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   Demonstratives are among the first elements that are learned and recorded when documenting little-known languages. In the typological literature, demonstrative systems are categorized, among others, according to the number of deictic distinctions made (e.g. whether a language has only a 2-term system distinguishing between proximal and distal deixis or whether the system is more elaborate; see e.g. Anderson and Keenan, 1985: 280-295). Demonstratives are furthermore classified by the syntactic contexts in which they can be used. Diessel (1999) distinguishes the following four types of demonstratives (1999: 57f): (i) pronominal demonstratives (1), which are used independently, in place of a noun, in argument position of verbs and adpositions, (ii) adnominal demonstratives (2), which are used adnominally and modify the head noun in an NP, (iii) adverbial demonstratives, which function as verb modifiers and indicate the location of an event or situation (3), and (iv) identificational demonstratives, which are used in copular and non-verbal clauses (4). Languages may use the same morphosyntactic type of demonstrative in all four syntactic contexts or have two, three or four different formally distinguished demonstrative types: demonstrative pronouns vs. demonstrative determiners vs. demonstrative adverbs vs. demonstrative identifiers. English, for instance, does not have a dedicated type of demonstrative identifiers and uses demonstrative pronouns in the syntactic contexts (1) and (4). In contrast, languages such as Western Bade, Kilba and Duwai (Chadic) distinguish between demonstrative pronouns and identifiers (Diessel, 1999: 78-88);[1] see the Western Bade masculine singular

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   1. But these languages may neutralize the distinction between, for instance, pronominal and adnominal demonstratives. Diessel (1999: 91f) gives the example of Pangasinan (Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian) for a language distinguishing between all morphosyntactic types of demonstratives.

demonstrative identifier, *m̀sàa* (5), which contrasts with the masculine singular demonstrative pronoun *m̀só*.

(1) Pronominal: ***These*** *are my favorites.*
(2) Adnominal: ***This*** *dessert is almost too beautiful to eat.*
(3) Adverbial: *We found him **there** in the morning.*
(4) Identificational: ***This*** *is my favorite.*
(5) Western Bade (Chadic)

m̀sàa   *wúnáajàaŋíi*
this/here   your.dog
'Here's your dog.' (Schuh, 1977: 20, quoted after Diessel, 1999: 82)

Diessel defines "demonstrative identifiers" – a demonstrative type that is little recognized in the typological literature – as "demonstratives in copular and nonverbal clauses that are categorially (i.e. formally) distinguished from demonstratives in other contexts" (1999: 6). He does not make explicit whether he considers formally distinct demonstratives in copular/non-verbal clauses to be "demonstrative identifiers" only if they occur in the subject slot or whether dedicated demonstratives serving as copula complements or non-verbal predicates would also qualify as "demonstrative identifiers". Furthermore, the distinction between "demonstrative identifiers" and "sentential demonstratives" is not elaborated on in much detail. Sentential demonstrative such as French *voilà* 'here (it) is', Latin *ecce*, and Russian *vot*, are characterized as being "similar" in function but "syntactically more independent" than demonstrative identifiers and as being "more commonly used as one word utterances" (1999: 79). He admits that his distinction between identifiers and sentential demonstratives is "not clear-cut" (1999: 79).

In the present paper, a language is discussed which makes a clear-cut formal distinction between three morphosyntactic demonstrative types: (i) pronouns, (ii) adjectives and (iii) presentatives. Type (i) and (ii) can readily be matched with demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative determiners in Diessel's (1999) typology.[2] Kambaata, the language under study, has *no* dedicated morphosyntactic type of demonstrative adverbs. As the language has an elaborate nominal case system (pp. 346-348, pp. 351-353), demonstrative pronouns can be used adverbially if they are marked for one of the various adverbial cases (e.g. the locative and the oblique

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2. I prefer to use the term "demonstrative adjective" over "demonstrative determiner" for the adnominal demonstratives in Kambaata, as they share morphosyntactic features with members of the word class of adjectives (see pp. 349-351).

case); see *kánne* 'here, on/in/at this' in (6), which is the oblique case form of the demonstrative pronouns *káan* (P_DEM1.mACC) / *kúun* (P_DEM1.mNOM).

(6)   *Éger(-i),*   *át*   *kánne*   *m-á*   *at-táyyoont*?
      wait-2sIMP   2sNOM   P_DEM1.mOBL   what-mACC   do-2sPROG
      'Hang on, what are you doing here?' (Saint-Exupéry, 2018: 12)

Kambaata also uses demonstrative pronouns in copula clauses: pronouns marked for nominative case are used as subjects (7), and pronouns marked for predicative case serve as copula complements (8). So no dedicated type of demonstrative identifiers (in the sense of Diessel, 1999) seems to be definable.

(7)   *Tíin*   *azzáz-u-ta-'nne*
      P_DEM1.fNOM   order-fPRED-fCOP2-L<1sPOSS>
      'This is my order.' (Saint-Exupéry, 2018: 37)

(8)   *Kánnee-t*   *xáll-a*
      P_DEM1.mPRED.VV-COP3   only-mPRED
      isso'óo   *culú=ass-ano-ssá-a*
      3pDAT   please.IDEO=do-3mIPV-3pO.REL-NMZ1a.mNOM
      'What pleases them is only this.' (Saint-Exupéry, 2018: 67)

However, I am going to argue in this paper that Kambaata has a dedicated morphosyntactic type of presentative demonstratives, which are exclusively used in predicative function without an accompanying copula – the Kambaata presentatives thus match what Diessel calls "sentential demonstratives". Rather than identifying a referent from a group of possible referents (see the demonstrative pronoun used as non-verbal predicate in (8): among all potential pleasing things, what pleases them is this), presentative demonstratives present entities by establishing their existence and locating them in space. The existence of dedicated presentative demonstratives in Kambaata had escaped me for years. I always considered the independent morpheme *kú'nn* in (9), an example from the corpus of locally edited Kambaata publications, to be an interjection. Interjections form a word class of their own in Kambaata: they are characterized by being morphologically invariant and extra-syntactic, and by constituting a prosodic phrase on their own. At first sight, all these features also seemed to fit *kú'nn*.

(9)   *Aayíchch*   *daqqan-teenánta*   *y-itáa-'e*   *bagáan*
      Mum.fNOM   meet.REC-2pIPV   say-3fIPV-1sO   CONTR
      kú'nn   *daqqam-mu'nnáan*   *kabar-ée*   *iill-íneemm*
      ?   meet.REC-1pNCO   today-mDAT   reach-1pPRF
      (From a letter in which a boy writes to his unknown half-brother) 'Mum used to tell me "You will meet (one day)" but – Look! – we haven't met up to today.' (Kambaatissata, 1989: 8.21)

When in 2016 I overheard a Kambaata speaker using the word in an entirely different context (10), I realized in the ensuing discussion that *kú'nn* belonged in fact to a fairly elaborate paradigm of presentative demonstratives that had been overlooked in all earlier descriptions of the language – most notably in the chapters on demonstratives in Treis (2008: 322-326; 360-382).

(10)   *kú'nn*
        PRES_DEM1.m
        (Context: Speaker A, who is blind, has heard that coffee has been served. He cannot find his coffee cup on the table in front of him and asks where it is. Speaker B picks up the cup, hands it over to him and says:) 'Here he (= the coffee: *buná* (masculine gender) 'coffee') is!' [Overheard]

The present paper is intended to close this gap in the grammatical documentation of Kambaata and to analyze in detail the morphology and the functions of presentative demonstratives. The discussion is embedded in its genetic context by comparing the Kambaata system to that of related Cushitic languages. First, some introductory information on Kambaata is provided (pp. 346 *sq.*). Chapter "Adjectival and pronominal demonstratives" (pp. 349 *sq.*) summarizes the main characteristics of the demonstrative system: demonstrative adjectives (p. 349) and with demonstrative pronouns (p. 351). Chapter "Presentative demonstrative" (p. 353) constitutes the core of the paper and divides into a section on the morphology (p. 354) and a section on the two major functions of demonstrative presentatives (p. 356). Chapter "Presentative imperatives" (pp. 358 *sq.*) draws attention to demonstrative-based presentatives with verbal features (so-called presentative imperatives). In the following Chapter (p. 361), the Kambaata system is compared to that of other related Cushitic languages before the conclusion (p. 365).

