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Demonstrative systems in the Highland East Cushitic-Gurage contact zone

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1. Introduction

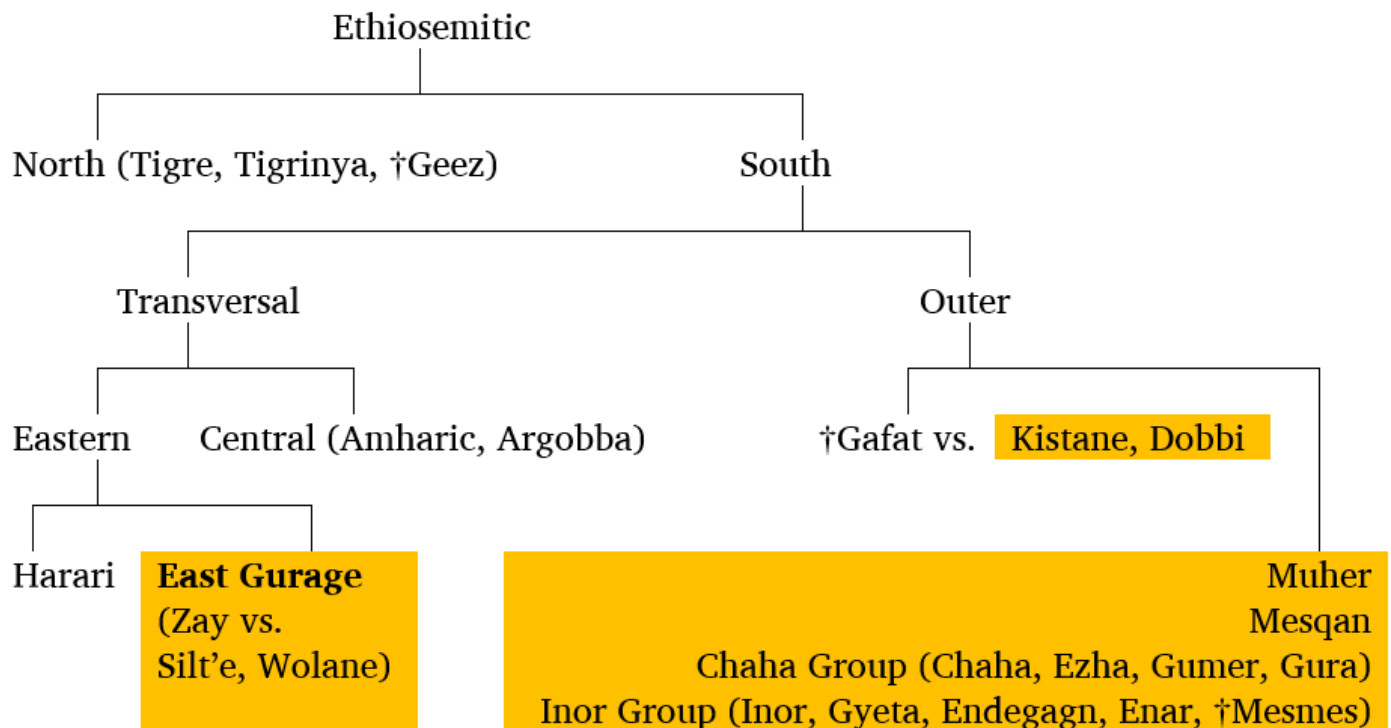
DISTRIBUTION, CLASSIFICATION, EARLIER WORKS, FOCUS OF THE STUDY...

1.1. Contact zone

- Earlier works on language contact in this area by Crass & Meyer, e.g. (2007) on deictics, copulas and focus



