

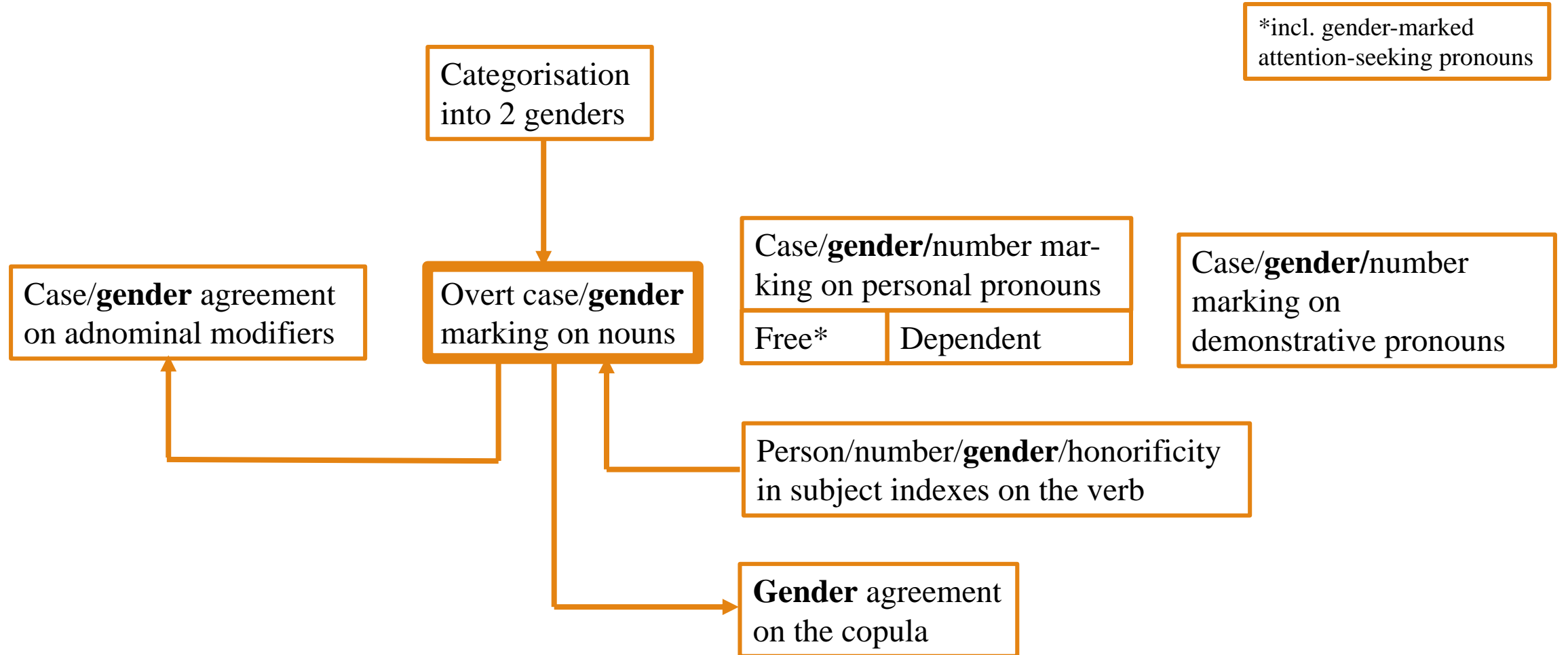


Grammatical gender in Kambaata

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WORKSHOP GRAMMATICAL GENDER AND
,NATURAL' GENDER: MAPPINGS AND
MISMATCHES, 1-2 JUNE 2023, FU BERLIN

Where is gender marked in Kambaata?



Overview

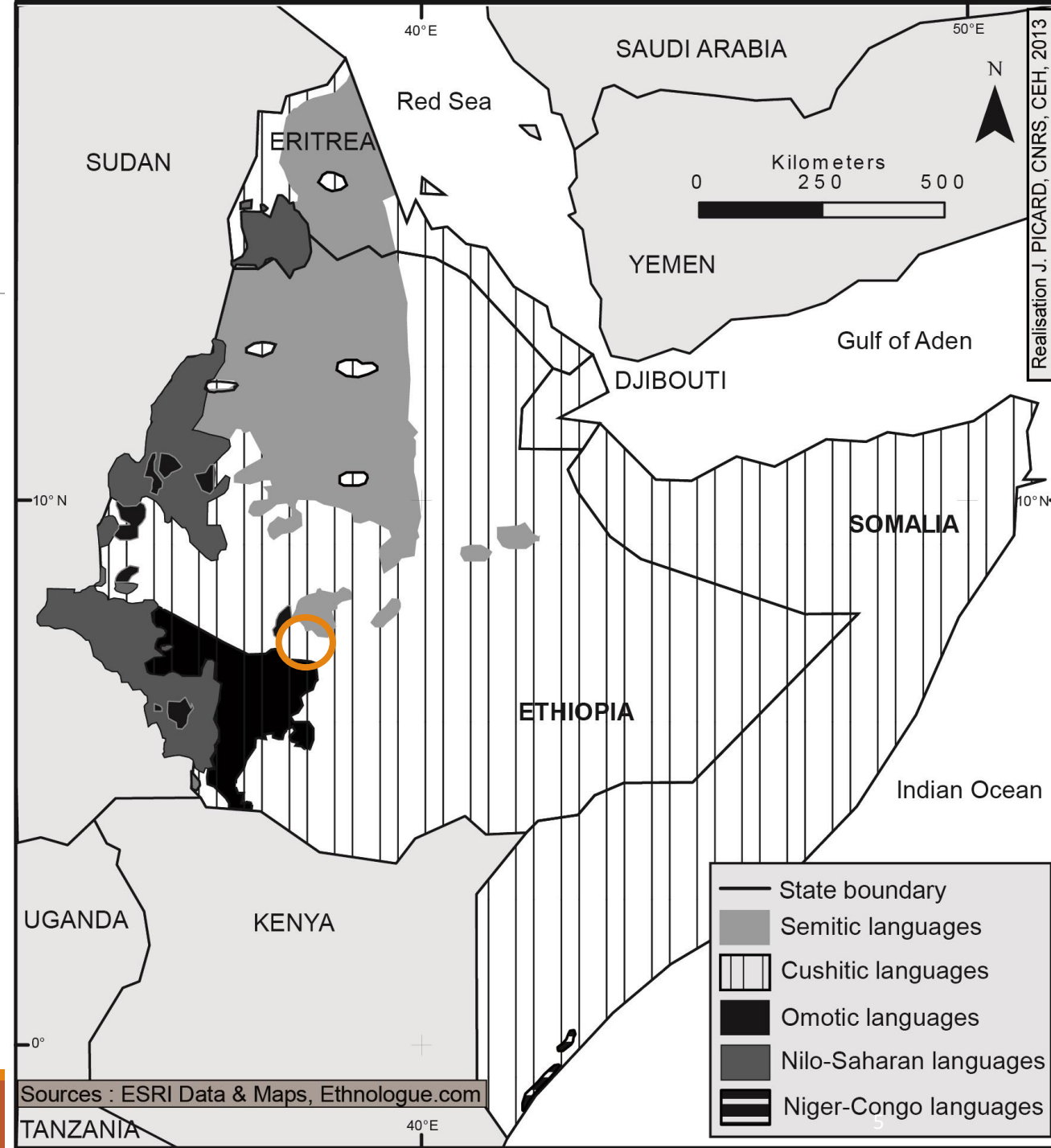
- Introduction into Kambaata
- Grammatical vs. natural gender in nouns
- Nominal gender/case morphology
- Gender agreement on adnominal modifiers
- Gender agreement of the copula
- Gender in personal pronouns
 - Attention-seeking pronouns
- Gender agreement and gender mismatches on verbs

