Copulas in Kambaata

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1 Introduction[*]

Kambaata is spoken by several hundred thousand people around the Hambarrichcho massif about 300 km southwest of the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa. Together with the closely related T'ambaaro, Alaaba (Schneider-Blum this volume), and K'abeena (Crass this volume) it forms the Kambaata group of the Highland East Cushitic (HEC) languages. Kambaata is rich in nominal and verbal morphology and has a complex sentence structure. Non-verbal predication contributes to the structural complexity of Kambaata, as there are three copulas with different formal and functional features: a locative copula verb *yoo-* (1) and two non-locative copula morphemes used in ascriptive and identificational predications (2) to (4) as well as in focus constructions.

(1)   *Lámu*   *harrúuchchu*   *góla*   *yóo'u.*[1]
       two.M.NOM   donkey.SG.M.NOM   stable.M.OBL   COP1.3

       'There are two donkeys in the stable.'

Examples (2) and (3) show the copula *-ha/-ta* (COP2) with adjectival and nominal predicates. The copula VV-*t* (COP3) is seen on a pronominal predicate in (4).

(2)   *Siggís*   *qóoqa-ta.*
       Siggise.F.NOM   blind.F.PRED-F.COP2

       'Siggise is blind.'

(3)   *Hóol-lat*   *gízza-a.*[2]
       sheep-PL.F.NOM   livestock.M.PRED-M.COP2

       'Sheep are livestock.'

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[1]   The Kambaata data are written in the official orthography: *x=t'*, *q=k'*, *ch=t͡ʃ*, *c=t͡ʃ'*, and *'=ʔ*. The unaccented and devoiced final vowel *i* is not written orthographically, despite its phonological status. In this article, accents are consistently indicated while the official orthography leaves them unmarked. The accentuation of a long vowel is only marked on the first grapheme, i.e. *V́V*, although the long vowel as a whole is accented.

[2]   The morph *-a* is a phonologically determined allomorph of the masculine copula *-ha* (cf. section 2.3).

(4)   *Xummisó*   *miní*   *mán-chut*   *ísee-t.*
      Xummiso.M.GEN   house.F.GEN   woman-SG.F.NOM   3F.PRED.VV-COP3

     'SHE is Xummiso's wife.' (lit. 'Xummiso's wife is she.')

Due to limitations of space, this paper has to concentrate on the non-locative copulas and their use in ascription, identification, and cleft sentences. The locative COP1 is excluded from the discussion here (but cf. Treis 2007: 365-74).

In a language with more than one copula, the copulas are expected to differ in their functional scope. Consequently, it is the major endeavor of this paper to examine the 'division of labor' between COP2 and COP3. Their unusual phonological, morphological, and syntactic characteristics will be addressed as well. The aim of this work is to give as complete an account as possible of non-locative copula constructions. The discussion will not be confined to copulas in non-tensed contexts or to copulas in main clauses, but will take contexts into account which have up until now only been dealt with marginally in the discussion on Ethiopian languages.

I will argue in the following that COP2 and COP3 are complementarily distributed and may be regarded as lexically and morphologically determined allomorphs of an abstract non-locative copula. Seen from within, the copula system of Kambaata is a system with idiosyncrasies. From the point of view of areal linguistics, however, it is a system with well known idiosyncrasies. The difficulty that other authors (cf. Crass et al. (2005) and the review of earlier literature therein) face, namely to distinguish between focus markers and copulas, is also a major problem in Kambaata.

2   COP2

COP2 is an enclitic, non-verbal copula with three grammatically determined segmental allomorphs, *-ha*, *-ta*, and Ø, and a characteristic accent pattern. The occurrence of Ø, or better the lack of *-ha/-ta* is restricted to a very specific context (see section 2.5).

Apart from being used as part of a predicating device, the poly-functional morpheme *-ha/-ta* is, among others, a portmanteau morpheme for gender and case on some case forms of nouns and their modifiers (Treis 2006).[3] Before turning to the copula function, we will therefore glance briefly at its function as case/gender marker.

Figure 1 Simplified structure of a Kambaata noun

   | Stem | – | primary case suffix | (– | secondary case | / | primary gender morpheme |)

    e.g.   *wees-í-ta* 'enset plant' (F.ACC)
           min-éen 'in the house' (M.LOC)

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[3] The morpheme *-ha/-ta* is also found as a case/gender marker on head-less relative clauses and as a juncture morpheme between certain case forms and possessive suffixes. The feminine allomorph *-ta* is an obligatory part of two subordinate verb forms: SS purposive, e.g. *mar-ó-ta* '(in order) to go (1SG)', and DS purposive, e.g. *már-un-ta* 'so that I go (1SG)'. The morpheme *-ha/-ta* has a similar range of functions in K'abeena (Crass 2003) and Alaaba (Schneider-Blum this volume).

In Kambaata, case is primarily indicated by a suffix immediately following the nominal stem (Figure 1). The gender of a noun can also be determined by its agreement marker on a verb. The case/gender marker *-ha/-ta*, an innovation of the languages of the Kambaata group, marks case in addition to the actual case suffix and encodes gender on nouns overtly. The rules governing the occurrence of *-ha/-ta* on common nouns in Kambaata are complex; it is not required on all forms. Feminine nouns and their modifiers occur obligatorily with the feminine allomorphs *-ta* in the accusative and *-t/i/*[4] in the nominative (cf. example (5)). Masculine nouns are usually unmarked, as *-ha* (ACC) and *-hu* (NOM) are optional after long vowels (cf. example (6)) and generally omitted after short vowels (cf. example (7)). Word-finally, the unaccented vowel of the case/gender marker (but not of COP2) is devoiced.

(5)	*weesí-ta*	[weesítạ]	ACC	'enset plants'
	wéesi-t	[wéesitị]	NOM	'enset plants'
	abbá-ta weesíta	[abbátạ weesítạ]	ACC-ACC	'big enset plants'

(6)	*woqqáa(-ha)*	[woqqáahạ]	ACC	'road'
	woqqóo(-hu)	[woqqóohụ]	NOM	'road'
	qeraa'rrú woqqáa(-ha)	[qeraa'rrú woqqáahạ]	ACC-ACC	'long road'

| (7) | *gidá* | [gidá] | ACC | 'cold (n)' |

On other case forms apart from nominative and accusative, the occurrence of *-ha/-ta* is quite idiosyncratic and should not be elaborated upon here. It should be stressed, however, that its occurrence is exclusively grammatically determined, i.e. by the syntactic function of a noun, and not governed by pragmatic considerations like definiteness or focus.

The case/gender markers and (the segmental part of) COP2 most likely originate from the same source, the proximal demonstrative *ka/ta*. The case/gender marker drew on the demonstrative's nominative and accusative forms, the copula only on the accusative forms. Even though the exact historical development is still obscure, one might hypothesize that a construction with a zero copula {N Ø N, this one} was re-analyzed as {N N-COP2}. In the modern language, the demonstrative *ka/ta* is largely restricted to the modifying function (cf. example (8)) and virtually never used as the head of a phrase. As phrasal heads, extended pronouns with "more substance" are used (cf. example (9)).

(8) DEMONSTRATIVE MODIFIERS
   ka (ACC) / *ku* (NOM)   'this' (M)   e.g. *ka miní*   'this house'
   ta (ACC) / *ti* (NOM)   'this' (F)   e.g. *ta weesí-ta*   'this enset plant'

(9) DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS
   káan (ACC) / *kúun* (NOM)   'this one' (M)
   táan (ACC) / *tíin* (NOM)   'this one' (F)

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[4] Unaccented final *i* is not written orthographically (see footnote 1). For clarification, it is sometimes added as /i/. Note that all Kambaata words with an orthographic final consonant actually end in an unaccented *i*.

2.1 Ascription and identification

COP2 occurs with both ascriptive and identificational predicates. It predicates most common nouns, apart from those ending in *-é* or *-ó* (e.g. *shumagé* 'hare', *hagasó* 'type of bird'),[5] and all adjectives. The ascriptive predicate noun in (10) establishes the subject's inclusion in the class of uncultured behavior types. In (11), the predicate noun has a unique referent – here, not only in the universe of discourse but in the universe *per se*.

(10) *Kúun   fókku-ta.*
      IDEM1.M.NOM   uncultured:behavior.F.PRED-F.COP2

      'This is uncultured behavior.'

(11) *Tíin   arr-íichchu-ta.*
      IDEM1.F.NOM   sun-SG.F.PRED-F.COP2

      'This is the sun.'

As Kambaata has no articles, there is a constant ambiguity between group membership/class inclusion and identification, as shown in (12).

(12) *Maatábu   íi-haa   jáala.*
      Maatabo.M.NOM   1SG.GEN-M.COP2   friend.M.PRED

      'Maatabo is my friend [i.e. the only one I have] / a friend of mine.'

The gender of the predicate noun is decisive for the choice of masculine *-ha* vs. feminine *-ta*. Sentence (13), in which subject and predicate are of different gender, illustrates that COP2 does not agree with the subject, *góngu* (M), but with the nominal predicate, *iitillíta* (F).

