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► **To cite this version:**

Yvonne Treis. Presentative demonstratives in Kambaata from a Cushitic perspective. Isabelle Leblic; Lameen Souag. Du terrain à la théorie. Les 40 ans du LACITO, LACITO-Publications, pp.343-369, 2020, 978-2-490768-01-1. hal-01505569v2

**HAL Id: hal-01505569**

**<https://hal.science/hal-01505569v2>**

Submitted on 9 Oct 2018 (v2), last revised 18 Nov 2020 (v3)

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# Presentative demonstratives in Kambaata from a Cushitic perspective

Yvonne Treis

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## 1. Introduction

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 as only a 2-term system distinguishing between proximal and distal deixis or whether the system is more elaborate; see e.g. Anderson & 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);<sup>1</sup> see the Western Bade masculine singular 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*      *wúnáajàanji*  
this/here    your.dog  
'Here's your dog.' (Schuh 1977: 20, quoted after Diessel 1999: 82)

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

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” (p. 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.<sup>2</sup> Kambaata, the language under study, has *no* dedicated morphosyntactic type of demonstrative adverbs. As the language has an elaborate nominal case system (§2, §3.2), demonstrative pronouns can be used adverbially if they are marked for one of the various adverbial cases (e.g. the locative and the oblique 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) *Tiin 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-COP3 only-mPRED  
*isso’óo cúlu=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

<sup>2</sup> 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 §3.1).

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 demonstrative present entities by establishing their existence and locating them in space. The existence of dedicated presentative demonstratives in Kambaata has 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, 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 languages – most notably in the chapters on demonstratives in Treis (2008: 322-326; 360-382).

- (10) (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:)

*kú’nn*  
 PRES\_DEM1.m

‘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 in §2. §3 summarizes the main characteristics of the demonstrative system: §3.1 is concerned with demonstrative adjectives and §3.2 with demonstrative pronouns. §4 constitutes the core of the paper and divides into a section on the morphology (§4.1) and a section on the two major functions of demonstrative presentatives (§4.2). §5 draws attention to demonstrative-based presentatives with verbal features (so-called presentative imperatives). In §6, the Kambaata system is compared to that of other related Cushitic languages before §6 draws the conclusion.

## 2. 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 Latin 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 data on which this contribution is based was collected and/or verified during fieldtrips in 2016 and 2017.

Kambaata is a language of the agglutinating-fusional type 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 9 case forms, all of which are marked by a segmental suffix and a specific stress pattern (Table 1).<sup>3</sup>

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

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

Table 1. Case paradigm of a masculine and feminine noun.

Attributive adjectives agree with their head noun in case and gender.<sup>4</sup> 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-iichch*      *fárr-at*      *ill-iti-i*  
           bad-mOBL    tree-mABL    bad-fNOM    seed-fNOM-ADD  
*danáam-o*    *haqq-iichch*    *danáam-it*    *ill-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 & Alamaayyoo 2017: 18)

Depending on their morphosyntactic properties, the (macro-)word class of adjectives divides into true adjectives, (cardinal) numerals and demonstrative adjectives (§3.1). 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 (§3.2). In the same way as nouns, all free-standing pronouns<sup>5</sup> 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

<sup>4</sup> Adjectives fall into 5 declensions (Treis 2008: 256).

<sup>5</sup> Kambaata also has dependent (affixal) pronouns (Treis 2008: 338-352).

(mACC)’ – *hattáan* ‘which one (fACC)’). Gender and case marking of demonstrative pronouns is discussed in detail below.

### 3. 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 demonstrative in a wider context. Firstly, the language makes an important distinction between adjectival (adnominal) demonstratives (§3.1) and pronominal demonstratives (§3.2).<sup>6</sup> In both morphosyntactic subtypes, 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 (§2), demonstratives are marked for case and gender.

#### 3.1. Adjectival demonstratives

Adjectival demonstratives, glossed A\_DEM, are exclusively used as modifiers in the NP; 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-i*              *al-éen*              *he’-áni-yan*  
 A\_DEM1.mOBL      sand-mGEN      top-mLOC      exist-3mICO-DS  
*haww-íinee-t*                      *xuud-daanti-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.

