Manner, quality, degree and quantity demonstratives in Kambaata
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Questionnaire on MQDQ-demonstratives (see https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-02300001)


Language: KAMBAATA

Researcher: Yvonne Treis

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<th>ontological type</th>
<th>typical syntactic function</th>
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<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
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1. Background

1.1. Demonstrative system

1.1.1. How many deictic degrees (spatial oppositions) are distinguished in the demonstrative system of your language? Only proximal or distal? Or, if more, which ones?

Kambaata distinguishes 4 deictic degrees: proximal, medial, distal, contrastive (‘that other’).

1.1.2. Does your language make a formal distinction between adnominal (e.g. *This house is nice*) and pronominal (e.g. *I like this*) demonstratives?

Kambaata makes a formal distinction between adnominal and pronominal demonstratives and adnominal forms cannot simply be used as the head of an NP, e.g. *ka A_DEM1.mACC ‘this (+N)* vs. *káa P_DEM1.m.ACC ‘this one*. Adnominal demonstratives distinguish 3 case forms (nominative, accusative, oblique), pronominal demonstratives 10 case forms.

1.1.3. Does your language have dedicated, non-composite place demonstratives (e.g. ‘here/there’, ‘from here/there’, ‘to here/there’ etc.) that cannot simply be derived from the pronominal demonstratives?

Kambaata uses pronominal demonstratives that are marked for cases such as locative, oblique, ablative, instrumental-comitative-perlative to refer to locations, directions, starting points etc. Alternatively, a composite form consisting of an adnominal demonstrative plus an enclitic =b-a ‘place’ is used.

1.2. Expression of similarity and equality

1.2.1. How is the standard of comparison in a similitative construction marked (e.g. *You look like your father*)?
The standard of comparison is marked by an enclitic case-inflecting morpheme =g, which requires the standard to be marked for the genitive.

(1)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
Xabar-i=g-a \\
binn=y-i \\
ashes-M\text{GEN}=G-M\text{ACC/OBL} \\
disperse\text{.IDEO}=\text{say}-2\text{S}\text{.IMP}
\end{array}
\]
‘May you be dispersed like ashes!’ (Curse)

1.2.2. How is the standard of comparison in an equative construction marked (e.g. She is as intelligent as her mother.)

See 1.2.1. If the property is measurable qax-á ‘amount’ can be used instead of =g.

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<th>Ontological type</th>
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<tr>
<td>Similative</td>
<td>Manner adverbial</td>
<td>hitt-ita / hittig-úta ‘like this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>adnominal</td>
<td>hittig-oon-á(ta) / hittig-aam-ú/-ita ‘such’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>Degree adverbial</td>
<td>kank-á / hibank-á ‘to this degree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quantity adnominal</td>
<td>kank-á(ta) / hibank-á(ta) ‘this much’</td>
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2. **Manner demonstratives**

Manner demonstratives target a manner/way of doing something that is visible/gesturally demonstrated in the speech context (exophorically) or has been mentioned in the previous stretch of discourse (anaphorically) or is going to be elaborated on in the following stretch of discourse (cataphorically).

(2)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Hitt-ita} \\
canc-itáyyoonti-i \\
m-iihaa-t?
\end{array}
\]
\text{MANN\_DEM-F\_ACC chatter-2S\_PROG\_REL-NMZ1a.M\_NOM what-M\_DAT.VV\_COP3}
‘Why are you chattering like this?’ (Here: chattering audible in the speech situation)

2.1. Provide the form(s) of the manner demonstrative(s) in your language.

2.2. Does your language have composite or non-composite manner demonstratives? (Note that by “composite” we mean “derived” or “periphrastic” here and in the remainder of the questionnaire.)

Morphologically simple manner demonstrative: hitt-ita ‘like this’ (ACC) (see ex. 2) with a restricted case paradigm, see hitt-í-ta ‘(it) is like this’ (PRED).

(Historically) composite manner demonstrative: hittig-úta ‘like this’ (ACC), contains the similative morpheme =g (see ex. 1 above). Restricted case paradigm: hittig-o OBL ~ hittig-óon LOC ‘like this’, hittig-u-ta PRED ‘(it) is like this’.