1. Introduction

SPEAKER AREA, CLASSIFICATION, WORD CLASSES

Speaker area

- Classification:
Cushitic > East Cushitic ... >
Highland East Cushitic
- Number of speakers: > 600,000
(acc. to last census in 2007)
- Official orthography in Roman
script
(used to write the data in this paper)



Word classes

- Nouns*
 - case and gender inflection (number is derivational)
- Different sets of pronouns*
 - personal pronouns (independent/dependent): person, number, gender, honorificity, case
 - demonstrative pronouns: gender, case, number
- Adjectives (true adjectives, numerals, adnominal demonstratives)*
 - case and gender (agreement with the head noun)
- Verbs*
 - subject-indexing (person, number, gender, honorificity), aspect, mood, polarity, dependency
- Uninflecting word classes
 - ideophones, interjections, discourse markers, conjunctions (2), adverbs (< 5)

*Bound roots

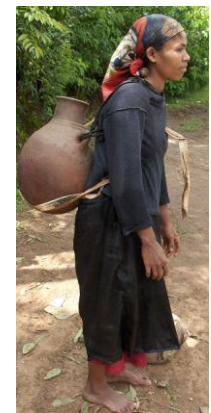
2. Gender and the noun

Grammatical vs. natural gender

- Two-gender system: **masculine** vs. **feminine**, obligatorily overtly marked on (common) nouns
- Kambaata names are either female or male (but grammatical gender cannot always be deduced from the form)
- For humans and higher animals, grammatical gender predominately determined by natural gender, e.g.
 - *adab-óo* (M) ‘boy’, *mesel-éeta* (F) ‘girl’
 - *am-áta* (F) ‘mother’, *ann-á* (M) ‘father’
ad-áta (F) ‘paternal aunt’, *ishim-á* (M) ‘maternal uncle’
 - *maaxaan-áta* (F) ‘mare’, *sulum-úta* (F) ‘heifer’,
boor-á (M) ‘bull’, *boot-ú* (M) ‘young bull’, *hambul-á* (M) ‘ram (sheep/goat)’
- Many nouns of humans and higher animals occur in gender pairs, e.g.
 - *hiz-óo* (M) ‘brother’ – *hiz-óota* (F) ‘sister’
 - *ciil-á* (M) ‘baby/little boy’ – *ciil-áta* (F) ‘baby/little girl’
 - *buul-á* (M) – *buul-áta* (F) ‘mule (M/F)’
 - agent nouns: *zazzal-aan-ch-ú* (M) – *zazzal-aan-ch-úta* (F) – *zazzal-aan-n-ú* (M) ‘(male) merchand – (female) merchand – merchands (of any natural gender)’

Grammatical vs. natural gender

- Arbitrary categorisation of most other nouns (no semantic motivation apparent), e.g.
 - Body parts: *af-óo* (M) ‘mouth(s)’ – *san-úta* (F) ‘nose(s)’, *ang-áta* (F) ‘hand(s)’ – *gennan-ú* (M) ‘shoulder(s)’, *afal-íta* (F) ‘liver(s)’ – *wozan-á* (M) ‘heart(s)’ etc.
 - Parts of plants: *habar-á* (M) ‘enset leaf’ – *faatt-áta* (F) ‘enset leaf from which half of the midrib was ripped off (to make it foldable)’
 - Parts of the house: *meeggar-úta* (F) ‘horizontal poles in the house wall’ – *woda’-á* (M) ‘vertical poles in the house wall’
 - Household items: *zaal-íta* (F) ‘biggest clay pot’ – *boos-ú* (M) ‘water-pot, churning pot’ – *koloo’ll-úta* (F) ‘cooking pot’
 - Abstract nouns, e.g. *gorr-ú* (M) ‘hunger’ – *sagab-íta* (F) ‘thirst’
 - Verbal nouns are all masculine, e.g. *dagud-ú* (M) ‘to run, running’



Gender of derivational morphology

- Nominalising derivational morphology (incl. number) determines the gender of the derived nouns (irrespective of the gender of the input)
- Derivational morphology has inherent gender values
 - feminine, e.g.
 - Plurative 1 **-C-áta**:
sulum-úta (F) > *sulum-m-áta* (F) ‘heifer/s’, *min-í* (M) > *min-n-áta* (F) ‘house/s’
 - Plurative 2 **-aakk-áta**:
mesel-éeta (F) > *mesel-aakk-áta* ‘girl/s’ (F), *ann-á* (M) > *ann-aakk-áta* (F) ‘father/s’
 - Associative plurals **-’-VVta**:
Aacaam-é (F) > *Aacaam-e-’-éeta* (F) ‘Aacaame et al.’
Aacaam-ó (M) > *Aacaam-o-’-óota* (F) ‘Aacaamo et al.’
 - Status noun **-oom-áta**:
am-áta (F) ‘mother’ > *am-oom-áta* (F) ‘motherhood’, *haqq-á* (M) ‘wood’ > *haqq-oom-áta* (F) ‘use as wood’
 - Glottonyms **-(is)s-áta**:
Kambaat-á ‘K. country, K. people’ > *Kambaat-iss-áta* (F) ‘Kambaata language’

NB:
Most plurative nouns
are grammatically
feminine!