Deictic Dimension	Gender	ACC	NOM	OBL
DEM1	m	<i>ka</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ka ~ kán ~ kánn</i>
	f	<i>ta</i>	<i>tí</i>	<i>ta ~ tán ~ tánn</i>
DEM2	m	<i>híkka</i>	<i>híkku</i>	<i>híkka ~ hikkán ~ hikkánn</i>
	f	<i>hítta</i>	<i>hítt</i>	<i>hítta ~ hittán ~ hittánn</i>

Table 2. Proximal (‘this’) and medial (‘that’) demonstrative adjectives

<sup>6</sup> Note that throughout this paper the terms “adjectival demonstrative” and “demonstrative adjective” as well as “pronominal demonstrative” and “demonstrative pronoun” are used interchangeably.

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): DEM4 < \**hi(C)*-DEM3.

Deictic Dimension	Gender	ACC (= OBL)	NOM
DEM3	m	<i>káaph</i>	<i>kíuph</i>
	f	<i>táaph</i>	<i>tíiph</i>
DEM4	m	<b><i>hikkáaph</i></b>	<b><i>hikkíuph</i></b>
	f	<b><i>hittáaph</i></b>	<b><i>hittíiph</i></b>

Table 3. Contrastive (‘the other’) and distal (‘that far’) demonstrative adjectives

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 Hambarichcho, 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*.<sup>7</sup> 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*                      *xíuij-o-’e*  
 direct\_oneself-3mICO    add-3mICO    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 that side) repeatedly and bent down to look at me.’  
 (Kambaatissata 1989: 3.48)

- (15) *Ánn-unku-s*                      *ciil-á-s*                      *áff*  
 father-mNOM<N>-DEF    child-mACC-3mPOSS    take.3mPCO  
*káaph*                      *ciil-í*                      *ann-í*                      *min-í*                      *márr-o.*  
 A\_DEM3.mACC    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 & 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

<sup>7</sup> 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.



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,<sup>8</sup> 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 & 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).

### 3.2. Pronominal demonstratives

Pronominal demonstratives constitute the most elaborate (pro)nominal paradigms of the language. They have a 10-case system (Table 4-5). In all cases except the oblique<sup>9</sup> 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 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).

	m	f	mp	fp
ACC	<i>(hik)káan</i>	<i>(hit)táan</i>	<i>(hik)kará</i>	<i>(hit)tará</i>
NOM	<i>(hik)kúun</i>	<i>(hit)tíin</i>	<i>(hik)kurú</i>	<i>(hit)tirú</i>
GEN	<i>(hik)kanní</i>	<i>(hit)tanné</i>	<i>(hik)karrí</i>	<i>(hit)tarrí</i>
DAT	<i>(hik)kanníi(ha)</i>	<i>(hit)tannéé(ha)</i>	<i>(hik)karríi(ha)</i>	<i>(hit)tarríi(ha)</i>
ABL	<i>(hik)kanníichch</i>	<i>(hit)tannéechch</i>	<i>(hik)karríichch</i>	<i>(hit)tarríichch</i>
ICP	<i>(hik)kanníin</i>	<i>(hit)tannéen</i>	<i>(hik)karríin</i>	<i>(hit)tarríin</i>
LOC	<i>(hik)kannéen</i>	<i>(hit)tannéen</i>	<i>(hik)karráan</i>	<i>(hit)tarráan</i>
OBL	<i>(hik)káanne</i>	-	-	-
DIR	<i>(hik)kabá</i>	-	-	-
PRED-COP3	<i>(hik)káannee-t</i>	<i>(hit)táannee-t</i>	<i>(hik)kárraa-t</i>	<i>(hit)tárraa-t</i>

