iyy-aqq-* ‘carry for one’s benefit, endure’, *quss-* ‘rub’ > *quss-aqq-* ‘rub oneself’, or on stems ending in an ejective consonant, e.g. *x /t’/* in *maax-* ‘hide’ > *maax-aqq-* ‘hide for/in oneself’. The second allomorph is suffixed to stems that end in a sonorant, that in turn triggers metathesis to satisfy the phonotactic constraints of Kambaata, see e.g. *mur-* ‘cut’ > *mu’rr-* /muʔr-/ ‘cut oneself’, *fan-* ‘open’ > *fa’nn-* /faʔn-/ ‘open for one’s benefit’. Stems ending in a single obstruent can either be marked as middle with *-aqq*, e.g. *xuud-* ‘see’ > *xuud-aqq-* ‘see, consider oneself’, or with the second allomorph. In the latter case, the sequence of an obstruent plus a glottal stop is realized as a geminate ejective consonant, e.g. /g+ʔ/ = /k’:/ in *dag-* ‘know, find’ > *daqq-* ‘know, find for one’s benefit’ and /f+ʔ/ = /p’:/ in *huf-* ‘comb’ > *huphph-* ‘comb oneself’. The choice of the first or second allomorph after single obstruents seems partly lexically determined, partly a case of free variation.

The middle does not reduce the valency of the verb. It has three discernibly different functions, the expression of autobenefactivity (§4.1), reflexivity (§4.2) and emotional involvement of the speaker (§4.3). The middle is also part of the reciprocal derivation (§4.4).

4.1 Autobenefactive

As in all East Cushitic languages (cf. Mous 2004), the most productive interpretation of the middle marker in Kambaata is to express that the subject of the clause is the beneficiary of the event expressed by the verb. There are apparently no semantic restrictions on the verbs that can be used with an autobenefactive middle marker. In (44) the autobenefactive middle morpheme is on the verb *laa'll-* 'search and call (for a missing animal)', in (45) on the verb *xa'mm-* 'ask', and in (46) on the verbs *ass-* 'do' (irregular middle form: *eecc-*) and *min-* 'build'.

- (44) Conversation on blessings (AN2016-02-19_002)
 Laa'll-aqq-ayyoo'i-i xuud-eeemma=dá-a
 search.call-MID-3M.PROG.REL-NMZ1.M.ACC see-3HON.PFV.REL=COND-ADD
 m-á y-éen maassa'-éenno-la?
 what-M.ACC say-3HON.PFV.CV bless-3HON.IPFV-MIT
 'And if one comes across (lit. sees) someone who is searching and calling
 (for a missing animal) for his/her own benefit, what does one say to bless
 (him/her)?'
- (45) Narrative (EK2016-02-12_003)

Mát-u qabaaxxáam-u adab-óohu qabaaxxáam-*oa<n>ka*
 one-M.NOM rich-M.NOM boy-M.NOM rich-M.OBL<EMP>
 manch-í min-í márr-ee'u, beet-úta
 person.SGV-M.GEN house-M.GEN go-3M.PRF daughter-F.ACC
 xa'mm-**aqq**-óta
 ask-MID-3M.PURP.SS

'A rich young man (lit. boy) went to a rich man's house in order to ask for the daughter for his own benefit.'

(46) Elicited (DW2020-01-24)

Gizz-á hoolam-á ir-á xáaz-z
 money-M.ACC much-M.ACC time-M.ACC gather-3F.PFV.CV
 qú'mm=**eccc**-ít min-í **mi'nn**-itóo'u
 gather=do.MID-3F.PFV.CV house-M.ACC build.MID-3F.PFV

'After having saved money for many years, they could build a house for their own benefit.'

The autobenefactive function of the middle derivation could, in principle, also be analyzed as a subtype of the reflexivizing function, namely as one indicating coreference of the subject and a dative beneficiary adjunct.