Gender of derivational morphology

- masculine, e.g.
 - Plurative 3 (of agent nouns) *-n-ú*:
zazzal-aan-ch-ú (M) / *zazzal-aan-ch-úta* (F) ‘merchand > *zazzal-aan-n-ú* (M) ‘merchands’
(cf. *zazzal-* ‘trade’)
 - Deideophonic action/result nouns *-it(t)-á*:
sáww ‘think’ > *saww-itt-á* ‘thought’
- Singulative morphology generates both masculine and feminine outputs for humans and higher animals
 - Singulative *-(Vch)ch-ú* / *-(Vch)ch-úta*
 - Humans/higher animals:
mann-á (M) ‘people’ > *man-ch-ú* (M) ‘man’ / *man-ch-úta* (F) ‘woman’
harr-úta (F) ‘donkeys’ > *harr-uuchch-ú* (M) ‘(male) donkey’ / *harr-uuchch-úta* (F) ‘(female) donkey’
 - With other nouns, singulative copies the gender of the underived form:
handar-úta (F) ‘doves’ > *handar-ch-úta* (F) ‘dove’
maal-á (M) ‘meat’ > *maal-ch-ú* (M) ‘piece of meat’

Mismatches grammatical vs. natural gender

- Recall: plurative-derived nouns are feminine or masculine depending on their plurative marker
- Recall: singulative-derived nouns can have masculine or feminine gender depending on the natural gender of the referent



- Underived nouns with singular reference
 - Only known case of gender mismatch: *sa'-á* (M) 'cow'

→ Agreement?

- Underived nouns with plural reference
 - Pluralities (collectives) of male/female referents can be (arbitrarily) masculine or feminine:
 - oos-íta* (F) 'children, boys' (generic, male only, mixed group, ?female only)
 - harr-íta* (F) 'donkeys' (generic, male, female, mixed)
 - adan-íta* (F) 'cats' (generic, male, female, mixed)
 - nubaab-ú* (M) 'elders' (generic, male, mixed group, female only)
 - mann-á* (M) 'people' (generic, male, mixed group, ?female only)
 - lal-ú* (M) 'cattle' (generic, female only, mixed group, ?male only)
 - got-á* (M) 'hyenas' (generic, male, female, mixed)
 - Only clear case of gender mismatch: *meent-ú* (M) 'women' (masculine collective noun with female-only referents)

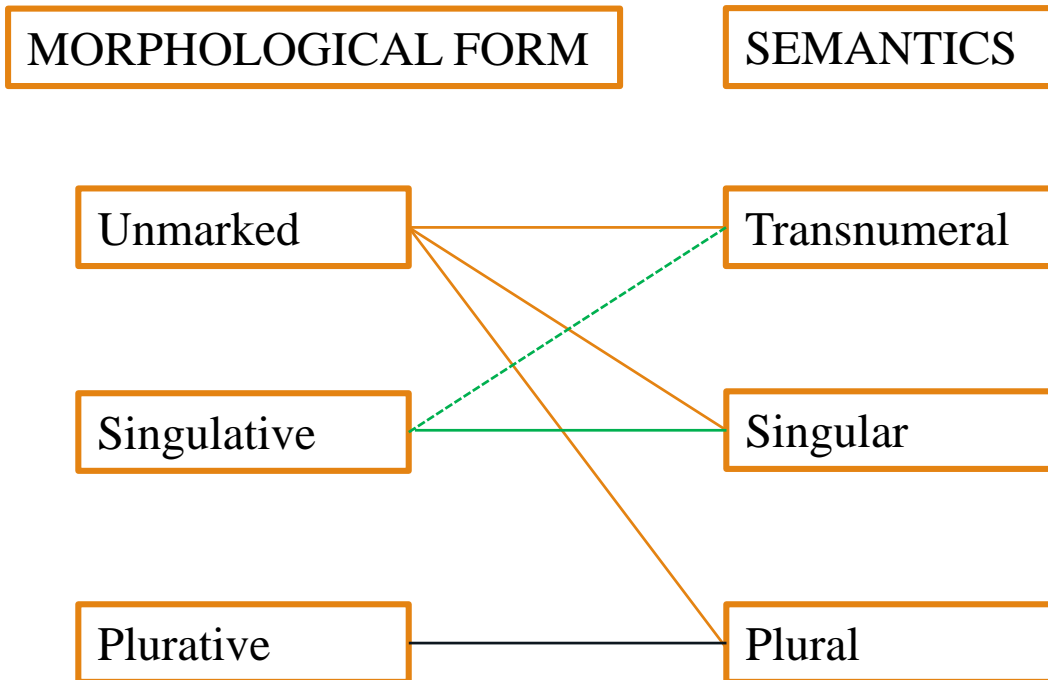
Agree-
ment? ←

→ Agreement?