Table 4. Proximal (‘this one’) and medial demonstrative pronouns (‘that one’)

	m	f	mp	fp
ACC	<i>(hik)káaph</i>	<i>(hit)táaph</i>	<i>(hik)kaaphíra</i>	<i>(hit)taaphíra</i>
NOM	<i>(hik)kúuph</i>	<i>(hit)tíiph</i>	<i>(hik)kuuphíru</i>	<i>(hit)tiiphíru</i>
GEN	<i>(hik)ka’í</i>	<i>(hit)ta’é</i>	<i>(hik)kaaphirí</i>	<i>(hit)taaphirí</i>
DAT	<i>(hik)ka’íi(ha)</i>	<i>(hit)ta’ée(ha)</i>	<i>(hik)kaaphiríi(ha)</i>	<i>(hit)taaphiríi(ha)</i>

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. the DEM3 example (396) in Schneider-Blum (2007: 141). The Alaaba grammar contains no DEM4 examples at all.

<sup>9</sup> 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 (§2).

ABL	<i>(hik)ka'iichch</i>	<i>(hit)ta'éechch</i>	<i>(hik)kaaphiriichch</i>	<i>(hit)taaphiriichch</i>
ICP	<i>(hik)ka'iin</i>	<i>(hit)ta'éen</i>	<i>(hik)kaaphiriin</i>	<i>(hit)taaphiriin</i>
LOC	<i>(hik)ka'éen</i>	<i>(hit)ta'éen</i>	<i>(hik)kaaphiráan</i>	<i>(hit)taaphiráan</i>
OBL	<i>ká'e</i> (DEM3) <i>hikka'e</i> (DEM4)	-	-	-
DIR	<i>(hik)ka'íta</i>	-	-	-
PRED-COP3	<i>ká'ee-t</i> (DEM3) <i>hikka'ee-t</i> (DEM4)	<i>tá'ee-t</i> (DEM3) <i>hítta'ee-t</i> (DEM4)	<i>(hik)kaaphíraa-t</i>	<i>(hit)taaphíraa-t</i>

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

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. *hikka'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) *Qakkíichch-u láah-u uull-á al-éen dirr-í=ke'*  
little-mNOM prince-mNOM earth-fGEN top-mLOC descend-3mPCO=SEQ  
*fanqáll ammóo bá' fájj-ó*  
return.3mPCO but disappear.3mPCO do\_completely-3mPFV.REL  
*má'nn-it tánnee-t*  
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 4-5) 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 (forthcoming).

## 4. 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 (§4.2) and the use (§4.3) of presentative demonstratives – a demonstrative type which has so far not been described for any Highland East Cushitic language.

### 4.1. 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 *\*kuuphiin*, *\*tiiphiin* etc. were rejected by native speakers.

		m	f	mp	fp
Proximal (DEM1)	short	<i>kú'nn</i>	<i>tí'nn</i>	<i>kurú'nn</i>	<i>tirú'nn</i>
	long	<i>ku'nniin</i>	<i>ti'nniin</i>	<i>kuru'nniin</i>	<i>tiru'nniin</i>
Medial (DEM2)	short	<i>hikkú'nn</i>	<i>hitti'nn</i>	<i>hikkurú'nn</i>	<i>hittirú'nn</i>
	long	<i>hikku'nniin</i>	<i>hitti'nniin</i>	<i>hikkuru'nniin</i>	<i>hittiru'nniin</i>
Distal (DEM4)	(var. 1)	<i>hikkuuphiin</i>	<i>hittiiphiin</i>	<i>hikkuuphiru'nniin</i>	<i>hittiiphiru'nniin</i>
	(var. 2)	<i>hikku'úuse</i>	<i>hitti'iise</i>	<i>hikkuuphirúuse</i>	<i>hittiiphirúuse</i>

Table 6. Proximal and medial presentative demonstratives

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 (§3.2), 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 (§3.2), the presentative plural forms are also marked by an element  $\#rV$ , 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  $\#'nniin$  (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  $\#'nniin$  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).<sup>10</sup>

- (19) A: *Cáamm-u-'* *hakkáanne* *yóo?* – B: *Hikku'nniin*  
 shoe-mNOM-1sPOSS where.mOBL COP1.3 PRES\_DEM2.m  
 Speaker A: ‘Where are my shoes?’<sup>11</sup> – 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]

If the presentative demonstrative takes the presented entity as an argument, then the latter is marked for the nominative case; see *fíit-it* ‘flower(s)’ in (20). The nominative case is exclusively used as the subject case in Kambaata (but *not* as 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* *fíit-it* *tí'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)

<sup>10</sup> 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, by ‘single’, ‘other’, ‘which’ or a demonstrative adjective, then the copula is realized as zero (Treis 2008: 418ff).