4.2 Reflexive

In (4), the middle derivation was shown to be able to mark on its own that the subject and the direct (accusative) object are coreferential; another example is given in (47). Overall, however, examples of this type seem to be rare. There are no clear cases in which the middle derivation alone marks coreference of the subject and a participant other than the direct object (if we exclude the beneficiary adjunct of §4.1). And even in prototypical reflexive situations, as in (4) and (47), the middle morpheme is often not the only reflexivizer but rather an additional reflexivizing device besides the reflexive noun, as elaborated on at the end of this section).

(47) Elicited (DW2020-01-24)

Sull-**aqq**-ée'u
 choke.with.rope-MID-3M.PFV

(Speaking about the actual cause of someone's death whom the addressee thought to have died from an illness) 'He hung himself.'

In contrast, we commonly find the middle morpheme on verbs of grooming and bodily care in Kambaata. Grooming and bodily care is typically self-directed, so the coreference of the carer and the cared is expected, and in many languages of the world, this coreference relations remains unmarked or marked by shorter morphemes if compared to the marking of prototypical reflexive situations (cf. Kemmer 1994). In Kambaata, with verbs of grooming and bodily care, reflexivity cannot be doubly expressed by a middle morpheme and a reflexive noun. If the noun *gag-á* ‘self’ is used with such verbs, it does not have a reflexive but a self-intensifying meaning; recall the self-intensifier with the verb *qo’rr-* ‘gird’ in (40).

Sometimes the root from which a middle verb was derived is not, or is no longer, attested in the language, and the middle verb forms a pair with a causative verb (Table 4). Here the speaker is bound to overtly express whether the action is carried out by the subject on him- or herself, or on someone else.

Table 4: Grooming verbs (middle vs. causative stem)

ROOT		DERIVATIVE	TRANSLATION
* <i>aal-</i>	MID	<i>aa’ll-</i> (48)	‘wash (oneself)’
	CAUS1	<i>aansh-</i>	‘wash (something/someone)’
* <i>odd-</i>	MID	<i>odd-aqq-</i> (48)	‘wear, put on (one’s clothes)’
	CAUS1	<i>odd-iis-</i>	‘have (someone) wear, put on (clothes)’
* <i>gunguul-</i>	MID	<i>gunguu’ll-</i>	‘cover one’s head’
	CAUS1	<i>gunguushsh-</i>	‘cover someone’s head’
* <i>qor-</i>	MID	<i>qo’rr-</i> (40)	‘gird, put on (belt, skirt, trousers)’
	CAUS2	<i>qor-siis-</i>	‘have (someone) gird, put on (belt, skirt, trousers)’

(48) Elicited (DW2020-01-24)

Bór-a gassim-á xóqq=y-ít miin-í-se
 PN-F.NOM morning-M.ACC get.up=say-3F.PFV.CV face-F.ACC-3F.POSS
 aa’ll-ít odd-aqq-ít huphph-ít
 wash.MID-3F.PFV.CV put.on-MID-3F.PFV.CV comb.MID-3F.PFV.CV
 xaaloot-á mar-tóo`u
 church-M.ACC go-3F.PFV

‘Bora got up in the morning, washed her face, got dressed, combed her hair and went to church.’

The middle verbs in Table 5 are based on a verb root that usually¹⁶ expresses that an action of bodily care is carried out on a person that is non-coreferential with the subject. In contrast, the middle-derived form can only be interpreted as expressing coreference between the subject and the patient of bodily care. The clothes that are put on and the body parts that are the targets of bodily care can be overtly expressed as accusative objects, irrespective of whether the middle verb is of the type given in Table 4 or in Table 5; see, e.g., *miin-i-se* ‘her face’ in (48).

Table 5: Grooming verbs (root vs. middle stem)

ROOT	TRANSLATION	MIDDLE	TRANSLATION
<i>buur-</i>	‘butter, anoint (s.o.)’	<i>buu’rr-</i>	‘butter, anoint (oneself)’
<i>dad-</i>	‘braid, plait (s.o.’s hair)’	<i>daxx-</i>	‘braid, plait (one’s own hair)’
<i>huf-</i>	‘comb (s.o.’s hair)’	<i>huphph-</i>	‘comb (one’s own hair)’ (48)
<i>meed-</i>	‘shave (s.o.)’	<i>meexx-</i>	‘shave (oneself)’
<i>miiq-</i>	‘brush (s.o.’s) teeth’	<i>miiq-aqq-</i>	‘brush (one’s own) teeth’
<i>xaax-</i>	‘wrap, tie around, have (s.o.) wear (e.g. a scarf)’	<i>xaax-aqq-</i>	‘wrap, tie around (oneself), wear (e.g. a scarf)’

