THE SPATIAL FUNCTION OF DEMONSTRATIVES IN SIDAAMA

Anbessa Teferra

Abstract

This paper examines the spatial function of demonstratives in Sidaama, a Highland East Cushitic (HEC) language spoken in southern Ethiopia. Spatial deictics are a general term for grammatical elements that indicate various spatial relationships, including distance relative to the deictic center. In Sidaama, distance is expressed through adnominal demonstratives, pronominal demonstratives, and presentatives. Adnominal demonstratives show a four-way distance distinction (proximal, medial, mesiodistal, and distal) and are inflected only for gender. They always modify their heads and are thus dependent. Pronominal demonstratives also feature a four-way distance distinction. Unlike adnominals, they are inflected for all nominal features, including gender, number, and case. Pronominals can modify a head noun or serve as a head by replacing a noun in a clause argument position. The proximal adnominals ko 'this' (m) and te 'this' (f), along with the demonstrative roots k and t, have become grammaticalized as different grammatical elements. Like other demonstratives, presentatives also display a four-way distance distinction. However, presentatives differ from pronominals because they are rarely inflected for nominal features, with case being the only exception, and even this is limited to the nominative case.

1. Introduction

1.1 General Information about the Language and Its Speakers

Sidaama is a Highland East Cushitic (HEC) language that includes Hadiyya, Kambaata, Gedeo, and Burji. The autoglottonym of Sidaama is *Sidaamu ʔafoo* [literally "the mouth of Sidaama"] or *Sidaamu k'aale* [literally "the word of Sidaama"], while its ethnonym is Sidaama. Although native speakers refer to their language as *Sidaamu ʔafoo*, the term used in this paper and other sources is Sidaama because it is more common in the linguistic literature.

According to Hudson (1976: 233), although Sidaama is spoken over a larger area than other HEC languages, it exhibits few significant dialect differences among speakers from different regions. However, there are two varieties of Sidaama: the *ʔalitʲfʲo* ("highland") dialect and the *gammoodʒdʒe* ("lowland") dialect. The differences between these two dialects are minor, involving slight phonological variations and a few lexical differences.

Most Sidaama speakers live in the Sidaama Region. According to the 2007 national census of Ethiopia, there were 2,925,171 Sidaama mother tongue speakers (Central Statistical Authority 2010: 200). The neighbors of Sidaama are mostly speakers of Cushitic languages, except the Wolaitta (Omotic) to the west. These include the speakers of Arsi Oromo in the northeast, Guji Oromo in the southeast and south, and Gedeo speakers in the south. Most Sidaama are subsistence farmers, while a few of them are pastoralists. Some are involved in commerce and the civil service. They cultivate enset (Ensete *ventricosum*), also called 'false banana' (*weese* in Sidaama), pulses, wheat, maize, sugarcane, coffee, qat (Catha *edulis*), and others. The last two are commercial crops while coffee holds the most important place economically. The Sidaama region is one of Ethiopia's major coffee-producing areas, accounting for approximately 40% of the washed coffee exported abroad.

Sidaama was used for teaching for the first time in the "Ethiopian National Literacy Campaign," launched in 1979 by the Dergue Government of Ethiopia and continued until 1991.[1] Sidaama was one of the 15 languages selected for this purpose.[2] Since August 1993, it has been used as a medium

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1   The 1979 campaign was an extension of the 1975 campaign, entitled the "National Work Campaign for Development through Cooperation." However, during the 1974 campaign, literacy was conducted in five languages, and Sidaama was not among them.

2   Sidaama began to be used for non-educational purposes earlier. For instance, in the 1960s and 1970s, liturgical materials were translated from Amharic into Sidaama by Italian Catholic missionaries, and the texts were written in the Ethiopic script.

of instruction for primary education[3] and a modified Latin orthography was adopted for its writing system. Since then, it has been used for administrative and judicial purposes. After 1993, the language experienced significant growth, as evidenced by the thousands of neologisms that have entered the language. Starting in 2013, Hawaasa University began offering B.A. studies in Sidaama linguistics and literature, with most courses taught in *Sidaamu Afoo*.

Sidaama has 24 consonant phonemes, and gemination is phonemic, as in *duga* 'to cheat' versus *duuga* 'to scrape leather'. Like other HEC languages, it has five short vowels and five long ones. Vowel length is contrastive, as in *bada* 'to separate' versus *badda* 'to become bald'. Sidaama features a rich morphological system. Nouns and adjectives are marked for number, gender, and case. Verbs are sentence-final and inflected for aspect, mood, person, number, and gender. Sidaama also has extensive nominal and verbal derivations. The language is typically head-final with an SOV word order. Adjectives, demonstratives, and relative clauses precede head nouns, while embedded clauses come before main clauses.

1.2 Review of Previous Studies on Spatial Deictics of Sidaama

Sidaama is relatively well-studied within its group. However, various grammatical elements, including deictics, were not addressed accurately or in detail. Deixis is a broad concept that includes traditional categories such as demonstratives, locative adverbs, and tense (Lyons 1977; Diessel 2012; Dixon 2003; Levinson 2003, 2004). The main role of deictic elements is to establish a reference point for speakers during conversation.

One such topic is deictics, a broad term for demonstratives, pronouns, articles, time and place adverbials, and tense, all of which provide references for participants in speech events (Lyons 1977; Levinson 2004: 70).

Since deictics is a broad topic, this paper will focus on spatial deictics, specifically deixis of place and, in particular, distance from a deictic center. The earliest preliminary work on Sidaama spatial deictics is Hudson's (1976: 255-256), who presents Sidaama demonstratives alongside those of other HEC languages. Anbessa (2000, 2014, 2016) briefly addresses demonstratives, while Kawachi (2007: 189-218) discusses them in greater detail. Dukamo's (2014) unpublished master's thesis, titled "Documentation of the Form and Function of Sidaama Demonstratives," is an important work.

Nevertheless, even these works are incomplete. Anbessa's work is somewhat rough, while Kawachi's work contains several incorrect analyses,

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3 Primary education comprises two cycles: the first and second cycles. The first cycle spans grades 1 through 4, while the second cycle encompasses grades 5 through 8.

which will be discussed in §2.1 and §2.2. There are deictic elements that were not addressed in Dukamo's thesis, including adnominal demonstratives and presentatives. Additionally, a major shortcoming of Dukamo's paper is the lack of a comprehensive morphological and syntactic analysis. Therefore, a more detailed study of demonstratives in Sidaama is needed, and this new research provides an in-depth morphological and syntactic analysis. Although the data in this paper are based on introspection, several native speakers were consulted for clarification, and various published materials on Sidaama were referenced for relevant examples. However, introspection alone cannot reveal the linguistic features related to spatial deictics. As a result, an effort will be made to use a large corpus of data in future research.

The paper consists of four sections and is organized as follows: The first section provides a brief introduction, as mentioned above. The second section discusses adnominal demonstratives, while the third focuses on pronominal demonstratives, which are prominent members of spatial deictics. In the fourth and final chapter, representatives are briefly covered. Toward the end, the paper's key points are summarized.

The transcription used in this paper differs from the standard IPA because long vowels and geminate consonants are shown by doubling the vowel or consonant instead of using the regular colon [:], which is an IPA symbol for length.

2. Preliminary Points on Demonstratives

According to Diessel (1999: 36), "Demonstratives are place (or spatial) deictics. They indicate the relative distance of an object, location or person vis-à-vis the deictic center (also called the *origo),* which is usually associated with the location of the speaker." According to Dixon (2003: 61) a demonstrative is "a grammatical word (or, occasionally, a clitic or affix) which can have a pointing (a deictic) reference." Then Dixon identifies three types of demonstratives: nominal, adverbial, and verbal. I will concentrate on nominal demonstratives.[4]

Nominal demonstratives are divided into pronominal and adnominal demonstratives based on their form and syntactic function. Diessel (1999: 4) states that "pronominal demonstratives are independent" and can occur alone. Additionally, they are inflected for nominal features, including gender, number, and case. Adnominal demonstratives, on the other hand, are dependent because they "…always accompany a co-occurring noun." Both

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4   Dixon (2010: 224) combines demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative determiners into a single class of nominal demonstratives.

the pronominal and adnominal demonstratives of Sidaama adhere to the division proposed by Diessel (1999), as illustrated in examples (1) and (2).[5]

(i) Pronominal demonstratives — They are free and can replace a noun in the argument position of a clause, as illustrated below.

