Presentative demonstratives in Kambaata

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(LLACAN, CNRS – INALCO)

1. Introduction

- Afroasiatic < Cushitic < East Cushitic < Highland East Cushitic < Kambaata
- Number of speakers: > 600,000 (Census 2007)
- Speaker area: Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State (SNNPR), Kambaata-Xambaaro Zone
- Sociolinguistic status: medium of instruction in primary school, taught as a subject up to grade 8, hardly any written material (schoolbooks, Gospel of John, some brochures with a limited distribution), local Kambaata radio program
- Official orthography: Latin-based orthography (Treis 2008: 73-80): The following 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:/.
- Data on which this contribution is based: collected or verified in February-March 2016, from a variety of sources (recordings, elicitation, written sources)

Starting point:

(1) *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-1pPVE

     (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.'   [K89: 8.21]

For many years, I have considered the independent morpheme *kú'nn* as an invariant interjection/discourse particle. - But: This paper shows that *kú'nn* in fact belongs to a (fairly elaborate) paradigm of presentative demonstratives that has been overlooked in earlier analyses of the language.

2. Attributive and pronominal demonstratives

General information on the demonstrative system (for details see Treis 2008: §8.3 and §9.3):

- Formal distinction between attributive/adnominal and pronominal demonstratives
- Four-term deictic system: proximal (DEM1: close to speaker), medial (DEM2: medial distance), contrastive ('the other one of two') (DEM3), and distal (DEM4: far distance); DEM2 is formally related to DEM1, and DEM4 is formally related to DEM3
- Demonstratives are marked for case (attributive: 3 cases, pronominal: 9 cases) and gender (masculine, feminine); demonstrative pronouns are also marked for number (singular, plural)

2.1. Attributive demonstratives

- Only used as modifiers in a noun phrase
- Show case- and gender-agreement with the head noun (3 cases, 2 genders)

Table 1.   Proximal ('this') and medial ('that') demonstrative attributes

Degree	Gender	ACC	NOM	OBL
DEM1	m	*ka*	*ku*	*ka ~ kán ~ kánn*
	f	*ta*	*ti*	*ta ~ tán ~ tánn*
DEM2	m	***híkka***	***híkku***	***híkka ~ hikkán ~ hikkánn***
	f	***hítta***	***hítt***	***hítta ~ hittán ~ hittánn***

From a diachronic perspective: DEM2 < *hi(C)*-DEM1

Table 2.   Contrastive ('other') and distal ('that far') demonstrative attributes

Degree	Gender	ACC/OBL	NOM
DEM3	m	*káaph*	*kúuph*
	f	*táaph*	*tíiph*
DEM4	m	***hikkáaph***	***hikkúuph***
	f	***hittáaph***	***hittíiph***

From a diachronic perspective: DEM4 < *hi*(C)-DEM3

Contrastive demonstrative (DEM3)[1] usually in contrast to proximal demonstrative (DEM1)

(2) **ka**   *wud-uhá-a*   **káaph**   *wud-uháa*
     DDEM1mACC   side-mACC-ADD   DDEM3.mACC   side-mACC-ADD
     'to **this** side and to **that** side / back and forth / to and fro'

(3) *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.*
     DDEM3.mOBL   child-mGEN   father-mGEN   house-mACC   go-3mPVO

     (Context: One day two children quarrelled. One of them went home, crying, and told his father what had happened.) 'The father took his child and went to the **other** child's father.'

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[1] Hayward & Eshetu (2014: 115f, 336) label demonstratives with a similar contrastive function in Gamo "allogenous".

2.2. Pronominal demonstratives

- Used as head of a noun phrase
- Marked for 9 cases, 2 genders (m/f) and 2 numbers (s/p) (= most elaborate nominal paradigms)
- Plural pronoun probably developed fairly recently (cf. Treis 2008: 362)

Table 3. Proximal and medial demonstrative pronouns:
DEM1 *káan / táan* 'this one' and DEM2 *hikkáan / hittáan* 'that one'

	m	f	mp	fp	
ACC	*(hik)káan*	*(hit)táan*	*(hik)kará*	*(hit)tará*	— see ex. (4)
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*	see ex. (5)
OBL	*(hik)kánne*	-	-	-	
PRED-COP3	*(hik)kánnee-t*	*(hit)tánnee-t*	*(hik)kárraa-t*	*(hit)tárraa-t*	

see ex. (5)