In cases of non-default coreference of subject and direct object (in the prototypical reflexive situation), it is common to find two reflexivizers, the reflexive noun and the middle derivation, in the same clause, as we saw in (5) and is further illustrated in (49)-(50). The reflexive noun seems to be the primary reflexivizer and the middle derivation an addition. The native speaker I consulted was reluctant to omit the reflexive nouns in (50) and preferred the combination of the nominal and verbal reflexivizer. (An autobenefactive interpretation of the middle derivation in (50) can be excluded.)

(49) (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 37)

Gag-á-’ egexx-ii dand-áam-ba’a
 self-M.ACC-1SG.POSS hold.up.MID-M.DAT be.able-1SG.IPFV-NEG1
 ‘I cannot contain myself.’

(50) Elicited (DW2020-01-24)

¹⁶In the corpus we also find some rare examples in which the unextended verb root is used even if the target of bodily care is the subject itself.

Jáal-a-’ gag-á-se abbís-s
 friend-F.NOM-1SG.POSS self-M.ACC-3F.POSS exceed.CAUS1-3F.PFV.CV
 qac-úta lókk-a-se ammóo cúlu=at-tumb-úúta
 thin-F.ACC leg-F.NOM-3F.POSS and beautiful=do-3F.NEG5-NMZ1.F.ACC
 ass-ít xuud-aqq-ít gag-á-se
 do-3F.PFV.CV see-MID-3F.PFV.CV self-M.ACC-3F.POSS
 shigíg=eccc-ít bá’-ee-taa
 repel=do.MID-3F.PFV.CV do.very.much-3F.PRF.REL-F.COP2
 ‘My friend considers herself too thin and her legs ugly, she hates herself
 deeply.’

4.3 Emotional involvement

The middle derivation has also acquired an intersubjective meaning and expresses the emotional involvement of the speaker – and not the subject – in a state-of-affairs. The three functions of the middle derivation – reflexive, autobenefactive and emotive – are contrasted in (51)-(53), which all contain the verb *aass-* ‘give’. In (51), the subject and the indirect object, the recipient of ‘give’, are coreferential. In (52), the subject is the beneficiary of a gift (or rather a bribe), but not the recipient. In (53), the speaker is emotionally touched by the event that he observes.

- (51) Reflexive (Elicited: DW2020-01-24)

Gag-iiha-n-se abb-áta ma’nn-íta aass-aqq-itóo’u
 self-M.DAT-L-3F.POSS big-F.ACC place-F.ACC give-MID-3F.PFV
 ‘She attributed (lit. gave) an important place to herself.’

- (52) Autobenefactive (Elicited: DW2020-01-24)

Dáann-u isíi fírd-unta-s gizz-á
 judge-M.NOM 3M.DAT judge-3M.PURP.DS-3M.OBJ money-M.ACC
 aass-aqq-ée’u
 give-MID-3M.PFV
 ‘So that the judge would decide for him_i, he_i gave (the judge) money for
 his_i own benefit.’

- (53) Emotive (Elicited: DW2020-01-24)

Ább-u mánn-u aass-áni-yan xúujj
 big-M.NOM people-M.NOM give-3M.IPFV.CV-DS see.3M.PFV.CV

ciil-uhú-u m-á-ndo aass-aqq-ée'u
 infant-M.NOM-ADD what-M.ACC-Q give-MID-3M.PFV
 (How amazing! How moving!) 'The little child saw adults give
 (something, e.g. to the guests), then he also gave something (to them).'

