

## DEICTICS IN AMHARIC<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

*This paper is an attempt made to fill in gaps in the morphosyntax of Amharic deictics. It makes a thorough description of the inflections of personal, spatial and locative deictics at root and stem levels. At the root level, deictics show affixes for the nominal features of person, gender or number and at the stem level, they show inflections for such adnominal features as dimension, exclusive and presentative reference of objects in space and / or discourse. The affixes of the nominal features at the root level are obligatory whereas those affixes at the stem level are optional and that both types of affixes follow the same pattern of affix ordering where the affixes of the adnominal features of the stem follow the affixes of nominal features of the root. Both the roots and their extended stems take noun phrases as their complements and the heads of such complements may remain null or undergo ellipses as their content is recoverable from the forms of the agreement affixes or from the context of a running discourse.*

**Keywords:** deictics, features, adnominals, specifier, complement, roots, stems, presentative, endearing, pleading

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## 1. Introduction

In the descriptive literature on Amharic morphosyntax, there are a number of topics that have not been treated in-depth. One such topic is deictics, a cover term for demonstratives, pronouns, articles, time and place adverbials, and tense, all of which provide a point of reference for participants in speech events (Lyons 1977; Levinson 2004: 70; Diessel 2012). In such major works as Hartmann (1980), and Leslau (1995), ample examples of deictic expressions have been provided but with little or no account of their internal constituents and functions.

In his seminal work on Amharic demonstratives, Getatchew (1967), made a three-way distinction of spatial references of objects situated in spatio-temporal coordinates, whose expressions require demonstratives, and third person pronouns, the latter referring to objects which are proximal to an addressee and distal to the addresser. Demonstratives point at objects proximal to an addresser and distal to both. There are, thus, one distal and two proximal expressions of reference relative to participants as deictic centers.

What is lacking in such previous studies is a thorough description of the morphological structure of the deictic elements themselves. The only attempt in this regard is Taddese (1989), which is an account of the forms, and sociolinguistic functions of only personal pronouns as endearing terms, identified with the morpheme *-əyyä* as in [*ʔantäyyä*], [*ʔančəyyä*], [*ʔənnantäyyä*], etc. ‘you, SG.M, SG.F, PL my dear’, respectively.

The description is, however, limited on two counts: One is that it is restricted to only second person pronouns, though the endearing function extends to third person pronouns which also behave the same in the variety of Amharic spoken in Wällo, for example, where [*ʔəssuyyä*], [*ʔəss<sup>w</sup>ayyä*], and [*ʔənnässuyyä*] ‘he, she, and they, my dear, respectively’ serve as expressions of endearment. Second in this same variety, the endearing morpheme is *-əwwa*, and not *-əyyä* which is attested in the Addis Ababa variety. In the Wällo variety it (*-əyyä*) is used as a term of pleading with second person, and of recalling with third person pronouns. Compare the following:

- (1) a. *na*  
 come  
 ‘Come’
- b. *ʔantä na*  
 you come  
 ‘You come’

- c. *ʔantä-əyyä* [*antäyyä*] *na*  
 ‘you-PLD                      come  
 ‘You come, please’  
 ‘You come please, why do you stop moving?’

(1a) is a simple command; (b) could be a mild request whereas (c) is an expression of insistence that one keep moving.

Furthermore, there is nothing said about the internal structures and pragmatic functions of spatial deictics, alias, demonstratives in Taddese’s account. The present study is, thus, an attempt to fill in gaps with a thorough description of personal, spatial and locative deictics in terms of inflections at root, and extended stem levels. At the root level, deictics show affixes for the nominal features of person, gender or number and at the stem level they show inflections for adnominal features such as size, exclusive reference, and presentation of objects in discourse.

The affixes of the nominal features at the root level are obligatory whereas those at the stem level are optional and that both types follow the same pattern of ordering where the affixes of the nominal features follow the root and those of the adnominal features follow the stem which is derived (extended) for the functions mentioned above. Both the roots and their extended stems take noun phrases as complements whose heads may remain null or undergo ellipses as their content is recoverable from the forms of the affixes on the deictics. In other words, the deictics agree with the head of the complement noun phrase that they specify by showing nominal affixes.

The paper is organized in five sections, the first of which is the above brief introduction. The second is a description of personal deictics, that is, pronouns; whereas the third and fourth are about spatial and locative deictics. The final section is a short summary of the entire description. The data is, in the main, from fieldwork done in rural villages of South Wällo<sup>2</sup> and from my introspection.