Sociolinguistic information and typological profile

Kambaata is a Highland East Cushitic (HEC) language spoken by more than 600,000 speakers (Central Statistical Agency, 2007: 74) in the Kambaata-Xambaaro Zone in the South of Ethiopia. The immediate neighbors are speakers of other HEC languages (Hadiyya and Alaaba) and Ometo languages of the Omotic family (Wolaitta and Dawro). The most widespread second language of Kambaata speakers is the Ethiopian lingua franca Amharic. Kambaata is used as a medium of instruction in public primary schools and taught as a subject up to grade 12; in 2018, Wachamo University started a Kambaata language B.A. program on its Duuraame campus in the Kambaata-Xambaaro Zone. The official Kambaata orthography is based on the Roman script (Treis, 2008: 73-80; Alemu, 2016) and follows the spelling conventions of the Oromo *Qubee* script. The Kambaata orthography is adopted in

this contribution with only one minor adaptation: phonemic stress is consistently marked throughout the paper by an acute accent. The following Kambaata graphemes are not in accordance with the IPA conventions: <ph> /p'/, <x> /t'/, <q> /k'/, <j> /dʒ/, <c> /tʃ'/, <ch> /tʃ/, <sh> /ʃ/, <y> /j/ and <'> /ʔ/. Geminate consonants and long vowels are marked by doubling, e.g. <shsh> /ʃ:/ and <ee> /e:/.

Despite having been taught in school, Kambaata has remained an overwhelmingly oral language. Recent years, however, have seen an increase in local Kambaata publications so that fieldwork data can more and more be supplemented with and compared to written sources. Most of the data on which this contribution is based was collected and/or verified during fieldtrips in 2016 and 2017.

Kambaata is agglutinating-fusional and strictly suffixing. Its constituent order is consistently head-final; hence all modifiers precede the noun in the noun phrase, and all dependent clauses precede independent main clauses. The last constituent in a sentence is usually a fully finite main verb or a copula. The following open word classes can be defined on morphosyntactic grounds: nouns, adjectives, verbs, ideophones and interjections. (Verbs and ideophones will not concern us any further in this paper.) Kambaata is a nominative-accusative language; the nominative is the subject case; the accusative marks direct objects and certain adverbial constituents, it also serves as the citation form of nouns and adjectives. Nouns are marked for gender (masculine vs. feminine); as in French, the assignment of grammatical gender is mostly arbitrary, with the exception of nouns referring to human beings and higher animals. Furthermore, nouns distinguish nine case forms, all of which are marked by a segmental suffix and a specific stress pattern (Table 1).[3]

TABLE 1. – Case paradigm of a masculine and a feminine noun

		dum-á (m.) 'back room'	*gat-í-ta* (f.) 'backyard'
Accusative	ACC	*dum-á*	*gat-í-ta*
Nominative	NOM	*dúm-u*	*gát-i-t*
Genitive	GEN	*dum-í*	*gat-é*
Dative	DAT	*dum-íi(-ha)*	*gat-ée(-ha)*
Ablative	ABL	*dum-íichch*	*gat-éechch*
Instrumental/Comitative/Perlative	ICP	*dum-íin*	*gat-éen*
Locative	LOC	*dum-áan*	*gat-éen*
Oblique/Vocative	OBL	*dúm-a*	*gát-e*
Predicative (with COP2)	PRED	*dúm-a*	*gát-i*

3. Nouns fall into 21 declensions, of which 9 are feminine and 12 masculine (Treis, 2008: 103).

Attributive adjectives agree with their head noun in case and gender.[4] The case system of attributive adjectives is reduced to three forms, namely nominative, accusative and oblique, with the oblique form marking agreement with non-nominative/non-accusative (e.g. ablative [11]) head nouns. Adjectives can furthermore be used as the head of an NP – see the proprietive adjectives in (12) – without having to undergo nominalization; as NP heads, they display the full nominal case potential (9 cases).

(11) *(…) fárr-aa*   *haqq-íichch*   *fárr-at*   *íll-iti-i*
           bad-mOBL   tree-mABL   bad-fNOM   seed-fNOM-ADD

       danáam-o   *haqq-íichch*   *danáam-it*   *íll-iti-i*
           good-mOBL   tree-mABL   good-fNOM   seed-fNOM-ADD

       plaaneet-áan-ta-s   *he'-áa-haa*
           planet-mLOC-L-3mPOSS   exist-3fIPV.REL-mCOP2
       '(…) there were bad seeds from bad plants (lit. trees) and good seeds from
       good plants on his planet.' (Saint-Exupéry, 2018: 22)

(12) *Arrab-áam-u*   *bagaz-aam-ú*   *uurr-is-áno*
       tongue-PROP-mNOM   spear-PROP-mACC   stand-CAUS1-3mIPV
       'A talkative (person) stops an armed (lit. spear-having) (person).'
       (Alamu and Alamaayyoo, 2017: 18)

Depending on their morphosyntactic properties, the (macro-)word class of adjectives divides into true adjectives, (cardinal) numerals and demonstrative adjectives (pp. 349-351). All sub-classes of adjectives show case and gender agreement in attributive function.

Pronouns form a heterogeneous closed word class. Kambaata distinguishes between personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns (p. 351). In the same way as nouns, all free-standing pronouns[5] have to be marked for case according to their syntactic function or semantic role in the clause. Personal pronouns only distinguish gender in the third person, *ís* 3mNOM 'he' vs. *íse* 3fNOM 'she'. Interrogative pronouns either have a fixed gender like nouns (e.g. *m-á* (mACC) 'what') or vary for gender (e.g. *hakkáan* 'which one (mACC)' – *hattáan* 'which one (fACC)'). Gender and case marking of demonstrative pronouns is discussed in detail below.

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4. Adjectives fall into 5 declensions (Treis, 2008: 256).
5. Kambaata also has dependent (affixal) pronouns (Treis, 2008: 338-352).

Adjectival and pronominal demonstratives

This section provides the necessary background information on the Kambaata demonstrative system that will permit us to view the discussion on presentative demonstratives in a wider context. Firstly, the language makes an important distinction between adjectival (adnominal) demonstratives (pp. 349-351) and pronominal demonstratives (pp. 351-353).[6] In both morphosyntactic sub-types, forms of four deictic dimensions are distinguished: proximal (DEM1), medial (DEM2), contrastive (DEM3) and distal (DEM4). As will become clear below, there is a straightforward formal relation between proximal and medial forms on the one hand and contrastive and distal forms on the other hand. Like all members of the word classes of nouns, adjectives and pronouns (pp. 346 *sq.*), demonstratives are marked for case and gender.

Adjectival demonstratives

Adjectival demonstratives, glossed A_DEM, are used as modifiers in the NP;[7] see, for instance, *kánn* 'this (m)' modifying *shaaf-i* '(of) sand' in (13). They cannot become NP heads if the head noun is dropped. (See also ex. (20), which contains the adjectival demonstrative *tánn* 'this (f)'.)