(13) *Godábu   duubb-ó-da   góngu*
      stomach.M.NOM   be:satisfied-3M.PVE.REL-COND   block:of:wood.M.NOM

      iitílli-ta.
      skin:as:bed:sheet.F.PRED-F.COP2

      'If the stomach is full, a block of wood is a bed-sheet.' [Proverb]

Kambaata has an open word class of adjectives. Adjectives are used predicatively with COP2 to assign a property to the subject. As all adjectives have a masculine and a feminine form, there is overall gender agreement between subject, adjectival predicate, and copula.

(14) *Ti   ázut   gummúuta-ta.*
      DDEM1.F.NOM   milk.F.NOM   lukewarm.F.PRED-F.COP

      'This milk (F) is lukewarm.'

(15) *Ku   búnu   gummúuta-a.*
      DDEM1.M.NOM   coffee.M.NOM   lukewarm.M.PRED-M.COP2

      'This coffee (M) is lukewarm.'

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[5] See Crass (2003: 24) for a similar rule in K'abeena.

To complete the picture, it should be mentioned that COP2 is also found beyond ascriptive and identificational constructions. COP2 constructions whose predicate is a genitive noun are used to express possession in Kambaata. The possessed occurs as the subject of the non-verbal predication, the possessor as the predicate.[6] The copula agrees in gender with the subject.

(16)   *Ti*   *hógut*   *Tiráago-ta.*
        DDEM1.F.NOM   field.F.NOM   Tiraago.M.GEN-F.COP2

         'This field is Tiraago's / belongs to Tiraago.'

COP2 may further be used in non-verbal predications expressing location if the location is in focus and if the predicate noun is a toponym and encoded in the oblique case (cf. (17)),[7] i.e. in a very restricted context.

(17)   *Lankaanni-ʼí*   *minéenee-t.*
        uncle.M.GEN-1SG.POSS   house.M.LOC.VV-COP3

        Íi   *anní*   *mínu*   *Duuráami-ta.*
        1SG.GEN   father.M.GEN   house.M.NOM   Duuraame.F.OBL-F.COP2

        '[Preceding question: Are you living IN YOUR FATHER'S HOUSE in Shiinshichcho?] [No,] IN MY UNCLE'S HOUSE. My father's house is IN DUURAAME.'

The function of COP2 in focus constructions is addressed in detail in section 5.

2.2   Segmental and suprasegmental encoding of predicates

The question for which case the predicate nouns and adjectives are marked in the examples (10) to (15) is not immediately answered. It is generally assumed that Cushitic languages, as marked nominative languages, make use of the accusative case in the non-verbal predication. In Kambaata, however, one can interpret the predicate form as accusative only if the accent pattern is ignored. The case paradigms of *buná* and *fokkúta* are given below. Case suffixes and case/gender suffixes are separated from the nominal stem.

Table 1 Case forms of buná *(M) 'coffee' and* fokkúta *(F) 'uncultured behavior' (i)*

Acc	Nom	Gen	Dat	Abl	ICP	Loc	Obl
bun-á	*bún-u*	*bun-í*	*bun-íi*	*bun-íichch*	*bun-íin*	*bun-áan*	*bún-a*
fokk-ú-ta	*fókk-u-t*	*fokk-ó*	*fokk-óo*	*fokk-óochch*	*fokk-óon*	*fokk-óon*	*fókk-o*

Due to the identical case suffixes, the predicate forms *bún-a-a* 'it is coffee' and *fókk-u-ta* 'it is uncultured behavior' segmentally most closely resemble the accusative

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[6]   Note that in (16) the possessed entity is given information but the possessor new information. For the expression of 'have, possess, own' Kambaata applies a different construction with the locative copula (COP1) *yoo-*. The nominative-marked possessed entity covers the subject function, whereas the possessor occurs in the dative, i.e. *possessed (NOM) possessor (DAT) yoo-* 'possessor has possessed entity', or literally 'there is a possessed entity for the possessor'. This possessive construction has a presentative function; the possessed entity represents new information.

[7]   Toponyms occur more often in the oblique case than in the locative case form.

forms *bun-á* and *fokk-ú-ta*, or to be precise, the accusative forms minus the (secondary) case/gender suffix. Suprasegmentally, accusative and predicate forms differ consistently: *óσ-a* (predicate) vs. *σó* (ACC) for 'coffee' and *óσ-ta* (predicate) vs. *σó-ta* (ACC) for 'uncultured behavior'. The nominal predicate in the ascriptive and identifying predication is not only marked by a segmental element *-ha/-ta* but also by a suprasegmental element, namely a specific accent pattern. The accent pattern is an integral part of the copula. As further elaborated upon below, it can even be assumed to be the primary, most important component of the copula.

On nominal predicates, the accent is located on the second to last mora before COP2.[8] If the syllable preceding COP2 contains a short vowel, the accent is placed on the penultimate syllable of the predicate noun (cf. (18)). If there is a long vowel in the syllable preceding COP2, the ultimate syllable of the predicate rather than the penultimate is accented (cf. (19)).

(18)   *á.ma-ta*   (*óσ$_V$-ta*)   'it is the mother (F)'
(19)   *me.se.lée-ta*   (*σσó$_{VV}$-ta*)   'it is a girl (F)'

In the following discussion, the truncated accusative form with the predicate accent pattern will be referred to as "predicative" case form (Table 2). Or putting it differently, the predicative form is the predicate noun form minus the copula.

Table 2 Case forms of buná *'coffee' and* fokkúta *'uncultured behavior' (ii)*

	ACCUSATIVE	NOMINATIVE	PREDICATIVE
M	*bun-á*	*bún-u*	*bún-a*
F	*fokk-ú-ta*	*fókk-u-t*	*fókk-u*

Each attributive adjective distinguishes three case forms (Treis 2006): accusative, nominative, and oblique. Whereas the first two are employed to show agreement with accusative and nominative head nouns, the oblique is found before non-accusative, non-nominative nouns, i.e. genitive, dative, ablative, instrumental/comitative/perlative, and locative. As in the case of nouns, the predicative case form is segmentally identical to the accusative form minus the (secondary) case/gender marker. The predicative accent pattern is applied to this truncated accusative form to generate the predicative case form (see Table 3).

Table 3 Case forms of the attributive adjectives qallú(-ta) *'stupid' and* qooqá(-ta) *'blind'*

	ACCUSATIVE	NOMINATIVE	OBLIQUE	PREDICATIVE
M	*qall-ú*	*qáll-u*	*qáll-o*	*qáll-u*
F	*qall-ú-ta*	*qáll-u-t*	*qáll-o*	*qáll-u*
M	*qooq-á*	*qóoq-u*	*qóoq-a*	*qóoq-a*
F	*qooq-á-ta*	*qóoq-a-t*	*qóoq-a*	*qóoq-a*

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[8]   In K'abeena, predicate and direct object nouns have the same accent pattern (Crass 2003: 24ff).

The accent position on predicative adjectives again depends on the length of the syllable preceding -ha/-ta (cf. (20)).

(20)   qál.lu-a   ($\acute{\sigma}\sigma_V$-ha)   'it is stupid (M)'
       ha.róo-haa   ($\sigma\acute{\sigma}_{VV}$-ha)   'it is new (M)'

2.3 Morpho-phonological and phonological processes with COP2

COP2 is associated with four (morpho-)phonological processes. Besides the allomorphs conditioned by the gender of the predicate noun (-ha for masculine and -ta for feminine predicates; cf. (13)), there are also phonologically conditioned allomorphs. The allomorphs -ha and -ta actually represent two allomorph groups, {-a, -haa} and {-ta, -taa}. Each gender allomorph can be realized long or short. After long vowels, the vowel of the copula is lengthened (length harmony), as shown in (21). Elsewhere length harmony is not attested, i.e. we are dealing here with a grammatically conditioned phonological process.

(21)   (a)   *Ku   endebéeru   íi-haa.*
             DDEM1.M.NOM enset:mat.M.NOM   1SG.GEN-M.COP2

             'This enset mat is mine.'

       (b)   *Na'óo-taa.*
             1PL.PRED-F.COP2

             'It is us.'

The h of the masculine copula is obligatorily dropped between short vowels (cf. (22)), but retained between long ones (cf. (21)). Kambaata does not have a general h elision rule, i.e. the h elision is grammatically conditioned.

(22)   *[...] Sarára   he'-'áa   amá-kki-a (*amá-kki-ha)*
             Sarara.M.OBL live-3F.IPV.REL   mother.M.GEN-2SG.POSS-M.COP2

       béetu.
       son.M.PRED

       '[...] I am the son of your mother living in Sarara.' (K8: 21)

After the elision of h, the case vowel becomes susceptible to assimilation. If the case vowel is high (i, u), it assimilates in height to the copula vowel a, and turns into e and o, respectively. The result of the process must be considered phonetic in nature because it is fully predictable. It is therefore not represented orthographically.[9]

(23)   (a)   *Isso'óot   gobáannu-a.* [oa]
             3PL.NOM   tailors.M.PRED-M.COP2

             'They are tailors.'