? = to be checked

Excursus: Number terminology



No one-to-one relation between semantic and formal number

e.g. a (number-)unmarked noun can be transnumeral, singular or plural depending on the (semantic) class to which it belongs

(cf. Treis 2012)

3. Nominal case/gender morphology

CASE/GENDER PORTMANTEAU MORPHEMES, INFLECTIONAL CLASSES

| | ACC | NOM | GEN | DAT | ABL | ICP | LOC | OBL | PRED |
|-----------|------------------|------------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| F1a | <i>-á-ta</i> | <i>'-a-t</i> | <i>-á</i> | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-áachch</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| F1b | <i>-á</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>-á</i> | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-áachch</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| F2a | <i>-í-ta</i> | <i>'-i-t</i> | <i>-é</i> | <i>-éee(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>'-e</i> | <i>'-i</i> |
| F2b | <i>-é</i> | <i>'(-i)</i> | <i>-é</i> | <i>-éee(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>'-e</i> | <i>'-i</i> |
| F3a | <i>-ú-ta</i> | <i>'-u-t</i> | <i>-ó</i> | <i>-óoo(-ha)</i> | <i>-óochch</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>'-o</i> | <i>'-u</i> |
| F3b | <i>-ó</i> | <i>'-u</i> | <i>-ó</i> | <i>-óoo(-ha)</i> | <i>-óochch</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>'-o</i> | <i>'-u</i> |
| F4 | <i>-áa-ta</i> | <i>-áa-t</i> | <i>-áa</i> | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-áachch</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áa</i> | <i>-áa</i> |
| F5 | <i>-éee-ta</i> | <i>-éee-t</i> | <i>-éee</i> | <i>-éee(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-éee</i> | <i>-éee</i> |
| F6 | <i>-óoo-ta</i> | <i>-óoo-t</i> | <i>-óoo</i> | <i>-óoo(-ha)</i> | <i>-óochch</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óoo</i> | <i>-óoo</i> |
| M1 | <i>-á(-ha)</i> | <i>'-u(-hu)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| M2 | <i>-í(-ha)</i> | <i>'-u(-hu)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>'-e</i> | <i>'-i</i> |
| M3 | <i>-ú(-ha)</i> | <i>'-u(-hu)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>'-o</i> | <i>'-u</i> |
| M4a | <i>-á</i> | <i>'(-i)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| M4b | <i>-ó</i> | <i>'(-i)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>'-o</i> | <i>'-u</i> |
| M5a = F1b | <i>-á</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>-á</i> | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-áachch</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| M5b = F2b | <i>-é</i> | <i>'(i)</i> | <i>-é</i> | <i>-éee(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>'-e</i> | <i>'-i</i> |
| M5c = F3b | <i>-ó</i> | <i>'-u</i> | <i>-ó</i> | <i>-óoo(-ha)</i> | <i>-óochch</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>'-o</i> | <i>'-u</i> |
| M6 | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-óoo(-hu)</i> | <i>-éee</i> | <i>-éee(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áa</i> | <i>-áa</i> |
| M7 | <i>-éee(-ha)</i> | <i>-óoo(-hu)</i> | <i>-éee</i> | <i>-éee(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-éee</i> | <i>-éee</i> |
| M8 | <i>-óoo(-ha)</i> | <i>-óoo(-hu)</i> | <i>-éee</i> | <i>-éee(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óoo</i> | <i>-óoo</i> |
| M9 | <i>-úuu(-ha)</i> | <i>-úuu(-hu)</i> | <i>-íi</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-íun</i> | <i>-íuu</i> | <i>-íuu</i> |

9 cases
2 genders
18 inflection classes
(incl. 3 for 2 genders)

| | ACC | NOM | GEN | DAT | ABL | ICP | LOC | OBL | PRED |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| F1a | <i>-á-ta</i> | <i>'-a-t</i> | <i>-á</i> | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-áachch</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| F1b | <i>-á</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>-á</i> | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-áachch</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| F2a | <i>-í-ta</i> | <i>'-i-t</i> | <i>-é</i> | <i>-éé(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>'-e</i> | <i>'-i</i> |
| F2b | <i>-é</i> | <i>'(-i)</i> | <i>-é</i> | <i>-éé(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>'-e</i> | <i>'-i</i> |
| F3a | <i>-ú-ta</i> | <i>'-u-t</i> | <i>-ó</i> | <i>-óo(-ha)</i> | <i>-óochch</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>'-o</i> | <i>'-u</i> |
| F3b | <i>-ó</i> | <i>'-u</i> | <i>-ó</i> | <i>-óo(-ha)</i> | <i>-óochch</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>'-o</i> | <i>'-u</i> |
| F4 | <i>-áa-ta</i> | <i>-áa-t</i> | <i>-áa</i> | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-áachch</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áa</i> | <i>-áa</i> |
| F5 | <i>-éé-ta</i> | <i>-éé-t</i> | <i>-éé</i> | <i>-éé(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-éé</i> | <i>-éé</i> |
| F6 | <i>-óo-ta</i> | <i>-óo-t</i> | <i>-óo</i> | <i>-óo(-ha)</i> | <i>-óochch</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óo</i> | <i>-óo</i> |
| M1 | <i>-á(-ha)</i> | <i>'-u(-hu)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| M2 | <i>-í(-ha)</i> | <i>'-u(-hu)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>'-e</i> | <i>'-i</i> |
| M3 | <i>-ú(-ha)</i> | <i>'-u(-hu)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>'-o</i> | <i>'-u</i> |
| M4a | <i>-á</i> | <i>'(-i)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| M4b | <i>-ó</i> | <i>'(-i)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>'-o</i> | <i>'-u</i> |
| M5a = F1b | <i>-á</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>-á</i> | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-áachch</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| M5b = F2b | <i>-é</i> | <i>'(i)</i> | <i>-é</i> | <i>-éé(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>'-e</i> | <i>'-i</i> |
| M5c = F3b | <i>-ó</i> | <i>'-u</i> | <i>-ó</i> | <i>-óo(-ha)</i> | <i>-óochch</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>'-o</i> | <i>'-u</i> |
| M6 | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-óo(-hu)</i> | <i>-éé</i> | <i>-éé(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áa</i> | <i>-áa</i> |
| M7 | <i>-éé(-ha)</i> | <i>-óo(-hu)</i> | <i>-éé</i> | <i>-éé(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-éé</i> | <i>-éé</i> |
| M8 | <i>-óo(-ha)</i> | <i>-óo(-hu)</i> | <i>-éé</i> | <i>-éé(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-één</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óo</i> | <i>-óo</i> |
| M9 | <i>-úu(-ha)</i> | <i>-úu(-hu)</i> | <i>-íi</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-úun</i> | <i>-úu</i> | <i>-úu</i> |