(1)   a.   *kun-i*   *beett-í*   *ʔado*   *ʔag-í*
             IDEM1.M-NOM.M   boy-NOM.M   milk   drink-3SG.M.PFV
             'This boy drank milk.'

       b.   *kun-i*   *ʔado*   *ʔag-í*
             IDEM1.M-NOM.M   milk   drink-3SG.M.PFV
             'This one drank milk.'

Under (1a), the proximal demonstrative *kun-i* 'this' (m) modifies the head noun *beett-i* 'boy'. Conversely, under (1b), the same proximal demonstrative pronoun *kun-i* 'this' (m) replaces the entire NP *kun-i beett-i* 'this boy'. Additionally, the proximal demonstrative *kun-i* is inflected for case, specifically for the nominative case, and agrees with the head noun *beett-i* 'boy' marked for the same case. Although a demonstrative can replace the entire NP, this function is not common in Sidaama. This aligns with Dixon's assertion (2010: 226), who states, "[i]n many languages where a nominal demonstrative may be a full NP, this usage is relatively infrequent."

(ii) Adnominal demonstratives — They constantly modify a head noun and do not stand alone, i.e., they are dependent.

(2)   a.   *ko*   *beett-í*   *busule-ho*
             DDEM1.M   boy-NOM.M   clever-COP1.M
             'This boy is clever.'

Under (2), the proximal adnominal *ko* modifies *beett-i* 'boy (nom.). Additionally, the adnominal *ko* is invariant and therefore is not inflected for nominative even though the head noun *beett-i* 'boy', which it modifies, is marked for nominative case. Unlike a pronominal demonstrative, an adnominal demonstrative can never be used independently of the head noun, as (3) illustrates.

(3)   a.   **ko*   *busule-ho*
             DDEM1.M   clever-COP1.M

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5   Linguists working on HEC use different terminologies for a similar demonstrative. What I call adnominal demonstratives are labelled 'demonstrative attributes' by Treis (2008) and 'dependent demonstratives' by Schneider-Blum (2007).

Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives are similar in Sidaama. As shown in sentences (1) and (2), both modify a head noun. Additionally, they share the same demonstrative stems. However, there are several important differences between them, as will be explained in §§ 2.1 and 2.2. For example, they differ in their inflections. Pronominal demonstratives are inflected for gender, number, and case. In contrast, adnominal demonstratives are invariant in terms of number and case; they always appear in singular and in the accusative case. Furthermore, pronominal demonstratives can replace a noun phrase, whereas adnominal demonstratives cannot. Therefore, based on their inflectional properties and syntactic functions, there is a clear distinction between these two types of demonstratives, justifying their classification into two separate groups in Sidaama. Both may belong to different lexical categories (word classes).

2.1 Adnominal Demonstratives

Adnominal demonstratives are grammatical elements used in Sidaama to indicate the distance of a referent from a deictic center. These demonstratives display a quadripartite distance distinction: proximal, medial, mesiodistal, and distal. They are only inflected for gender, differentiating masculine and feminine forms. However, regarding case and number, they remain unchanged; they occur only in the singular and accusative case. As shown below, a singular adnominal demonstrative modifies both singular and plural nouns.

(4)   a.   *ko*   *hand-o*   *laʔ-ì*
               DDEM1.M   OX-ACC   see-2SG.IMP
               'See this ox!'

        b.   *te*   *hand-a*   *laʔ-ì*
               DDEM1.F   OX-PL   see-2SG.IMP
               'See these oxen!'

The adnominal demonstratives of Sidaama are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Adnominal demonstratives of Sidaama

Proximal	*ko*	(M)	'this'
	te[6]	(F)	'this'

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6   Hudson (1989: 153) correctly identifies the proximal adnominal demonstratives (which he labels as demonstrative determiners) of Sidaama as "*ko* m / *te* f nom&acc." This is additional evidence for the separation of adnominal demonstratives from pronominal ones.

Medial	*hak-ko*	(M)	'that'[7]
	hat-te	(F)	'that'
Mesiodistal	*kooʔò*	(M)	'that' (far)
	teeʔè	(F)	'that' (far)
Distal	*koʔʔò*	(M)	'that' (remote)
	teʔʔè	(F)	'that' (remote)

Some comments on adnominal demonstratives are appropriate. The recurring elements in all adnominal demonstratives are *kV* for masculine and *tV* for feminine. Therefore, the segments *k-* and *t-* can be regarded as masculine and feminine demonstrative roots in Sidaama. This applies not only to adnominal demonstratives but also to pronominal demonstratives and other types of demonstratives, such as interrogatives. The same is true in Kambaata, a related HEC language. Treis (2008: 322) states that "[f]eminine demonstrative forms of any demonstrative subtype are characterized by an alveolar plosive *t*, masculine forms by a velar plosive *k*".

The association of *k* and *t* with masculine and feminine genders is well established in Cushitic languages. Concerning gender marking in Cushitic, Appleyard (2012: 202-203) states that "[t]hroughout Cushitic, the commonest feminine marker in determiners is the consonant *t*, or its development.... The corresponding masculine determinative element in all of Cushitic except for Beja is *k* or its development…". Tosco (1994: 425) also shares a similar view and asserts that "[i]n the Central HEC languages Kambata [*sic*.] and Sidamo [*sic*.] *kV* and *tV* were associated with M and F gender, respectively".

There is a notable similarity between the proximal adnominals *ko* 'this' (M) and *te* 'this' (F) on one side and the vocative pronouns *kóo* 'you!' (M.VOC) and *tée* 'you!' (F.VOC) on the other.[8] Tentatively, I suggest that the proximal adnominals are actually vocative pronouns with short vowels.[9] As

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7   The medial adnominal demonstrative presumably comprises the element **haC-* and the proximal adnominal demonstratives *ko* (M) and *te* (F).

8   My assumption is tentative because if the source of the adnominals was a vocative, then one would expect the reduced forms to be *kó* 'this' (m) and *té* 'this' (F), respectively. However, this is not the case since the adnominals *ko* and *te* are not stressed; hence, the relationship could be coincidental. On the other hand, during the reduction process, the forms may have lost stress. I will leave this dilemma for future research to settle.

9   It is interesting to note that in Kambaata, a related HEC language, vocatives have attributive counterparts *kó* 'this' (M) and *té* 'this' (F) (Treis 2008: 327).

will be explained under (ii), *ko* 'this' (M) has a rarely used variant *ka*. The
sentence given under (5) by Gasparini (1983: 184) and his translation of *ka*
as 'you' may provide some credence for the relation between vocatives and
adnominals (italicization and glossing are mine, and a morphemic cut is
provided only for the verb to present the sentence as listed by Gasparini).

(5)   *ka*   *gowwi*   *hîkki*   *day-itto*[10]
         DDEM1.M   stupid   from where   come-2M.SG.PFV
         '(You), stupid, where did you come from?'

The grammatical features that differentiate adnominal demonstratives
from pronominal ones, along with other characteristics that define them, are
discussed below.

(i)   Although adnominal demonstratives modify a nominative head like
their pronominal counterparts, they have different inflectional properties.
Adnominal demonstratives are inflected only for gender, whereas
pronominal forms are inflected for all nominal features: that is, gender,
number, and case. Because adnominal demonstratives are not inflected for
case or number, they are shorter in length compared to pronominal
demonstratives.

(ii) Adnominal demonstratives never stand alone and therefore cannot
serve as the head of a noun phrase. They always appear as pre-modifiers of
a noun or an adjective. Pronominal demonstratives, however, can function
both as pre-modifiers and as heads. They can stand alone when they serve as
a head by replacing a noun phrase, as was shown in (1b). The examples in
(6) illustrate the modifying role of adnominal demonstratives.

(6)   a.   *ko*   *beett-i*   *gowwa-ho*
                 DDEM1.M   boy-NOM   foolish-COP1.M
                 'This boy is foolish. '

         b.   *hatte*   *beetto*[11]   *busule-te*
                 DDEM2.F   girl   clever-COP1.F
                 'That girl is clever.'

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10   The hypothetical form of the verb is *dag-* 'come'.
11   A noun such as *beetto* 'boy/girl' is an *epicene* noun because it can have either a
     male or a female referent. Interpreting epicene nouns accurately can be
     challenging, especially when they appear in an object position. For instance, the
     sentence below is ambiguous, as it can be interpreted in two ways.
     jot-i   *beetto*   *kaaʔl-í*
     Yota-NOM   boy/girl   help-3SG.M.PFV
     'Yota helped the boy/the girl.' (Yota is a masculine personal noun).

c.	*ko*	*busul-i*	*ʔaj-è*	*beett-o-oti*
	DDEM1.M	clever-NOM	who-GEN	daughter-ACC-COP2

'Whose son is this clever (boy)?'