1.2. Language classification

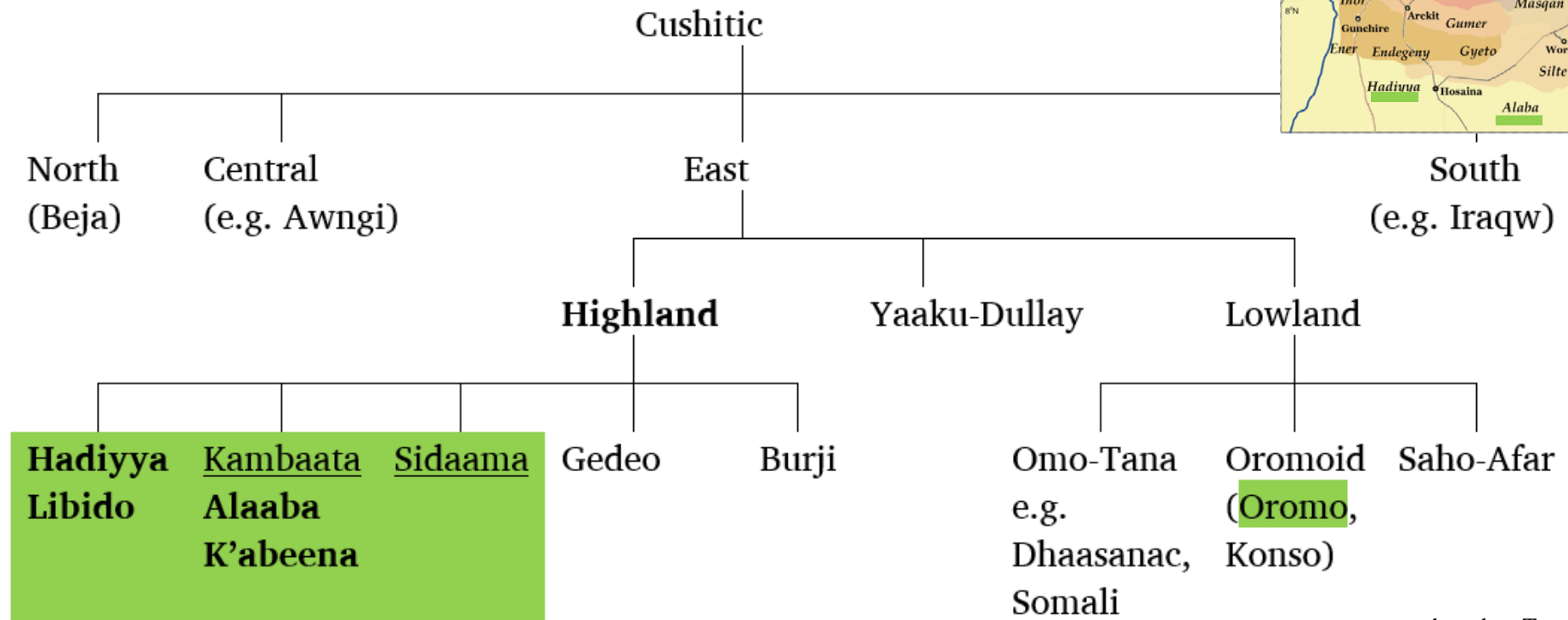


Gunnän-Gurage



based on Hetzron (1972; 1977)

1.2. Language classification



based on Tosco (2000)

1.3. Sources and Focus

- Chapters on demonstratives in grammatical descriptions of Gurage and HEC (and related) languages
- Some dedicated works on demonstratives (most M.A. theses): Dereje (2013) on Hadiyya, Dukamo (2014) on Sidaama, Diriba (2013) on Zay, Getatchew (1967) on Amharic
- Own research: Meyer (2010) on Muher demonstratives in space and discourse, Treis (forthc. a) on presentatives in HEC, Treis (forthc. b) on manner and related demonstratives in Kambaata
- Focus of this study: Exophoric and (to a lesser extent) endophoric use of demonstratives

2. Demonstrative systems compared

2.1. DEICTIC DEGREES, 2.2. MORPHOSYNTACTIC TYPES, 2.3.
ONTOLOGICAL CATEGORIES (ESP. MANNER)

2.1. Deictic degrees

Deictics degrees: Gurage I

- **2-term system** (PROX – DIST) most common:
Zay, Wolane (East Gurage – EG)
Kistane, Mesqan, Endegegn (Gunnän Gurage – GG)

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
Wolane	<i>?innä</i>	<i>?annä</i>
Kistane	<i>zi</i>	<i>za</i>
Endegegn	<i>wadä</i>	<i>hadä</i>

- **3-term system** (PROX – MED – DIST): Muher (GG)

zi / *hi* / *zah* *bəda!*
PRX.SPK MED DST take_away.IMP[S2SM]

‘Take this (proximal) / that (medial) / that (distal).’