(13) *Kánn*   *shaaf-í*   *al-éen*   *he'-áni-yan*
      A_DEM1.mOBL   sand-mGEN   top-mLOC   exist-3mICO-DS
      howw-íinee-t   *xuud-daantí-i*
      problem-mICP.VV-COP3   see-2sIPV.REL-NMZ1a.mNOM
      (Context: The chameleon sits down on a sandy spot and turns yellowish.) 'It is (only) with difficulties that you can see her on this sand.' [TD2016-02-11_001]

Adjectival demonstratives have the typical 3-case/2-gender system of attributive adjectives to mark agreement with the head of an NP. Number is not marked (Table 2). The oblique forms, which are used with non-accusative/non-nominative nouns, tend to be phonologically reduced in natural allegro speech. The distinction between accusative and oblique forms is thus on the way to being neutralized; see that the short oblique forms are identical to the accusative forms.

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6. Note that throughout this paper the terms "adjectival demonstrative" and "demonstrative adjective" as well as "pronominal demonstrative" and "demonstrative pronoun" are used interchangeably.

7. There is one exception to this rule. If the demonstrative adjective combines with a definiteness morpheme, e.g. *ka-s* A_DEM1.mACC-DEF 'this (one of the aforementioned group)', it can serve as the head of an NP.

TABLE 2. – Proximal ('this') and medial ('that') demonstrative adjectives

Deictic Dimension	Gender	ACC	NOM	OBL
DEM1	m	*ka*	*ku*	*ka ~ kán ~ kánn*
	f	*ta*	*ti*	*ta ~ tán ~ tánn*
DEM2	m	**hík**ka	**hík**ku	**hík**ka ~ **hik**kán ~ **hik**kánn
	f	**hít**ta	**hít**t	**hít**ta ~ **hit**tán ~ **hit**tánn

The highlights in bold in the above table are meant to show that medial forms are probably historically derived from proximal forms: DEM2 < **hi*(C)-DEM1. In the synchronic state of the language, there is no morpheme **hi*(C)-. The same formal relation is observed in the paradigm of the contrastive and distal demonstratives (Table 3): DEM 4 < **hi*(C)- DEM 3.

TABLE 3. – Contrastive ('the other') and distal ('that far') demonstrative adjectives

Deictic Dimension	Gender	ACC (= OBL)	NOM
DEM3	m	*káaph*	*kúuph*
	f	*táaph*	*tíiph*
DEM4	m	**hik**káaph	**hik**kúuph
	f	**hit**táaph	**hit**tíiph

While the distinction between accusative and oblique is retained for proximal and medial forms in careful speech, this distinction is entirely absent in the paradigms of contrastive and distal demonstratives.

Proximal forms (DEM1) identify referents located close to the speaker. Medial forms (DEM2) identify referents located at a medium distance from the speaker, irrespective of the position of the hearer. Distal forms (DEM4) identify referents located very far from the speaker, e.g. at the horizon or far up on Hambarrichcho, the mountain massif in the center of the Kambaata country. Contrastive (DEM3) forms are employed in situations where two possible referents are contrasted, e.g. *I want that book, not this book*. In such a situation a Kambaata speaker would use the proximal demonstrative for *this* and the contrastive demonstrative for *that*.[8] Two examples from my corpus are given below.

(14) *Ka*   *wud-uhá-a*   *káaph*   *wud-uhá-a*
     A_DEM1.mACC   side-mACC-ADD   A_DEM3.mACC   side-mACC-ADD
     laq-án   *barg-í*   *qúbb=y-áan*   *xíujj-o-'e*
     direct_oneself-3mICO add-3mPCO   bend_down.IDEO=say-3mICO   see-3mPFV-1sO
     (A pair of shoes in a shop explains how it was tested by a customer:) 'He walked this way (to this side) and that way (to the other side) repeatedly and bent down to look at me.' (Kambaatissata, 1989: 3.48)

8. It remains to be examined whether DEM3 only establishes a contrast to the proximal demonstrative or whether it could also pair with the medial and distal demonstratives.

(15)   *Ánn-unku-s*   *ciil-á-s*   *áff*   *káaph*
      father-mNOM<N>-DEF   child-mACC-3mPOSS   take.3mPCO   A_DEM3.mACC

      ciil-í   *ann-í*   *min-í*   *márr-o.*
      child-mGEN   father-mGEN   house-mACC   go-3mPFV

      (Context: One day two children quarreled. One of them went home, crying, and told his father what had happened.) 'The father took his child and went to that (i.e. the other) child's father.' [Fn_MA2002-10-31_father&son_story]

The literature on the functions of demonstratives discusses the use of proximal, medial and distal demonstratives in situations in which demonstratives are employed to contrast possible referents (see, especially, Meira and Terrill, 2005). However, I am only aware of two descriptions in which languages are said to have *dedicated* contrastive demonstratives. In the grammar of Alaaba, a language that is a direct neighbor of Kambaata, its closest relative and mutually intelligible with it, Schneider-Blum (2007: 180) also presents a demonstrative system with four deictic dimensions. The forms are almost identical to that of Kambaata. However, Schneider-Blum (2007) interprets DEM3, e.g. *kap'(i)* [mACC], as marking far, non-visible deixis and DEM4, e.g. *hikkap'(i)* [mACC], as marking far deixis and a contrast to DEM3. This interpretation is not reflected in her data, where DEM3 regularly contrasts with DEM1,[9] and there is thus strong reason to believe that DEM3 (and not DEM4) is the contrastive demonstrative in Alaaba. In their grammar of Gamo, an Omotic language spoken in the South of Ethiopia (but not in direct neighborhood of Kambaata), Hayward and Eshetu (2014: 115, 336, 533f) label dedicated contrastive demonstratives "allogenous" and describe them as "direct[ing] attention away from the expected object of discussion" (2014: 115).

Pronominal demonstratives

Pronominal demonstratives constitute the most elaborate (pro)nominal paradigms of the language. They have a 10-case system (Table 4 and 5). In all cases except the oblique[10] and the directional, the pronouns are marked for gender and number. The distinction between masculine and feminine plural forms is a noteworthy feature of the demonstrative pronoun paradigms, because nowhere else

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9. See e.g. the DEM3 example (396) in Schneider-Blum (2007: 141). The Alaaba grammar contains no DEM4 examples at all.

10. The oblique of the (pro)nominal case system should not be confused with the oblique of the attributive (adjectival) case system. The former marks (i) unmodified (pro)nouns in adverbial functions that express static locations or instruments and (ii) nouns in their address form (Treis, 2008: 110f, 123-126), while the latter is used to signal agreement with non-accusative/non-nominative head nouns (pp. 346 *sq.*).

does Kambaata make a gender distinction in the plural. The plural forms have developed fairly recently and resulted in the fusion of demonstrative adjectives with a plural nominalizer (and former noun) =*r(r)a* (Treis, 2008: 240-243).