In (6a), the adnominal *ko* 'this' modifies the head noun *beett-i* 'boy' that is marked for nominative case. The adnominal itself is not case-marked. Regarding the grammatical impoverishment of adnominals, Holger (1999: 20) correctly predicts, "Adnominal demonstratives co-occur with an inflected noun. The grammatical features of the noun phrase are thus sufficiently marked by the inflectional endings of the noun."

The proximal adnominal *ko* has a variant *ka*." However, unlike *ko*, which functions as a modifier and occurs before nouns and adjectives, *ka* has a very restricted distribution because it only collocates with the word *geeʃʃa* (meaning 'stature, dimension, amount'). Additionally, *ka* and the place morpheme *=ba*, whose basic form is *=b*, have grammaticalized into the bound proximal spatial pronoun *kaba* (meaning 'here').

(7)	a.	*ka*	*geeʃʃ-í*	*(geeʃʃa)*	*waa*	*hasiʔr-eemmo*
		DDEM1.M	amount-GEN	(up to)	water	want-1SG.M.IPFV

'I want this amount of water. '

	b.	*ʔuulla-kki,*	*ka*	*geeʃʃa-ati*
		land-2M.GEN	DDEM1.M	amount-COP2

'Your land is up to here/this.'

Examples (7a) and (7b) obligatorily require gesture, implying an exophoric use of proximal adnominals.

(iii) Proximal adnominal demonstratives occur in insults, modifying a head noun that serves as a curse word.

(8)	a.	*ko*	↗*harr-iʃʃ-i*[12]
		DDEM1.M	donkey-EP.SG-NOM

'This (lit. 'this.M') coward (M)!'

	b.	*te*	↗*kap'p'-aanɟo*
		DDEM1.F	lie-NMLZ

'This (lit. 'this.F') liar (F)!'

Because the phrases under (8) are used as insults, they have a threatening tone and are marked by a rising intonation indicated by ↗: a diagonal arrow rising from left to right. Proximal pronominals, on the other hand, are not the

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12 Although the literal translation of *harr-i-ʃʃo* is 'donkey', when applied to humans, it symbolizes a fearful person and hence has a figurative meaning: 'coward'.

preferred deictic elements for modifying curse words. They may precede curse words, but unlike the proximal adnominals, they do not carry a threatening tone.

The adnominal demonstratives *ko* and *te* under (8) can be optionally replaced by the vocatives *kóo* 'you (M)!' and *tée* 'you (F)!'.

(9)   *kóo,*   *harr-iɟɟ-u*
        VOC.M   donkey-EP.SG-NOM

        'You (M), coward!'

However, there is a difference when a vocative replaces a proximal adnominal. First, there is a pause after the vocative, i.e., *kóo*, which is indicated by a comma. Second, the nominative suffix attached to the head noun is not the expected *-i*, but rather *-u*, a suffix that typically appears on modifiers and bare subject nouns. Insults do not always occur in a truncated form; therefore, (8a) can be expanded into a complete sentence as in (10) below.

(10)   *ko*   ⤤*harr-iɟɟ-i,*   *mamoote*   *hig-í*
        DDEM1.M   donkey-EP.SG-NOM   when   return-3SG.M.PFV

        'When did this coward return?'

(iv) The proximal adnominals *ko* 'this (M)' and *te₁* 'this (F)' seem to have served as the basis for deriving the medial adnominals *hakko* 'this (M)' and *hatte* 'this (F)' by prefixing the hypothetical element **haC-*. Treis (2008: 322; 2019: 9) proposes a similar explanation for Kambaata, deriving medial demonstrative attributes from proximal ones.[13]

Anbessa (2012; 2014) did not identify adnominal demonstratives; the same applies to Dukamo (2014). Kawachi (2007: 200) lists only three adnominal demonstratives and therefore omits the distal adnominals *koʔʔo* (F) and *teʔʔe* (F). Additionally, he incorrectly listed the mesiodistal forms as *te'e* (f) and *ko'ō* (M). He also asserts: "adnominal demonstratives can also be reduplicated to emphasize the closeness or remoteness of location". However, this is not the case since there are no reduplicated adnominal demonstratives in Sidaama.

Another shortcoming of Kawachi's analysis regarding adnominal demonstratives involves his claim: "The adnominal demonstratives have different forms for the three cases (the nominative, the genitive, and the

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13 Sidaama adnominal demonstratives exhibit several similarities to those of Kambaata (Treis 2008: 322-327). However, there is also a significant difference in that Kambaata adnominal demonstratives distinguish three types of cases, while Sidaama adnominals are invariant.

accusative)." Again, this claim does not hold up under scrutiny because adnominal demonstratives are not inflected for case. This analysis resulted in a threefold increase in non-existent adnominals. In Kawachi (2007: 202), we find a list of numerous forms that serve as adnominal demonstratives, including what I consider, in this paper, as pronominal demonstratives. Kawachi (2007: 211) presents a list of demonstrative pronouns that he claims are derived from adnominals. However, he does not provide an example explaining which adnominal gave rise to which demonstrative. On the other hand, I assume that synchronic medial deictics are derived from proximal stems by prefixing *haC-. Aside from this case, no demonstratives are derived from adnominals.

2.2 Pronominal Demonstratives

Pronominal demonstratives are crucial parts of the spatial deictic system. They indicate a referent's relative distance from the deictic center, which is the speaker, and their meaning depends on an external frame of reference. Sidaama demonstratives are speaker-oriented, showing a referent's position relative to the speaker. Also, the distance of a referent from the hearer does not affect the choice of a demonstrative. The Sidaama pronominal demonstratives display a four-part distance distinction to show how close or far a referent is from the deictic center. These include proximal, medial, mesiodistal, and distal. Most of these demonstratives refer to visible entities. Therefore, the Sidaama demonstrative system is not only distance-based but also visually based. According to Diessel (1999: 32), in visually based systems, "the laws of perspective predict that there should be an increasing scale of distance in a 'this', 'that', 'yonder' partitioning of space." The table below summarizes the range of distances associated with each demonstrative type.

Table 2. Pronominal Demonstratives of Sidaama with their distance range

Type of pronominal demonstrative	Spatial distance marked by a pronominal demonstrative
Proximal	designates a referent which is very close (at arm's length) to the speaker
Medial	designates a referent which is nearer to the addressee or at a medial distance both from the speaker and the addressee
Mesiodistal	designates a referent which is visible but far away from the interlocutors, i.e., the speaker and the addressee
Distal	designates a very far (almost invisible) referent both from the speaker and the addressee

Pronominal demonstratives are inflected for nominal features such as number, gender, and case. This supports Diessels's (1999: 33) prediction, "[i]n languages in which nouns are inflected for gender, number and/or case, pronominal demonstratives are always marked for the same features…" Regarding case, pronominal demonstratives are inflected for primary/core and secondary/peripheral cases. The core cases include nominative, accusative, and genitive. For peripheral cases, demonstratives are inflected for dative and instrumental, which are derived from the genitive case by adding the suffixes -ra 'dat' and -nni 'ins/abl', respectively. The accusative, nominative, and genitive forms of Sidaama pronominal demonstratives are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Pronominal demonstratives of Sidaama with their core cases

	ACC	NOM	GEN		
SG.M	konn-ée	kún-i	kun-í ~ kunn í	'this'	PROXIMAL
SG.F	tenn-ée	tín-i	tenn-ée	'this'	PROXIMAL
PL	ko-r-ée	kú-r-i	ku-r-í	'these'	PROXIMAL
SG.M	hakkonn-ée ~ hakkoj-ée	hák-k-u	hakk-u-nn-í[14] ~ hakk-u-j-í	'that'	MEDIAL
SG.F	hattenn-ée ~ hatt-ée	hát-t-i	hattée	'that'	MEDIAL
PL	hakko-r-é	hákk-u-r-i	hakk-u-r-í	'those'	MEDIAL
SG.M	kooʔonné ~ kooʔ-ée	kúuʔ-u	kuuʔ-u-j-í ~ kuuʔ-í	'that'	MESIODISTAL
SG.F	teeʔenné ~ teeʔ-ée	tíiʔ-i	teeʔé	'that'	MESIODISTAL
PL	kooʔo-r-é	kúuʔ-u-r-i	kuuʔ-u-r-í	'those'	MESIODISTAL
SG.M	koʔʔonné ~ koʔʔ-ée	kúʔʔ-u	kuuʔʔ-u-j-í ~ kuʔʔ-í	'that'	DISTAL
SG.F	teʔʔenné ~ teʔʔ-ée	tíʔʔ-i	teʔʔ-ée	'that'	DISTAL
PL	koʔʔo-r-é	kúʔʔ-u-r-i	kuʔʔ-u-r-í	'those'	DISTAL

Table 3 shows that Sidaama has a rich demonstrative system. First, the language displays a quadripartite distance distinction. Then, each distance has forms that show gender, number, and case distinctions.