## 2. Personal Deictics

The personal deictics of Amharic are based on the following roots, (Taddese 1988: 121; Tesfaye 2016: 150):

- (2) a. *ʔən-*  
 b. *ʔan-*  
 c. *ʔərs-<sup>3</sup>*

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2 These are Wärrä Babo, Wära Ilu, K’alu, Lägä Hida, Boräna, Tänta, Ambassäl, and Tehulädäre  
 3 *ʔərs-* ‘self’ / ‘head’ occurs bare in the reciprocal form *ʔərs bä-ʔərs-* (*u*), lit. ‘self - by-self’ / ‘one another’

Each root is followed by the suffix:  $-e^4$ ,  $-t$  and  $-u$ , first, second and third person, respectively. With the affixes attached, the deictics read as follows:

- (3) 1<sup>st</sup>  $\varrho\partial n-e$  [ $\varrho\partial ne$ ] 'I'  
 2<sup>nd</sup>  $\varrho an-t-$  [ $\varrho ant-$ ]<sup>5</sup> 'you'  
 3<sup>rd</sup>  $\varrho\partial rs-u$  [ $\varrho\partial rsu$ ] 'he'

The second and third person stems are then followed by the feminine markers,  $-i$  and  $-a$ , and the honorific suffixes,  $-u$  and  $-o$ , respectively.

- (4) 1<sup>st</sup>  $\varrho\partial n-e$  [ $\varrho\partial ne$ ]  
 2<sup>nd</sup> M  $\varrho an-t\ddot{a}$   
           F  $\varrho an-\check{c}<t-i$  [ $\varrho an\check{c}i$ ]<sup>6</sup>  
           H  $\varrho an-t-u$   
 3<sup>rd</sup> M  $\varrho\partial rs-u$  [ $\varrho\partial ssu$ ]  
           F  $\varrho\partial rs-u-a$  [ $\varrho\partial rs^w a$ ]/ [ $\varrho\partial ss^w a$ ]  
       H.PRX  $\varrho\partial rs-u-u^7 > [o]$  [ $\varrho\partial rs o$ ]/ [ $\varrho\partial ss o$ ]/ [ $\varrho\partial rs\partial wo$ ] [ $\partial ss\partial wo$ ]  
       DIS  $\varrho\partial rs-a\check{c}\check{c}-\ddot{a}w$  [ $\varrho\partial rs a\check{c}\check{c}\ddot{a}w$ ]/ [ $\varrho\partial ss a\check{c}\check{c}\ddot{a}w$ ]

The honorific form  $\varrho ant-u$  is based on the second person singular stem  $\varrho ant-$ , to which the vocative honorific  $-u$  is attached. For non-vocative second person honorific, the form [ $\varrho\partial rs o$ ]/ [ $\varrho\partial ss o$ ] is used. [ $\varrho\partial ss\partial wo$ ] serves as a second person proximal non-vocative honorific (Kapeliuk 1994), and [ $\varrho\partial ss a\check{c}\check{c}\ddot{a}w$ ] for a third person distal (in)-visible honorific counterpart.

The suffix  $-u$  is a plural marker in verbal predicates of clauses such as the following where it refers to a second or third person plural subject:

- 
- 4  $-e$  could be the same first person genitive pronominal suffix found in forms like */bet-e/* 'house-my'. A reviewer commented that the pronouns should not be analyzed morphologically since they are lexicalized. But there is no denying that  $-e$ ,  $-t$  and  $-u$  are person marking morphemes suffixed to their respective root/stem and that their relation with the base is subject to morphological analysis irrespective of the diachrony–synchrony divide.
- 5 [ $\varrho ant$ ] is used in emphatic pejorative expressions like  *$\varrho ant$  balägge* 'you rude!' Its mild counterpart is  *$\varrho ant\ddot{a}$  balägge* 'you rude'.
- 6 The feminine marker is  $-i$ ;  $-t$  is the second person marker, which goes to [ $\check{c}$ ] because of the suffix vowel following it. In imperfective verbs,  $-t$  comes as a prefix and  $-i$  as a suffix. Hence  *$t\partial$ -säbr- $i$*  'you (F) break'.
- 7 The second  $-u$  is the honorific marker which turns into [ $o$ ] because of dissimilation. These are harmonic processes of raising, lowering and centering, deletion of vowels and homorganic assimilations of consonants, which I will not go into here, (see Baye 2016 for details)

- (5) a. *ʔənnä-ʔan-tä* [*ʔənnantä*] *bəl-u*  
 PCL-you-2SG.M eat-PL  
 ‘You.PL eat’
- b. *ʔənnä-ʔərs-u* [*ʔənnässu*] *yi-bl-u*  
 PCL-he-3SG 3M-eat-PL  
 ‘They may eat’

This is consistent with the fact that honorificity presupposes plurality which itself is based on masculinity, which is embedded with some form of power (Kristin et al (2001; Baye 2014: 7). Hence both *ʔantu* and *ʔəssu* are derivative of the masculine *ʔant-ä* ‘you’ and *ʔərs-u* ‘he’, and not of the feminine [*ʔanči*] and [*ʔəss<sup>w</sup>a*], respectively, the latter having no power associated, and hence no separate term for the honorific expression, (Zealelem 2010).

Personal deictics show the associative paucal plural with the proclitic *ʔənnä* as in the following paradigms.