TABLE 4. – Proximal ('this one') and medial demonstrative pronouns ('that one')

	m	f	mp	fp
ACC	*(hik)káan*	*(hit)táan*	*(hik)kará*	*(hit)tará*
NOM	*(hik)kúun*	*(hit)tíin*	*(hik)kurú*	*(hit)tirú*
GEN	*(hik)kanní*	*(hit)tanné*	*(hik)karrí*	*(hit)tarrí*
DAT	*(hik)kanníi(ha)*	*(hit)tannée(ha)*	*(hik)karríi(ha)*	*(hit)tarríi(ha)*
ABL	*(hik)kanníichch*	*(hit)tannéechch*	*(hik)karríichch*	*(hit)tarríichch*
ICP	*(hik)kanníin*	*(hit)tannéen*	*(hik)karríin*	*(hit)tarríin*
LOC	*(hik)kannéen*	*(hit)tannéen*	*(hik)karráan*	*(hit)tarráan*
OBL	*(hik)kánne*	-	-	-
DIR	*(hik)kabá*	-	-	-
PRED-COP3	*(hik)kánnee-t*	*(hit)tánnee-t*	*(hik)kárraa-t*	*(hit)tárraa-t*

TABLE 5. – Contrastive ('the other') and distal demonstrative pronouns ('that one far')

	m	f	mp	fp
ACC	*(hik)káaph*	*(hit)táaph*	*(hik)kaaphíra*	*(hit)taaphíra*
NOM	*(hik)kúuph*	*(hit)tíiph*	*(hik)kuuphíru*	*(hit)tiiphíru*
GEN	*(hik)ka'í*	*(hit)ta'é*	*(hik)kaaphirí*	*(hit)taaphirí*
DAT	*(hik)ka'íi(ha)*	*(hit)ta'ée(ha)*	*(hik)kaaphiríi(ha)*	*(hit)taaphiríi(ha)*
ABL	*(hik)ka'íichch*	*(hit)ta'éechch*	*(hik)kaaphiríichch*	*(hit)taaphiríichch*
ICP	*(hik)ka'íin*	*(hit)ta'éen*	*(hik)kaaphiríin*	*(hit)taaphiríin*
LOC	*(hik)ka'éen*	*(hit)ta'éen*	*(hik)kaaphiráan*	*(hit)taaphiráan*
OBL	*ká'e* (DEM3) *híkka'e* (DEM4)	-	-	-
DIR	*(hik)ka'íta*	-	-	-
PRED-COP3	*ká'ee-t* (DEM3) *híkka'ee-t* (DEM4)	*tá'ee-t* (DEM3) *hítta'ee-t* (DEM4)	?	?

The demonstrative pronouns given in Table 4 and 5 are used to identify referents belonging to various ontological types: human beings, animals, objects, events/situations and locations; only the oblique (OBL) and directional (DIR) forms are restricted to static locations and directions, respectively, e.g. *híkka'e* (OBL) 'over there (far)' (24) and *hikka'íta* (DIR) 'to over there (far)'. The following examples illustrate the use of demonstrative pronouns in different syntactic functions, as direct object (16), subject (17) and predicate (18).

(16) *Hikkáan*   *áaqq-i!*
P_DEM2.mACC   take-2sIMP
'Take that (one)!' (Speaker refers to an item at some distance away)
[Elicited]

(17) *Hittiiphíru*   *ay-e-'ée-taa-n?*
P_DEM4.fpNOM   who-m-ASSOC.fPRED-fCOP2-Q
'Who are those (ones) over there?' (Speaker refers to women who are
approaching from far) [Elicited]

(18) *Qakkíchch-u*   *láah-u*   *uull-á*   *al-éen*
little-mNOM   prince-mNOM   earth-fGEN   top-mLOC
dirr-í=ké'   *fanqáll*   *ammóo*   *bá'*
descend-3mPCO=SEQ   return.3mPCO   but   disappear.3mPCO
fajj-ó   *má'nn-it*   *tánnee-t*
do_completely-3mPFV.REL   place-fNOM   P_DEM1.fPRED.VV-COP3
'The place where the little prince had come down to Earth and from where
he returned (back home) forever is this (here).' (Saint-Exupéry, 2018: 95)

When used in predicate function, all demonstrative pronouns are marked for the
predicative case (Table 4 and 5) and combine with the copula 3, which consists of a
marker *-t* and triggers lengthening of preceding vowels. Copula 3 is one out of four
copulas that Kambaata has at its disposal (Treis, 2008: 397-436).

The proximal (DEM1), medial (DEM2) and contrastive (DEM3) demonstratives
are used exophorically, with reference to non-linguistic entities in the speech
situation and mostly accompanied with a pointing gesture, and endophorically, with
reference to linguistic entities in discourse. There is no clear evidence (yet?) for the
endophoric use of distal demonstratives. More details on the morphology, syntax
and discourse use of adjectival and pronominal demonstratives can be found in Treis
(2008: §8.3 and §9.3). An analysis of manner, quality, degree and quantity
demonstratives is found in Treis (2019).

Presentative demonstratives

After having summarized the formal properties and the functions of adjectival
and pronominal demonstratives in the preceding sections, the present section is
dedicated to the morphology and syntax (pp. 354-356) and the use (pp. 356-358) of
presentative demonstratives – a demonstrative type which has so far not been
described for any Highland East Cushitic language.

Morphology

Three deictic dimensions are distinguished in the paradigm of presentative demonstratives: proximal (DEM1), medial (DEM2) and distal (DEM4). Whereas there are dedicated contrastive (DEM3) adjectival and pronominal demonstratives, no equivalent presentative demonstratives exist; the hypothetical forms **kuuphíin,* **tiiphíin* etc. were rejected by native speakers.

TABLE 6. – Presentative demonstratives

		m	f	mp	fp
Proximal (DEM1)	short	*kú'nn*	*tí'nn*	*kurú'nn*	*tirú'nn*
	long	*ku'nníin*	*ti'nníin*	*kuru'nníin*	*tiru'nníin*
Medial (DEM2)	short	*hikkú'nn*	*hittí'nn*	*hikkurú'nn*	*hittirú'nn*
	long	*hikku'nníin*	*hitti'nníin*	*hikkuru'nníin*	*hittiru'nníin*
Distal (DEM4)	(var. 1)	*hikkuuphíin*	*hittiiphíin*	*hikkuuphiru'nníin*	*hittiiphiru'nníin*
	(var. 2)	*hikku'úuse*	*hitti'íise*	*hikkuuphirúuse*	*hittiiphirúuse*

For proximal and medial deixis, speakers have the choice between a short and a long presentative form. In discussions with native speakers, no apparent meaning difference could be determined between these variant forms. Short and long forms were usually considered synonymous and exchangeable in any given context. There might, however, be pragmatic differences, as one Kambaata speaker considered the longer proximal and medial forms more polite and less abrupt than the short versions. Also for the distal forms two variants could be recorded; however, these variants are not in free variation and are likely to be geographical variants. Speakers from communities to the West of Duuraame (e.g. Mishkida) tended to give the first variant, while speakers from communities to the Northeast and Southeast of Duuraame (e.g. Daambooyya, Aboonsa) had a preference for the second variant. Note, however, that I was so far only able to interview about 10 speakers on the distal forms. Therefore, the information about the geographical distribution of their variant forms should be taken with due care.

In the same way as pronominal demonstratives (pp. 351-353), presentative demonstratives are marked for two genders and two numbers. Thus the presentatives reflect the gender and the number of the presented entity, e.g. *kú'nn* 'Here he his!' (e.g. *buná* (m) 'coffee') vs. *tí'nn* 'Here she is!' (e.g. *azúta* (f) 'milk'), *kurú'nn* 'Here they (m) are!' (e.g. two brothers) vs. *tirú'nn* 'Here they (f) are!' (e.g. two sisters). The characteristic consonantal formatives of the two genders are also easily detected in Table 6, i.e. the characteristic *k* of the masculine gender and the *t* of the feminine gender. The vowels of the presentative demonstratives (*u* for masculine and *i* for feminine) are elsewhere in the (pro)nominal domain characteristic of the

nominative case – but, as argued below, there is no evidence that the presentatives in Table 6 are subject forms. As already mentioned with respect to the pronominal demonstratives (pp. 351-353), the presentative plural forms are also marked by an element #*r*V, which is certainly historically related to the synchronic plural nominalizer (and earlier noun) =*r(r)a*. As is the case for other demonstratives, the medial presentative forms are historically extensions of the proximal forms: PRES_DEM2 < **hi(C)-PRES_DEM1.