2.3. Are manner demonstratives marked for different deictic degrees as e.g. demonstratives for persons, things etc.? Or are the deictic degrees reduced or neutralized?

The deictic degrees reflected in other demonstratives are completely neutralized.
2.3.1. If the deictic degrees are neutralized in the domain of manner demonstratives, which deictic degree form is it most similar to?

The manner demonstratives start with the phoneme sequence #hitt..., which is characteristic of feminine medial pronouns.

2.3.2. If manner adverbs are marked for different deictic degrees, describe their usage.

2.4. Are manner demonstratives morphologically invariant? Or do they inflect for number, case, gender etc.?

They inflect marginally for case, are inherently feminine and unmarked for number.

2.5. Basis use: Are manner demonstratives used exophorically? Anaphorically? Cataphorically?

Exophorically – see ex. 2 above. Anaphorically:

(3) \textit{Tah-ichch-u dango hitt-ita \text{afuu’ll-}it}  
fly-SG-M.NOM suddenly SIM1\_P DEM-F.ACC sit-3F.PCO  
zug-gání-yan waall-ó=da (...)  
lie_in_ambush-3F.ICO-DS come-3M.PFV.REL=COND  
(Context: Speaker has described how a chameleon lies in ambush.) ‘When a fly comes suddenly while it (= the chameleon) is lying (lit. sitting) in ambush like this (...)’

Cataphorically:

(4) \textit{Hitt-i-ta, kárag, (...)  
SIM1\_P DEM-F.PRED-F.COP2 pay\_attention.2S.IMP  
‘It is like this, pay attention (to what follows), (...)’

2.6. Extended uses and grammaticalizations

2.6.1. Are manner demonstratives used to introduce reported speech (as quotatives)?

(5) (...) \textit{qamál-ch-ut maccoocc-itán egér-t hitt-ita}  
monkey-SG-F.NOM hear-3F.ICO stay-3F.PCO SIM1\_P DEM-F.ACC  
y-itóo’u: “(...)”  
SAY-3F.PFV  
‘(...) the monkey listened and (then) said this/like this (here: *in this way, but: as follows): “...”’

2.6.2. Are manner demonstratives used to express ‘just so, empty-handed, in vain, without use, without fuss, without any addition, with no excuses, at no charge’?

(6) \textit{Gotaangót-e it-taante-é=da hitt-inta}  
PN\_hyena-F/M.OBL eat-2S.IPV-1S.O.REL=COND SIM1\_P DEM-F.ACC<N>  
it-e’e, y-itóo’u harrúuchch-ut  
eat-2S.IMP-1S.O say-3F.PFV donkey.SG-F.NOM  
‘(My dear) Hyena, if you want to eat me, eat me with no excuses!” said the donkey jenny.’

2.6.3. Are manner demonstratives used to express affirmation? i.e. ‘it is so’ = ‘yes’
2.6.4. Have the manner deictics been grammaticalized? If yes, into what? Markers of addition (‘also’)? Markers of complement or adverbal clauses? …

Kambaata has grammaticalized hittigáta, or rather its emphatic form hittigánta, into a noun phrase and sentence connector ‘also’, and

katám-u, dium-u hitti-gúnta uull-ú udúm-u town-M.NOM mountain-M.NOM SIM2_P DEM-F.ACC N earth-F.GEN desert-M.NOM
uull-á al-éen hakkánne hí-dá-ndo gorm-i earth-F.GEN top-M.LOC where-M.OBLexist-3F.IPV=Q be_wise-3M.PCO
dag-anó man-ch-ú y-ú-a know-3M.IPV.REL person-SG-M.ACC say-M.PRED-M.COP2
‘A geographer is a wise man who knows where the seas, rivers, towns, mountains and deserts are found on Earth (lit. ‘Saying “a geographer” is saying “a wise man who ...”’).’

3. Quality demonstratives

Quality demonstratives target a quality of something that is visible/gesturally demonstrated in the speech context, has been mentioned in the previous stretch of discourse or is going to be elaborated on in the following stretch of discourse.