- |     |      |   |                                       |   |
|-----|------|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| (6) | 2nd. | M | <i>ʔənnä-ʔan-t-ä</i><br>‘you and co.’ | [ <i>ʔənnantä</i> ]                             |
|     | 3rd. | M | <i>ʔənnä-ʔərs-u</i>                   | [ <i>ʔənnässu</i> ]/[ <i>ʔənnärsu</i> ]         |
|     |      | H | <i>ʔənnä-ʔərsaččäw</i>                | [ <i>ʔənnässaçčäw</i> ]/[ <i>ʔənnärsaččäw</i> ] |

The reading in each case is X and his company/associate, where X is a non-honorific masculine, except in [*ʔənnässaçčäw*], which refers to both the honorific and the paucal plural. The use of the proclitic extends to proper nouns such as *Kasa* as in, *ʔənnä Kasa*, ‘Kasa and his companion or associates’ where *Kasa* is prominent.

The person, gender or number or honorific affixes are expressions of agreement holding between the head of a complement noun phrase and its deictic determiner (specifier). The linear ordering of the affixes relative to each other and to the deictic host is: person - gender /- number/ - honorificity as shown in (7):

- |     |            |           |           |   |           |                                   |
|-----|------------|-----------|-----------|---|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| (7) | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>-t</i> | <i>-i</i> | / | <i>-u</i> | [ <i>ʔanči</i> ]/[ <i>ʔantu</i> ] |
|     | base       | -2        | -F        | / | -H        |                                   |

The paucal proclitic *ʔənnä*, the honorific *-u*<sup>8</sup> and the feminine *-i* are mutually exclusive, as the starred examples in (8) show:

8 A reviewer pointed out that the honorific suffix *-u* in *ʔan-t-u* is historically a plural marker, which is true but its use as a plural marker is not restricted to

- (8) a.  $\int an -t-u$  /  $\int an -\check{c}<t-i-u/$  \* [ $\int an\check{c}-u$ ]  
 base -2-H base -2-F-H  
 ‘you paucal’
- b.  $\int an-t-u$  /  $\int an\check{n}\check{n}\check{a}$   $\int an-t-u/$  \* [ $\int anmantu$ ]  
 base-2-H PCL base-2-H

As stated earlier, honorificity is based on the masculine and hence forms like [ $\int an\check{c}-u$ ] in (8) which are based on the feminine stem / $\int an-\check{c}-$ / are ruled out on grounds pragmatics and not for reasons of formal (structural) requirements. (8b) is unacceptable because  $-u$  cannot have both honorific and paucal readings at the same time.

As stated in the introduction, inflected second and third person deictics occur with the suffix  $-\text{\textcircled{a}}yy\check{a}$  to express simple pleading or endearing in contexts such as where one is found doing something unpleasant like insulting or hitting someone else, which calls for expressions like the following:

- (9) 2M  $\int an -t\check{a}$   $-\text{\textcircled{a}}yy\check{a}$  [ $\int ant\check{a}yy\check{a}$ ]  $t\check{a}w$   
 base -2SG.M -PLD stop  
 ‘(You) please stop (it)’
- 2F  $\int an-\check{c}<t-i-\text{\textcircled{a}}yy\check{a}$  [ $\int an\check{c}\text{\textcircled{a}}yy\check{a}$ ]  $t\check{a}w-i$  [ $t\check{a}y$ ]<sup>9</sup>  
 base-2SG-F -PLD stop-2FSG  
 ‘(You) please stop (it)’
- 2H  $\int an-t-u$   $-\text{\textcircled{a}}yy\check{a}$  [ $antuyy\check{a}$ ]  $yi-t\check{a}w-u$   
 base-2SG-H -PLD 3-stop-PL  
 ‘May you please stop (it)’

The above are expressions of mild pleading; in cases of strong pleading,  $-\text{\textcircled{a}}yy\check{a}$  is used along with  $-\text{\textcircled{a}}wwa$ , which, as stated earlier, is an expression of endearment in pronouns and proper nouns as in (10a) and (b) below:

- (10) a.  $\int an-t\check{a}$   $-\text{\textcircled{a}}yy\check{a}-\text{\textcircled{a}}wwa$  [ $\int ant\check{a}yy\check{a}wwa$ ]  $t\check{a}w$   
 base-2SG.M -PLD -ENDR stop  
 ‘You dear stop please’

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pronouns only and to the past, but extends to verbs as in:  $b\check{a}l-u$  ‘you.PL eat’  $yi-bl-u$  ‘they eat’ in which it refers to second and third person plural/honorific subject, respectively, in synchronic use.

- 9 The change of /w/ to [y] is a simple fronting of the labiovelar glide triggered by the high front vowel and it does not suggest a different base for the suffix,  $-i$  to attach to as pointed out by a reviewer.