Table 4. Contrastive and distal demonstrative pronouns:
DEM3 *káaph / táaph* 'the other one' and DEM 4 *hikkáaph / hittáaph* 'that one over there'

	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)	-	-	-
PRED-COP3	*ká'ee-t* / *híkka'ee-t*	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

(4) ***Hikkáan***   *áaqq-i!*
     IDEM2mACC   take-2sIMP
     'Take **that (one)**!' (Speaker refers to an item at some distance away)

(5) ***Hittiiphíru***   *ay-e-'ée-taa-n?*
     IDEM4.fpNOM   who-m-ASSOC.fPRED-fCOP2-Q
     'Who are **those (ones) over there**?' (Speaker refers to women who are approaching from far)

(6) *Isí*   *óos-ut*   ***tánnee-t***
     3mGEN   children-fNOM   IDEM1fPRED.VV-COP3
     'His children are **these (ones)**.'

- DEM1, DEM2, DEM3 used exophorically (with reference to non-linguistic entities in the speech situation, reference to entities in the outside word) and endophorically (with reference to linguistic entities in discourse)
- DEM4 only used exophorically

3. Presentatives cross-linguistically

- No detailed typological study available so far
- Diessel (1999: 79)
    - "Demonstrative identifiers occur in copular and nonverbal clauses. Like other demonstratives, they are used to focus the hearer's attention on entities in the surrounding situation or in the universe of discourse."
    - "Demonstrative identifiers are similar to **deictic presentatives** such as French *voilà*, Latin *ecce*, and Russian *vot*. (…) Demonstrative identifiers are embedded in a specific grammatical construction, a copular or nonverbal clause, while sentential demonstratives are syntactically more independent. Although they might occur in sentences that are functionally equivalent to copular and nonverbal clauses (e.g. *Voilà un taxi*. 'Here is a taxi.'), they are more commonly used as one word utterances, which may be loosely adjoined to a neighboring constituent." (emphasis, YT)
- Some examples:
    - French *voici / voilà* – Presentatives based on the verb *voir* 'see' plus a locative adverb; presented entity is in the object case *le voilá* 'There he is'
    - Latin *ecce* 'Lo!', 'Behold', 'Look!'
    - Italian *ecco:* "[*E*]cco appears to have an OSTENSIVE function; it may be used presentationally to introduce an entity or event or it may serve as an evidential hortative with the general meaning 'look' used to draw attention to some entity or event" (Kandel 2015: 2)
    - Russian *vot / von*

4. Presentative demonstratives in Kambaata

The existence of presentative demonstratives has not been mentioned in any works on Highland East Cushitic languages.

(7)   *A: Cáamm-u-'   hakkánne   yóo?   –   B: **Hikku'nníin***
        shoe-mNOM-1sPOSS where.mOBL COP1.3   PTV.DEM2ms

    Speaker A: 'Where are (my) shoes?' – Speaker B: '**(Look,) there they are** (e.g. in the corner of the room over there) (accompanied by a pointing gesture).'   [NB2016-1: 17, elicited]

4.1. Morphology

Table 5.   Proximal and medial presentative demonstratives ('Here it is / There it is')

		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)	(long)	*hikkuuphíin*	*hittiiphíin*	*hikkuuphiru'nníin*	*hittiiphiru'nníin*

- Three-term deictic system: proximal (DEM1: close to speaker), medial (DEM2: medial distance), and distal (DEM4: far distance) – No presentative forms for the contrastive **DEM3**
- From a diachronic perspective: PTV.DEM2 < *hi(C)*-PTV.DEM1
- Hypothetical presentative DEM3 forms **kuuphíin*, **tiiphíin* etc. were considered ungrammatical
- Free variation of short and long proximal and medial forms: no apparent difference in meaning
- No short distal form
- Marked for gender (m/f) and number (s/p) of the presented entity