A comparison of the paradigms of the adjectival, pronominal and presentative demonstratives shows that it is not possible to derive the presentatives from other demonstratives and to isolate a presentative morpheme. A recurrent formative #*'nn* or #*'nníin* (which is not attested anywhere else in the language) is seen in the proximal and medial forms of Table 6; however, if segmented, the formatives preceding this potential presentative morpheme would need to be assumed to come from different demonstrative paradigms (adjectival demonstratives in the singular, pronominal demonstratives in the plural). Furthermore, the formative #*'nníin* is only found in the plural but not in the singular of the distal forms (variants 1). Variants 2 of the distal forms have little in common with the other presentatives. Therefore, I refrain from breaking up the presentative demonstratives into sub-morphemic units.

Whereas adjectival demonstratives form a sub-class of the word class of adjectives, and demonstrative pronouns share most morphosyntactic features with personal pronouns, presentatives cannot be matched with any other morphosyntactically defined word class of the language. Presentatives are exclusively used in predicative function. They can constitute a complete sentence on their own, where, in spite of their predicate function, they do not take a copula (19). In contrast, demonstrative pronouns require copula 3 if used predicatively (18).[11]

(19) A: *Cáamm-u-'*   *hakkánne*   *yóo?*   B: *Hikku'nníin*
          shoe-mNOM-1sPOSS   where.mOBL   COP1.3   PRES_DEM2.m
          Speaker A: 'Where are my shoes?'[12] – Speaker B: 'There they are (lit. there he is) (e.g. in the corner of the room over there) (accompanied by a pointing gesture).' [Elicited]

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11. It makes little sense to assume that the presentatives are marked by a zero-copula. Kambaata realizes the copula as zero only in one specific context: When the non-verbal predicate is complex and consists of a predicate noun modified by a cardinal numeral, 'single', 'other', 'which' or a demonstrative adjective, then the copula is realized as zero (Treis, 2008: 418ff).

12. A pair of shoes is considered singular.

If the presentative demonstrative takes the presented entity as an argument, then the latter is marked for the nominative case; see *fiit-it* 'flower(s)' in (20). The nominative case is exclusively used as the subject case in Kambaata (but *not* as the case of the citation form, of predicate nouns and of topicalized constituents). Consequently, the presented entity needs to be analyzed as the subject of the presentative demonstrative.

(20) *Tánn*   *ma'nn-éen*   *xall-áan*   *méxx-o*   *ir-áan*   *5000*
      A_DEM1.fOBL   place-fLOC   only-fLOC   single-mOBL   land-mLOC   5000
      ik-káa   *mexxagáll-at*   *fiit-it*   *ti'nni-bay?!*
      become-3fIPV.REL   of_one_type-fNOM   flower-fNOM   PRES_DEM1.f-CONF.Q
      'In this place alone, on a single (plot of) land, here are 5000 flowers, all alike.' (Saint-Exupéry, 2018: 64)

In the majority of examples the order presented entity-presentative is displayed. The clause-final position is typical of predicates in Kambaata.

Functions

The presentatives have two distinct functions. In exophoric function (see below), they are used to point out or present entities (human beings, animals, objects) to an addressee. Exophorically used presentatives are usually accompanied by a pointing or transfer gesture. Secondly, presentatives are used as a discourse signal (p. 357). They direct the addressee's attention or focus on a noteworthy, surprising, extraordinarily positive or negative event described in the preceding or in the following discourse. In this second function, the presentatives are not accompanied by a pointing gesture.

• Exophoric function

When pointing out or presenting an entity, the speaker directs the hearer's attention to this entity. Through the choice of a proximal, medial or distal presentative, the speaker additionally specifies the approximate location of the entity. Furthermore, the selected gender and number form provides information on the nature of the presented entity.

The proximal presentative (DEM1) is used when the presented entity is (i) in the hands of the speaker (21) or (ii) within reach of their hands (20).

(21) *Xaláchch-ut*   *ti'nníin*
      herb_species-fNOM   PRES_DEM1.f
      (Context: Waitress serves coffee to the addressee. Knowing that the addressee usually asks for a certain coffee herb for her coffee, she points out to the herb on the saucer:) 'Here is the coffee herb (Ruta chalepensis)!' [Fn2017_overheard]

The medial presentative (DEM2) is used when the presented entity is out of the speaker's reach, but clearly visible at a medium distance. The position of the hearer towards the presented entity has no influence on the choice of the presentatives. See examples (19) and (22) from elicitation and (23) from the Kambaata Bible (Kambaata and Hadiyya Translation Project-Hosaina, 2005).

(22) *Hittí'nni-bay*   *hikkánne*   *haqquuchch-í*   *fagaar-áan*
      PRES_DEM2.f-CONF.Q   P_DEM2.mOBL   tree.SG-mGEN   bottom-fLOC
      uurr-ítee'i-i?
      stand-3fPRF.REL-NMZ1a.mNOM
      (Context: A hen has disappeared. Mother and daughter are looking for it.
      Suddenly the daughter spots the hen in a distance.) 'There she (= the hen)
      is, isn't she standing there under the tree?' [Fn_DW2016-04-01]

(23) *Philaaxóosi-n*   *"Mánch-u-s*   *hikku'nníin"*[13]   *y-ée'*
      Ph.mNOM-N   man.SG-mNOM-DEF   PRES_DEM2.m   say-3mPFV
      (Context: Jesus put the crown of thorns on his head, put on the purple robe
      and came out.) 'And Pilate said (to the Jews): "There is the man."' (John 19:
      5; literal translation of the Kambaata version)

The distal presentative was said to be used when the presented entity is very far away and difficult to spot in the distance. Distal presentatives were generally difficult to elicit – often interviewees could only provide the masculine form but felt insecure regarding the feminine singular and, even more, the plural forms. Unfortunately, the use of distal presentatives was hitherto not yet observed or recorded in natural speech.

(24) A: *Níi*   *hóolch-ut*   *hann-ó-o?*
          1pGEN   sheep.SG-fNOM   where-mOBL-Q
      B: *Hittiiphíin,*   *hikka'e*   *qée'rr-a*   *yóo'u*
          PRES_DEM4.f   P_DEM4.mOBL   far-mOBL   COP1.3
          A: 'Where is our ewe?' – B: '(Look,) over there she is, she is over there
          far away (accompanied by a pointing gesture).' [NB2016-1: 19 (DW),
          elicited]

- Function as a discourse signal

In its use as discourse signal, the presentative is not syntactically integrated into the sentence. It either precedes the utterance to which the addressee is asked to pay particular attention (25) or it is placed in the middle of it (recall the introductory ex. [9]). As discourse signal, the presentative often introduces noteworthy and unexpected

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13. Note that native speaker AB with whom I discussed this example would have preferred the more abrupt short medial form *hikkú'nn*.

consequences or results; the most appropriate English translations seem to be 'Look!', '(You) see!', 'Listen (here)!', 'Pay attention!', or, in biblical contexts, 'Lo!', 'Behold!'.

(25) *Kú'nn,*   *xuud-daantí=g-anka*   *min-u-sí-i*
      PRES_DEM1.m   see-2sIPV.REL=G-mACC<N>   house-mNOM-DEF-ADD
      hitt-ínta   *uurr-ée=g-anka (...)*
      SIM1_P_DEM -fACC<N>   stand-3mPFV.REL=G-mACC<N>
      (Context: Speaker speaks about his financial problems. He had planned to finish his house – which is not visible in the speech situation – and arrange the wedding of his son.) '(But) look! As you see, the house is still as it is (lit. stands there like this) (and my son is still not married).' [Dialog: Unreal situation DW2015]

(26) *Gizz-á-s*   *éman*   *aaqq-ée',*
      money-mACC-DEF   INTJ   take-3mPFV
      hikkú'nn,   *kabár*   *kaa'll-ée-s*
      PRES_DEM2.m   today   help-3mPFV-3mO
      'Thank heavens, he accepted the money (that was offered to him), (and,) look!, it is useful for him today.' [NB2016-02: 69 (DW), elicited]

As a discourse signal, the presentatives are (almost completely) invariant. Only the masculine singular proximal form *kú'nn* and the masculine singular medial form *hikkú'nn* are used – but they are free (distance-neutral) variants of each other.