feminine

gender only seen on agreeing elements

masculine

| | ACC | NOM | GEN | DAT | ABL | ICP | LOC | OBL | PRED |
|-----|--------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| F1a | <i>-á-ta</i> | <i>'-a-t</i> | <i>-á</i> | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-áachch</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| F1b | <i>-á</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>-á</i> | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-áachch</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| F2a | <i>-í-ta</i> | <i>'-i-t</i> | <i>-é</i> | <i>-ée(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>'-e</i> | <i>'-i</i> |
| F2b | <i>-é</i> | <i>'(-i)</i> | <i>-é</i> | <i>-ée(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>'-e</i> | <i>'-i</i> |

| | | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------------|------------|-----------------|
| F3a | <i>-ú-ta</i> | <i>'-u-t</i> | <i>-ó</i> | <i>-óo(-ha)</i> |
| F3b | <i>-ó</i> | <i>'-u</i> | <i>-ó</i> | <i>-óo(-ha)</i> |
| F4 | <i>-áa-ta</i> | <i>-áa-t</i> | <i>-áa</i> | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> |
| F5 | <i>-ée-ta</i> | <i>-ée-t</i> | <i>-ée</i> | <i>-ée(-ha)</i> |
| F6 | <i>-óo-ta</i> | <i>-óo-t</i> | <i>-óo</i> | <i>-óo(-ha)</i> |

secondary case/gender markers on common nouns
(not found in related languages)

demonstrative origin:

*ta/ti (DEM1.F.ACC/NOM)
*ka/ku (DEM1.M.ACC/NOM)

(NB: not segmented in the examples)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| M1 | <i>-á(-ha)</i> | <i>'-u(-hu)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-áachch</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>'-a</i> |
| M2 | <i>-í(-ha)</i> | <i>'-u(-hu)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>'-e</i> | <i>'-i</i> |
| M3 | <i>-ú(-ha)</i> | <i>'-u(-hu)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-óochch</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>'-o</i> | <i>'-u</i> |
| M4a | <i>-á</i> | <i>'(-i)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áa</i> | <i>-áa</i> |
| M4b | <i>-ó</i> | <i>'(-i)</i> | <i>-í</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>-ée</i> | <i>-ée</i> |
| M5a = F1b | <i>-á</i> | <i>'-a</i> | <i>-á</i> | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óo</i> | <i>-óo</i> |
| M5b = F2b | <i>-é</i> | <i>'(i)</i> | <i>-é</i> | <i>-ée(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óo</i> | <i>-óo</i> |
| M5c = F3b | <i>-ó</i> | <i>'-u</i> | <i>-ó</i> | <i>-óo(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-íun</i> | <i>-íu</i> | <i>-íu</i> |
| M6 | <i>-áa(-ha)</i> | <i>-óo(-hu)</i> | <i>-ée</i> | <i>-ée(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>-áan</i> | <i>-áa</i> | <i>-áa</i> |
| M7 | <i>-ée(-ha)</i> | <i>-óo(-hu)</i> | <i>-ée</i> | <i>-ée(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>-ée</i> | <i>-ée</i> |
| M8 | <i>-óo(-ha)</i> | <i>-óo(-hu)</i> | <i>-ée</i> | <i>-ée(-ha)</i> | <i>-éechch</i> | <i>-éen</i> | <i>-óon</i> | <i>-óo</i> | <i>-óo</i> |
| M9 | <i>-íu(-ha)</i> | <i>-íu(-hu)</i> | <i>-íi</i> | <i>-íi(-ha)</i> | <i>-íichch</i> | <i>-íin</i> | <i>-íun</i> | <i>-íu</i> | <i>-íu</i> |

| | ACC | NOM | GEN | DAT | ABL | ICP | LOC | OBL | PRED |
|-----------|-------------------|-------------------|-----|-------------------|---------|------|------|-----|------|
| F1a | -á- <i>ta</i> | '-a- <i>t</i> | -á | -áa(- <i>ha</i>) | -áachch | -áan | -áan | '-a | '-a |
| F1b | -á | '-a | -á | -áa(- <i>ha</i>) | -áachch | -áan | -áan | '-a | '-a |
| F2a | -í- <i>ta</i> | '-i- <i>t</i> | -é | -ée(- <i>ha</i>) | -éechch | -éen | -éen | '-e | '-i |
| F2b | -é | '(-i) | -é | -ée(- <i>ha</i>) | -éechch | -éen | -éen | '-e | '-i |
| F3a | -ú- <i>ta</i> | '-u- <i>t</i> | -ó | -óo(- <i>ha</i>) | -óochch | -óon | -óon | '-o | '-u |
| F3b | -ó | '-u | -ó | -óo(- <i>ha</i>) | -óochch | -óon | -óon | '-o | '-u |
| F4 | -áa- <i>ta</i> | -áa- <i>t</i> | -áa | -áa(- <i>ha</i>) | -áachch | -áan | -áan | -áa | -áa |
| F5 | -ée- <i>ta</i> | -ée- <i>t</i> | -ée | -ée(- <i>ha</i>) | -éechch | -éen | -éen | -ée | -ée |
| F6 | -óo- <i>ta</i> | -óo- <i>t</i> | -óo | -óo(- <i>ha</i>) | -óochch | -óon | -óon | -óo | -óo |
| M1 | -á(- <i>ha</i>) | '-u(- <i>hu</i>) | -í | -íi(- <i>ha</i>) | -íichch | -íin | -áan | '-a | '-a |
| M2 | -í(- <i>ha</i>) | '-u(- <i>hu</i>) | -í | -íi(- <i>ha</i>) | -íichch | -íin | -éen | '-e | '-i |
| M3 | -ú(- <i>ha</i>) | '-u(- <i>hu</i>) | -í | -íi(- <i>ha</i>) | -íichch | -íin | -óon | '-o | '-u |
| M4a | -á | '(-i) | -í | -íi(- <i>ha</i>) | -íichch | -íin | -áan | '-a | '-a |
| M4b | -ó | '(-i) | -í | -íi(- <i>ha</i>) | -íichch | -íin | -óon | '-o | '-u |
| M5a = F1b | -á | '-a | -á | -áa(- <i>ha</i>) | -áachch | -áan | -áan | '-a | '-a |
| M5b = F2b | -é | '(i) | -é | -ée(- <i>ha</i>) | -éechch | -éen | -éen | '-e | '-i |
| M5c = F3b | -ó | '-u | -ó | -óo(- <i>ha</i>) | -óochch | -óon | -óon | '-o | '-u |
| M6 | -áa(- <i>ha</i>) | -óo(- <i>hu</i>) | -ée | -ée(- <i>ha</i>) | -éechch | -éen | -áan | -áa | -áa |
| M7 | -ée(- <i>ha</i>) | -óo(- <i>hu</i>) | -ée | -ée(- <i>ha</i>) | -éechch | -éen | -éen | -ée | -ée |
| M8 | -óo(- <i>ha</i>) | -óo(- <i>hu</i>) | -ée | -ée(- <i>ha</i>) | -éechch | -éen | -óon | -óo | -óo |
| M9 | -úu(- <i>ha</i>) | -úu(- <i>hu</i>) | -íi | -íi(- <i>ha</i>) | -íichch | -íin | -úun | -úu | -úu |