       (b)   *Kúun   míni-a.   [ea]*
             IDEM1.M.NOM   house.M.PRED-M.COP2

             'This is a house.'

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[9]   Unlike in K'abeena (Crass 2003: 24f) and Alaaba (Schneider-Blum this volume), the high case vowel of a Kambaata feminine predicate noun does not assimilate to the low vowel of the feminine copula, as in Kambaata *gári-ta* 'it is the truth', but not **gáre-ta.*

The fourth process is restricted to oblique predicate nouns, which always end in an unaccented non-high vowel, *e, o,* or *a.* If a feminine COP2 is added, the mid-vowels *e* and *o* dissimilate in height to the copula-vowel *a,* i.e. *e>i, o>u* (cf. (24)). This process is exclusively grammatically conditioned and restricted to the context {OBL noun plus F.COP2}. Elsewhere, mid-vowels and feminine COP2 meet without the need to dissimilate (see, for instance, the genitive noun plus *-ta* in (25)).

(24)   *Íi   anní   mínu   Duuráami-ta. (< Duuráame OBL + -ta)*
       1SG.GEN   father.M.GEN   house.M.NOM   Duuraame.F.OBL-F.COP2

       'My father's house is in Duuraame.'

(25)   *Ti   mashsháat   Anshéebe-ta. (< Ansheebé GEN + -ta)*
       DDEM.F.NOM   type:of:knife.F.NOM   Ansheebe.F.GEN-F.COP2

       'This *mashshaa*-knife is Ansheebe's.'

The case/gender marker and (the segmental component of) COP2 are only identical at first glance, but differ considerably with respect to the phonological and morpho-phonological processes to which they are exposed or which they trigger. The case/gender marker, for instance, does not show length harmony with the last vowel of the base (*maccát[a̡]* 'ear' (ACC) – *mashsháat[a̡]* 'type of knife' (ACC)). Furthermore, the unaccented vowel of COP2 is not devoiced in the word-final position (*maccát[a̡]* 'ear' (ACC) – *máccat[a]* 'it is an ear').

2.4 Morpheme order and (supra-)segmental encoding of modified predicates

The position of *-ha/-ta*, the segmental component of COP2, generally depends on whether the predicate is modified or not. If the head is not modified, *-ha/-ta* is found on the head (see Figure 2a). If it is modified – either by a genitive noun (cf. (27)), adjective (cf. (28)), or a relative clause (29) – it is found on the rightmost end of this modifier (see Figure 2b).

Figure 2 Morpheme order in a predicate with COP2

(a) | HEAD OF PREDICATE | – | *-ha/-ta* | – | NEGATION / QUESTION |

(b) | MODIFIER: genitive noun, adjective, relative clause | – | *-ha/-ta* | + | HEAD OF PREDICATE | – | NEGATION / QUESTION |
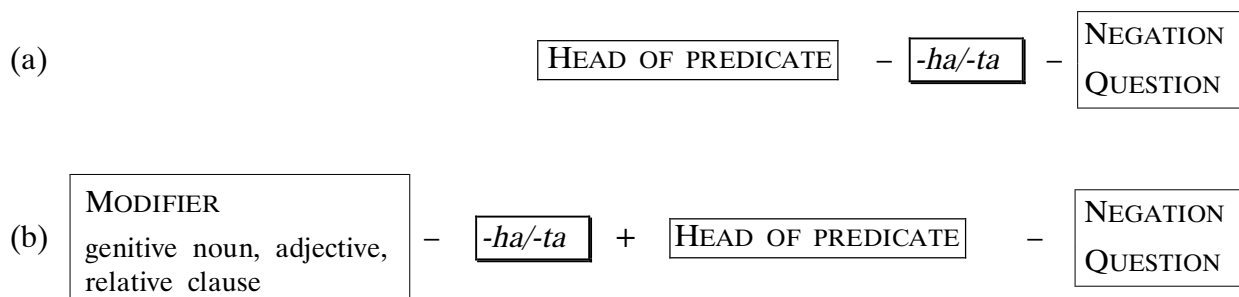
(26)   *Ís   gashsháan-chu-a.*
       3M.NOM   ruler-SG.M.PRED-M.COP2

       'He is a ruler.'

(27)   *Ís   níi   báadi-a   gashsháan-chu*
       3M.NOM   1PL.GEN   land.M.GEN-M.COP2   ruler-SG.M.PRED

       'He is the ruler of our country.'

(28) | *Moosú* | *ba'ísu* | *kee'mmáashsha-ta* | *húj*[10]
|---|---|---|---|
| disease.M.ACC | eradicate(.CAUS).M.NOM | difficult.F.PRED-F.COP2 | work.F.PRED |

'Eradicating the disease is a difficult job.'

The position of *-ha/-ta* is one aspect that sets Kambaata non-verbal sentences apart from those of K'abeena where the copula always seems to be attached to the head (Crass 2003: examples 2, 8; Crass et al. 2005: example 62).[11] The Kambaata morpheme order is, however, also found in the Ethio-Semitic languages Zay (Meyer 2002: 1800), Silt'e (Gutt 1997: 533), and Kistane (Goldenberg 1987: 4), as indicated in Crass et al. (2005).[12]

It is important to note that the removal of *-ha/-ta* from the predicate heads in (27) and (28) does not have any effect on the predicate's accent pattern. A comparison of (26) and (27) shows that irrespective of the position of *-ha/-ta* the penultimate mora of the predicate head is accented (*gashshsháanchu*). Furthermore, the genitive modifier in (27) is accented on the penultimate mora and, thus, also reflects the characteristic predicative accent pattern. The word-final accent characterizing all genitive modifiers elsewhere (*níi baadí gashshaanchú* 'our country's ruler') shifts to the front when the head noun is predicated and when the modifier receives the morpheme *-ha/-ta* (*níi báadi-a gashshaanchú* 'it is our country's ruler'). The adjectival modifier of the predicate in (28) also carries the accent on the second to the last mora. Compare the accusative form *kee'mmaashsháta hujíta* 'difficult job' with the predicative form *kee'mmáashsha-ta húj* 'it is a difficult job'.

Relative clauses modifying a (non-predicate) head noun are most often characterized by an accent on the very last syllable (29). However, if their head noun functions as predicate (30), they receive the *-ha/-ta* morpheme of COP2 and their accent is returned to the place where it is found on the corresponding non-relative verb form (31).

(29)	*xóofu*	*hasis-ano-sí*	*hujíta*
finish.M.NOM	be:necessary-3M.IPV-3M.OBJ.REL	work.F.ACC

'the job that he has to finish'

(30)	*Tíin*	*xóofu*	*hasis-áno-si-ta*
IDEM1.F.NOM	finish.M.NOM	be:necessary-3M.IPV-3M.OBJ.REL-F.COP2

húj.
work.F.PRED

'This is the job that he has to finish.'

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[10] The case suffix *i* of *húj-i-ta* 'it is a job' comes to the word-final position after the shift of the copula, is then devoiced and therefore not written (cf. footnote 1).

[11] In Alaaba (Schneider-Blum this volume), the *-ha/-ta* copula (COP2) shifts to the modifier as in Kambaata.

[12] There is also a Kambaata-internal parallel: Possessive suffixes shift to the left if their host nouns are modified; see e.g. *miní-s/i/* 'his house' but *roshsha-sí miní* 'his school' [lit. 'his school house'].

(31) *Hujíta   xóofu   hasis-áno-s/i/.*
       work.F.ACC   finish.M.NOM be:necessary-3M.IPV-3M.OBJ

       'He has to finish the job.' (main verb form)

The examples discussed in the previous sections clearly show that an important component of COP2 is the supra-segmental influence on the predicate head and its modifiers. The suprasegmental influence is independent of the position of the copula's segmental component, i.e. the position of *-ha/-ta*. We have seen that predicate nouns (cf. (26)) and adjectives (cf. (20)) are consistently accented on the penultimate mora. The same accent pattern is found on predicate-modifying genitive (pro)nouns (cf. (27)) and adjectives (cf. (28)). Even if the head of the predicate is a genitive noun in a possessive construction (cf. (25)) or an oblique noun in a locative construction (cf. (24)) it is characterized by an accent on the penultimate mora. Relative clauses that modify the predicate or function themselves as the predicate also undergo a change in their accent pattern. Although it is not possible to formulate a general rule that the accent always falls on the penultimate syllable of relative verbs, it can at least be said that their final accent shifts to a non-final position (on the penultimate or a further preceding syllable) as soon as their head nouns (cf. (30)) or the relative clauses themselves become the predicate of a sentence (cf. (44)).

The negation marker *-ba'a*, which does not influence the accent pattern, is always found on the head of the predicate irrespective of the position of *-ha/-ta* (see Figure 2 and (32) to (33)).

(32) *Kúun   míni-a-ba'a.*
       IDEM1.M.NOM   house.M.PRED-M.COP2-NEG

       'This is not a house.'