(9) Hittigaam-ú xah-ú hattig-áon ka’mm-am-ii QUAL_DEM-M.ACC issue-M.ACC how-M.ICP forbid.MID-PASS-M.DAT
dand-éenno?
be_able-3HON.IPV
‘How can such an issue be avoided?’ (Here: reference to an aforementioned quality)

(10) Caakkis-ó mín-u hittigoon-a-a PN-M.GEN house-M.NOM SIM1_A DEM-M.PRED-M.COP2
(Speaker pointing at a photo of a house) ‘Caakkiso’s house is like this (e.g. has the same design).’

Questions:

3.1. Provide the form(s) of the quality demonstrative(s) in your language.

Kambaata has two synonymous quality demonstratives: hittigaam-ú (mACC) / hittigaam-ita (fACC) and hittigoon-á (mACC) / hittigoon-áta (fACC) ‘such’.

3.2. Does your language have composite or non-composite quality demonstratives?

The quality demonstratives are composite forms and can be segmented into the manner demonstrative stem hittig- (see section 2 above) and adjectivising morphology -aam-ú / -aam-ita
(productive proprietive derivation, see e.g. *dan-á* ‘beauty, goodness’ > *dan-aam-ú/ita* ‘good, beautiful’). The adjectivising *-oon-á(ta)* is not attested elsewhere in the language

3.3. Are quality demonstratives formally related to manner demonstratives? If yes, how?

See 3.2 above.

3.4. Are quality demonstratives marked for different deictic degrees (spatial oppositions)? Or are the deictic degrees (spatial oppositions) reduced or neutralized?

No marking for different deictic degrees.

3.5. Are quality demonstratives morphologically invariant? Or do they inflect for number, case, gender etc.?

Morphologically variant: inflects for all cases and genders (cf. other adjectives in the language).

3.6. Are quality demonstratives used for anything else than making exophoric or anaphoric reference to a quality? If yes, elaborate.

No, not that I know of.

3.7. Have quality demonstratives been grammaticalized? If yes, into what?

No, not that I know of.

4. Degree demonstratives

Degree demonstratives target a degree of a property that is visible/gesturally demonstrated in the speech context, has been mentioned in the previous stretch of discourse or is going to be elaborated on in the following stretch of discourse.

(11) (...*) dikk-ú-s zahh-iteent ikki-i
market-F.ACC-DEF wander-2F.PRFHYP-ADD
*kank-á* xe'-anó burtukaan-ú dag-gáanti-ba'a
DEG/QUANT_DEM-M.ACC be_sweet-3M.IPV.REL orange-M.ACC find-2S.IPV-NEG
‘(…) even if you trawled the market, you would not find oranges *this* sweet.’ (Here: reference to an aforementioned degree)

Questions:

4.1. Provide the form(s) of the degree demonstrative(s) in your language.

Kambaata has two synonymous degree demonstratives, *kank-á(ta)* and *hibank-á(ta)* ‘this much/many, to this degree’.

4.2. Does your language have composite or non-composite degree demonstratives?

The degree demonstratives are non-composite.

4.3. Are degree demonstratives formally related to manner demonstratives? If yes, in which way?
They are not related to manner demonstratives.

4.4. Are degree demonstratives formally related to quality demonstratives? If yes, in which way?

They are not related to quality demonstratives.

4.5. Are degree demonstratives marked for different deictic degrees (spatial oppositions)? Or are the deictic degrees (spatial oppositions) reduced neutralized?

They are not marked for different deictic degrees.

4.6. Are degree demonstratives morphologically invariant? Or do they inflect for number, case, gender etc.?

They morphologically variant. They inflect for case and gender, but as degree demonstratives they always occur in the masculine accusative form. Note that the accusative is not only the direct object case but also the case of adverbial constituents in Kambaata.

4.7. Extended uses and grammaticalizations

4.7.1. Do the degree demonstratives only modify measureable properties (e.g. ‘tall’, ‘heavy’)? Or also non-measureable properties (e.g. ‘sweet, beautiful, angry’)?

They can modify measureable and non-measureable properties.

4.7.2. Do they modify non-property (e.g. action) verbs?

They can modify non-property verbs, in which case they express they identify the intensity of a verbal action or the quantity of an affected object.

(12)  
Kank-á  kaakkées-s  kank-á  quphphá ’[-i]?  
EQ1_A_DEM-M.ACC  cackle-2S.PCO  EQ1_A_DEM-M.ACC  lay_eggs-2S.PCO  
(Proverb used with exophoric reference, most common interpretation:) ‘You cackled this much for laying this few eggs!’