Deictics degrees: Gurage II

- **4-term system:** Gumer (GG)

(Völlmin 2017: 206, 213)

Proximal	<i>zi(x)</i>	Near to	Nearer to speaker
Medial	<i>xi(x)</i>	interlocutors	Nearer to addressee
Distal 1	<i>za(x)</i>	Far from	
Distal 2	<i>xa</i>	interlocutors	

Distinction not entirely clear: *xa* further away than *za(x)* and expressing ‘the other in the same surrounding’

xa-ta *jä-mägära dannära* *banä*
 DST2-POSS.3SM ATTR-calves tanned_hide AUX.PST.3SM
 ‘The other ones were calf leather.’

Deictics degrees: Gurage III

- So far: speaker-centered systems
- Reference to entities far from speaker and near to addressee is expressed by 3rd person independent personal pronoun (cf. also Amharic)
 - lit. “Take him!” = ‘Take the one far from me (speaker) and close to you (addressee)!’
 - Reported for East Gurage (Zay, Wolane), Mesqan, Muher

Most Ethio-Semitic languages outside the zone: **2-term system**; see Geez, Tigre, Tigrinya (North ES), Amharic, Harari (Transversal ES)

Deictics degrees: HEC I

*NB: Oromo variety in contact with Gurage not described!

- 2-term system (PROX – DIST): Gedeo, Burji
- 3-term system: (PROX – DIST – CNTR): Oromo (LEC)*, K'abeena
- 3-term system (PROX – MED – DIST/CNTR): Libido
- 3-term system (PROX – MED – DIST): Hadiyya
- 4-term system (PROX – MED – CNTR – DIST): Kambaata, Alaaba
- 4-term system (PROX1 – PROX2 – MED – DIST): Sidaama

Deictics degrees: HEC II

- ‘this/that other one’ (CNTR): Reported for/observed in Kambaata, Alaaba, K’abeena, Libido (HEC), Oromo (LEC), Gumer (Gunnän Gurage), Gamo* (Omotic)

KAMBAATA

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.’

* Hayward & Eshetu (2014: 115) speak of “allogenuous” demonstratives in Gamo (Omotic), define them as “direct[ing] attention away from the expected object of discussion” and translate them as ‘the other’.

2.2. Morphosyntactic types

Morphosyntactic types: Gurage I

- **Adnominal vs. pronominal** demonstratives: not clearly distinguished, but pronouns can have additional nominal morphology
- Gunnän Gurage (except Kistane and Endegegn): adnominal = pronominal

MUHER

Attributive

a. *zi(-we) bərtuk^wan j-alf-u*

PRX(-DEF) orange 3SM-be_better\IPFV-MVM

‘This orange is better.’

Pronominal

b. *zi(-we) bida!*

PRX(-DEF) take\IMP(.2SM)

‘Take this one!’

- East Gurage (Zay, Wolane):
adnominal + gender/number + definiteness > pronominal

Morphosyntactic types: HEC I

- **Adnominal vs. pronominal** demonstratives are usually formally distinguished in HEC, pronouns are either nominalized adnominal forms or **distinct paradigms**

	M	F
ACC	<i>ka</i>	<i>ta</i>
NOM	<i>ku</i>	<i>ti</i>
OBL	<i>ka ~ kán ~ kánn</i>	<i>ta ~ tán ~ tánn</i>

Table 2. Proximal ('this') adnominal demonstrative

Kambaata

	M	F	M.PL	F.PL
ACC	<i>káan</i>	<i>táan</i>	<i>kará</i>	<i>tará</i>
NOM	<i>kúun</i>	<i>tíin</i>	<i>kurú</i>	<i>tirú</i>
GEN	<i>kanní</i>	<i>tanné</i>	<i>karrí</i>	<i>tarrí</i>
DAT	<i>kanníi(ha)</i>	<i>tanné(ha)</i>	<i>karríi(ha)</i>	<i>tarríi(ha)</i>
ABL	<i>kanníichch</i>	<i>tannéechch</i>	<i>karríichch</i>	<i>tarríichch</i>
ICP	<i>kanníin</i>	<i>tannéen</i>	<i>karríin</i>	<i>tarríin</i>
LOC	<i>kannéen</i>	<i>tannéen</i>	<i>karráan</i>	<i>tarráan</i>
OBL	<i>kánne</i>	-	-	-
DIR	<i>kabá</i>	-	-	-
PRED-COP3	<i>kánnée-t</i>	<i>tánnée-t</i>	<i>kárraa-t</i>	<i>tárraa-t</i>