(33) *Kúun   íi-haa   míni-ba'a.*
       IDEM1.M.NOM 1SG.GEN-M.COP2   house.M.PRED-NEG

       'This is not my house.'

The possessor of a nominal predicate is either expressed by a modifying genitive pronoun or by a pronominal suffix. The independent pronoun precedes the head and carries the *-ha/-ta* element as any other modifier would do (Figure 3a). The possessive suffix, however, is attached to the head plus *-ha/-ta* (Figure 3b).[13] An obligatory linker morpheme *-n* is inserted between *-ha/-ta* and the possessive. The possessive suffix does not influence the accent pattern of the predicate noun. Predicate noun, *-ha/-ta* and possessive suffix form a single phonological word.

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[13] If the possessive suffix is added to non-predicate nouns carrying the case/gender marker *-ha/-ta*, the marker is obligatorily dropped. Thus, *amá-ta* 'mother' (ACC) plus a 3M possessive suffix is realized as *amá-s* 'his mother' (ACC-3M.POSS) but not as **amá-ta-s or *amá-ta-n-s*. This is another argument against lumping case/gender marker and copula together.

Figure 3 The possessor in the nominal predication

(a) Possessor expressed by a genitive pronoun

| GENITIVE PRONOUN | – | *-ha/-ta* | + | HEAD OF PREDICATE | – | NEGATION QUESTION |

(b) Possessor expressed by a possessive suffix on the predicate head

| HEAD OF PREDICATE | – | *-ha/-ta* | – | *-n* | – | POSSESSIVE SUFFIX | – | NEGATION QUESTION |
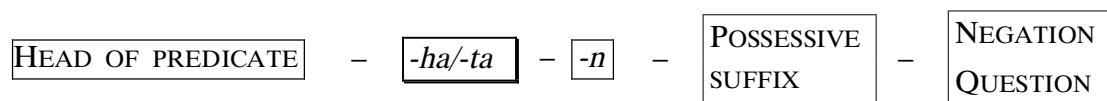
The morpheme order in Figure 3a is surprising insofar as the possessive morpheme is suffixed to the predicate plus copula, although it has scope only over the predicate noun. The copula is finally found inside the predicate noun.[14] This unusual position and the conspicuous shift of *-ha/-ta* from the head to the modifier (Figure 2) call for an explanation. The copula position only seems idiosyncratic at first glance but it is by no means unmotivated when looking at it from a pragmatic point of view: the segmental component of COP2 is found on the most salient constituent of the predicate. Example (28) does not intend to express that the eradication of the disease is a job, but that it is a difficult job. Utterance (34) stresses that the subject is his daughter, whereas (35) rather underlines that she is his daughter; the possessor is known information. There is thus an association between (the segmental component of) COP2 and focus in Kambaata, a phenomenon that Crass et al. (2005) already described for various Ethio-Semitic languages of the HEC-Gurage contact zone.

(34) *Íse   ísi-ta   béetu.*
     3F.NOM   3M.GEN-F.COP2   daughter.F.PRED

     'She is HIS daughter.'

(35) *Íse   béetu-ta-n-s.*
     3F.NOM   daughter.F.PRED-F.COP2-L-3M.POSS

     'She is his DAUGHTER.'

2.5 Suprasegmental encoding only

Whereas in all examples discussed so far, COP2 consisted of a segmental component *-ha/-ta* and a specific accent pattern, in ascriptive and identificational predications in which the nominal predicate is modified by a cardinal numeral[15] or a demonstrative the occurrence of *-ha/-ta* is not admissible. The question in (36) contains a predicate noun which is modified by a quantificational adjective. As predicted by Figure 2, *-ha/-ta* is attached to the modifier. In the answer to the question, *-ha/-ta* is, surprisingly, neither found on the predicate noun nor on its modifier. Subject and

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[14] See example (38a) or (39a) in Schneider-Blum (this volume) as well as examples (64) and (82) and footnote 15 in Crass et al. (2005). The possessor in the nominal predication of Alaaba and K'abeena (HEC) and of Silt'e and Zay (Ethio-Semitic) is found in the same position as in Kambaata, namely after the copula.

[15] Ordinal numerals behave like genitive modifiers.

predicate are juxtaposed and the numerical modifier is encoded in the oblique case, which is elsewhere a sign of agreement with a non-nominative or non-accusative head noun (37).[16] All that remains of COP2 is the typical accent pattern on the predicate noun. Example (36) is considered to be one of the decisive examples for arguing that it is not the segmental but the suprasegmental component of the copula which is the principal indicator of a non-verbal predication with COP2.

(36) *Ti*   *hogóbut*   *habánka-ta*   *kílu?*
      DDEM1.F.NOM load.F.NOM   how:many.F.PRED-F.COP2   kilo.F.PRED

      'How heavy is this load?' [lit. "This load is how many kilos?"]

      Ti   *hogóbut*   *ontaadúme (*ontaadúmi-ta)*   *kílu.*
      DDEM1.F.NOM load.F.NOM   fifty.F.OBL   kilo.F.PRED

      'This load is 50 kilos.'

(37) *ontaadumíta* (ACC)   + *kilúta* (ACC)   '50 kilos'
      ontaadúmit (NOM)   + *kílut* (NOM)
      ontaadúme (OBL)   + *kilóon* (ICP/LOC) / *kilóochch* (ABL) / *kiló* (GEN)...

Example (38) illustrates the modification of a predicate noun by two coordinate numerical modifiers.

(38) *Masaalí*   *dikkúta*   *y-eennóot*   *dulíichch*
      masaala.M.GEN   market.F.ACC   say-3HON.REL.VV.F.NOM   slaughtering.M.ABL

      biríta   *yóo*   *láme*   *té*   *sáse*   *díkku.*
      front.F.ACC   COP1.3.REL   two.F.OBL   or   three.F.OBL   market.F.PRED

      'The so-called "*masaala* markets" are the two or three markets before the slaughtering [day].' (K5: 9)

As on numerical modifiers, *-ha/-ta* is missing on demonstrative modifiers (proximal: (39), interrogative: (41)). The modifier of the predicate nouns occurs again in the oblique case form. Compare (39) and (40), (41) and (42).

(39) *Mogga'áann-u*   *tán(n)*   *óosu.*   *(*ta-ta óosu)*
      thieves-M.NOM   DDEM1.F.OBL   children.F.PRED

      'The thieves are these children.'

(40) *ta* (ACC)   + *oosúta* (ACC)   'these children'
      ti (NOM)   + *óosut* (NOM)
      tán(n) (OBL)   + *oosóonin* (ICP) / *oosóochch* (ABL) / *oosó* (GEN)...

(41) *Gárbu*   *Duuraaméechch hakkán(n)*   *wúdu?*   *(*hákka-a wúdu)*
      Garba.M.NOM   Duraame.F.ABL   which.M.OBL   side.M.PRED

      'Garba is on which side of Duuraame?'

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[16] The oblique case of numerical and demonstrative modifiers may, therefore, be said to signal agreement with head nouns of any non-accusative or non-nominative case form, including the predicative case.

(42)   *hákka* (ACC)   + *wudú* (ACC)   'which side?'
       hákku (NOM)   + *wúdu* (NOM)
       hakkán(n) (OBL) + *wudíin* (ICP) / *wudíichch* (ABL) / *wudí* (GEN)...

The reason why *-ha/-ta* is elided or why it fails to occur in the above mentioned contexts is not yet clear. A pragmatic motivation can probably be excluded. In examples (38), (39), and (41) one cannot consider the numeral or demonstrative modifiers less salient than the genitive, adjectival, and relative modifiers in (27), (28), and (30); nevertheless, *-ha/-ta* is missing. The synchronic data does not provide an explanation; the reason for the absence of *-ha/-ta* remains to be investigated in a diachronic perspective. Note that in Alaaba (Schneider-Blum this volume) the copula is not missing on numeral modifiers.

2.6 Complex ascriptive constructions

Apart from being a predicating device for nouns and adjectives, COP2 also serves to generate complex ascriptive constructions. The constructions are termed "complex", because the predicate is a complete clause headed by a relative verb. At first glance the only obvious difference between (43) and (44) is the additional copula in the second example and the slightly different translation.

(43)   *Ku*   *wosh-íchchu*   *ga'mm-áno.*
       DDEM1.M.NOM dog-SG.M.NOM   bite-3M.IPV

       'This dog bites (habitually) / will bite.'

(44)   *Ku*   *wosh-íchchu*   *ga'mm-áno-a.*
       DDEM1.M.NOM dog-SG.M.NOM   bite-3M.IPV.REL-M.COP2

       'This dog is vicious.' [lit. 'This dog is one that bites.']

The negation test proves that the predicate is indeed headed by a relative verb and not a main verb form. Main verbs are negated with the morpheme *-ba'a* (cf. (45)), whereas negative relative verbs contain a morpheme *-umb* (cf. (46)).