Presentative imperatives

In Kambaata, imperative forms can be formed from any verb by the affixation of -*i* (2sIMP) and -*é* or -*iyyé* (2pIMP) to the verbal stem; see *áaqq*(-*i*) 'take (s)!' in (16)[14] and *aaqq-iyyé* 'take (p)!'. In addition, Kambaata has a handful of imperative-only verbs, which cannot be inflected otherwise: *ám*(-*i*) (s) / *am-mé* (p) 'Come here (for an instant)!', *ī* (s) / *i-yyé* (p) 'Take (what I have in my hands)!', *mée* (s) / *mee-yyé* (p) 'Give (to me what you have in your hands/with you)!' and *ashshám*(-*i*) (s) / *ashsham-mé* (p) (Greeting to people working). These imperative-only verbs share certain features with full verbs: they allow for the addition of pragmatically determined suffixes, e.g. the mitigating -*la*,[15] their stress patterns is that of regular imperatives of fully inflecting verbs, and some can govern direct object NPs.

Kambaata has a set of presentative imperatives, which share properties both with the demonstratives discussed in the earlier sections and with imperative-only verbs. Two examples of presentative imperatives are given in (27)-(28). For lack of a better

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14. The imperative 2s suffix is a very short, unvoiced *i*, which can only be clearly heard if it is followed by another morpheme.

15. The morpheme -*la* renders commands and questions less direct.

translation, *kárag(-i)* and *híkkarag(-i)* are translated as 'Look!', '(You) see!', 'Listen (here)!', 'Pay attention!', 'Behold!'. Note, however, that the presentative imperatives have no formal similarity to any perception verb in Kambaata.

(27) *Kárag-i-la,*   *Heellís*   *at-too-'é=g-a*   *xúud-deent?*
      PRES_V_DEM1-2sIMP-MIT   PN.fNOM   do-3fPFV-1sO.REL=G-mACC   see-2fPRF
      'Look, have you seen what Heellise did to me?' [Fn_AB2017]

(28) *Alamáayy-o,*   *Heellís*   *xúm-a-ta-ma*   *y-itóont,*
      PN-mVOC   PN.fNOM   good-fPRED-fCOP2-FOC   say-2sPFV
      híkkarag(-i),   *hiilím-a-se*   *ful-tóo'u*
      PRES_V_DEM2-2sIMP   meanness-fNOM-3fPOSS   come_out-2fPFV
      'Alemayehu, you said that Heellise is a good person, (but) look!, she behaved in a mean way (lit. her meanness came out).' [Fn_AB2017]

Formally, a distinction can be made between a proximal form, *kárag(-i)* (s) / *kárag-ge* (p), which contains the formative *#ka* that is typical of masculine proximal demonstratives (see Table 2), and a medial form, *híkkarag(-i)* (s) / *híkkarag-ge* (p), which contains the formative *#hikka* that is characteristic of masculine medial demonstratives (see Table 2). Despite these formal similarities, the presentatives do not transport any information on the distance of the entity or event/situation that is pointed out to the hearer. It is unclear whether there is any meaning/usage difference at all between the (formally) proximal and medial presentative imperatives. While they are interchangeable for some speakers, others consider the medial form to be more common in negative contexts. There are not enough occurrences of the presentative imperatives in my corpus to confirm or disprove the latter assumption. Note also that there are no feminine counterparts for the forms given in (27)-(28) – they are gender-neutral.

The presentative forms in (27)-(28) are labelled "imperatives" because they contain the imperative endings, *-(i)* for a singular addressee and *-é* for a plural addressee. Like the regular imperatives and the imperative-only verbs, the mitigating *-la* can be attached to them (27). However, the presentative imperatives have an unusual stress pattern that deviates from that of other imperatives in the language. They are consistently stressed on the initial syllable, whereas regular imperatives and imperative-only verbs are stressed on the ultimate syllable of the stem in the singular (e.g. *xawaasíis(-i)* (s) 'Make (someone) speak!') and on the (last vowel of the) suffix in the plural (e.g. *xawaasiish-shé* (p) 'Make (someone) speak!', *xahaaqq-iyyé* (p) 'Speak!'). Syntactically, the presentative demonstratives (p. 353) and presentative imperatives behave differently. While presentative demonstratives take a nominative subject – recall (20), presentative imperatives can govern direct objects, which are marked for the accusative case – see *manch-ú* in (29).

(29) *"Híkkarag-ge*   *zahh-án*   *serekket-anó*
      PRES_V_DEM2-2pIMP   roam_around-3mICO   research-3mIPV.REL
      manch-ú!"   *y-éemma (...)*   *aaz-éen-ta-ssa*   *hiliq-éen=ké'*
      man.SG-mACC   say-3honPFV   inside-mLOC-L-3pPOSS   be.shocked-3honPCO=SEQ
      '"Here's an explorer!" he (honorific) called out in surprise.' (Saint-Exupéry, 2018: 53)

As the presentative imperatives contain a demonstrative element and have imperative endings, and as they have a verbal argument structure, one can assume that they have arisen diachronically from a merger of a demonstrative and a verb (hence they are glossed PRES_V_DEM). However, at the current state of knowledge, I am unable to hypothesize which verb could have served as input. (See also the verbal morphology on presentative demonstrative in Hadiyya discussed p. 361 *sq.*)

While two instances of presentative imperatives governing direct objects are attested in my corpus (29), presentative imperatives are used, in the majority of occurrences, as syntactically non-integrated one-word sentences (30).

(30) *Kárag-ge-la,*   *án*   *mann-í*
      PRES_V_DEM1-2pIMP-MIT   1sNOM   people-mGEN
      fool-áam-u   *he'-anó=b-eechch-íichch*   *kum-é*
      soul-PROP-mNOM   live-3mIPV.REL=PLC-SG-mABL   thousand-fGEN
      kilomeetiri-íichch   *abb-á*   *qée'rraanne*   *yóo*
      kilometer-mABL   much-mACC   far_place.mOBL   COP1.3.REL
      uull-á   *udum-áan*   *horophphíll-u-'i*
      earth-fGEN   desert-mLOC   plane-mNOM-1sPOSS
      úbb-i-yan   *afuu'll-éemm*
      fall-3mPCO-DS   sit_down-1sPFV
      'Remember! I was sitting (there) after my plane had crashed in the desert at a place more than thousand kilometers away from any inhabited region.' (Saint-Exupéry, 2018: 12)

The forms in this section are labelled "presentative" because they share the two functions of presentative demonstratives: presentative imperatives can be used to hand over objects and point out entities (29) (*cf.* p. 356), and they serve as signals of noteworthy, surprising events and situations (*cf.* p. 357). Presentative demonstratives and presentative verbs are thus often interchangeable, as illustrated in (9), repeated here as (31).