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14 This form also has the variants hakk-o-nni and hakk-u-j-i.

Kawachi (2007: 189) writes, "[b]asically, the demonstrative pronouns make a three-way distinction". However, unlike his claim, pronominal demonstratives show a four-way distance distinction. Kawachi then lists "*kawa* 'here', *hakka* 'there', and *ka'a* 'over there'" as demonstrative pronouns of Sidaama. However, these are not actually demonstrative pronouns (or what I call pronominal demonstratives); I classify them as locative or spatial pronouns.

Additionally, contrary to his claim, there are no reduplicated demonstratives. As a native speaker, I am unaware of any such forms, a view shared by other native speakers. Moreover, these reduplicated forms are not found in any of the related HEC languages, which supports my point. Kawachi (2007: 192) listed six incorrect forms, especially those in the columns AT and FROM, because their final vowels are short rather than long. For example, he lists kawa-nni instead of kawa.

2.2.1 Remarks on Pronominal Demonstratives

Some general observations can be made on pronominal demonstratives listed in Table 3.

(i) A careful analysis of the structure of pronominal demonstratives reveals that historically, they may have been composed of different grammatical elements. For example, the initial parts *k-* for masculine and *t-* for feminine forms are similar to those of adnominal demonstratives *ko* and *te*, respectively discussed under §2.1. Therefore, the *kV tV* parts can be viewed as demonstrative stems from a historical perspective. Moreover, the *-r* element, which only appears on plural forms, can be considered a plural marker. Supporting this, Appleyard (2012: 264) states the following about demonstratives of Sidaama: "Demonstrative pronouns display the characteristic consonant *k* for m., with the vowels *u/o*, *t* for f., with the vowels *i/e*, and *r* for plural."

(ii) It is observable that the proximal and medial positions contain a short stem-internal vowel; the mesiodistal position has a long vowel, while the distal is characterized by stem-internal geminate *ʔʔ*. One might wonder whether some phonaestheme is involved here, since segmental length (vocalic or consonantal) seems to be related to the distance indicated by the demonstrative. However, this could also be coincidental.

(iii) Both nominative and accusative pronominal demonstratives share similar stem consonants. Their difference mainly lies in stem-internal vowels (except for the medial, where the masculine and feminine forms share the same stem-internal vowel /a/) and suffixal vowels, which indicate case. The similarity can be summarized in the following table.

Table 4. The CV structure of pronominal demonstrative stems

Type of pronominal demonstrative	Masculine	Feminine
Proximal	*kVn-*	*tVn-*
Medial	*hak-k-*	*hat-t-*
Mesiodistal	*kVVʔ-*	*tVVʔ-*
Distal	*kVʔʔ-*	*tVʔʔ-*

The above table shows that masculine demonstratives consistently start with the stem-initial /k-/, while feminine demonstratives start with /t-/. This is a pan-Cushitic feature, as explained under §2. Note that in medial position, the gender markers are stem-final because the hypothetical medial demonstrative **haC-* precedes them.

(iv) From a historical perspective, the medial appears to be based on **haC-*, which attaches to demonstrative roots *k* and *t*. Therefore, we get *hak-k-* ← **haC-k-* 'that (M)' and *hat-t-* ← **haC-t-* 'that (F)'. For example, after nominative markers are suffixed, they assume the forms *hak-k-u* 'that (M)' and *hat-t-i* 'that (F).

(v) The associative marker *-ʔo* is suffixed to accusative forms of the proximal, such as *konna* 'this one (m)' and *tenne* 'this one (f)', as shown in (11). Note that *konna* is used instead of the expected *konne*.

(11) a.   *konn-a-ʔo*   *t'ook'-k'ú*
            IDEM1.M-ACC-ASSOC   flee-3PL.PFV

            'This one and his associates fled.'

      b.   *tenn-e-ʔo*   *sirb-itú*
            IDEM1.F-ACC-ASSOC   sing-EP.3PL.PFV

            'This one and her associates sang.'

(vi) Although the medial marks a medium distance, it can also function as a contrastive demonstrative as illustrated in (12).

(12) *kún-i*   *min-i*   *ʔikkinni*   *hákk-u*
      IDEM1.SG.M-NOM   house-NOM   NEG   IDEM2-M.NOM

      min-i   *di-haaro-ho*
      house-NOM   NEG-new-COP1.M

      'It is only this house and not that one [lit. 'that house'] which is new.'

In example (12), the medial *hakk-u* contrasts with the proximal *kun-i*. The medial not only contrasts with the proximal but also with the mesiodistal

and distal. Therefore, in example (12), the proximal *kun-i* can be replaced by the mesiodistal *kuuʔ-u* and the distal *kuʔʔ-u*.

2.2.2 Demonstratives and Case Marking

Sidaama demonstratives modify a head noun within an NP. In such cases, the demonstrative agrees with the head noun in case. For example, if a masculine head noun is in the subject position, it will be marked for the nominative case. The same rule applies to a demonstrative that modifies it.

Case is marked twice on pronominal demonstratives: first through the internal vowel of the stem, and second through the suffix vowels attached to the demonstrative stem. Demonstratives are marked for primary cases—nominative, accusative, and genitive—and also for secondary cases, such as dative and instrumental. In Sidaama, case is indicated not only by suffix segments but also by a corresponding accent. The rest of this section discusses each type of case marking in detail.

2.2.2.1 Accusative

A noun that appears in object position and the demonstrative pronoun modifying it are marked for the accusative case. The accusative case is the citation form of a noun and is considered the basic or unmarked case in Sidaama and related HEC languages such as Alaaba (Schneider-Blum 2007: 73), Kambaata (Treis 2008: 118), and K'abeena (Crass 2005: 85). In pronominal demonstratives, the accusative is marked by mid vowels. The initial part of the medial, a diachronic *haC-, is ignored when calculating case, and only segments after it are taken into account.

The stem-internal vowel of the accusative for masculine is /oo/ for the distal, while for the other three demonstratives (proximal, medial, and mesiodistal), it is /o/. For feminine forms, the vowel is /ee/ for the mesiodistal, and /e/ for the other three demonstratives. The final vowel of the accusative is either /-é/ or /-ée/ for all demonstrative types, both masculine and feminine. In the case of accusative plurals, the pattern of internal vowels becomes more complex. The proximal is marked by /ó/, while the medial is marked by /o/. Plural mesiodistals and distals involve two separate vowels. Thus, a mesiodistal is marked by /óo/…/o/, while a distal is marked by /ó/…/o/. Besides stem-internal and final vowels, the accusative is indicated by a stress on the final syllables.

In (13), the pronominal demonstratives are in object position and take an accusative case.

(13) a. *konn-ée*   *man-ʧ-o*   *kaaʔl-ummo*
          IDEM1.SG.M-ACC   man-SG-ACC   help-1M.SG.PFV
          'I helped this man.'

b. *teeʔ-ée*   *beett-o*   *woʃʃ-í*
    IDEM3.SG.F-ACC   girl-ACC   call-2.SG.IMP

    'Call that girl!'

2.2.2.2 Nominative

The nominative case marks the subject of both transitive and intransitive verbs. Like related HEC languages and other distantly related Cushitic languages, Sidaama has a marked nominative case system. Unlike the accusative, the nominative is marked by high vowels. As a result, the stem-internal vowels for masculine nominative forms and plurals are */ú/* for proximal and distal, and */úu/* for medial. For feminine forms, the stem-internal vowels are */í/* for proximal and distal, and */íi/* for medial. The final vowel of the nominative for most masculine demonstratives is /-*ú*/ except for the proximal, which is marked by /-*í*/. For feminine demonstratives, the final vowel is consistently /-*i*/. The marking of feminine demonstratives in the nominative is unusual, since in all other syntactic environments, feminine forms are unmarked for the nominative. For plural demonstratives, the final vowel is invariably /-*i*/. It is based on the masculine form to which the plural marker -*r* and the nominative suffix -*i* are added, respectively.[15] In all nominative forms, the first syllable is stressed.