3 PCL	[[ʔənnä-ʔərs-u]	-äñña-]	[ʔənnässuñña-]
	PCL-base-3SG.M	-EXV	

Such extended stems, like their basic (root) counterparts inflect for person, gender or number in agreement with a head noun which they specify, and which may, hence, remain phonetically empty as in (13) below:

- (13) a. 2SG.M [[ʔan-tä] -äñña-u] [ʔantäññaw]  
 base-2SG.M -EXV-3SG.M  
 (lit.) ‘You (the) exclusive one’
- b. 2SG.F [[ʔan-č<t-i] -äñña-u-a] [ʔančīññawa]  
 base-2SG.F -EXV-3SG-F  
 (lit.) ‘You (the) exclusive one’
- c. 3SG.M [[ʔərs-u] -äñña-u] [ʔəssuññaw]  
 base-3SG.M -EXV-3SG.M  
 (lit.) ‘He (the) exclusive one’
- d. 3SG.F [[ʔərs-u-a] -äñña-u-a] [ʔəss<sup>w</sup>aññawa]  
 base-3SG-F -EXV-3SG-F  
 (lit.) ‘She (the) exclusive one’

The person and gender suffixes of the extended stems are **-u** and **-a**, for both second and third persons, and that they are formally different from the second person marker **-t** and the feminine marker **-i** of the basic (root) level affixes.

Such extended stems of exclusive reference can occur with the proclitic *ʔənnä*, and the suffix *-očč*, to express the associative paucal and the specific<sup>11</sup> plural, respectively, a context from which the second and third person feminine markers **-i** and **-a** are excluded as stated earlier. Hence, (14a) and (15a) but not (b):

- (14) a. [ʔənnä-[ʔan-tä] -äñña-očč-] [ʔənnantäññočč-]  
 PCL-you-2SG -EXV-PL  
 ‘You exclusive and...’
- b. \* ʔənnä-an-č<t-i -äñña-očč- [ʔənnantččəññočč-]  
 PCL-you-2SG.F -EXV-PL  
 ‘You.F.PL exclusively and...’

11 The plural in Amharic is collective and is unmarked; what is marked with the proclitic *ʔənnä* in deictics, and with the suffix *-očč* in nouns is the paucal which refers to a few specific set of objects of social relevance, which one can count or measure, and not just to any noun that refers to objects that are countable (Baye 1996; 2009).

- (15) a. [ʔənnä-[ʔərs-u] -äñña-očč-] [ʔənnässuññočč-]  
 PCL-base-3SG -EXV-PL  
 ‘They exclusively and...’
- b. \* ʔənnä-ʔərs-u-a -äñña-očč- [ʔənnäss<sup>w</sup>aññočč-]  
 PCL-base-3SG-3F -EXV-PL

Such stems of exclusive reference finally take the pronominal enclitic -*u* ‘one’ to assume their full paucal masculine forms in (16) below:

- (16) a. [[ʔənnä-[ʔan-tä -äñña-očč-]-u] [ʔənnantäññočču]  
 PCL-base-2SG.M -EXV-PL-one  
 (lit.) ‘You (the) exclusive **ones**’ / ‘You.PL in particular’
- b. [[ʔənnä-ʔərs-u-äñña-očč-]-u] [ʔənnässuññočču]  
 PCL-base-3SG.M -EXV-PL-one  
 (lit.) ‘They (the) exclusive ones’ / ‘They in particular’

The specific plural suffix *-očč* here refers to a definite head noun to which the exclusive deictic stem refers and with which it agrees in person and number as in (c) below.

- c. [[ʔənnä-ʔərs-u-äñña-očč-]-u] [ʔənnässuññočču]  
 PCL-base-3SG.M -EXV-PL-3PL  
*ləğ-očč*  
 child-PL  
 (lit.) ‘They exclusive ones children’  
 ‘Those children exclusively/particularly’

These are expressions based on the paucal masculine. Their feminine singular counterparts show the diminutive marker *-it*, as in (17):

- (17) a. [[ʔan-č<t-i] -äñña]-it-]  
 base-2SG.F -EXV-DIM-  
 ‘You exclusive diminutive’  
 ‘You, the diminutive one exclusively’
- b. [[ʔəss-u-a] -äñña]-it-]  
 base-3SG.F -EXV-DIM-  
 (lit.) ‘She the exclusive diminutive’  
 ‘She, (the) diminutive one exclusively/particularly’

The exclusive and the diminutive are coexistent in the sense that the latter occurs if and only if the former does. Hence, forms like /ʔan-č<t-i -it-/ \* [ʔančit] and /ʔəss -u-a-it/ \* [ʔəss<sup>w</sup>ait] are ruled out for reasons of co-occurrence restrictions on the basic feminine marker *-č* and the diminutive

suffix *-it* occurring immediately adjacent to each other when the exclusive affix *-äñña* is lacking. In such contexts, the exclusive is followed by the third person marker *-u* and the feminine suffix, *-a*, as in  $[[\text{ʔ}\text{əss}\text{-u}\text{-a}]\text{-}\text{äñña}\text{-u}\text{-a}]$   $[\text{ʔ}\text{əss}^w\text{äññawa}]$ , where the basic and the extended stem show identical person and gender suffixes (shown in bold).