feminine:
ICP = LOC

masculine:
ICP ≠ LOC

except in infl. classes
shared by fem. & msc.

4. Gender agreement on modifiers

TRUE AND DERIVED ADJECTIVES, NUMERALS, DEMONSTRATIVES,
NEGATIVE PARTICIPLES

Gender agreement on adnominal modifiers

- Basic and derived adjectives and numerals have a reduced case/gender paradigm when used adnominally (as heads of NPs they inflect like nouns)
- 2 genders: M vs. F
- 3 cases: ACC vs. NOM vs. OBL
(OBL agrees with NON-ACC/NOM nouns)
- 5 inflection classes

| | | ACC | NOM | OBL |
|----|---|---------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| A1 | M | <i>-á</i> | <i>'-u</i> | <i>'-a; '-a-a</i> |
| | F | <i>-á-ta</i> | <i>'-a-t(i)</i> | <i>'-a; '-a-ta</i> |
| A2 | M | <i>-ú</i> | <i>'-u</i> | <i>'-o; '-u-a</i> |
| | F | <i>-ú-ta</i> | <i>'-u-t(i)</i> | <i>'-o; '-u-ta</i> |
| A3 | M | <i>-ú</i> | <i>'-u</i> | <i>'-o; '-u-a</i> |
| | F | <i>-í-ta</i> | <i>'-i-t</i> | <i>'-e; '-i-ta</i> |
| A4 | M | <i>-á</i> | <i>'-u</i> | <i>'-a; '-a-a</i> |
| | F | <i>-í-ta</i> | <i>'-i-t(i)</i> | <i>'-e; '-i-ta</i> |
| A5 | M | <i>-óo</i> | <i>-óo</i> | <i>-óo; -óo-haa</i> |
| | F | <i>-óo-ta</i> | <i>-óo-t(i)</i> | <i>-óo; -óo-taa</i> |

Gender agreement on adnominal modifiers

- Adnominal demonstratives have a reduced case/gender paradigm
- 2 genders and 2 or 3 cases
 - DEM1/2: OBL agrees with non-accusative/nominative nouns
 - DEM3/4: ACC agrees with everything that is non-nominative

DEM1 = proximal
 DEM2 = medial
 DEM3 = alternative
 DEM4 = distal

| | | ACC | NOM | OBL |
|------|---|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| DEM1 | M | <i>ká</i> | <i>kú</i> | <i>ká; kán(n)</i> |
| | F | <i>tá</i> | <i>tí</i> | <i>tá; tán(n)</i> |
| DEM2 | M | <i>hikka</i> | <i>híkku</i> | <i>hikka; hikkán(n)</i> |
| | F | <i>hitta</i> | <i>hitt</i> | <i>hitta; hittán(n)</i> |

| | | ACC/OBL | NOM |
|------|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| DEM3 | M | <i>káaph</i> | <i>kúuph</i> |
| | F | <i>táaph</i> | <i>tíiph</i> |
| DEM4 | M | <i>hikkáaph</i> | <i>hikkúuph</i> |
| | F | <i>hittáaph</i> | <i>hittiiph</i> |

Agreement with “mismatch nouns”

- *oos-úta* ‘children, boys’ (fem., but mixed or all-male collective)
→ *tá* *oos-úta*
DEM1.F.ACC children-F.ACC
‘these children, boys’
- *sa’-á* ‘cow’ (msc., but female referent)
→ *ká* *sa’-á*
DEM1.M.ACC COW-M.ACC
‘this cow’
- *meent-ú* ‘women’ (msc., but all-female collective)
→ *ká* *meent-ú*
DEM1.M.ACC women-M.ACC
‘these women’

Agreement in the NP
solely determined by
the grammatical
gender of the noun

5. Gender agreement by the copula

ASCRPTIVE/IDENTIFICATIONAL COPULA –(H)A(A) (m.) / -TA(A) (f.)

Gender agreement by the copula

- One (of the three) copulas agrees in gender with the noun:
ascriptive/identificational copula 2 *-(h)a(a)* (M) / *-ta(a)* (F)
- But: gender of the subject noun or gender of the predicate noun? → gender of the predicate noun

Heechch-áan-ta-'i *án* *abb-íshsh* *iitt-aammí=r-u* *óss-u-ta.*
life-F.LOC-LNK-1SG.POSS 1SG.NOM very love-1SG.IPFV.REL=NMZ4-**M.NOM** sleep-**F**.PRED-**F**.COP2

‘What/the thing (M) I love most in life is sleep (F).’