(31) *Aayíchch*   *daqqan-teenánta*   *y-itáa-'e*   *bagáan*
      Mum.fNOM   meet.REC-2pIPV   say-3fIPV-1sO   CONTR
      kú'nn   *~ kárag(-i)*   *daqqam-mu'nnáan*
      PRES_DEM1.m   PRES_V_DEM1-2sIMP   meet.REC-1pNCO
      kabar-ée   *iill-íneemm*
      today-mDAT   reach-1pPRF
      (From a letter in which a boy writes to his unknown half-brother) 'Mum used to tell me "You will meet (one day)" but – Look! – we haven't met up to today.' (Kambaatissata, 1989: 8.21)

Presentative demonstratives in Cushitic

The current state of knowledge does not allow us to thoroughly compare the Kambaata presentative demonstrative system with that of related languages. Whereas adjectival and pronominal demonstratives are usually dealt with in grammars and sketches, presentative demonstratives (or other presentative devices) are, to the best of my knowledge, not systematically listed, let alone analyzed in Cushitic reference works. This could have two reasons: either presentative demonstratives have so far simply been overlooked, or there are in fact no presentative demonstratives in related languages. After a perusal of all available sources, I have obtained a few examples that show that at least some Cushitic languages have presentative demonstratives. In this section I present some evidence from Highland East Cushitic languages and Oromo.

The Cushitic sub-branch to which Kambaata belongs, Highland East Cushitic, is made up of the following languages: Hadiyya and Libido; Kambaata, Alaaba and K'abeena; Sidaama; Gedeo; Burji. I was unable to find evidence for the existence of presentative demonstratives in Libido, Alaaba, K'abeena and Burji. For the remaining three languages, Hadiyya, Sidaama and Gedeo, promising preliminary data could be obtained.

Hadiyya has a three-degree demonstrative system. The available reference works, e.g. Tadesse (2015), Dereje (2013) and Sim (1989), describe adjectival and pronominal demonstratives but make no mention of presentative demonstratives. Presentatives can, however, be found in local Hadiyya publications. Suzanne van der Meer (p.c. 2017) came across the forms given in (32) in several verses of the Hadiyya Bible (The Bible Society of Ethiopia, 1992). The list of forms is possibly incomplete – masculine/feminine distal forms are not attested in these sources. The Hadiyya presentatives are used both in exophoric function and as discourse signal (33)-(34). It needs to be verified in the field whether the presentative demonstratives are compositional and segmentable into a demonstrative modifier, e.g. *ku* (A_DEM1.m) and *oo* (A_DEM2), and a presentative morpheme *-no'o* (m) / *-to'o* (f).[16]

16. Note that the Roman transcription of the Hadiyya examples is tentative, as the Hadiyya Bible is written in the Ethiopian syllabary, which does not represent consonant and vowel length.

• Hadiyya

(32)   Proximal presentative demonstratives:
       kuno'o (PRES_DEM1.m)
       tuto'o (PRES_DEM1.f)[17]
       Medial presentative demonstratives:
       oono'o (PRES_DEM2.m)
       ooto'o (PRES_DEM2.f)

(33)   *Taa*   *meent-ichch-e,*   *ki*   *beet-i*   *oono'o*
       fVOC   women-SG-fVOC   2sPOSS   child-mNOM   PRES_DEM2.m
       'Woman, here's (lit. there's) your son.' (John 19: 27; glosses YT)

(34)   *Oono'o,*   *ki*   *adil-i*   *hall-ichch-i*
       PRES_DEM2.m   2sPOSS   king-mNOM   donkeys-SG-mGEN
       wotar-anne   *saa'l-aa*   *waar-oolla*
       young_animal-mLOC   ride-3mCONV   come-3mPROG
       'See!, your king is coming, seated on a donkey's colt.' (John 12: 14-15; glosses YT)

Interestingly, the Bible verses also show that the Hadiyya presentatives can combine with an imperative plural morpheme *-ehe* (35) (which is reminiscent of the hybrid nature of the Kambaata presentative imperatives discussed p. 358).

• Hadiyya

(35)   *oono'l-ehe*[18]
       PRES_DEM2.m-2pIMP
       'Look/there is …' (e.g. in John 19: 4 and 19: 5; glosses YT)

The three-degree demonstrative system of Sidaama is treated in reference works such as Kawachi (2007) and Anbessa (2014), and there is even an M.A. thesis dedicated to Sidaama demonstratives (Dukamo, 2014) – but none of these works considers presentatives. Kjell Magne Yri (p.c. 2016) was able to extract 36 presentative examples from the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the Sidaama Bible (unpublished version of 1990). They all contain the demonstrative form *kuneeti*; see (36)-(37). As in Kambaata, the presentative takes a nominative subject as argument.[19]

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17. The feminine proximal form was provided by Dilamo Markos (p.c. 2019).
18. It is unknown what triggers the occurrence of *l* in this form.
19. Note that nominative and accusative are not distinguished in the feminine gender.

● Sidaama

(36) *Kuneeti*   *womi-'ne*
      PRES_DEM   king.mNOM-2pPOSS
      (Pilate said to the Jews:) 'This is your king!' (John 19: 14b; glosses YT)

(37) *Kuneeti*   *Ɂama-kki*
      PRES_DEM   mother.f[NOM]-2sPOSS
      (Jesus said to his disciple:) 'This is your mother!' (John 19: 27; glosses YT)

According to K.M. Yri (p.c. 2016), the form looks – at first sight – like a masculine demonstrative with a copula *-ti*, which triggers the lengthening of preceding vowels.[20] However, the form *kune* is not used anywhere else in the language. Non-presentative demonstrative predicates are formed with the accusative form *konne* plus *-ti*, *konneeti* '(it) is this'. It is also noteworthy that the presentative in (36)-(37) – despite looking like a masculine form – seems to be gender-neutral; the feminine subject in (37) does not trigger the occurrence of a feminine form.

Information on Gedeo presentatives is restricted to two examples in Gasparini's grammatical sketch (1994: 12). The grammar lists two demonstratives, *kunnisè* 'here it is! (showing something)' and *ikkisè* 'there it is!', in the section on demonstrative "adverbs". Both forms can possibly be segmented into the nominative demonstrative pronouns *kunni* (P_DEM1.mNOM) and *ikki* (P_DEM2.mNOM) plus an element *-sè*. Note, however, that the function of *-sè* is not described elsewhere in the grammar. No feminine forms are provided by Gasparini (1994). According to Birhanu Demisie (p.c. 2018), dedicated feminine presentatives do not exist (**tinnise*, **ittise*); *kunnisè* and *ikkisè* can be used to point out or hand over items of masculine and feminine gender. The exophoric use of the Gedeo proximal presentative demonstrative is illustrated in (38).

● Gedeo

(38) *gootta*   *ballo,*   *uutèttaki*   *maallaq-i*   *kunni-sè*
     sir   please   that_you_gave money-mNOM   P_DEM1.mNOM-PRES
     'Sir, please, here is the money that you gave me.' (Gasparini, 1994: 12; tentative segmentation and glosses YT)

Outside of Highland East Cushitic there is evidence of presentative demonstratives in Oromo, which belongs to the Lowland East Cushitic branch and has a two-degree demonstrative system. Stroomer (1987: 117f, 348), in his study of three Oromo dialects, gives the demonstrative forms *kunoo* for Boraana and *kuloo(ti)*

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20. The same is true of the Kambaata *-t*-copula (COP3), see Table 4 and 5.

for Boraana, Orma and Waata as well as *ku(u)loo* for Orma and Waata, which he all translates as 'voilà, here he/it is', but which are not further analysed. All examples that are provided have masculine singular subjects, see e.g. (39).