- Presentative demonstratives are used in predicate function, can constitute a full sentence on their own
- In spite of their predicate function, they do not take a copula (≠ demonstrative pronouns)
- Formal similarities between attributive or pronominal and presentative demonstratives: see *#ku* for masculine, *#ti* for feminine forms, plural marked by an element *#r*V, initial element *#hi*(C) in DEM2 and DEM4 forms → **But:** It is impossible to isolate a "presentative" morpheme

4.2. Functions

The Kambaata presentative demonstratives have two functions:

(i)　　Exophoric function: pointing out or presenting objects or persons to an addressee; usually accompanied by a pointing or a transfer gesture

(ii)　　Function as a discourse signal: directing an addressee's attention or focus on a (noteworthy, surprising, extraordinarily positive or negative) event described in discourse; not accompanied by a pointing gesture

4.2.1. Presentative function (in the narrow sense)

- The presentatives call the attention to an entity.
- The presentatives specify the (approximate) location of the entity.
- The presentatives provide information on the nature of the entity: The gender and number of the presentative form is determined by the gender and number of the entity that is presented.
- In the presentative function, the presentatives are accompanied by a pointing or transfer gesture.
- The **proximal** presentative (PTV.DEM1) is used when the presented entity is (i) in the hands of the speaker (8) or (ii) within reach of his/her hands (9).

(8)　　(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
PTV.DEM1**m**

'Here he (= the coffee: *buná* (**m**) 'coffee') is!'　　　　　　　　　　　[Data from observation]

(9)　
Tánn	*ma'nn-éen*	*xall-áan*	*méxx-o*	*ir-áan*	*5000*
DDEM1fOBL	place-fLOC	only-fLOC	single-mOBL	land-mLOC	5000

ik-káa	*mexxagáll-at*	*fíit-it*	***ti'nni-****bay?!*
become-3fIPV.REL	of_one_type-fNOM	flower-fNOM	PTV.DEM1f-PRAG

'In this place alone, on a single (plot of) land, here are 5000 thousand flowers, all alike.'
[Deginet in prep.]

- The **medial** presentative (PTV.DEM2) is used when the presented entity is out of the speaker's reach, at a medium distance, irrespective of the distance to the listener; see (7) and (10)

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

Philaaxóosi-n	*"Mánch-u-s*	***hikku'nníin*** *(~ hikkú'nn)"*	*y-ée'*
Ph.mNOM-N	man.SG-**m**NOM-DEF	PTV.DEM2**m**	say-3mPVE

'And Pilate said (to the Jews): "There/here is the man."'　　　　　[John 19, 5; lit. translation]

- The **distal** presentative (PTV.DEM4) is used when the presented entity is far away, e.g. difficult to spot in the distance.

(11) *A: níi   hóolch-ut   hann-óo? – B:* **Hittiiphíin,** *hikká'e   qée'rr-a   yóo'*
       1pGEN sheep.SG-**f**NOM where-Q   PTV.DEM4**f** IDEM4mOBL 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, elicited]

- **Syntactic function**: presentative demonstrative = predicate; entity that is pointed out = subject, see nominative (which only functions as a subject case in Kambaata)
- **Position** of the presentative demonstrative: usually after the entity that is pointed out

4.2.2. Function as a discourse signal

- As a discourse signal: no syntactic integration into a sentence
- Position: precedes (13) or is surrounded (1) by a full sentence
- As a discourse signal, only the **masculine singular proximal** (12) or **masculine singular medial** (13) presentative form can be used (fossilized presentative form).
- As a discourse signal, the proximal and the medial form are **free** variants (distance-neutral).
- An isolated presentative demonstrative can assume function (i) or (ii) (§4.2.1 or §4.2.2).

Recall ex. (1) from page 1

(12) **Kú'nn**   *xuud-daantí=g-anka   min-u-sí-i*
       PTV.DEM1m see-2sIPV.REL=G-mACC<N> house-mNOM-3mPOSS-ADD

   hitt-ínta   uurr-ée=g-anka (…)
   like_this-fACC<N>   stand-3mPVE.REL=G-mACC<N>

   '(But) **look!** As you see, the house is not yet finished (lit. "stands there like this") (and my son is still not married).'   [Dialog: Unreal situation DW2015]

(13) (Context: Horse galloped, let the powerful lion that he had overpowered roar, (and) when he reached the house of his master he said to him:)