The diminutive *-it* can also be followed by the pronominal enclitic *-u* as in (18):

- (18) a.  $[[\text{ʔ}\text{an}\text{-}\check{c}\text{<}t\text{-}i] \text{-}\text{äñña}\text{-}it\text{-}u]]$   $[\text{ʔ}\text{an}\check{c}\text{iññayitu}]$   
 base-2SG.F-F -EXV-DIM-3SG (one)  
 ‘You, the diminutive one exclusively/particularly’
- b.  $[[\text{ʔ}\text{ərs}\text{-}u\text{-}a] \text{-}\text{äñña}\text{-}it\text{-}u]]$   $[\text{ʔ}\text{əss}^w\text{äññayitu}]$   
 base-3SG-F -EXV-DIM-3SG (one)  
 ‘She, the diminutive one exclusively/particularly’

Such exclusive diminutive singular forms can be optionally followed by the third person feminine suffix *-a*, and appear in their full forms in (19).

- (19) a.  $[[[\text{ʔ}\text{an}\text{-}\check{c}\text{<}t\text{-}i \text{-}\text{äñña}\text{-}it\text{-}u\text{-}a]]\text{ʔ}\text{an}\check{c}\text{iññayit}^w\text{a}]$   
 base-2SG.F -EXV-DIM-3SG-F  
 ‘You, the diminutive (little) (girl) exclusively/particularly’
- b.  $[[[\text{ʔ}\text{əss}\text{-}u\text{-}a \text{-}\text{ñña}\text{-}it\text{-}u\text{-}a]] \text{ʔ}\text{əss}^w\text{äññayit}^w\text{a}]$   
 base-3sg-f -EXV-DIM-3SG-F  
 ‘She, the diminutive (little) one’ exclusively/particularly’

In light of the above descriptions, consider now the following examples of a fully specified noun phrase with an optional head noun and an inflected deictic specifier showing person, gender/number.

- (20) a.  $[[[[[\text{ʔ}\text{an}\text{-}\check{c}\text{<}t\text{-}i] \text{-}\text{äñña}\text{-}it\text{-}u\text{-}a]] (l\text{ə}\check{g})]$   
 base-2SG.F -EXV-DIM-3SG-F (child)  
 (lit.) ‘You the little one girl exclusively’
- b.  $[[[[[\text{ʔ}\text{ənnä}\text{-}[\text{ʔ}\text{an}\text{-}\check{t}\text{ä}] \text{-}\text{äñña}\text{-}o\check{c}\check{c}\text{-}u]] (l\text{ə}\check{g}\text{-}o\check{c}\check{c})]$   
 PCL-base-2SG -EXV-PL-3PL (ones) (child-PL)  
 (lit.) ‘You the exclusive ones children’  
 ‘You children the exclusive ones particularly’

In (20a), the person deictic  $/\text{ʔ}\text{an}\check{c}\text{<}t\text{-}i/$  agrees with the head noun *ləğ* ‘child’ in person and gender at the basic level, and the exclusive stem  $/\text{ʔ}\text{an}\check{c}\text{<}t\text{-}i\text{-}\text{äñña}\text{-}it\text{-}u\text{-}a/$  does the same at the extended level. The head noun *ləğ* ‘child’, is specified, at both levels, and can, hence, be phonetically

empty, as its reference is recoverable from the form of the affixes and the context of discourse.

The agreement affixes at both the basic and the extended levels are different in form but not in the linear ordering they follow in (21).

(21)	a.	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>č&lt;t</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-äñña</i>	<i>-it</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>(-a)</i>
		you	-person	-gender	-exclusive	-diminutive	-person	(-gender)
	b.	<i>ʔərs</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-äñña</i>	<i>-it</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>(-a)</i>
		self	-person	-gender	-exclusive	-diminutive	-person	(-gender)
	c.	<i>ʔənnä</i>	<i>-ʔant</i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>-äñña</i>	<i>-očč</i>	<i>-u</i>	
		PCL	you	-person	-exclusive	-number	-person	
	d.	<i>ʔənnä</i>	<i>-ʔərs</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-äñña</i>	<i>-očč</i>	<i>-u</i>	
		PCL	-self	-person	-exclusive	-number	-person	

These orderings can be collapsed into (22):

(22) [[[PCL-base-person-gender]-[adnominal-person-number/-gender]]head]

The adnominal affixes are the exclusive *-äñña* and the diminutive *-it*. The occurrence of the latter depends on that of the former, and the presence of the honorific or the paucal plural excludes the feminine *-i* and the diminutive suffix *-it*.

### 3. Spatial deictics

In this section, I consider demonstratives, which, like personal deictics, show agreement affixes at the basic (root) and extended levels of affixation. Their reference is to an object situated in a spatio-temporal locus at which a speaker points in an attempt to draw the attention of his interlocutor (observer) or hearer in the context of a running discourse (Levinson 1983; 2004).