Based on the structure of stem-internal vowels, an accusative is consistently marked by the mid vowels */e/*, */o/*, */ee/*, and */oo/* while the nominative is marked by the high vowels */i/*, */u/*, */ii/*, and */uu/*.[16] Hence, a vocalic change in nominative forms can be labelled as *raising* since stem-internal mid vowels consistently become high.

In example (14), demonstratives assume a subject position and hence take a nominative case.

(14) a. *kún-i*   *mín-i*   *haaro-ho*
          IDEM1.SG.M-NOM   house-NOM new-COP1.M

          'This house is new.'

      b. *tíiʔ-i*   *beettó*   *ros-aanʧo-te*
          IDEM3.SG.F-NOM   girl   learn-NMLZ-COP1.F

          'That girl is a student.'

15 The exception is the proximal, whereby the plural marker is suffixed to the short form *ku-* and not the complete form *kuni*.

16 Final vowels of case marking are not compared for accusative and nominative because the vocalic change is not as straightforward as in the stem-internal vowels. It is complicated in particular by a final vowel of the masculine forms, which is /-*ée*/ in the accusative that becomes /-*u*/ in the nominative (except for the proximal, where /-*ée*/ becomes /*í*/). The process involves raising and fronting vowels.

In (14a), the demonstrative and its head are masculine and in subject position. Therefore, both are marked with the nominative *-i*. In contrast, in (14b), only the feminine demonstrative is marked with *-i* for the nominative case, while the head noun *beetto* 'girl' remains unchanged because feminine nouns stay in citation form in all cases. Compared to adnominal demonstratives under §2.1, pronominal demonstratives are longer in structure and can serve as the head of a noun phrase. However, this is only possible in copular clauses and when the head noun has been mentioned at least once in the discourse. So, (14a) can be rewritten as (15) below.

(15)   *kun-i*   *haaro-ho*
         IDEM1.SG.M-NOM   new-COP1.M
         'This is new.'

Although the above sentence sounds odd, it is grammatically well-formed if the interlocutors know what the demonstrative should modify.

2.2.2.3 Genitive

Unlike the accusative and nominative forms, which are marked by stem-internal and suffixal vowels, the genitive is only marked by suffixal vowels. For masculine and plural forms, it is consistently marked by /-*í*/ and is based on the nominative form. This means the genitive marker *-í* is added to the nominative ending in *-u*. As a result, the process produces an impermissible *uí sequence that is corrected by inserting an epenthetic glide *j*, as shown in Table 3. Most feminine demonstratives form the genitive with /-*ée*/ (except for the mesiodistal, where it is /-*é*/). The feminine genitive is based on an accusative form. In the examples under (16), the demonstratives are in the genitive case. A final stressed syllable indicates the genitive.

(16) a.   *kún-i*   *beett-í*   *mat'aaf-í*[17]   *haaro-ho*
            IDEM1.SG.M-NOM   boy-GEN.M   book-NOM   new-COP1.M
            'The book of this boy is new.'

      b.   *teeʔé*   *beettoó*   *mat'aaf-í*   *ʔakkala-ho*
            IDEM3.SG.F   girl   book-NOM   old-COP1.F
            'The book of that girl is old.'

The previous section covered marking primary or core cases on pronominal demonstratives, including the nominative, accusative, and genitive cases. It was shown that suffix vowels and accent indicate the

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17   The word *mat'aafa* is a loan from the Amharic መጽሐፍ *məs'haf,* which itself was borrowed from Geʿez.

primary case. In the next section below, secondary or peripheral case markings on pronominal demonstratives will be discussed. The two cases to be addressed are the dative and instrumental cases.

2.2.2.4 Dative

Unlike primary cases, secondary cases are marked not by suffixal vowels but by syllable-sized elements of the structure -*CV* or -*CCV* that are encliticised to a genitive base. For example, the dative is marked by -*ra* (for masculine, feminine, and plural), which is suffixed to a genitive base.

(17)   a.   *Ledamao*   *kuuʔ-í-ra*   *ʔuddano* *hir-í*
               Ledamo   IDEM3.SG.M-GEN-DAT   cloth   sell-3.SG.M.PFV

              'Ledamo sold a cloth to that (M) one.'
              (Ledamo is a masculine personal name.)

        b.   *Ledamao*   *teeʔe-ra*   *ʔado*   *ʔuy-í*
               Ledamo   IDEM3.SG.F-DAT   milk   give-3.SG.M.PFV

              'Ledamo gave milk to that (F) one.'

2.2.2.5 Instrumental

The instrumental is marked by -*nni*. Its suffixation operates exactly like that of the dative. Thus, for all the forms, i.e., masculine, feminine, and plural, -*nni* is suffixed to their genitive base.

(18)   *beett-u,*   *woʃ-iʧʧo,*   *kunn-i-nni*   *ʃorr-í*
       boy-NOM   dog-EP.SG   IDEM1.SG.M-GEN.M-INS   chase-3.SG.M.PFV
       'The boy chased the dog with this one.'

In example (18), the instrument used is not specified. Therefore, sentence (18) cannot appear at the beginning of a conversation and is only possible after an interaction has been established and the topic of the discussion is already known. On the other hand, if a noun such as *sik'k'o* 'stick' replaces a demonstrative in this position, then no ambiguity will occur, as shown below.

(19) *beett-u,*   *woʃ-iʧʧo,*   *sik'k'o-te-nni*   *ʃorr-í*
      boy-NOM   dog-EP.SG   stick-GEN.F-INS   chase-3.SG.M.PFV
      'The boy chased the dog with a stick.'

In rare instances, personal pronouns can also function as demonstratives. However, this use is limited to third-person, singular pronouns used with pointing gestures made by the finger or lips. These pronouns focus on the person being addressed because they refer to entities near the addressee but

away from the speaker. Dixon (2010: 223) states, "A 3rd person pronoun may sometimes –in some languages– be used deictically, but only if accompanied by a pointing gesture." Consider the following examples.

(20) a. *ʔis-o*   *tima*   *ʔit-ì*
           3.SG.M-ACC   bread   eat-3.SG.M.IMP
           'Eat that bread (which is near to you)!'

      b. *ʔis-è,*   *ʔadò,*   *ʔag-ì*
           3.SG.F-ACC   milk   drink-3.SG.M.IMP
           'Drink that milk (which is near to you)!'

Observe the placement of the first two accent marks under (20b) on *ʔis-è* 'she (ACC)' *ʔadò* 'milk' and the pause after each noun, which is marked by a comma. Now, examine the same sentence after accentual changes.

      c. *ʔis-é*   *ʔadò,*   *ʔag-ì*
           3.SG.F-GEN   milk   drink-3.SG.M.IMP
           'Drink her milk (which is near to you)!'

Under (20c) *ʔis-é ʔadò* 'her milk' is a genitive phrase which is marked by an acute accent on the possessee, i.e. *ʔadó* 'milk', and a pause after the genitive phrase. Sentences that involve personal pronouns as demonstratives are rare in Sidaama, likely due to the ambiguity they create.

2.2.3 Functions of Pronominal Demonstratives

Demonstratives serve various pragmatic functions. According to Diessel (1999: 2), demonstratives are "…primarily used to focus the hearer's attention on objects or locations in the speech situation (often in combination with a pointing gesture), but they may also function to organize the information flow in ongoing discourse." He identifies two functions for demonstratives: exophoric and endophoric. Exophoric use refers to the situational use of demonstratives, meaning they denote physically present entities near the participants in a conversation. According to Diessel (1999: 94), exophoric demonstratives "…have three distinctive features: first, they involve the speaker [...] as the deictic center; second, they indicate a deictic contrast on a distance scale [...]; and third, they are often accompanied by a pointing gesture." He states that endophoric use refers to a non-situational use, meaning demonstratives refer to non-physical entities within the ongoing discourse. The endophoric use includes anaphoric, discourse deictic, and recognitional use (Diessel 1999: 93).

The function of demonstrative pronouns in Sidaama is briefly discussed: first, the exophoric function, then the endophoric one. Because endophoric

use naturally involves lengthy narrative sentences, and due to page limits, only a few examples will be provided.