- Boraana Oromo

(39) *kalaamuni*   *kiya*   *kunoo*   *kana*
      (*kalaamuu+ni*   *kiya*   *kunoo*   *kana*)
      pencil+SUBJ   my   voilà   this
      'Here is my pencil.' (Stroomer, 1987: 118; glosses from the source)

The form *kunoo* is also detected in various (mostly monolingual) exercises of Mohammed and Zaborski (1990)'s (Harar) Oromo textbook.[21]

- Harar Oromo

(40) *Kunoo*
      [Context: (Buyer:) Do you have lady's clothes? – (Seller:) Yes, what do you want to buy? – (Buyer:) I want a *goggiraa*. – (Seller:)] 'Here you are.' (Mohammed and Zaborski, 1990: 26)

(41) *Fardi*   *kunoo,*   *dirreen*   *kunoo*
      horse.mNOM   PRES_DEM   field.mNOM   PRES_DEM
      [This is said to challenge the ability of a person –] 'Here you are, prove it.' (lit. 'Here's the horse, here's the field.') (Mohammed and Zaborski, 1990: 113; glosses and literal translation YT)

Shimelis Mazengia (p.c. 2017), a native speaker linguist, confirmed the above examples. According to further information that he provided, Harar Oromo distinguishes between the above proximal form *kunoo* 'here it is' and the – only minimally different! – distal presentative *kuunoo* 'there it is'. Both presentatives are gender-neutral.[22] They can occur with or without the copula *-ti*. Interestingly, the proximal presentative *kunoo* is based on (or is formally similar to) the proximal masculine demonstrative pronoun *kun* 'this' (nominative), while the distal presentative has nothing in common with the distal demonstrative pronoun *sun* 'that' (nominative).

Finally, Gragg's (1982) dictionary of Wellegga Oromo also contains a handful of presentative examples with the proximal form *kunoo* 'behold, here is' (42) and the distal form *kuunnoo* 'there [is]' (43). Gragg gives the part of speech to which the presentatives belong as "excl[amation]" – which indicates that the author considers these forms as being complete utterances on their own.

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21. Note that Owens (1985) on Harar Oromo does not discuss demonstratives in greater detail and does not contain any presentative demonstrative example.

22. Number is generally not marked in the Harar Oromo demonstrative system.

- Wellegga Oromo

(42) *Mac'aaf-ni-kee*   *kunoo-ti*
      book-NOM-2sPOSS   PRES_DEM1-COP
      'Here is your book.' (Gragg, 1982: 255; segmentation and glosses YT)

(43) *Kuunnoo*   *balbala*   *teess-i*
      PRES_DEM2   door   sit-3fIPV
      'There she is sitting at the door.' (Gragg, 1982: 255; segmentation and glosses YT)

Girma Mengistu (p.c. 2017), a native speaker linguist, confirmed the presentatives provided by Gragg. According to information that he shared with me, the copula *-ti* seen in (42) is optional and attested on both presentatives. The presentatives occupy the predicate position. Given that gender and number is generally not marked in the Wellegga Oromo demonstrative system, it comes as no surprise that the presentatives do not inflect for these categories either, as the feminine example (44) and the plural example (45) show.

- Wellegga Oromo

(44) *intalli*   *keessan*   *kuunnoo(-ti)*
      daughter   2pPOSS   PRES_DEM2-COP
      'There's your daughter.' (Girma Mengistu p.c. 2017; glosses YT)

(45) *fardeen*   *kuunnoo(-ti)*
      horses.PL   PRES_DEM2-COP
      'There are the horses.' (Girma Mengistu p.c. 2017; glosses YT)

As in Harar Oromo, the distal presentative *kuunnoo* in the Wellegga variety is not formally similar to the distal demonstrative pronoun *sun(i)* 'that' (nominative) (Girma Mengistu p.c. 2017).

To conclude, apart from Kambaata, at least four other Cushitic languages have presentative demonstratives at their disposal.

Summary and Outlook

The discussion in the last section has shown that presentative demonstratives are very likely to exist in (at least some) Cushitic languages – but they have so far been overlooked in earlier descriptions of the demonstrative systems. An in-depth cross-Cushitic study of this neglected demonstrative type would require a systematic data collection in individual languages. Only then would we be able to shed light on the distribution of dedicated presentative demonstratives across the language family, on the formal relation between presentative demonstratives and other demonstrative types, and on the grammatical categories (e.g. gender, number) and deictic

dimensions for which presentative demonstratives are marked in individual languages. Up to that point in the future, the Kambaata presentative demonstrative system stands out as unique in its morphological complexity in Cushitic: Kambaata presentative demonstratives are marked for three deictic dimensions, and in each deictic dimension two genders and two numbers are distinguished, which amounts to 12 functionally distinct forms (plus 12 free or dialectal variants). The presentatives cannot be derived from other demonstrative types (adjectival, pronominal) through a simple morphological mechanism.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

A : adjectival
ABL : ablative
ACC : accusative
ADD : additive
AG : agentive derivation
ASSOC : associative
CAUS : causative
CONF : confirmation
CONTR : contrast
CONV : converb
COP : copula
DAT : dative
DEF : definite
DEM : demonstrative
DIR : directional
DS : different subject
FOC : focus
G : manner nominalizer
GEN : genitive
hon : honorific, impersonal
ICO : imperfective converb

ICP : instrumental-
    comitative-perlative
IDEO : ideophone
IMP : imperative
INTJ : interjection
IPV : imperfective
L : linker
LOC : locative
m : masculine
MIT : mitigation
N : pragmatically
    determined morpheme
    (still to be analyzed)
NCO : negative converb
NMZ : nominalizer
NOM : nominative
O : object
OBL : oblique
p, PL : plural
P : pronominal
PASS : passive

PCO : perfective converb
PERF : perfect
PFV : perfective
PLC : place derivation
PN : proper noun
POSS : possessive
PRED : predicative
PRES : presentative
PROG : progressive
PROP : proprietive
Q : question
REC : reciprocal
REL : relative
s : singular
SEQ : sequential
SIM : similative
SG : singulative
V_ : verbal
VV : vowel lengthening
VOC : vocative

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Presentative demonstratives in Kambaata from a Cushitic perspective

Abstract

This article is the first study of presentative demonstratives in a Cushitic language. It closes a gap in the grammatical documentation of Kambaata (Highland East Cushitic) and analyzes in detail the morphology and the functions of presentative demonstratives ('here s/he is!'). In the Cushitic context, the Kambaata presentative system stands out as unique in its morphological complexity: Kambaata presentative demonstratives are marked for three deictic dimensions, and in each deictic dimension two genders and two numbers are distinguished, which amounts to 12 functionally distinct forms, plus 12 free or dialectal variants. The presentatives cannot be morphologically derived from other (adjectival, pronominal) demonstrative types. Kambaata is not the only Cushitic language with presentatives but traces of this demonstrative type are difficult to come by. The article is able to present the first evidence for the existence of presentative demonstratives in Hadiyya, Gedeo, Sidaama and Oromo.

Keywords: demonstrative, presentative, verbal demonstrative, Cushitic, language documentation

Les démonstratifs présentatifs en kambaata du point de vue couchitique

Résumé

Cet article est la première étude de démonstratifs présentatifs dans une langue couchitique. Il comble une lacune dans la documentation grammaticale du kambaata et analyse en détail la morphologie et les fonctions des démonstratifs présentatifs (« Le/la voilà ! »). Dans le contexte couchitique, le système présentatif du kambaata se distingue par sa complexité morphologique unique : les démonstratifs présentatifs en kambaata distinguent trois dimensions déictiques et, dans chaque dimension déictique, les démonstratifs sont marqués pour deux genres et deux nombres, ce qui correspond à douze formes fonctionnellement distinctes, auxquelles s'ajoutent douze variantes libres ou dialectales. Les présentatifs ne peuvent être morphologiquement dérivés d'autres types démonstratifs (par ex., des adjectifs ou pronoms). Le kambaata n'est pas la seule langue couchitique à avoir des démonstratifs présentatifs. Bien qu'il soit difficile de trouver des traces dans la documentation existante, l'article parvient à présenter les premières preuves de l'existence de ce type de démonstratifs en hadiyya, gedeo, sidaama et oromo.

Mots-clés : *démonstratifs, présentatifs, démonstratif verbal, couchitique, documentation linguistique*