(45)   *Ku*   *wosh-íchchu*   *ga'mm-áno-ba'a.*
       DDEM1.M.NOM dog-SG.M.NOM   bite-3M.IPV-NEG

       'This dog does not bite (habitually) / won't bite.'

(46)   *Ku*   *wosh-íchchu*   *ga'mm-úmbu-a.*
       DDEM1.M.NOM dog-SG.M.NOM   bite-3M.NREL.M.PRED-M.COP2

       'This dog is not vicious.' [lit. 'This dog is one that does not bite.']

Example (47) confirms that the predicate is based on a complete relative clause and not just a relative verb. The subject of the relative verb (*zayítu*) can be overtly expressed and does not have to be co-referent with the subject of the copula clause (*kúun*).

(47)   *[Kúun]*_{SBJ}   *[zayítu*   *ba'-íshsh-ee-haa]*_P.
       IDEM.M.NOM   oil.M.NOM   spoil-CAUS-3M.PVE.REL-M.COP2

       '[Sorting clothes, the speaker lifts up one dress and says:] This one has oil stains.' [lit. 'This is one that oil has spoiled.']

Relative clauses can thus become the head of a predicate like adjectives (14) and genitive (pro)nouns (16). The final verb of a relative clause functioning as predicate is accented in the same way as a relative clause modifying a predicate (30), namely on a non-final syllable.

Complex ascriptive constructions are frequently used in Kambaata. The verbal sentence in (43) expresses an event (in this particular example taking place in the future or habitually); (44) expresses a property of the subject. In (47) the speaker does not intend to express that the dress was spoiled but rather to emphasize that the dress is spoiled. Complex ascriptive constructions are nothing but property encoding sentences and, thus, semantically similar to adjectival predications.

3   COP3

COP3, *VV-t*, is the second non-locative copula of Kambaata. It is used in identificational and ascriptive predications. The historical origin of this copula is still obscure.[17] A cognate copula is found in K'abeena (Crass 2003) and Alaaba (Schneider-Blum this volume).

3.1 Morpho-phonology

Three morpho-phonological processes accompany the predication with COP3. The first process, vowel lengthening and centralization, is an integral part of the copula and the reason for labeling the COP3 morpheme *VV-t*. When *-t* is suffixed to the predicate, unaccented and devoiced vowels preceding the copula are lowered (*i>e*, *u>o*, *a=a*) and lengthened (*V>VV*). It is, therefore, plausible to reconstruct **ati* for COP3 (Hans-Jürgen Sasse, p. c. 2006). The vowel /ee/ is the most frequent long vowel before the copula, because the default final vowel of Kambaata words is an unaccented, devoiced, and orthographically unmarked /i/. The vowel lengthening and centralization process permits only three vowels to occur before COP3: *-ee*, *-oo*, or *-aa*.

(48)	*áy/i/?*	'who' (NOM)	>	*áyee-t?*	'who is it?'
	Habsíisu	personal name (NOM)	>	*Habsíisoo-t*	'it is Habsiiso'
	íssa	's/he' (3HON.NOM)	>	*íssaa-t*	'it is her/him'

If COP3 is added to a predicate with a final voiced vowel (which can be accented or not), an epenthetic *-n/i/* is inserted whose default vowel /i/ is then lengthened (49).

(49) *Besá*   proper noun (ACC) *>*

Besá-nee-t   *xuujj-oommíi-hu.*
Besa.F.ACC-N.VV-COP3   see-1SG.PVO.REL.VV-M.NOM

'I saw Besa.' [lit. 'It is Besa who I saw.']

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[17] Schneider-Blum (this volume) and Crass (2003) relate COP3 to the feminine-nominative demonstrative *ti* (see example (8) above). This does not seem plausible to me, especially when considering the morpho-phonological features of the copula (see section 3.1), which are not shared by the demonstrative.

On the right end of the COP3 morpheme assimilation can be observed. The copula's *-t* is totally assimilated to the initial consonant of following morphemes, for instance, the negation marker, *VV-t-ba'a > VV-b-ba'a* (cf. (50)). There is only one exception to this rule: in contrast to other consonant-initial morphemes, the morpheme *-s* (encoding aforementionedness) triggers the deletion of *-t*: *VV-t-s > VV-s* (cf. (51)). The long non-high vowel remains as a trace of the copula.

(50) *Sásoo-b-ba'a*   *lámoo-t.*
      three.M.PRED.VV-COP3-NEG   two.M.PRED.VV-COP3D

      'It [= his age] is not three, it is two.'

(51) *Qomáaxu [...]*   *moos-sáachch*   *mátoo-s.*
      leprosy.M.NOM   disease-PL.F.ABL   one.M.PRED.VV-3M.POSS

      'Leprosy is one of the diseases [which are harmful and infectious for many people of Ethiopia].' (K8: 47)

How COP3 influences the accent of the base to which it is attached is not yet clear and must be the subject of further investigations.

3.2 Identification, ascription, and quantification

COP3 is a bound and invariant morpheme. It is usually found on identifying, rarely on ascriptive predicates. In the following, its distribution is specified in detail.

COP3 is used when the predicate is a proper noun (52).

(52) *Boqé*   *hizóo*   *Báafaa-t.*
      Boqe.M.GEN   brother.M.NOM   Baafa.PRED.VV-COP3

      'Boqe's brother is Baafa.'

Proper nouns are inherently identifying. In contrast to most common nouns, they have not grammaticalized a secondary case/gender marker (Figure 1). Some common nouns ending in a short non-high vowel (*-é*, *-ó*) lack the secondary case/gender markers as well. This small group of nouns is semantically heterogeneous and contains, among others, some bird terms, terms of address for kin, and old taboo terms. Like proper nouns, the common nouns of this group are predicated with COP3. Example (53) has an ascriptive interpretation.

(53) *Xuujj-oommí*   *cii'-íchchut*   *xaafulúuqee-t.*
      see-1SG.PVO.REL   bird-SG.F.NOM   type:of:bird.F.PRED.VV-COP3

      'The bird that I saw is a *xaafuluuqe*-bird.'

Personal pronouns in the singular, but not the recently grammaticalized plural pronouns, occur with COP3 *VV-t.* The new plural pronouns carry a feminine case/gender marker *-ta* (in the accusative) and *-t* (in the nominative) and require COP2, here realized as *-taa,* on the predicative form (Table 4).

Table 4 Personal pronouns as identificational predicates

	NOM	ACC	PREDICATE		NOM	ACC	PREDICATE
1SG	*án*	*ées*	*ánee-t*	1PL	*na'óo-t*	*na'óo-ta*	*na'óo-taa*
2SG	*át*	*kées*	*átee-t*	2PL	*a'nno'óo-t*	*ki'nne'ée-ta*	*a'nno'óo-taa*
2HON	*á'nnu*	*ki'nné-ta*	*á'nnoo-t*	3PL	*isso'óo-t*	*isso'óo-ta*	*isso'óo-taa*
3M	*ís~ísu*	*isú*	*ísoo-t*				
3F	*íse*	*isé-ta*	*ísee-t*				
3HON	*íssa*	*issá-ta*	*íssaa-t*				

There is an obvious correlation between the existence of a secondary case/gender marker and the choice of the copula. The interrogative pronoun *ayé* 'who?', which carries no such marker, combines with COP3 (cf. (54)), whereas *má(ha)* 'what?' occurs with COP2 (cf. (55)).[18]

(54) *Áyee-t*   *samée-na*   *uullá*   *qarríchchu?*
       who.M.PRED.VV-COP3   heaven.M.GEN-CRD2   earth.F.GEN   master.M.NOM

      'Who is the Lord of heaven and earth?'

(55) *Kúun*   *má-haa-n?*
       IDEM1.M.NOM   what.M.PRED-M.COP2-Q

      'What is this?'

Demonstrative pronouns require COP3, as shown in (56).

(56) *Isí*   *óosut*   *tánnee-t.*
       3M.GEN   children.F.NOM   IDEM1.F.PRED.VV-COP3

      'His children are these ones.'

So far, one has been tempted to interpret the lack of a (secondary) case/gender marker as the only determining factor for the preference of COP3 over COP2 with ascriptive or identificational predicates. Cardinal numerals, however, falsify this hypothesis. As predicate heads they require COP3 (cf. (57)), although they have a (secondary) case/gender marker (see the accusative form in the brackets). COP2 is prohibited.

(57) *Na'óot*   *tóo-na*   *lámoo-t.*   (*tóo-na lamú/tóo-na lamí-ta* ACC 'twelve')
       1PL.NOM   ten-CRD2   two.F.PRED.VV-COP3

      'We are twelve [in number].'

Adjectives, genitive (pro)nouns (cf. section 2.1), and relative clauses (cf. section 2.6) in ascriptive and identificational constructions never occur with COP3.