<sup>11</sup> A pair of shoes is considered singular.

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

## 4.2. Functions

The presentatives have two distinct functions. In exophoric function (§4.2.1), 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 (§4.2.2). 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.

### 4.2.1. 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) (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:)

*Xaláchch-ut ti’nniin*  
 herb\_species-fNOM PRES\_DEM1.f  
 ‘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) (Context: A hen has disappeared. Mother and daughter are looking for it. Suddenly the daughter spots the hen in a distance.)

*Hitti’nni-bay hikkánne haquuchch-í fagaar-áan*  
 PRES\_DEM2.f-CONF.Q P\_DEM2.mOBL tree.SG-mGEN bottom-fLOC  
*uurr-ítee’ii?*  
 stand-3fPRF.NMZ1a.mNOM  
 ‘There she (= the hen) is, isn’t she standing there under the tree?’ [Fn\_DW2016-04-01]

- (23) (Context: Jesus put the crown of thorns on his head, put on the purple robe and came out.)

*Philaaxóosi-n* “*Mánch-u-s* *hikku’nniin*”<sup>12</sup> *y-ée’*  
 Ph.mNOM-N man.SG-mNOM-DEF PRES\_DEM2.m say-3mPFV

‘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: *Nii hóolch-ut hann-óo?*  
 1pGEN sheep.SG-fNOM where.mOBL-Q

B: *Hittiiphin, 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]

#### 4.2.2. 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 consequences or results; the most appropriate English translations seem to be ‘Look!’, ‘(You) see!’, ‘Listen (here)!’, ‘Pay attention!’, or biblical contexts, ‘Behold!’.

- (25) (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.)

*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>

‘(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]

<sup>12</sup> Note that native speaker AB with whom I discussed this example would have preferred the more abrupt short medial form *hikkú’nn*.

- (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 he 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.

## 5. 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)<sup>13</sup> 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*,<sup>14</sup> 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 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*                      *Heellis*    *at-too- 'é=g-a*  
 PRES\_V\_DEM1-2sIMP-MIT    PN.fNOM    do-3fPFV-1sO.REL=G-mACC  
*xíud-deent?*  
 see-2fPRF  
 'Look, have you seen what Heellise did to me?' [Fn\_AB2017]
- (28) *Alamáayy-o,*    *Heellis*    *xúm-a-ta-ma*                      *y-itóont,*  
 PN-mVOC    PN.fNOM    good-fPRED-fCOP2-PRAG    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]

<sup>13</sup> The imperative 2s suffix is a very short, unvoiced *i*, which can only be clearly heard if it is followed by another morpheme.

<sup>14</sup> The morpheme *-la* renders commands and questions less direct.

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, *hikkarag(-i)* (s) / *hikkarag-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. *xawaasiis(-i)* ‘Make (someone) speak!’) and on the (last vowel of the) suffix in the plural (e.g. *xawaasiish-shé* (p) ‘Make (someone) speak!’, *xahaaqq-íyyé* (p) ‘Speak!’). Syntactically, the presentative demonstratives (§4) 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) “*Hikkarag-ge zahh-án serekket-anó manch-ú!*”  
 PRES\_V\_DEM2-2pIMP roam\_around-3mICO research-3mIPV.REL man.SG-mACC  
*y-éemma (...)* *aaz-éen-ta-ssa hiliq-éen=ké’*  
 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 in §6.)