Table 3. Proximal ('this one') pronominal demonstrative ('that one')

Morphosyntactic types: Gurage II

- No dedicated **place demonstratives** in Gunnän Gurage: Regular demonstratives are combined with affixes encoding location, i.e. *bä-* (LOC) and/or *-e(t)/-ät* ‘place, vicinity’

MUHER
bä-hə-m *tona!* **zi-jät** *əm-bäsa-ho!*
LOC-MED-FOC be_seated\IMP(.2SM) PRX-ADE PROH-come\NEG.PFV-2SM.MVM
‘Stay (lit. be seated) just there! Don’t come here!’

- Dedicated or not straightforwardly composite place demonstratives in East Gurage
 - Zay: *jihii/jahaaj* ‘this/that’ but: *yux/yax* ‘here/there’
 - Wolane: *?innä/?annä* ‘this/that’ but *bibbi/babbi* ‘here/there’
- Other ES languages: dedicated forms in North ES (Geez, Tigre, Tigrinya)

Morphosyntactic types: HEC II

- Languages with only composite **place demonstratives**, use of case-marked “regular” (object, person etc.) demonstratives, Kambaata, Alaaba, K’abeena (cf. Gurage language Muher)

K’ABEENA (Crass 2005: 131, translation ours)

kanneenⁱ *safarro*
DMP1:M:LOC settle:PRV:3P

‘They settled here (lit. at/on this).’

hikkanneenⁱ *roššat^a* *rosisu* *jammarroommⁱ*

DMP2:M:LOC class:ACC teach:VN:ACC start:PRV:1S

‘I began to teach there (lit. at/on that).’

Morphosyntactic types: HEC III

- Languages with one/some dedicated **place demonstrative(s)** that is/are not generated on the basis of “regular” demonstratives and sometimes not even similar to them:
 - Languages with one or more place demonstrative(s) (restricted case marking potential), e.g. Libido *ke* ‘here’ (cf. *ku, ka* ‘this (NOM, ACC)’)
(Crass n.d.; see also Hadiyya, Gedeo, Burji; Oromo)

See also in Oromo (LEC): *acci* ‘there’ (cf. *sunī, sana* ‘that (NOM, ACC)’), *asi* ‘here’ (cf. *xunī, xana* ‘this (NOM, ACC)’)
(Owens 1985: 87; Gragg 1982: 6)
 - Separate paradigms of fully-inflecting place demonstratives in Sidaama: *kawa* ‘here’ (PROX1), *hakka* ‘here’ (PROX2), *kaa’a* ‘there’ (MED), *ka’’a* ‘there far’ (DIST)
(Dukamo 2014: 30f, Kawachi 2007: 190)

Morphosyntactic types: Gurage III

Presentative demonstratives not much discussed in the literature

- Muher: presentative construction consists of DEM-FOC-COP(-DEM)

zi ~ zi-mmi-n(-zi)/hi-mmi-n(-hi)/za-mmi-n-zah ‘voilà, here/there/yonder it is’

Other presentatives

- Wolane: invariable presentative

jihole! ‘Here it is!’

- Zay: deictic base *jaa-* combines with verbal suffixes agreeing in gender and number with the addressee (cf. HEC Hadiyya: number of the addressee)

ja:-x, ja:-f, jo:-hum ‘Here it is (SM/SF/PL)!’