2.2.3.1 Exophoric Use

(i) Proximal Demonstrative: In its exophoric use, the proximal demonstrative refers to an object very close to the speaker, as shown in (21). In this and other examples, the demonstratives are written in bold to highlight their function.

(21) **kún-i**   bors-i   ʔan-e-ho
      IDEM1.SG.M-NOM   bag-NOM   1SG-ACC-COP1.M
      'This bag is mine.'

In exophoric use, the Sidaama sentence is typically accompanied by the speaker pointing with either their index finger or lips. Therefore, the speaker points to a bag in front of them in the sentence above.

In addition to proximal pronominal demonstratives, adnominal demonstratives refer to an entity that is very close to the speaker. For example, the proximal demonstrative *kun-i* 'this (M)' in sentence (21) can be replaced with the proximal adnominal *ko* 'this (M)' without any change in meaning.

(22) **ko**   bors-i   ʔan-e-ho
      DDEM1.SG.M   bag   1SG-ACC-COP1.M
      'This bag is mine.'

Sometimes a proximal demonstrative can also carry a symbolic meaning, referring to entities that may not exist physically, as shown in the example below.

(23) **tín-i**   kays-ootto   hassaabe[18] danʧa-te
      IDEM1.SG.F-NOM   raise-2.SG.M.PPRFV   idea   good-COP1.F
      'This idea that you have raised is a good one.'

As shown in example (23), *hassaabe* 'idea' is an abstract concept that is not physically present. Medial demonstratives can also serve the same function.

(ii) Medial Demonstrative — The medial demonstrative refers to a referent found at a certain distance from the speaker, as shown under (24).

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18 The word *hassaabe* 'idea/thought' is a loan from Amharic ሐሳብ *hasab*.

(24) a. **hákk-u**   *man-tʃ-i,*
          IDEM2.SG.M-NOM   man-SG-NOM

          ros-iis-aan-tʃ-o-ho
          learn-EP.CAUS1-NMLZ-SG-ACC-COP1.M

          'That (near) man is a teacher.'

      b. **hakkonn-ée**   *beett-o,*   *woʃʃ-ì*
          IDEM2.SG.M-ACC   boy-ACC   call-2M.SG.IMP

          'Call that (near) boy.'

In Sentence (24b), the speaker points with his finger or uses his lips to indicate the referent, which is positioned a certain distance away from him.

(iii) Mesiodistal Demonstrative refers to a location or referent that is far from both the speaker and the listener. Therefore, it involves a pointing gesture that effectively indicates exophoric use.

(25) **tíiʔ-i**   *beetto*   *ʔay-e-eti*
      IDEM3.SG.F   girl   who-ACC-COP2

      'Who is that girl?'

(iv) Distal Demonstrative refers to a referent or location that is very far from both the speaker and the listener. Since the distance is considerable, the referent may be difficult to see. Additionally, because distal indicates a remote referent or place, its use is exclusively exophoric, which involves pointing gestures.

(26) a. **kúʔʔ-u**   *man-tʃ-i*   *ʔaj-e-eti*
          IDEM4-SG.M.NOM   man-SG-NOM   who-ACC-COP2

          'Who is that man?'

      b. **tíʔʔ-i**   *doog-o*   *hiikka[19]*   *mass-itanno*
          3.SG.F-ACC   road-ACC   where   take-EP.3SG.F.IPFV

          'Where does that road lead to [lit. "takes to"]?'

2.2.3.2 Endophoric Use

An analysis of various texts in Sidaama shows that not all pronominal demonstratives are used equally endophorically. The proximal and medial demonstrate different levels of endophoric use. In addition to pronominal demonstratives, the proximal adnominal demonstrative can also be used endophorically.

(i) Use of the Proximal Pronominal/Adnominal as Anaphoric

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19 The interrogative *hiikka* also has the variant *hiikki-ra*.

The proximal demonstratives *kún-i/tín-i* function as anaphoric demonstratives in Sidaama. The proximal adnominals *ko/te* can optionally replace these demonstratives. Anaphoric use occurs when a referent is mentioned again. For example, in *Haaro Gondooro* (the Sidaama New Testament), in Acts of the Apostles (*Soqqamaano-te Looso*[20]) 11:28, there is a story of Agabus who was seized by the Spirit and predicted a famine. Example (27) continues a Sidaama sentence that states the fulfillment of the prophecy (the morphemic cuts are mine).

(27)   *kún-i*   *himan-i*   *wo'm-ino-h-u…*
        IDEM1-SG.M.NOM   prophecy-NOM   be fill-3SG.M.PPFV-REL.M-NOM

        'This prophecy was fulfilled…' (*Soqqamaanote Looso* 11:28)

In the above sentence, the proximal demonstrative *kún-i* 'this' is used anaphorically, since it is coreferential with the prophecy of Agabus mentioned in the first sentence of verse 28. The proximal *kún-i* 'this' in example (27) can optionally be replaced by the proximal adnominal *ko₁* 'this'.

(ii) Use of a medial Demonstrative as Anaphoric

In Sidaama, a medial demonstrative is the most used anaphorically. Anderson & Keenan (1985: 280) emphasize this point, asserting "…the middle term is often the preferred form for anaphoric reference". Sentence (28) shows the anaphoric role of a medial demonstrative.

(28)   *beetto*   *doogo-te*   *ʔiima*   *t'aad-í*
        girl   road-GEN.F   on   meet-3SG.M.PFV

        'He met the girl on the road.'

        hatt-i-no   *hiikka*   *haʔr-atto*
        IDEM2.SG.F-NOM-and   where   go-2SG.M.IPFV

        j-itú-si
        say-EP.3SG.F.PFV-3SG.M.OBJ

        'And she [lit. that (F) one] said to him, "Where are you going?" '

The grammatical element used anaphorically in sentence (28) is *hatt-i*, a feminine medial demonstrative. This demonstrative can be optionally replaced by *ʔise* 'she' without changing the meaning. This aligns with Dixon's claim (2010: 223), "Where they exist, what are called '3rd person

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20 This phrase is composed of *soqqamaano* 'messengers', *-te* 'of', and *looso* 'work'.

pronouns'…are used primarily for anaphora, referring back to a fully stated 3rd person argument…".

In folktales, procedural texts, and other narratives that describe sequential events, the medial demonstrative is used anaphorically. In these structures, the medial demonstrative is paired with *gedens-aanni* 'afterwards' and indicates both the end of an event in the previous sentence and the start of a new one. Consider the example below from Matthew (2: 11) of *Qullaawa Maxaafa* (2015: 1049), the Sidaama Holy Bible that describes what the Magi presented to the infant Jesus. The morphemic cuts are mine.

(29) **hakk-u-nni**   *gedensaanni,*   *ogorra-nsa*   *fan-te*
     IDEM1-GEN-INS   afterward   bags-3PL.POSS   OPEN-3PL.CNV

     culka   *hixana-nna*   *kaarbe*   *afansha*   *ass-ite*
     gold   incense-and   myrrh   gift   make-EP.3PL.CNV

     uy-tu-si
     give-3PL.PRFV-3SG.M.OBJ

     'Then [lit. "after that"] they opened their bags and presented him gold, incense, and myrrh as a gift.'

The following example illustrates at least two of the many steps involved in making coffee. It demonstrates the use of an anaphoric medial demonstrative in a procedural text.

(30) *ʔumo*   *ʔass-ine²¹*   *buna*   *hayʃʃ-inanni*
     head   do-IMPERS.CNV   coffee   wash-EP.IMPERS.IPRFV

     hakk-u-nni   *gedensaanni*   *hayʃʃ-inonni*   *buna*
     IDEM1-GEN-INS   afterward   wash- EP.IMPERS.PPRFV   coffee

     t'ot't'-is-inanni…
     roast-CAUS1-EP.IMPERS.IPRFV

     'First, a coffee is washed. Then [lit. 'after that'] the washed coffee is roasted.'

In examples (29) and (30) and similar cases, the expression *hakkunni gedensaanni* 'then' can optionally be replaced with *hakk-iinni* 'then' (literally 'from there').

2.2.3.3 Pronominal Demonstratives as Sentential Connectors

Although the main function of pronominal demonstratives is to indicate spatial relations, they can also serve as sentential connectors, linking a previous discourse unit with the one that follows. The demonstrative that

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21 Note that 'first' is based on the idiomatic expression *ʔumo ʔass-ine* 'doing/making head'.

performs this role is the proximal *kun-i*. It becomes a sentential connector by suffixing *-no* 'and', which is then followed by the infinitive of the verb *j-* 'say'.