3.3 Which case is the predicate case?

As in the case of COP2, it is tricky to determine in which case form an identificational or ascriptive predicate combines with COP3. The investigation has not

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[18] Pay attention to the word order in (54). The word order of subject and predicate can be reversed in copula clauses with COP3, even though this is much less attested than the subject-predicate order. The reversal of subject and predicate in the non-verbal predication with COP2 is so far only attested in cleft sentences (see (71)).

produced a uniform picture. On the contrary, the unpleasant situation has arisen that different realizations of the predicate form have to be assumed depending on the word class or sub-word class to which the predicate belongs. Besides this, the impossibility to set up sound rules predicting the accent of the identificational/ascriptive predicate with COP3 makes an exact analysis of the predicate form impossible for the time being.[19] Nevertheless, tentative rules concerning the segmental realization should be passed on to the reader. The long predicate vowel of proper nouns and of common nouns ending in *-é* and *-ó* is identical to the vowel of their accusative and oblique case forms. This is especially evident with masculine proper nouns (see Table 5).

Table 5 Case forms of masculine proper nouns

ACC	NOM	OBL[20]	PREDICATE	GLOSS
Baaf-á	*Báaf-/i/*	*Báaf-a*	*Báaf-aa-t*	'it is Baafa'
Sugeeb-ó	*Sugéeb-/i/*	*Sugéeb-o*	*Sugéeb-oo-t*	'it is Sugeebo'
Siggis-ó	*Siggís-u*	*Siggís-o*	*Siggis-óo-t*	'it is Siggiso'

The predicate forms of the singular personal pronouns are clearly based on the nominative forms (see Table 4). The predicate form of demonstratives is based on the non-nominative/non-accusative stem. As is exemplified on the demonstrative pronouns of the first ('this one') and third ('that distant one') degree, the cases to the right of the nominative, including the predicate form, are based on another stem than accusative or nominative (see Table 6).[21]

Table 6 Case forms of 1ˢᵗ and 3ʳᵈ degree demonstrative pronouns

	ACC	NOM	GEN	DAT	LOC	PRED	GLOSS
M	*káan*	*kúun*	*kanní*	*kanníi(ha)*	*kannéen*	*kánnee-t*	'it is this one'
F	*táan*	*tíin*	*tanné*	*tannée(ha)*	*tannéen*	*tánnee-t*	
M	*káaph*	*kúuph*	*ka'í*	*ka'íi(ha)*	*ka'éen*	*ká'ee-t*	'it is that distant one'
F	*táaph*	*tíiph*	*ta'é*	*ta'ée(ha)*	*ta'éen*	*tá'ee-t*	

Like adjectives, numerals can be used as independently referring units and then display the same number of case distinctions as nouns (see Table 1). However, when adjectives (Table 3) and numerals are used as modifiers, their case paradigm is condensed to three forms, accusative, nominative, and oblique (Table 7). It is the oblique form to which the numeral predicate form resembles most closely.

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[19] The accent marking on the predicates in the examples of the sections 3.1 to 3.3 must be taken with due care.

[20] The oblique case form of proper nouns is used to call or address someone (vocative).

[21] Crass' assumption that the genitive form is the predicate form of demonstrative pronouns in K'abeena (2005: 266) is not suitable for Kambaata. The genitive form of demonstrative pronouns can in fact also occur as predicate in Kambaata. It is then, however, combined with COP2 (*kánni-a/tánne-a*) and expresses 'it is this one's (M/F)', i.e. it is a possessive construction.

Table 7 Case forms of the cardinal numerals lamú *'two' and* tordumá *'ten'*

	ACC	NOM	OBL	PREDICATE	GLOSS
M	*lam-ú*	*lám-u*	*lám-o*	*lám-oo-t*	'it is two'
F	*lam-í-ta*	*lám-i-t*	*lám-e*	*lám-ee-t*	
M	*tordum-á*	*tordúm-u*	*tordúm-a*	*tordúm-aa-t*	'it is ten'
F	*tordum-í-ta*	*tordúm-i-t*	*tordúm-e*	*tordúm-ee-t*	

3.4 Oblique case predications

So far we have only seen COP3 examples in which the subject is equated with a unique referent (identification), in which the subject's membership in a class is established (ascription), or in which the subject is quantified (quantification). Besides this, nominals with oblique case markers may function as heads of the predicate. The term "oblique" is here understood as a cover term for case forms of the noun that are neither accusative nor nominative.[22] The meanings expressed in such copula clauses depend on the semantics of the oblique case markers (Pustet 2003: 32f.), i.e. the predicate expresses a recipient/beneficiary (dative: example (58)), location (locative: example (59)), instrument/companion/path (ICP: example (60)), and origin/source (ablative: example (61)).[23]

(58) *Hittán   masal-aakkáahaa-t.*
      DDEM2.F.OBL   girl-PL.F.DAT.VV-COP3

      'It is for those girls.'

(59) *Kooki-sí   haqqúuchchu   hakkám-baanee-t.*
      peach.M.GEN-3M.POSS   tree.SG.M.NOM   which.M.OBL-PLACE.M.LOC.VV-COP3

      'Where is the peach tree?' [lit. 'The peach tree is in what place?']

(60) *Matú   birrá   ónto   saantibíinee-t.*
      one.M.ACC   birr.M.ACC   five.M.OBL cent.M.ICP.VV-COP3

      'It is one birr and [lit. "with"] 50 cents.'

(61) *Tán   man-chóochchee-b-ba'a   ta'éechchee-t.*
      DDEM1.F.OBL   woman-SG.F.ABL.VV-COP3-NEG   IDEM3.F.ABL.VV-COP3

      'It is not from this woman, it is from the other one.'

As in the ascriptive, identifying, and quantificational predication, any nominal (noun, adjective, cardinal numeral, pronoun) can be the head of the oblique predication. The position of the accent on oblique arguments is not altered by the predication.

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[22] This use of the term *oblique* is not to be confused with the two other uses of the term: (i) Each noun has an oblique case form, which is the shortest possible case form of a noun (see Table 1). (ii) Case- and gender-agreeing modifiers distinguish between three case forms, one of them being the oblique case; see (8) and Table 3.

[23] Recall that not all oblique predicates occur with COP3: genitive predicates combine with COP2 (see example (16)).

3.5 Morpheme order in the predicate

COP3 is found on the rightmost end of the predicate, no matter to which word class the predicate belongs or which syntactic unit it is. It follows any derivational or inflectional morpheme, e.g. the possessive suffix in example (62). Very few elements can still follow the copula: the negation marker *-ba'a*, the question marker *-ndo*, and some pragmatically relevant morphemes, *-la*, *-ma*, *-be* (cf. (63)), whose exact function is not yet clear.

Figure 4 Morpheme order in the predicate with COP3

Modifiers of the head Arguments of the head	+	Head of the predicate: i.e. noun, verb, etc. plus derivation and inflection	–	COP3	–	Negation Pragmatic morphemes
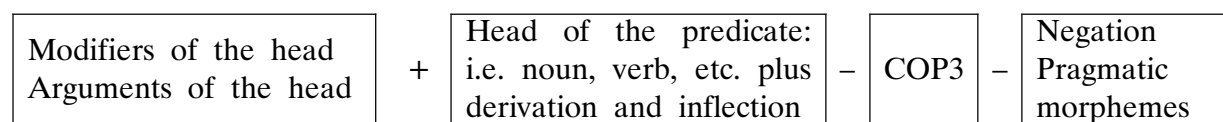
(62) *Gennannóon-ta-'ee-t.*
  shoulders.M.LOC-L-1SG.POSS.VV-COP3

  'It is on my shoulders.'

(63) *Sabiróo-b-be*   *siináta*   *biicc-ee'íi-hu.*
  Sabiro.M.PRED.VV-COP3-BE   cup.F.ACC   break-3M.PVE.REL.VV-M.NOM

  'It is Sᴀʙɪʀᴏ [= not me or anybody else!] who broke the cup.'

4   Dɪsᴛʀɪʙᴜᴛɪᴏɴ ᴏғ COP2 ᴀɴᴅ COP3 ᴠs. *ih-* 'ʙᴇᴄᴏᴍᴇ'

Inflectional categories like aspect, modality, and subordination cannot be marked on COP2 and COP3. Instead the non-defective verb *ih-* 'become' has to be used. It fills the gap caused by the absence of a verbal identificational or ascriptive copula. The verb *ih-* replaces both non-locative copulas, COP3 (cf. (64)) and COP2 (cf. (65)), including the segmental zero allomorph of COP2 (cf. (66)).

(64) (a) *Ánee-t.*   (b) *... ées   íkk...*
      1SG.PRED.VV-COP3   1SG.ACC   become.3M.PCO

      'It is me.'   '... being me...'

(65) (a) *Kúun   míni-a.*   (b) *... miní   íkk...*
      IDEM1.M.NOM house.M.PRED-M.COP2   house.M.ACC become.3M.PCO

      'This is a house.'   '... being a house...'

(66) (a) *Ku-rú   lámo   góona.*
      IDEM-RA.M.NOM two.M.OBL   male.M.PRED

      'These are two boys.'

    (b) *Lamú   gooná   ih-áno.*
      two.M.ACC   male.M.ACC   become-3M.IPV

      'It will be two boys.'