Morphosyntactic types: HEC IV

- **Presentative** demonstratives all over HEC (Treis forthc. b), in predicative function (but rarely with copula), take nominative subjects, not always a presentative morpheme segmentable, based/formally similar to nominative demonstratives
- Hadiyya: 4 presentative forms, PROX.M, PROX.F, MED.M, MED.F
- Libido: 6 presentative forms, composite (Crass n.d.) →
- Kambaata: 12 (+12) presentative forms (marked for gender, number, deictic degree)

	M	F
PROX	<i>kuu-ko 'o</i>	<i>ku-to 'o</i>
MED	<i>haa-ko 'o</i>	<i>haa-to 'o</i>
DIST	<i>ha'i-ko 'o</i>	<i>ha'i-to 'o</i>

Xaláchch-ut *ti'nniin*
 herb_species-fNOM PRES_DEM1.f

(Context: Waitress serves coffee to the addressee. She points out the coffee herb, because the client asks for it.) 'Here is the coffee herb!'

- Sidaama: 1 invariant presentative, Gedeo, Oromo (LEC): 2 gender-neutral presentatives (PROX VS. DIST)

2.3. Ontological categories

Manner demonstratives: Gurage

- Ontological categories: persons, objects, events, places, times, **manner**, quality, degree etc.
- Composite manner demonstratives: demonstrative base plus simulative, lit. ‘like this’ in Wolane (EG), Kistane, Mesqan, Endegegn (GG) – see also other ES languages (except Tigre, Tigrinya ?)
- Non-composite, dedicated manner demonstratives: Muher (GG): 1 dedicated manner DEM, Zay (EG) and Gumer (GG): proximal vs. distal manner DEM

ZAY (Diriba 2013: 51)

- a. *wut giji-j jukku saan-ä-m maat'-ä-j-n-u* PROX = exophoric
3SM dog-DEF like_this make\PFV-3SM-CNV hit\PFV-SBJ.3SM-OBJ.3SM-FOC-MVM
‘He hit the dog like this.’ (+ showing the manner of hitting)
- b. *jaakku maat'-ä-ji-m k'ätʃ'-ä-j ...* DIST = endophoric
like_that hit\PFV-SBJ.3SM-OBJ.3SM-CNV kill\PFV-SBJ.3SM-OBJ.3SM
‘Having hit it [the dog] like that, he killed it.’

3. Summary and outlook

Summary and outlook

- Areally relevant feature: 2-term (speaker-centered) deictic systems common in ES outside of the HEC/Gurage zone; ES inside the zone: **larger systems**, i.e. + medial or + contrastive
- Areally relevant feature: **non-composite manner** demonstratives
- **Presentatives** of various types (demonstrative and/or verbal) detected in the HEC/Gurage zone, but no contact-induced distribution > presentatives are generally under-researched in Ethiopian languages
- Dedicated/non-composite **place** demonstratives attested in the HEC/Gurage zone, but no contact-induced distribution can be detected
- We lack: (i) studies of demonstrative other than adnominal and pronominal, and, even more important, (ii) corpus studies on the use of demonstratives

Appendix

Sources

Amharic:	Getatchew (1967), Ronny Meyer (fieldwork data)
Alaaba:	Schneider-Blum (2007, 2009)
Burji:	Tesfaye (2015), Wedekind (2008), (Sasse 1982)
Endegegn:	Yohannes (2015)
Gedeo:	Gasparini (1994), Eyob (2016)
Geez:	Tropper (2002)
Gumer:	Völlmin (2017)
Hadiyya:	Sim (1989), Dereje (2013), Tadesse (2015)
Harari:	Beniam (2013)
Kambaata:	Yvonne Treis (fieldwork data), Treis (2008)
K'abeena:	Crass (2005)
Kistane:	Bedilu (2010), Leslau (1968)
Libido:	Crass (2017, n.d.)
Mesqan:	Ousman (2015)
Muher:	Meyer (2010)
Oromo:	Owens (1985), Gragg (1982)
Sidaama:	Kawachi (2008), Anbessa (2000), Dukamo (2014), Kjell Magne Yri (pers. comm.)
Tigre:	Raz (1983)
Tigrinya:	Kogan (1997), Praetorius (1871)
Wolane:	Ronny Meyer (fieldwork data), Meyer (2006)
Zay:	Ronny Meyer (fieldwork data), Meyer (2005), Diriba (2013)

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