While two instances of presentative imperatives governing directed 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-i*                      *fool-áam-u*  
 PRES\_V\_DEM1-2pIMP 1sNOM people-mGEN      soul-PROP-mNOM  
*he'-anó=b-eechch-íichch*                      *kum-é*                      *kilomeetiri-íichch*  
 live-3mIPV.REL=PLC-SG-mABL thousand-fGEN kilometer-mABL  
*abb-á*                      *qée'rraanne*      *yóo*                      *uull-á*                      *udum-áan*  
 much-mACC far\_place.mOBL COP1.3.REL earth-fGEN      desert-mLOC  
*horophphill-u-'i*                      *úbb-i-yan*                      *afuu'll-éemm*  
 plane-mNOM-1sPOSS 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. §4.2.1), and they serve as signals of noteworthy, surprising events and situations (cf. §4.2.2). Presentative demonstratives and presentative verbs are thus often interchangeable, as illustrated in (9), repeated here as (31).

- (31) *Aayíichch*      *daqqaan-teenánta*      *y-itáa-'e*                      *bagáan*  
 Mum.fNOM meet.REC-2pIPV say-3fIPV-1sO CONTR  
*kú'nn*                      ~ *kárag(-i)*  
 PRES\_DEM1.m      PRES\_V\_DEM1-2sIMP  
*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)

## 6. 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) 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 very likely to be incomplete – the expected feminine proximal and masculine/feminine distal forms are not attested in these sources. The Hadiyya presentatives are used both in exophoric function (with the presented entity marked for the nominative case) 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).<sup>15</sup>

#### HADIYYA

(32) Proximal presentative demonstratives:

*kuno'o* (PRES\_DEM1.m)

Medial presentative demonstratives:

*oono'o* (PRES\_DEM2.m)

*ooto'o* (PRES\_DEM2.f)

(33) *Ta meent-ichch-e, I beet-I oono'o*  
 fVOC women-SG-fVOC 1sPOSS 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?) wotar-enne*  
 PRES\_DEM2.m 2sPOSS king-mNOM donkeys-SG-mGEN young\_animal-mLOC  
*saa'l-aa waar-oolla*  
 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 in §5).

#### HADIYYA

(35) *oono'l-ehe*<sup>16</sup>

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

<sup>15</sup> Note that the Latin 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.

<sup>16</sup> It is unknown what triggers the occurrence of *l* in this form.

demonstrative form *kuneeti*; see (36)-(37). As in Kambaata, the presentative takes a nominative subject as argument.<sup>17</sup>

#### 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 ʔama-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.<sup>18</sup> 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 (obviously masculine) 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 (2018 p.c.), 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) *goota ballo, uutèttaki maallaq-I kunni-sè*  
 sir please that\_you\_gave money-mNOM P\_DEM1.mNOM-PRES  
 ‘Sir, 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. Stroemer (1987: 117f, 348), in his study of three Oromo dialects, gives the demonstrative forms *kunoo* for Boraana and *kuloo(ti)* 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).

<sup>17</sup> Note that in the feminine gender nominative and accusative are not distinguished.

<sup>18</sup> The same is true of the Kambaata *-t*-copula, see Table (4) and (5).

#### 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 & Zaborski (1990)'s (Harar) Oromo textbook.<sup>19</sup>

#### 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 & Zaborski 1990: 26; glosses and literal translation YT)
- (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.')

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.<sup>20</sup> 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 *kuunoo* '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.

#### WELLEGGGA 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) *Kuunoo 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.

<sup>19</sup> Note that Owens (1985) on Harar Oromo does not discuss demonstratives in greater detail and does not contain any presentative demonstrative example.

<sup>20</sup> Number is generally not marked in the Harar Oromo demonstrative system.

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.

WELLEGGGA 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.

## 7. 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 for 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

I am indebted to my Kambaata consultants, especially Deginet Wotango Doyiso and Alemu Banta Atara. My thanks also go to Suzanne van der Meer for the Hadiyya examples, to Kjell Magne Yri for the Sidaama examples, to Birhanu Demisie for information on Gedeo, and to Shimelis Mazengia and Girma Mengistu for expertise on Oromo. Anonymous reviewers gave valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper.

## 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
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	propriative
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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