4.4 Reciprocity

A sequence of a middle and a passive morpheme regularly gives rise to a reciprocal, e.g. *gomb-* 'push' > *gomb-aqq-am-* 'push each other', *dag-* 'find' > (**dag-ʔ-am-* >) *daqq-am-* 'meet (lit. find each other)' (25), *mazees-* 'injure' > (**mazees-ʔ-am-* >) *mazeecc-am-* 'injure each other', *y-* 'say' > *y-aqq-am-* 'say to each other' (54).

- (54) (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 83)
 Āā, āā, kúun y-aqq-am-móommi-a bár-i
 yes yes P_DEM1.M.NOM say-MID-PASS-1PL.PFV.REL-M.COP2 day-M.PRED
 'Yes, yes, it is the day we agreed on (lit. we said to each other).'

5 Conclusion

Kambaata has a nominal and a verbal reflexivizer, both of which are multifunctional and also used in non-reflexive functions.

The reflexive noun *gag-á* 'self', which regularly combines with a possessive suffix, is primarily used to signal that the direct, indirect or oblique object is coreferential with the subject of the same clause. If the reflexive noun were replaced by a free personal pronoun or a bound object pronoun on the verb, the subject and these object pronouns would necessarily be considered referentially disjoint. While the reflexive noun most commonly expresses a coreference relation between arguments of a minimal clause (§3.2.1, §3.2.2), I have also presented evidence that the antecedent of *gag-á* 'self' can be found outside this restricted syntactic domain. Examples in which the reflexive noun in an infinite or finite subordinate clause is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause justify the analysis of *gag-á* 'self' as a long-distance reflexive (§3.2.3).

Whereas a non-reflexive (in)direct or oblique object pronoun rules out a coreference relation with the subject NP, an adnominal possessor of a non-subject noun phrase can be interpreted in two ways: as coreferential or non-coreferential with the subject. In the adpossessive domain, the reflexive noun serves to signal coreference explicitly and thus has a disambiguating function. As shown in §3.2.4,

the antecedent of the adnominal reflexive noun is not necessarily the subject of the clause but may also be another participant, even in a subordinate clause.

Apart from having a reflexive function, the noun *gag-á* ‘self’ is also used as a self-intensifier (§3.3).

The middle derivation *-aqq / -’* can serve as a reflexivizer in prototypical reflexive situations, i.e. situations in which coreference between arguments is unexpected. It can only signal coreference between the subject and a direct (accusative) object - but even in this context it is rarely the only reflexivizing means in its clause. Instead it often cooccurs with a reflexive noun (§4.2). In less typical reflexive situations in which subject-object coreference (self-affectedness of the subject) is the default, as in the case of grooming and bodily care, the middle morpheme is used as the sole marker of coreference. If the noun *gag-á* ‘self’ occurs in the clause of grooming and bodily care verbs, it necessarily has a self-intensifying function. As in related East Cushitic languages, the most productive synchronic function of the middle derivation is the expression of autobenefactivity (§4.1). In Kambaata; it has furthermore adopted an intersubjective interpretation (§4.3).

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Abbreviations

A_DEM	adjectival demonstrative	MIT	mitigator
ABL	ablative	MULT	multiplicative
ACC	accusative	NEG	negation
ADD	additive	NMZ	nominalizer
AG	agentive	NOM	nominative
BDV	benedictive	OBJ	object
CAUS	causative	OBL	oblique
COND	conditional	P_DEM	pronominal demonstrative
COP	copula	PL	plural
CRD	coordinative	PFV	perfective
CV	converb	PLC	place nominalizer
DAT	dative	PLV	plurative
DEF	definite	PN	proper noun
DISJ	disjunct	POSS	possessive
DS	different subject	PRED	predicative
EMP	emphasis	PRF	perfect
F	feminine	PROG	progressive
GEN	genitive	PST	past
HEC	Highland East Cushitic	PURP	purposive
HON	honorific, impersonal	Q	question
ICP	instrumental- comitative-perlative	REAS	reason clause marker
IDEO	ideophone	RED	reduplication
IMP	imperative	REL	relative
IPFV	imperfective	SEQ	sequential
L	linker	SG	singular
LOC	locative	SGV	singulative
M	masculine	SIM	similative, manner nominalizer
MID	middle	SS	same subject
		STAT	status noun derivation

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