As discussed in sections 2.2 and 3.3, it is difficult to determine the case for which the identificational or ascriptive predicate of COP2 or COP3 are marked. These difficulties are not faced when analyzing *ih-*: as shown in (64) to (66), the predicate

is definitely encoded in the accusative. Oblique predicates, however, retain their case-marking, as shown in (67).

(67) (a) *Daddaabbéet   jaalíihaa-t.*
        letter.F.NOM   friend.M.DAT.VV-COP3

        'The letter is for a friend.'

    (b) *jaalíiha   ik-káa   daddaabéeta*
        friend.M.DAT   become-3F.IPV.REL   letter.F.ACC

        'the letter which is for a friend'

The full verb *ih-* 'become' substitutes the uninflectable copulas in contexts where aspect has to be marked overtly, e.g. in statements about a future being (imperfective aspect: (66)) or a being which can currently be observed (progressive aspect: (68)).

(68) *Ama-sí-ga-ndo*   *anni-sí-ga*
     mother.F.GEN-3M.POSS-ADV.M.ACC-Q   father.M.GEN-3M.POSS-ADV.M.ACC

     ih-áyyoo'u?
     become-3M.PROG

     'Is he acting [lit.: 'being'] like his mother or father?'

If a non-indicative form, i.e. a jussive, imperative, or preventive form of the copula, is required, the verb *ih-* is used. The *ih-* makes the occurrence of non-verbal predications in any subordinate clause possible: example (69) shows how *ih-* is inflected as a perfective converb. In example (70), *ih-* is used in a conditional clause.

(69) *Ganshú-s*   *oddishsháan-ta-s*   *shiinsh-áqqu*
     cold.M.ACC-3M.POSS   clothes.F.ICP-L-3F.POSS   clean-MID.M.NOM

     kán   *adabée*   *roshsháb-be*   *íkk*
     DDEM1.M.OBL   boy.M.DAT   habit.F.ACC-BE   become.3M.PCO

     fajj-ee'íi-hu!
     do:completely-3M.PVE.REL.VV-M.NOM

     '[Unbelievable!] Wiping the snot off with his clothes is really a habit for this boy!'

(70) *Fanqáshshu-s*   *luusáta*   *ik-kóo-da*   *"irá*
     answer.F.NOM-3M.POSS   mistake.F.ACC   become-3F.PVO.REL-COND land.M.ACC

     áasse-'e!"   *y-áano.*
     give.2SG.IMP-1SG.OBJ   say-3M.IPV

     'If the answer [to the riddle] is wrong, [the opponent] says "Give me land!"'
     (K4: 80f.)

5   CLEFT SENTENCES FOR FOCUS MARKING

Cleft sentences are a frequent device of focus marking in the Ethiopian language area (Appleyard 1989). Kambaata makes extensive use of such constructions, too. The constituent which is focused (e.g. *meseléet* 'girl' in (71)) receives a copula and is made the predicate of the cleft sentence (*meselée-taa* '[it] is the girl'). The predicate contains new information. The rest of the sentence containing the

presupposed background information is turned into a head-less nominative-marked relative clause, the subject. This subject either precedes or follows the predicate.

(71)   *Meseléet adabáa   sharr-itóo'u.*   >
       girl.F.NOM boy.M.ACC   chase:away-3F.PVO

       'The girl chased away the boy.'

       [Meselée-taa]ₚ   [adabáa   sharr-itoo'íit]ₛ₈ⱼ
       girl.F.PRED-F.COP2   boy.M.ACC   chase:away-3F.PVO.REL.VV.F.NOM

       'THE GIRL chased away the boy.' [lit. 'It is the girl who chased away the boy.']

For the predication of focused constituents both COP2 and COP3 are used. COP2 is used to cleave most common noun subjects. If the subject is modified, COP2 shifts to the modifier (recall Figure 2b) – unless the modifier is a numeral or a demonstrative, in which case COP2 is dropped (cf. (72) and section 2.5). COP3, on the other hand, predicates subjects which are proper nouns (cf. (63)), common nouns in *-é* and *-ó*, or pronouns (cf. (73)). To be brief, the distribution of COP2 and COP3 in subject cleft sentences is as described for the identificational predication above (cf. sections 2 and 3). Subject cleft sentences are nothing other than identificational predications with a complex subject.

(72)   *[Mogga'aan-chú   xuud-doo'íit]ₛ₈ⱼ   [tán   meselée]ₚ*
       thief-SG.M.ACC   see-3F.PVO.REL.VV.F.NOM   DDEM1.F.OBL girl.F.PRED

       'THIS GIRL has seen the thief.' [lit. 'The one (F) who has seen the thief is this girl.']

(73)   *[Samaag-ichchú   sh-ee'íi(-hu)]ₛ₈ⱼ   [ísoo-t]ₚ*
       leopard-SG.M.ACC   kill-3M.PVE.REL.VV-M.NOM   3M.PRED.VV-COP3

       'HE killed the leopard.' [lit. 'The one (M) who killed the leopard is him.']

In the description of (direct) object cleft constructions we have to differentiate again roughly between constructions that are based on sentences with proper noun objects and common noun objects. Proper nouns, the small group of common nouns in *-é* and *-ó*, and pronouns (including, for instance, the interrogative *ayé* 'who?') mark the predicates of subject and object clefts differently. Both types of predicates occur with COP3, but while the predicate in the subject cleft sentence is nominative-marked in (74),[24] the predicate in the object cleft sentence is encoded in the accusative case (cf. (75)). In the particular example of (75), an additional *-n* morpheme is necessary before the copula can be attached.

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[24] Recall the difficulties of determining for which case the identifying, ascriptive, or quantificational predicate of COP3 is marked (see section 3.3).

(74)   *Bajígu*   *alachchá-ba*   *mar-án-iyan*   *ga''í*
       Bajigo.M.NOM   playing.F.GEN-PLACE.M.ACC   go-3M.ICO-DS   call.3M.PCO

       fanqashsh-ee-síi(-hu)   *áyee-t*
       make:return-3M.PVE-3M.OBJ.REL.VV-M.NOM   who.M.PRED-COP3

       íkke?   (cf. *áy/i/* 'who' NOM)
       PAST

       'WHO (SBJ) called Bajigo on the way to the playground and made him
       return?'

(75)   *Hárrit*   *[...]*   *"maqaamí*   *béeto"*   *y-itoo'íi(hu)*
       donkeys.F.NOM   powerful.M.GEN son.M.OBL   say-3F.PVO.REL.M.VV.NOM

       ayé-nee-t?   (cf. *ayé* 'who' ACC)
       who.M.ACC-N.VV-COP3

       'WHO (OBJ) did the donkeys call "son of a powerful [father]"?' (K4: 35)

The majority of common nouns (including the interrogative *má(ha)* 'what?') often
mark predicates of subject and (direct) object clefts identically.[25] Both occur with
COP2. Consider the subject cleft in (76), and the object cleft in (77); in both cases
the predicate is *máhaan*.

(76)   *Sabiró*   *amáan-ta-s*   *daqqamú*
       Sabiro.M.ACC   mother.F.ICP-L-3M.POSS find.REC.M.ACC

       kamm-ee'íi(-hu)   *má-haa-n?*
       prevent-3M.PVE.REL.VV-M.NOM   what.M.PRED-M.COP2-Q

       'WHAT (SBJ) prevented Sabiro from meeting his mother?' (K8: 24)

(77)   *Yaa'í*   *aléen*   *haasaaww-eemmá-ra*
       meeting.M.GEN   top.M.LOC   discuss-3HON.PVE.REL-RA.M.ACC

       af-eennó-ru   *[...]*   *má-haa-n?*
       seize-3HON.IPV.REL-RA.M.NOM what.M.PRED-M.COP2-Q

       'WHAT (OBJ) does one use to record [...] what was discussed in a meeting?'
       (K3: 40)

COP3 is the predicator of oblique argument clefts, unless the possessor is focused
(cf. (16)), in which case COP2 occurs. Oblique arguments are encoded in the
ablative (cf. (78)), dative, ICP, and locative case. Note that (78) only differs from
examples (58) to (61) in one respect: the subject is more complex, namely a head-
less relative clause.

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[25] It is, however, also possible to mark common noun predicates explicitly as cleft objects.
      In this case, COP3 is attached to an accusative-marked form, e.g. 'it is a person
      (*manchuháa-t* M.ACC) who we saw recently'.

(78) Sabíru   áma-s   xid-amú
      Sabiro.M.NOM   mother.F.NOM-3M.POSS sicken-PASS.M.ACC

      dagg-óo-hu   *ama-sí*   *béetu*
      know-3M.PVO.REL.VV-M.NOM mother.F.GEN-3M.POSS son.M.NOM

      xaaff-ó   *daddaabbéechchee-t.*
      write-3M.PVO.REL letter.F.ABL.VV-COP3

      'Sabiro knows FROM THE LETTER, WHICH THE [OTHER] SON OF HIS MOTHER HAS WRITTEN, that his mother is sick.' (K8: 25)

Kambaata has a wealth of subordinate verb forms, among others, converbs, verbs in purposive, conditional, and reason clauses. Any subordinate clause can be focused and become the predicate of a cleft sentence with COP3. The clause-final subordinate verb is combined with COP3. In example (79), a clause headed by the perfective converb *íchch* is focused.