#### 3.1 Demonstratives

Amharic demonstratives are speaker- or hearer-centered in reference. Those which are speaker-centered are the following:

(23)	PRX	3SG.M	<i>yih</i>	
		3SG.F	<i>yih-čč</i>	<i>[yihəččī]/[yiččī]</i>
			this-3SG.F	
			'this'	

	PCL	<i>ʔənnä-yih</i> [ʔənnih] / [ʔəññih]
	PCL-this	[ʔənnäññih] <sup>12</sup> / [ʔənnäzzə/ih]
		‘these’
(24) DIS	3SG.M	<i>ya</i>
	3SG.F	<i>ya-čč(i)</i> that-3SG.F
		‘that’
	PCL	<i>ʔənnä-ya</i> [ʔənn <sup>y</sup> a] / [ʔənnäñña] / [ʔənnäz <sup>(y)</sup> a]
	PCL-that	
		‘those’

The hearer centered ones are, what are, otherwise, called third person pronouns, (Getatchew 1967), considered in the preceding section as person deictics. They include the following:

(25) PRX	3SG.M	<i>ʔərs-u</i>	[ʔəssu]
		base-3SG	
			‘he’
	3SG.F	<i>ʔərs-u-a</i>	[ʔəss <sup>w</sup> a]
		base-3SG-F	
			‘she’
	PCL	<i>ʔənnä-ʔərs-u</i>	[ʔənnässu]
		PCL-base-3SG	
			‘they’

These refer to an object or objects situated close to a hearer, or to one specifically mentioned by a speaker in the course of discourse such as the following:

(26)	Speaker:	<i>Kasa-əkko</i>	<i>Aster-ən</i>	<i>säddäb-ä-at</i> [säddäbat]
		K.-FOC	A.-ACC	insult.PF-3SG-3SG.F.O
		‘ <b>Kasa</b> insulted Aster’		
	Hearer:	<i>ʔəss-u</i>	<i>säw-əyyä-əkko</i>	<i>t’ena</i>
		base-3SG.M	man-SGL-FOC	health
				<i>ayi-dällä-m</i> [aydälläm]
				NEG-be-COMP
		‘The/that <b>man</b> (he) is not sane’		

12 Forms such as: *ʔənnä-ññih* with a palatalized nasal are used in the same Wällo variety, where /z/, originally a Geʔez proximal deictic, has been replaced by -ññ. It is still attested in locatives such as *ʔəzzih* ‘here’ and *ʔəzziya* [ʔəzz(y)a] ‘there’ in the Addis Ababa variety, and in [ʔəzzəh] and [ʔəzza] in the Wällo variety (Amsalu & Habtemariam 1973; Baye 2016).

The context of such discourse is where, for example, a speaker is reporting an incident of insult caused by Kasa, who is not present at the moment of reporting, but is referred to by the pronoun *ʔəssu* ‘he’, which is anaphoric of him (Kasa), as first mentioned by the speaker, and then cross-referenced later by the hearer as [*ʔəssu säwəyyä*] ‘the particularly singled out person’.

Like personal deictics, spatial deictics show suffixes for the nominal features of person and gender, or for the paucal plural indicated by the same proclitic *ʔənnä* shown in the preceding section and in the examples above. They also extend their stems for the same adnominal function of the exclusive, diminutive, and presentative and show person, gender or number suffixes in agreement with the head of their complement noun phrase. The diminutive and the exclusive affixes have already been treated in the preceding section; and, hence, only the presentative function will be considered here.

### 3.2 Presentative

Presentative is a term used by Hetzron (1971) in reference to an element which serves as a cataphor of some important feature emerging at some point in a running discourse. The feature shows up in expressions that are diagnostic of synchronic or diachronic word order changes, like dative shift, for example. In this paper, the term is used to refer to a particular object which someone has been looking for or craving after. When such a much desired object is found and brought to his/her attention by someone else who either points at it as situated in a particular location, or brings it to the person’s attention or possession. The expression of pointing or presenting it requires the use of both personal and spatial deictics, which show person, gender or number affixes in agreement with the head of their complement noun phrase. Like other such fully specified heads, they may, thus, remain null.

The inflected spatial deictic stems described earlier on are repeated below for ease of reference.

Table 1. Deictic Agreement Paradigm

Deictic	Person	Gender	Gloss
SG <i>yih</i>	-ä	-	'this (one)'
F <i>yih</i>	-čč <sup>13</sup>	-i [yihəčč(i)]	'this.'
<i>ya</i>	-čč	-i [yačč(i)]	'that'
<i>ʔərs-</i>	-u	-a [ʔəss <sup>u</sup> a]	'that, close to addressee'
<i>ʔərs-</i>	-u	[ʔəssu]	'that, close to addressee'
PCL <i>ʔənnä-yih</i>		[ʔənnih]	'these'
<i>ʔənnä-ya</i>		[ʔənn <sup>y</sup> a]	'those'
<i>ʔənnä-ʔərs</i>	-u	[ʔənnässu]	'those, close to addressee'

The person and gender suffixes are -ä, -čč<t-i for the spatial, and -u and -a, for the personal deictics.