4.7.3. Are the degree demonstratives used for anything else than making exophoric or anaphoric reference to a degree? If yes, elaborate.

See intensifying use in 4.7.4.

4.7.4. Are the degree demonstratives used for intensification? e.g. She is not that tall meaning ‘not very tall’.

Non-deictic [!] intensifying use:

(13)  
Yam-óó  kánk-at  gén-it  yöo-si-ba’a  
mouse-M.NOM  EQ1_A_DEM-F.NOM  harm-F.NOM  COP1.3-3M.O-NEG1  
(Non-deictic use in the quoted source) ‘Mice are not very harmful (lit. Mice, there is not this much harm to them).’

In another context, the same sentence may allow an anaphoric reading of kánk-at: ‘Mice are not as harmful (e.g. as other previously mentioned animals).

4.7.5. Have degree demonstratives been grammaticalized? If yes, into what?
5. Quantity demonstratives

Quantity demonstratives target a quantity (amount or number) that is visible/gesturally demonstrated in the speech context, has been mentioned in the previous stretch of discourse or is going to be elaborated on in the following stretch of discourse.

(14) Án kank-áta az-úta aass-áam-ba’a
1.S.NOM DEG/QUANT_DEM-F.ACC milk-F.ACC give-1S.IPV-NEG

(Context: Speaker A announces that she would bring five liters of milk. – Speaker B replies:) ‘I won’t give this much milk.’ (Here: reference to an aforementioned quantity/amount)

Questions:

5.1. Provide the form(s) of the quantity demonstrative(s) in your language.

Synonymous quantity demonstratives, kank-á(ta) and hibank-á(ta) ‘this much/many, to this degree’.

5.2. Does your language have composite or non-composite quantity demonstratives? (Note e.g. that English (10) has to use a periphrasis this many, this much, consisting of a demonstrative and a quantity adjective, to refer to a quantity.)

Non-composite.

5.3. Are quantity demonstratives formally related to manner demonstratives? If yes, in which way?

No.

5.4. Are quantity demonstratives formally related to quality demonstratives? If yes, in which way?

No.

5.5. Are quantity demonstratives formally related to degree demonstratives? If yes in which way?

They are identical to degree demonstratives. Note, however, that degree demonstratives are used as adverbiaal modifiers of adjectives or verbs, while quantity demonstratives are used as adnominal modifiers or as heads of noun phrases.

5.6. Are quantity demonstratives marked for different deictic degrees (spatial oppositions)? Or are the deictic degrees (spatial oppositions) reduced or neutralized?

No.

5.7. Are quantity demonstratives morphologically invariant? Or do they inflect for number, case, gender etc.?
They are morphologically variant (in the same way as adjectives in the language).

5.8. Extended uses and grammaticalizations

5.8.1. Are quantity demonstratives used for anything else but to refer to a quantity demonstrated in the speech situation or expressed in the surrounding discourse?

Apart from being used (i) exophorically and (ii) anaphorically, quantity demonstratives can be used as (iii) placeholders for quantitative expressions and for the (iv) expression of intensification.

(15) Án kank-áta az-úta aass-áamm
1S.NOM EQ1_A_DEM-F.ACC milk-F.ACC give-1S.IPV
(a) Exophoric use (speaker indicates amount with his/her hands): ‘I give this much milk.’
(b) Use as a placeholder for a quantitative expression: ‘I give so-and-so much milk.’

(16) Án kank-iin hirr-eemíi-a bóor-a
1S.NOM EQ1_A_DEM-M.ICP buy-1S.PRF.REL-M.COP2 bull-M.PRED
y-áan amma ‘n-ano-’é-e yóo-ba’a
say-1S.ICO believe-3M.IPV-1S.O-NMZ1.M.NOM COP1.3-NEG1
(a) Anaphoric use (reference to a quantity mentioned in the discourse): ‘Nobody will believe me if I say that I bought the bull for (lit. with) this much (money).’
(b) Use as intensifier: ‘Nobody will believe me if I say that I bought the bull for (lit. with) so little/so much money (in absolute terms).’