6. Gender in pronouns

PERSONAL, DEMONSTRATIVE, INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns: The full paradigm

| | NOM | ACC | GEN | DAT | ABL | ICP | LOC | OBL | PRED-COP2/3 |
|------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 1SG | <i>án</i> | <i>ées</i> | <i>íi</i> | <i>esáa(ha)</i> | <i>esáchch</i> | <i>esáan</i> | | <i>áne</i> | <i>áne-et</i> |
| 2SG | <i>át</i> | <i>kées</i> | <i>kíi</i> | <i>kesáa(ha)</i> | <i>kesáchch</i> | <i>kesáan</i> | | <i>áte</i> | <i>áte-et</i> |
| 2HON | <i>á'nnu</i> | <i>ki'nnéta</i> | <i>ki'nné</i> | <i>ki'nnée(ha)</i> | <i>ki'nnéechch</i> | <i>ki'nnéen</i> | | <i>á'nno</i> | <i>á'nno-ot</i> |
| 3M | <i>ís</i> | <i>isú</i> | <i>isí</i> | <i>isíi(ha)</i> | <i>isíichch</i> | <i>isín</i> | <i>isóon</i> | <i>íso</i> | <i>íso-ot</i> |
| 3F | <i>íse</i> | <i>iséta</i> | <i>isé</i> | <i>isée(ha)</i> | <i>iséechch</i> | <i>iséen</i> | | <i>íse</i> | <i>íse-et</i> |
| 3HON | <i>íssa</i> | <i>issáta</i> | <i>issá</i> | <i>issáa(ha)</i> | <i>issáchch</i> | <i>issáan</i> | | <i>íssa</i> | <i>íssa-at</i> |
| 1PL | <i>na'óot</i> | <i>nées</i> | <i>níi</i> | <i>nesáa(ha)</i> | <i>nesáchch</i> | <i>nesáan</i> | | <i>na'ó</i> | <i>na'óo-taa</i> |
| 2PL | <i>a'nno'óot</i> | <i>ki'nne'éeta</i> | <i>ki'nne'ée</i> | <i>ki'nne'ée(ha)</i> | <i>ki'nne'éechch</i> | <i>ki'nne'éen</i> | | <i>ki'nne'ée</i> | <i>ki'nne'ée-taa</i> |
| 3PL | <i>isso'óot</i> | <i>isso'óota</i> | <i>isso'óo</i> | <i>isso'óo(ha)</i> | <i>isso'óochch</i> | <i>isso'óon</i> | | <i>isso'óo</i> | <i>isso'óo-taa</i> |

Personal pronouns: excerpt of the paradigm

| | NOM | ACC | ... | ICP | LOC | ... |
|------|------------------|--------------------|-----|-------------------|--------------|-----|
| 1SG | <i>án</i> | <i>ées</i> | | <i>esáan</i> | | |
| 2SG | <i>át</i> | <i>kées</i> | | <i>kesáan</i> | | |
| 2HON | <i>á'nnu</i> | <i>ki'nnéta</i> | | <i>ki'nnéen</i> | | |
| 3M | <i>ís</i> | <i>isú</i> | | <i>isín</i> | <i>isóon</i> | |
| 3F | <i>íse</i> | <i>iséta</i> | | <i>iséen</i> | | |
| 3HON | <i>íssa</i> | <i>issáta</i> | | <i>issáan</i> | | |
| 1PL | <i>na'óot</i> | <i>nées</i> | | <i>nesáan</i> | | |
| 2PL | <i>a'nno'óot</i> | <i>ki'nne'éeta</i> | | <i>ki'nne'éen</i> | | |
| 3PL | <i>isso'óot</i> | <i>isso'óota</i> | | <i>isso'óon</i> | | |

- Gender only marked in the third person (but see below)
- Characteristic ICP vs. LOC distinction in the masculine: *isín* vs. *isóon*
- Honorific third person = gender-neutral, used for male and female respected referents
 - old man, old woman, parent, person with authority, ...

Dedicated attention-seeking pronouns [?]

- *kóo* (m) vs. *tée* (f) ‘hey you!’
- Word class categorization unclear: pronouns? interjections?
- Only niche in the language where gender is distinguished in the 2nd person

Kóo, makk-ún-ka-kke!

2M.SG become_favourable-3M.JUSS-NEG3-**2SG.OBJ**

(Curse) ‘Hey you, may it not turn out well for you!’ (AN2016-02-19)

Personal pronouns: excerpt of the paradigm

| | NOM | ACC | ... | ICP | LOC | ... |
|------|-----------------|--------------------|-----|-------------------|--------------|-----|
| 1SG | <i>án</i> | <i>ées</i> | | <i>esáan</i> | | |
| 2SG | <i>át</i> | <i>kées</i> | | <i>kesáan</i> | | |
| 2HON | <i>á'nnu</i> | <i>ki'nnéta</i> | | <i>ki'nnéen</i> | | |
| 3M | <i>ís</i> | <i>isú</i> | | <i>isín</i> | <i>isóon</i> | |
| 3F | <i>íse</i> | <i>iséta</i> | | <i>iséen</i> | | |
| 3HON | <i>íssa</i> | <i>issáta</i> | | <i>issáan</i> | | |
| 1PL | <i>na'óot</i> | <i>nées</i> | | <i>nesáan</i> | | |
| 2PL | <i>a'no'óot</i> | <i>ki'nne'éeta</i> | | <i>ki'nne'éen</i> | | |
| 3PL | <i>isso'óot</i> | <i>isso'óota</i> | | <i>isso'óon</i> | | |

ís = pronominalization of msc. nouns with singular human referent

íse = pronominalization of fem. nouns with singular human referent

isso'óot = pronominalization of nouns with plural human referent (irrespective of their grammatical gender)

< *Associative plural forms with -'VVt (F) based on singular forms

and mismatches



5. Gender agreement by verbs

AGREEMENT WITH MASCULINE BUT PLURAL SUBJECTS, AGREEMENT WITH MASCULINE BUT FEMALE SUBJECTS

How does subject-indexing system match the nominal gender system?

| #9 | PERS. PRON. NOMINATIVE | #7 | SUBJECT INDEX IPFV (-SBJ1-...-SBJ2) |
|------|------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|
| 1SG | <i>án</i> | 1SG | <i>-∅-...-m(m)</i> |
| 2SG | <i>át</i> | 2SG | <i>-t-...-nt</i> |
| 3M | <i>ís</i> | 3M | <i>-∅-...-no</i> |
| 3F | <i>íse</i> | 3F=3PL | <i>-t-...(-'u)</i> |
| 3PL | <i>isso'óot</i> | | |
| 3HON | <i>íssa</i> | 3HON | <i>-een-...-no</i> |
| 1PL | <i>na'óot</i> | 1PL | <i>-n-...-m(m)</i> |
| 2HON | <i>á'nnu</i> | 2PL=2HON | <i>-teen-...-nta</i> |
| 2PL | <i>a'nno'óot</i> | | |

- 7 different subject indexes in main verb paradigms, e.g. IPFV (reduced to 5 in subordinate verb forms)
- But recall: 9 personal pronouns
- Distinction 3F and 3PL neutralized
- > Plural personal pronoun subject takes feminine verb
- Question: How are masculine nouns with plural referents (e.g. 'people', 'women') indexed on the verb?