(31) *kun-i-no*   *j-a*
       IDEM1-SG.M.NOM-and   say-INF
       'and this means'

The function of the above connector is to conclude what has been mentioned earlier in the sentence or to draw a conclusion from the observed phenomenon. For example, when a child is yawning repeatedly, one may say:

(32) *…kun-i-no*   *j-a*   *got'-a-ra-ati*[22]
       …IDEM1-SG.M.NOM-and   say-INF   sleep-3.M.IPFV-to-COP2

       j-aa-te
       say-INF-F.COP1
       '…This means he is going to sleep.'

The sentential connector in (32) implies that the infant is going to sleep because he has been yawning repeatedly.

2.2.4 Grammaticalization of Demonstrative Stems

Demonstratives in Sidaama also serve a non-deictic function. One of these functions involves using demonstratives as a source for grammaticalization. Therefore, the proximal adnominals *ko* (m) and *te* (f), along with the demonstrative roots *k* and *t*, have acted as sources for various linguistic elements of Sidaama through grammaticalization.

Schneider Blum (2007: 111-112) explains grammaticalization in Alaaba, a related HEC language: "Although in Alaaba, modifiers usually precede the noun, the hypothesis that the new suffix originated from the demonstrative pronoun is supported by the fact that we see the same pattern with personal pronouns: independent forms contrast with pronominal clitics." The same applies to Sidaama.

It is possible to assume that various grammatical elements originated from the grammaticalization of either the proximal adnominals *ko* (M) and *te* (F) or the demonstrative roots *k* (M) and *t* (F). These include relativizers and nominalizers *-h* (<-*k*) (M), *-t* (F), the suffixes for the copulae *-ho* (<- *ko*) (M),

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22   The actual imperfective suffix of a 3M.SG is *-anno*. However, in cases where a suffix such as *-ra* 'to' is attached to the inflected verb, the *nno* component is elided, leaving behind *-a*.

-te (F), *-vti*[23], feminine genitive and dative *-te*, interrogative demonstratives: *hiit-to* 'how?', *hiik-kò* 'where?', *hiik-ká* 'to where?', etc., the bound proximal spatial pronoun *ka=b-a* 'here', the complementizer *-ta*, and the temporal adverbial *ka-woote*.[24] Several of these grammaticalized forms will be discussed briefly.

(i) Relativized or nominalized verbs modify head nouns. As modifiers, relativized verbs are also marked for case. The stems of relative markers are: *-h* (< *-k*) (m), *-t* (f), and *-r* (pl). The sources of the masculine and feminine relative markers are the demonstrative roots *k* and *t*, respectively. Below are presented relativizer formants with their case markings.

Table 5. The relative markers with their case markings

	Nominative	Accusative
Masculine	*-h-u* (< *-ku*)	*-h-a* (< *-k-a*)
Feminine	*-t-i*	*-t-a*
Plural	*-r-i*	*-r-e*

Here is an example based on a relativized verb.

(33)   *bero*   *hig-ino-h-u*   *rodoo-ʔja-ati*
        yesterday   return-PPFV-REL.M-NOM.M   brother-1.GEN-COP2
        'The one who returned yesterday was my brother.'

Regarding the grammaticalization of demonstratives in nominalized or relativized forms, Appleyard (2012: 269 states, "A verb with the K-class suffix in DAT expresses causal subordination like in *haḏino-hu-ra* 'because he went'. Undoubtedly, that permits the marked sentences to act as nominals.

(ii) Ordinal numerals are nominalized by adding the demonstrative roots *k* and *t*. They are derived from cardinal numeral stems by suffixing the allomorphs /-ki/ and /-kki/, that vary phonologically. The allomorph *-ki* is added to stems ending in the sonorant /l/ as in *ʃool-ki* 'fourth' (from *ʃoole* 'four'), while *-kki* appears in other cases, like *ʔont-i-kki* 'fifth' (from *ʔonte* 'five'). The demonstrative roots *k* and *t* are case-marked: the accusative by *-a*, and the nominative by *-u* (masculine) and *-i* (feminine). During this process, the demonstrative root *k* weakens to *h* intervocalically. The suffixation of the demonstrative roots *k* and *t* to the ordinal numeral is illustrated below.

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23   The copula *-vti* occurs after modified common nouns and proper nouns.
24   Appleyard (2002: 265) also mentions the grammaticalization role of demonstratives in Sidaama. He writes, "The basic forms of the demonstratives, now totally transparent only in the "vocative" particles, have given rise to…" and lists down various grammaticalized forms.

(34)　　a.　　*lamal-k-ih-u*
　　　　　　　seven-ORD-EP.NMLZ.M-NOM.M
　　　　　　　'the seventh one (M)'

　　　　　b.　　*lamal-k-it-i*
　　　　　　　seven-ORD-EP.NMLZ.F-NOM.F
　　　　　　　'the seventh one (F)'

(iii) The proximal adnominals *ko* (m) and *te* (f) may have served as the source for the unmodified dative of the masculine marked by *-ho* and the feminine dative marked by *-te*, as shown below.

(35)　　a.　　*saa-té*　　　　　　　b.　　*hando-hó*
　　　　　　　COW-DAT.F　　　　　　　　　OX-DAT.M
　　　　　　　'for the cow'　　　　　　　　'for the ox'

Note that the basic form of the masculine dative is *-ko*. It changes to *-ho* after the widespread weakening rule in Sidaama, where *k* becomes *w* intervocalically, as shown below.[25]

(36)　　$k \rightarrow w$ / V_V

(iv) The unmodified genitive form of a feminine noun *-te* is the same as the feminine proximal adnominal.

(37)　　*saa-tè*　　　　　*buud-a*
　　　　　COW-GEN.F　　　　horn-ACC
　　　　　'the cow's horn'

(v) Serving as copulas for unmodified nouns are *-ho* (< *-ko*) (M) and *-te* (F). These forms are identical to *ko* and *te*, which are masculine and feminine adnominals. The modified copula is marked by *-vti,* where the element *t* is a demonstrative root.[26]

(38)　　a.　　*hando-hò*　　　　　　　b.　　*saa-tè*
　　　　　　　OX-COP1.M　　　　　　　　　COW-COP1.F
　　　　　　　'It is an ox.'　　　　　　　　'It is a cow.'

　　　　　c.　　*ʔamma-ʔja-ati*
　　　　　　　mother-1SG.POSS-*v*COP2
　　　　　　　'It is my mother.'

25　Weakening also affects two other stops; hence, *b* and *ɗ* become *w* and *ʔr*, respectively, intervocalically.

26　The copula *-vti* (COP2), among others, has a function of cleft marking.

(vi) Many of the interrogative demonstratives in Sidaama consist of a hypothetical element *hiiC-*, which is followed by the demonstrative roots *k* and *t*, as shown below.

Table 6. Interrogative demonstratives

hiit-to	'how?'
hiik-k-o	'where?'
hiik-ka	'to where?'
hiik-k-u	'which one (M)?'
hiit-t-i	'which one (F)?'

(vii) The suffix *-ta* functions as a complementizer in Sidaama, and its origin seems to be the feminine demonstrative root *t*, which is case-marked in the accusative. The example in (39) includes the complementizer *-ta*.

(39)   *diina-nsa*   *k'eel-tino-ta*   *ʔaf-oommo*
       enemy-3PL.GEN   defeat-3PL.PPRFV-COMP   know-1M.SG.PPRFV
       'I know that they have defeated their enemy'

(viii) Under §2, it was mentioned that *ko*, the masculine proximal adnominal, has a variant *ka*. This adnominal, in conjunction with *wote* 'time', gave rise to the temporal adverbial *ka-woote* 'at this time'.

2.3 Presentatives

The term presentative refers to a word that introduces an entity, drawing attention to it for the listener. Therefore, presentatives are used when introducing an item or emphasizing a referent. Presentatives of Sidaama indicate entities visible to the deictic center (the speaker) and the listener. All presentatives serve an exophoric function because they involve pointing gestures using the index finger. Sidaama has a set of presentatives with a four-way distance distinction, similar to other demonstratives.