   Hikkú'nn   *zoobb-eechch-íin   aphph-ámm   qéell*
   PTV.DEM2m   lions-SG-mICP   seize.MID-PASS.1sPCO defeat.1sPCO

   min-í-kk   iill-án=qax-ée   iyy-í   waall-éen-ke
   house-mACC-2sPOSS reach-3mICO=extent-mDAT   carry-1sPCO   come-1sPVE-2sO

   '**Look!** I have fought with a lion, defeated it and carried it up to your house.'   [K89: 6.126]

(14) *Gizz-á-s   éman   aaqq-ée',* **hikkú'nn**   *kabár   kaa'll-ée-s*
       money-mACC-DEF INTJ   take-3mPVE PTV.DEM2m   today   help-3mPVE-3mO

   'Thank heavens, he accepted the money (that he was offered to him), and, **look! / you see!**, it is useful for him today.'   [NB2016-02: 69 (DW), elicited]

5. Presentative demonstratives in related languages and languages of the area

- Attributive and pronominal demonstratives are dealt with in all grammars and sketches
- But: no information on presentatives in related Cushitic languages except Oromo
- Where could presentative examples be found? In biblical examples from other languages, e.g. Sidaama Bible, Hadiyya Bible
- Only Stroomer (1995: 66) briefly mentions a presentative in **Boraana Oromo**: *kunoo ~ kuloo(ti)* 'voilà, here he/it is' (15); unclear how it relates to other demonstratives

BORAANA OROMO (Stroomer 1995: 66)
(15) *kalaamuni kiya   kunoo   kana*
      pencil.S   my   voilà   this
      'Here is my pencil.'

- **Amharic** has dedicated presentative demonstratives, which can be segmented into a masculine attributive demonstrative *yəh-* and an article *-(V)w* (Leslau 1995: 62, 65 425)
  - Singular variants: *yəhäw, yəhəw* and *yəhewənna* 'here (it) is' (16)
  - Plural variants: *ənnäňňihunna, ənnihunna, əňňihunna* 'here (they) are' in the plural
  - To be examined: Use/existence of feminine forms, distal forms
  - Ex. (16) illustrates the presentative function, ex. (17) the use of the presentative demonstrative as a discourse signal.

AMHARIC (Leslau 1995: 63, segmented and glossed by YT)
(16) *yä-ləǧ-e   fotograf   yəhew*   or: *yəhewənna*
      GEN-child-1sPOSS   photograph   PTV.DEM   PTV.DEM
      'Here is my child's photo.'

(17) *yəhäw   mähed-e   näw*
      PTV.DEM   going-1sPOSS   COP.3m
      'Behold, I am just about to go.'

- **Kordofanian Baggara Arabic**, Sudan (Manfredi 2014): two-term system of presentative demonstratives, used as referent presentatives and as sentential presentatives

	Proximal	Distal
ms	*dawú*	*dāko*
fs	*diyé*	*dike*
mp	*dolaṃṃo*	*dōlākuma*
fp	*delaṃṃo*	*dēlākina*

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	MIT	mitigation
ACC	accusative	N	pragmatically determined morpheme (still to be analysed)
ADD	additive	NCO	negative converb
AG	agentive derivation	NEG	negation
ASSOC	associative plural	NIPV	non-imperfective
BEN	benefactive	NMZp	plural nominalizer
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominative
CONTR	contrast	O	object
COP	copula	OBL	oblique
DAT	dative	p	plural
DDEM	dependent demonstrative	PASS	passive
DEM1	proximal demonstrative	PCO	perfective converb
DEM2	medial demonstrative	PERF	perfect
DEM3	contrastive demonstrative	PFV	perfective
DEM4	distal demonstrative	POSS	possessive
G	manner nominalizer	PRED	predicative
GEN	genitive	PRAG	pragmatically determined morpheme (still to be analysed)
hon	honorific	PROG	progressive
ICO	imperfective converb	PTV.DEM	presentative demonstrative
ICP	instrumental-comitative-perlative	PVE	*e*-perfective
IDEM	independent demonstrative	PVO	*o*-perfective
IMP	imperative	Q	question
INTJ	interjection	REC	reciprocal
IPV	imperfective	REL	relative
L	linker	s	singular
LOC	locative	S	subject
m	masculine	SG	singulative

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