Agreement with “mismatch” nouns

- *sá'-u* (M.NOM) ‘cow’ is indexed by a 3M verb form (grammatical agreement)
- *óos-ut* (F.NOM) ‘children’ is indexed by a 3F=3PL verb form (grammatical agreement or semantic (plural) agreement)
- Question: How are masculine nouns with plural human referents indexed on the verb? > Variation/interference expected.

Agreement with “mismatch” nouns

- *mánn-u* (people-M.NOM)
 - masculine noun triggering masculine agreement in the NP
 - would be pronominalized by the plural pronoun: independent nominative *isso 'óot* (3PL.NOM), which would be indexed by 3F (=3PL) index on the verb
 - Question: Does *mánn-u* trigger grammatical agreement (masculine) or semantic agreement (plural)?
 - Text *Qakkichchu Laahu* (Saint-Exupéry 2018) has 40 instances of *mánnu* as subject
 - 38 instances of masculine agreement
 - [Surprisingly] 2 instances of feminine/plural agreement

Agreement with “mismatch” nouns

- *mánn-u* (people-M.NOM)

Mánn-u qoom-é misil-á xúujj waajj-áno-ndo?
people-**M.NOM** hat-F.GEN picture-M.ACC see-**3M**.PFV.CVB fear-**3M**.IPFV-Q

‘Are people afraid of the picture of a hat?’

Kú át he'-aanti=b-eechch-i mánn-u
A_DEM1.M.NOM 2SG.NOM live-2SG.IPFV.REL=PLC-SGV-M.GEN people-**M.NOM**
ónt-e kum-é tsiggeerad-á méxx-o ir-áan le'-is-sáa'u
five-F.OBL thousand-F.GEN rose-M.ACC single-M.OBL land-M.LOC grow-CAUS1-**3F**.IPFV

‘The people of the place where you live grow 500 roses on a single (plot of) land.’

Agreement with “mismatch” nouns

- *méent-u* women-M.NOM
 - masculine noun triggering masculine agreement in the NP
 - reference to an all-female collective
 - would be pronominalized by the plural pronoun: independent nominative *isso 'óot* (3PL.NOM), which would be indexed by 3F (=3PL) index on the verb
 - Question: Does *méent-u* trigger grammatical agreement (masculine) or semantic agreement (plural)?
 - Result: Both cases attested, but rather than natural gender (female) interfering with masculine gender, it could be interpreted as semantic plural interfering with masculine gender.

Agreement with “mismatch” nouns

- *méent-u* (women-M.NOM): masculine agreement

méent-u *díubb=ké'* *íchch=ké'* *yamaz-úta*
women-**M.NOM** become_satisfied.**3M**.PFV.CVB=SEQ eat.**3M**.PFV.CVB waist-F.ACC

godab-á *hii'rr-í* *díubb* *íchch=ké'*
belly-M.ACC untie.MID-**3M**.PFV.CVB become_satisfied.**3M**.PFV.CVB eat.**3M**.PFV.CVB

maassá' *guff-í* [interrupted]
bless.**3M**.PFV.CVB dance-**3M**.PFV.CVB

‘the women eat until satisfied, untie (the clothes around) the waists and the bellies, eat until satisfied, then bless and dance’ (EK2016-02-23)

Agreement with “mismatch” nouns

- *méent-u* (women-M.NOM): feminine agreement (same text, different speaker)

qenef-iiha-n-s *mar-tóo* *méent-u*
birth_ceremony-M.DAT-LNK-DEF go-**3F**.PFV.REL women-**M.NOM**

m-á *y-ít* *maassa'-áa?*
what-M.ACC say-**3F**.PFV.CVB bless-**3F**.IPFV

‘What do the women who have come to the qenefa-ceremony say to bless [her]?’ (EK2016-02-23)

6. Summary

Characteristics of the gender system

- At first sight, Kambaata seems to have a neat two-gender system
- Gender is an inflectional category
- Overt gender marking on (the vast majority of) common nouns
- Covert gender of anthroponyms (and a very small number of common nouns)
- No gender change for pragmatic reasons (endearment, (dis)respect, etc.) attested
- Gender is marked by portmanteau-morphemes together with case (and person)
- Gender marking is restricted to the 3rd person (exception: attention-seeking 2nd person pronouns)
- Straightforward case/gender agreement on nominal modifiers
- Interference of semantic number (and not so much natural gender) with grammatical gender in the subject-indexing system of verbs

To be explored

- Quantitative study of how grammatically masculine, but semantically plural subjects of the type ‘people’, ‘women’ etc. are indexed
- Expression of gender in demonstrative pronouns (at present not enough data)
- Comparison of Kambaata gender system with that of its closest relatives (Sidaama, Hadiyya)

Abbreviations

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|------|-------------------|
| ABL | ablative | MID | middle |
| ACC | accusative | NEG | negative |
| CAUS | causative | NMZ | nominalizer |
| COP | copula | NOM | nominative |
| CVB | converb | OBJ | object |
| DAT | dative | OBL | oblique |
| DEF | definite | PFV | perfective |
| DEM | demonstrative | PLC | place nominalizer |
| F | feminine | POSS | possessive |
| GEN | genitive | PRED | predicative |
| HON | honorific | Q | interrogative |
| ICP | instrumental-comitative-perlative | REL | relative |
| IPFV | imperfective | SBJ | subject |
| JUSS | jussive | SEQ | sequential |
| LNK | linker | SG | singular |
| LOC | locative | SGV | singulative |
| M | masculine | | |
| MID | middle | | |

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