Table 7. Sidaama presentatives with their range of spatial markings

Proximal	*k-u-ne*	designates a referent on one's hand or at arm's length of the speaker
Medial	*hak-k-u-ne*	designates a referent which is near the addressee
Mesiodistal	*kuuʔ-u-ne*	designates a referent which is visible but far away from the speaker and the addressee
Distal	*kuʔʔ-u-ne*	designates a very far (remote) referent both from the speaker and addressee, which is almost invisible (out-of-sight)

Based on Table 3 of pronominal demonstratives, it is clear that almost all presentatives are derived from a masculine nominative form of

pronominal demonstratives, to which the hypothetical presentative suffix -ne is added. Therefore, presentatives consist of three elements in the following order: a masculine pronominal demonstrative stem, the nominative suffix -u, and -ne. The suffix -ne is tentatively assumed to be a presentative marker since it appears in all presentative forms. The only exception seems to be the proximal presentative k-u-ne, whose correct form should have been *k-u-ni-ne, because the nominative form of the proximal is kun-i. Thus, to derive kune, it is necessary to assume the deletion of the element ni before adding the suffix -ne. The medial presentative hak-k-u-ne appears to be derived from the proximal presentative kune by prefixing a hypothetical *haC-. This derivation is valid for medial presentatives, medial adnominals, and medial pronominal demonstratives.

Unlike adnominals, presentatives do not distinguish gender. Sidaama presentatives only have masculine forms, as reflected in their internal case markings. Unlike pronominal demonstratives, they are also not inflected for number. Regarding case, they appear solely in the nominative, a limited single case form. Consequently, presentatives are quite impoverished in terms of nominal features like gender, number, and case. In summary, compared to adnominals and pronominals, presentatives are more fixed or frozen forms. In contrast, Kambaata marks presentatives for gender and number (Treis 2020).

Sidaama representatives serve a predicative function and can express the meaning of an entire clause without extra elements. However, this relies on prior interaction between speakers and some shared background knowledge. For example, if one person is searching for their lost watch and another finds it, they can say ku-ne or ku-ne-eti 'here it is' (with the addition of the copula -vti). The examples in (40) illustrate the use of presentatives. Below, and in examples (41) and (42), the presentatives are shown without morphemic segmentation because they are invariant forms.

(40)   a.   *has-ootto*   *beetto*   *kuuʔune*
              look_for-2SG.M.PPRFV   girl   PRS3
              'There is the girl whom you looked for.'

    b.   *ʔarg-is-ootto-ʔe*[27]   *mat'aaf-i*   *kune-eti*
              lend-EP.CAUS-2SG.M.PPRFV-1SG.OBJ   book-NOM   PRS1-COP2
              'Here is the book that you lent me.'

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27 In Sidaama, the verb stem ʔarg -can carry either the meaning 'borrow' or 'lend'. The meaning change is achieved via derivational suffixes: -s (CAUS1) derives ʔarg-is 'lend' and -ɗ (middle voice) derives ʔarg-i'r- 'borrow'. Additionally, there are different verbs for lending or borrowing objects or money. Thus ʔarg- 'lend/ borrow (objects)' and lik'- 'lend/ borrow (money)'.

In both examples under (40), the verbs are in a relative or nominalized form, even though they lack an overt relativizer. However, the verbs can optionally attach relativizers or nominalizers: *-t-i* for feminine (40a) and *-h-u* for masculine (40b).

Note that in (40), the referents indicated by the presentatives appear only in a nominative form. Thus, in (40b**),** *mat'aaf-i* 'book' is the nominative form of the word *mat'aafa*. In (40a), the referent *beetto* 'girl' has a final *-o* that usually marks the accusative. However, in (40a) the referent *beetto* 'girl' is in a subject position like its counterpart *mat'aaf-i* 'book' in (40b). Nonetheless, *beetto* 'girl' is not marked by a nominative suffix such as *-u* or *-i* because feminine nouns in Sidaama are not marked overtly for a nominative, unlike their masculine counterparts. This means that for feminine nouns, such as *beetto* 'girl', the same form is used in both subject and object positions.

Sidaama representatives are gender- and number-neutral. Therefore, the same proximal presentative *kune* 'here it is' can be used for both masculine and feminine subjects. Additionally, the same presentative *kune* is used for singular and plural referents. Example (41) demonstrates the gender- and number-neutrality of presentatives.

(41)   a.   *kune-eti*   *beett-u*
                PRS1-COP2   boy-NOM.M
                'Here is the boy.'

         b.   *kune-eti*   *man-ʧo*
                PRS1-COP2   woman-SG
                'Here is the woman.'

         c.   *kune-eti*   *mat'aaf-fa*
                PRS1-COP2   book-PL
                'Here are the books.'

The medial presentative *hakkune* 'here it is' in the sentence below is an idiomatic expression, and it functions as an interjection.

(42)   *hakkune*   *ʔan-e*   *baʔ-itto*[28]
        PRS2   1SG-ACC   be lost-2.M.SG.PERF
        'Oh my, what has befallen me?' [lit. 'There, I am lost.']

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28 In the above sentence and elsewhere, the medial presentative *hakkune* has the variant *hakkuje*. In addition, sentence (42) has the abbreviated form *hakkune ʔan-e* 'oh my'.

3. Conclusion

This paper examined the spatial deictics of Sidaama related to distance. Distance is expressed in the language through adnominal demonstratives, pronominal demonstratives, and presentatives.

Adnominal demonstratives have a four-way distance scale and are not inflected for nominal features. Therefore, they are shorter than pronominal demonstratives. Although adnominal demonstratives modify a nominative head, they are not marked for case or number.

Pronominal demonstratives in Sidaama display a four-way distance distinction to indicate how close or far a referent is from the deictic center. These are proximal, medial, mesiodistal, and distal. The demonstratives are speaker-oriented, meaning they locate a referent relative to the speaker. They are inflected for nominal features such as number, gender, and case. Regarding case, they are inflected for both primary/core cases and secondary/peripheral cases. The primary cases include the nominative, accusative, and genitive. Among peripheral cases, demonstratives are inflected for dative and instrumental, which are formed from the genitive case by adding suffixes -*ra* and -*nni*, respectively. Case is marked twice on pronominal demonstratives: first through the internal vowel of the stem, and second by the final vowel attached to the demonstrative stem. Mid vowels indicate the accusative case within the stem, while high vowels mark the nominative. Case marking involves both suffixal vowels and accentuation.

Demonstratives serve both exophoric and endophoric roles. The former pertains to the situational use of demonstratives, i.e., they point to entities physically present in the conversation. The latter involves a non-situational use, where demonstratives refer to non-physical entities within the ongoing discourse.

Besides indicating spatial relationships, the proximal *kunni ~ kuni* can also serve as a sentence connector by linking a previous discourse unit to the next one. It achieves this by encliticizing -*no* 'and', which is then followed by the infinitive of the verb *j-* 'say'.

It is assumed that the proximal adnominals (*ko* 'this.M' *te* 'this.F') and the demonstrative roots *k* and *t* have become grammaticalized into different forms. This includes, among others, relativizers or nominalizers (-*h, -t*), suffixes for the copulas (-*ho*, -*te*, -*Vti*), interrogative demonstratives, and so on.

Presentatives, like other demonstratives, make a four-part distance distinction. Most presentatives are based on nominative masculine pronominal demonstratives, with the suffix -*ne* added as a presentative marker. In terms of nominal features, presentatives are not inflected for gender or number. They are also limited in case marking because they only

take the nominative case. Therefore, presentatives can be seen as fixed forms. All presentatives serve an exophoric function. They involve pointing gestures with the index finger.

Abbreviations

1	first person		IMPERS	impersonal
2	second person		INTR	intransitive verb
3	third person		IPFV	imperfective
ASSOC	associative		INF	infinitive
CAUS1	single causative		INS	instrumental
CAUS2	double causative		LOC	locative
CNV	converb		M	masculine
COMP	complementizer		NEG	negative
CONJ	conjunction		NMLZ	nominalizer
COP1	ho/te copula		NOM	nominative
COP2	*V*-ti copula		OBJ	object marker
DAT	dative		ORD	ordinal
DDEM1	proximal adnominal		PFV	perfective
DDEM2	medial adnominal		PL	plural
DDEM3	mesiodistal adnominal		POSS	possessive
DDEM4	distal adnominal		PPFV	present perfective
EP	epenthesis		PRS1	proximal presentative
F	feminine		PRS2	medial presentative
IDEM1	proximal demonstrative		REL	relativizer
IDEM2	medial demonstrative		SG	singular/singulative
IDEM3	mesiodistal demonstrative		TR	transitive verb
IDEM4	distal demonstrative		VOC	vocative
IMP	imperative			

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Anbessa Teferra,
Tel Aviv University, Israel