(79) *Mexxu-rrúu*   *yoo-'nne-ba'íichch*   *ki'nnéta*
      single.M.NOM-RA.M.NOM.CRD1 COP1.3-2PL.OBJ-NEG.REL.M.ABL 2HON.ACC

      gagánka-kki'nne   *íchchee-t*   *orooqq-aammíi-hu.*
      self.M.ACC.N-2HON.POSS eat.1SG.PCO.VV-COP3 leave-1SG.IPV.REL.VV-M.NOM

      'If you do not have anything, it is after eating YOU that I will leave.' (K4: 77)

As was already shown above, the copula can even attach to complete sentences. But combinations of a full sentence plus a copula are not only discovered in complex ascriptive constructions (cf. section 2.6) but also in quotation focus constructions. COP3 may cleave a quotation which is the complement of a 'say' verb. The quotation is extracted from the base sentence and made the predicate of the cleft sentence. COP3 attaches to the rightmost end of the quotation, i.e. to the sentence-final main verb form. The rest of the sentence is relativized and becomes the subject of the cleft sentence (80). Due to the quotation focus constructions COP3 is attested on all main verb forms, i.e. jussive (cf. (81)) and imperative, as well as imperfective, perfective, and progressive main verbs.

(80) (direct speech)$_{OBJ}$ (X)$_{SBJ}$ (V)$_P$ > (direct speech-VV-*t*)$_P$ ((X) (V)-REL)$_{SBJ}$

(81) *[Án*   *y-eemmíi-hu]*$_{SBJ}$ *[annam-áakka-nne*
      1SG.NOM say-1SG.PVE.REL.VV-M.NOM parents-PL.F.NOM-1PL.POSS

      xállu   *haww-itáa-hanníichch*   *na'ootíi*
      only.M.NOM have:problems-3F.IPV-NOMIN.M.ABL 1PL.NOM.CRD1

      hujánt   *íntunee-t]*$_P$
      work.1PL.PCO eat.1PL.IUS.VV-COP3

      'What I said is: "Apart from only our parents being busy, we should also work to eat."' (K3: 99)

6   CONCLUSION

The paper elaborated on the synchronic functions and formal features of non-locative copulas. The picture of copula constructions in Kambaata is quite complex. The complexity can be attributed to the following factors: (i) the existence of more than

one copula and more than one copula substitute, (ii) the intricate distribution rules of the copulas, (iii) the (near) homophony between proximal demonstratives, case/gender markers, and (the segmental component of) COP2, and (iv) the link between copulas and focus marking.

COP2 is mainly used in ascriptive and identificational predications. It consists of a suprasegmental component (an accent on the penultimate mora) and a gender-sensitive segmental component (*-ha/-ta*), which agrees with the predicate to which it is attached. COP3 is an invariant particle copula especially used in identificational and oblique case predications. Despite the morpho-syntactic and morpho-phonological differences between the copulas and despite the concentration of COP2 in the functional domain of ascription and the prevalence of COP3 in the domain of identification and oblique case predication, I tend to subsume both copulas under an abstract non-locative copula. COP2 and COP3 are allomorphs because they can be shown to be in almost perfect complementary distribution in modern Kambaata. It is definitely not the functional domain (e.g. ascription vs. identification, oblique vs. non-oblique case predication) that determines the choice of either copula. One may, for instance, not be misled by the co-occurrence of proper nouns with COP3 or adjectives with COP2 and then draw from these observations the wrong conclusion that COP2 is an ascriptive and COP3 an identificational copula. The choice is rather dependent on various intertwined grammatical factors: (i) the word class of the predicate: demonstrative and numeral predicates, for instance, require COP3; adjectival predicates always co-occur with COP2, (ii) the noun class of the predicate noun: proper nouns and common nouns in *-é* and *-ó* necessitate COP3; common nouns that have grammaticalized secondary case/gender markers call for COP2 in both ascription and identification, or (iii) the case and semantic role of the predicate noun: oblique case predicates of whatever word class, for example, demand COP3. Only in very few contexts are COP2 and COP3 in free variation without any discernible difference in meaning: nouns encoded in the oblique case (the shortest possible case form; see Table 1), adverbialized adjectives ending in *-ga* (e.g. *danáamo-ga* 'well') and common noun objects (cf. footnote 25) can be focused with either copula. The full verb *ih-* 'become' replaces both non-locative copulas, which is an additional argument in favor of the analysis that COP1 and COP2 are allomorphs.

It was known from previous studies that Kambaata had three copulas (cf. Hudson (1976)).[26] However, their distribution had remained unclear. This paper has tried to describe their synchronic distribution and characteristics in detail. Admittedly, it has left the following questions unanswered: What is the diachronic relation between proximal demonstratives, case/gender markers, and the segmental component of COP2? Earlier works on Kambaata and closely related languages have stated the near identity of the three markers and assumed a diachronic relation without having been able to formulate hypotheses about how the grammaticalization from a demonstrative (found, like all modifiers, before nouns) into a case/gender marker

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[26] Note that Hudson (1976) and Sim (1988) call the locative copula "verb of presence".

(suffixed to nouns) and a component of the copula (encliticized to nouns) could have come about. It is surely not advisable to lump the different synchronic functions of *-ha/-ta* together and a caveat should here be uttered: The near phonological identity of the case/gender suffix and the post-nominal copula, for instance, should not obstruct the view on the accentual and morpho-phonological differences of noun plus case/gender suffix vs. noun plus COP2, as well as the view on the differences in the word-internal morpheme order.

Despite the unsolved Kambaata-internal problems, the reader should finally be directed to the amazing parallels between Kambaata and the Ethio-Semitic languages Silt'e and Zay. The factors determining the distribution of COP2 and COP3 in Kambaata are reminiscent of the factors determining the distribution of the focus markers/copulas *-n* and *-t(ä/a)* in those two languages, as described in Crass et al. (2005):

> "[...] in Silt'e and Zay two different morphemes have been referred to in the literature as present tense copulas, namely *n* and *t(a/ä)*. In both languages these morphemes are in complementary distribution. The morpheme *t(a/ä)* [corresponding to Kambaata *-t* COP3; Y.T.] usually occurs with pronouns, proper names and certain *wh*-words; the morpheme *n* with all other nouns." (Crass et al. 2005: 31)

The focus marker/copula *n* of Silt'e and Zay is not only reminiscent of Kambaata's *-ha/-ta* with respect to its distribution, but also with respect to its position. Like the latter, it jumps to the modifiers as soon as the predicate is modified, i.e. it attaches to the pragmatically most salient constituent of the predicate and is therefore analyzed as a focus marker rather than a copula by Crass et al. (2005).

The distributional, positional, and pragmatic similarities of copula(-like) elements in Kambaata and Zay or Silt'e are surprising. Although there is only a phonological similarity in the case of COP3 *-t* (Zay/Silt'e: *-t(a/ä)*) but not in the case of COP2 (*-ha/-ta*) (Zay/Silt'e: *-n*), and although the Kambaata have no direct geographical contact with Ethio-Semitic languages (at least today), the Kambaata data from the domain of non-verbal predication might be another piece of the South Ethio-Semitic/ Cushitic contact puzzle that Crass et al. (2005) have started to unravel.

ABBREVIATIONS

σ	syllable	COP3	VV-*t* copula
1/2/3	a) 1st/2nd/3rd person or	CRD1	coordination+V́V
	b) 1st/2nd/3rd degree	CRD2	coordination+-*na*
ABL	ablative	DAT	dative
ACC	accusative	DDEM	demonstrative modifier
ADV	adverbializer	DS	different subject
BE	attitude marker (disbelief, indignation, protest)	E.C.	Ethiopian Calendar
		F	feminine
CAUS	causative	GEN	genitive
COND	conditional clause	HON	honorific
COP1	locative copula *yoo-*	ICO	imperfective converb
COP2	-*ha/-ta* copula	ICP	instrumental/comitative/

	perlative	P	predicate
IDEM	demonstrative pronoun	PRED	predicative
IMP	imperative	PASS	passive
IPV	imperfective	PAST	past, counterfactual
IUS	jussive	PCO	perfective converb
L	linker	PL	plural/plurative
LOC	locative	PLACE	place morpheme *-ba*
M	masculine	POSS	possessive
MID	middle voice	PROG	progressive
N	a) noun or	PVE	*-e*-perfective
	b) (unanalyzed) pragmatically	PVO	*-o*-perfective
	determined morpheme	Q	question
NEG	negation	RA	nominalizer plural
NOM	nominative	REL	relative
NOMIN	nominalizer	SBJ	subject
NREL	negative relative	SG	singular/singulative
O/OBJ	object	VV	vowel lengthening
OBL	oblique		

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