As can be observed from the paradigm, the proximal deictic *yih* 'this' is followed by the suffix -ä, which I take to be a third person marker in spatial deictics. It refers to the head noun which the deictic specifies by showing -ä in agreement with it (noun). There is evidence in support of this claim, including the following noun phrase where the deictic shows the suffix -ä '3SG.M' in agreement with the masculine head noun *säw* 'man' in (a), and where it shows the feminine marker -i in agreement with the feminine noun *set* 'woman' in (b).

- (27) a. *ʔan-t-ä säw*  
base-2SG-3SG.M man  
'you man'
- b. *ʔan-č<t-i set*  
base-2SG.F woman  
'you lady'

Compare also the following interrogative structure where -ä shows up in the response utterance where it shows agreement between the pronoun specifier and the head noun *säw* 'man'.

- (28) Question: *man säddäb-ä-h?*  
who insult.PF-3SG.M-2SG.M.O  
'Who insulted you?'

13 -čč is a person marker, which is found as -t in related languages like Geʔəz where we have /za-t-i/, 'this.F', /yiʔ-t-i/, 'she'. In Amharic, we have a palatalized counterpart and in my use of forms like [yačč(i)] 'that.F' -i is noticeably pronounced. [In Geʔəz /za-t-i/ is not 'that.F' but rather 'this.F'. Although /yiʔ-t-i/ means 'she' it also serves as a distal demonstrative in Geʔəz and its meaning is 'that.F']

- Answer: a. *yih-ä* *ləǧ*  
 this-3SG.M child  
 ‘This one child/boy’
- b. ? *yih*  
 ? this  
 ‘This’

Structures like (28b) would be questioned, if not ruled out as unacceptable, should they occur without *-ä*, particularly in the variety of Wällo.

Additional evidence comes from similar agreement relations holding between a subject noun and its verbal predicate in clauses such as the following where *-ä* appears on both the predicate and the deictic specifier of the head of the subject noun phrase.

- (29) a. [[*yih-(ä)* *säw*][*kasa-n* [*säddäb-ä-u*]]  
 this-3SG.M man K.-ACC insult.PF-3SG.M-3SG.M.O  
 ‘This man insulted Kasa’
- b. [[*yih-əčč-(i)*<sup>14</sup> *set*][*kasa-n* [*säddäb-ä-čč-u*]]  
 this-3SG.FWOMAN K.-ACC insult-3SG-3F-3SG.M.O  
 ‘This woman insulted Kasa’

In (a), the deictic agrees with the head noun *säw* ‘man’ of the subject noun phrase by showing the same third person suffix *-ä*, and so does the predicate by carrying the same person and gender affixes. The differences between the two agreement relation is that the person suffix on the deictics is optional whereas the one on the predicate (verb) is obligatory, a general tendency of verbal and nominal agreement in the language (Leslau 1995; Baye 1996; 2004; 2009).

Going back to the presentative function, one may observe that the form is based on the following basic inflected stems.

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14 One would argue here that the morpheme ordering is /*yih-ä-čč*/ and that /*ä*/ is raised to [ə] in harmony with /*i*/ in *yih*. That the ordering is person - gender is evident from the ordering of the corresponding agreement affixes in the verb /*säbbär-ä-čč*/ where person comes immediately preceding gender again. Evidence comes from related languages like Geʿez where the form occurs as [*säbär-ä-t*] ‘broke-3SG-F’

Table 2. Presentative Paradigm

Deictic	Person	Gender	Presentative	Gloss
<i>yih</i>	-ä		-ññ	‘here I am
<i>yih</i>	-ä	-	-u [ <i>yihäw</i> ]	‘here he is’
<i>yih</i>	-čč	-i	-at [ <i>yi(h)ččat</i> ]	‘here she is’
<i>ya</i>	-čč	-i	-at	‘that/there she is
<i>ya-</i>			-u [ <i>yaw</i> ]	‘that/there he is
<i>ʔars-</i>	-u		-u [ <i>əssuʔ</i> ]	‘that/there he is’
<i>ʔars-</i>	-u	-a	-at [ <i>əss<sup>w</sup>at</i> ]	‘that there she is’
<i>ʔännä-yih-</i>			-u [ <i>əññəhu(t)</i> ]	‘these/here they are’
<i>ʔännä-ya</i>			-u [ <i>əññaw</i> ]	‘those/there they are’
<i>ʔännä-ars-</i>	-u		-u >t/w [ <i>ənnässuw/t</i> ]	‘those/there they are’

The presentative markers are object clitics according to (Kramer 2009; Mullen 1986); or object suffixes, (Baye 2004) attested in examples like the following:

- (30) a. [*ʔan-t-ä* (*säw*)] *ʔən-e-n*  
 base-2SG-3SG.M (man) base-1SG-ACC  
*ʔəy-ä-ññ* [*ʔəyähññ*]  
 look.at-3SG.M-1SG.O  
 ‘You (man) look at me’
- b. [*ʔan-t-ä* (*ləǧ*)] *ʔars-u-n* [*ʔəssun*] *ʔəy-ä-u* [*ʔəyəw*]  
 base-2SG-3SG.M (child) base-3SG-ACC look.at-3SG.O  
 ‘You (boy) look at him’
- c. *ʔan-t-ä* (*ləǧ*)] *ʔars-u-a-n* [*ʔəss<sup>w</sup>an*]  
 base-2SG-3SG.M (child) base-3SG-F-ACC  
*ʔəy-at* [*ʔəyat*]  
 look.at-3SG.F.O  
 ‘You (boy) look at her’

(30a) is an example where one presents him/herself to someone else to look at. In (b) and (c) one is pointing at a third masculine, and third feminine participant for someone else to observe. In all, the verb is imperative in mood, though its illocutionary force (function) is one of invitation for the participant to observe.

The presentative stem can be followed by the applicative prepositional object clitic (suffix) and when this is so, the stems in (30) above may appear in the forms below:

Table 3. Applicative Paradigm

Deictic	Person	Gender	Presentative	Applicative	Surface form
<i>yih</i>	-ä		-ññ	-ll-əh	[yihännəlləh] 'here I am for you'
<i>yih</i>	-ä	-	-u	-ll-əh	[yihəwlləh] 'this/here he is for you'
<i>yih</i>	-čč < t	-i	-at	-ll-əh	[yiččətəlləh] 'here she is for you'
<i>ya</i>	-čč < t	-i	-at	-ll-əh	[yaččətəlləh] 'there she is for you'
<i>ya-</i>			-u	-ll-əh	[yawlləh] 'there he is for you'
<i>ʔərs-</i>	-u		-u > -t(w)	-ll-əh	[ʔəssutəlləh] 'there he is for you'
<i>ʔərs-</i>	-u		at	-ll-əh	[ʔəss <sup>w</sup> atəlləh] 'that/there she is for you'
<i>ʔənnä-yih-</i>			-u	-ll-əh	[ʔəññəhu(t)əlləh] 'these/here they are for you'
<i>ʔənnä-ya</i>			-u	-ll-əh	[ʔəññawlləh] 'these/there they are for you'
<i>ʔənnä-ʔərs-</i>	-u		-u > t(w)	-ll-əh	[ʔənnässu(w)/(t)əlləh] 'those /there they are for you'

The readings of these forms go as follows:

- (31) a. *ʔəne lä-ʔant-ä yih-ä-ññ-ll-əh*  
I for-you-3SG.M this-3SG.M-1SG.O-APL-2SG.M.O  
(lit.) 'I, here/this (am) for you'
- b. *ʔərs-u lä-ʔant-ä yih-ä-u>[w]-ll-əh*  
he-3SG for-you-3SG.M this-3SG-3SG.O-APL-2SG.M.O  
(lit.) 'He (is) here/this for you'
- c. *ʔərs-u-a [ʔəss<sup>w</sup>a] lä-ʔant-ä*  
he-3SG-F for-you-3SG.M  
*yih-əčč-at-ll-əh*  
this/here-3SG.F-3SG.F.O-APL-2SG.M.O  
(lit.) 'She is this/here she is for you'

The reading in each case is that of presenting oneself to a second or third person beneficiary or adversary onlooker, depending on context, to observe.

The presentative structures in (31) and others like them are propositional in content, a fact that could be attributed to the presentative affix itself, which one may take to be a non-verbal functional predicate. For this, compare the structures in (31) above with those in (32) below.

- (32) a. *ʔərs-u-a* [*ʔəss<sup>w</sup>a*]                      *ya-čč-at-ll-əh*  
 she-3SG-F    that/there-3SG.F-3SG.F.O-APL-2SG.M.O  
 ‘She, there she is for you.’
- b. *ʔərs-u-a* [*əss<sup>w</sup>a*]    *mät't'a-čč-əll-əh*  
 she-3SG-Fcome:PF-3SG.F-APL-2SG.M.O  
 (Look) ‘She came for you’

The proposition is for some female person emerging at some distant, but visible location, to the advantage of an observer. This is the reading in (a), whereas in (b), the proposition is for the lady coming to some location at some time to the observer’s advantage. The difference between the two structures is that (a) lacks tense or aspect because the predicate is non-verbal whereas (b) has one because the predicate is verbal and has aspect which is perfective.

From the above structures, one would assume that the presentative affixes are remnants of the reduced copula *-nä* ‘be’, a conjecture that gets support from the following examples:

- (33) a.            *ʔəne*            *yih-ä*            *nä-ññ*  
 I                      this-3SG            be-1SG.O  
 ‘I am this one’
- a'.            *ʔəne*            *yih-ä-ññ<sup>15</sup>*  
 I                      this-3SG.M-1SG.O  
 ‘I, this one, am’ / ‘I am this one’
- b.            *ʔərs-u-a* [*ʔəss<sup>w</sup>a*]            *yih-əčč*            *nä-at*  
 base-3SG-3F                      this-3SG.F            be-3SG.F  
 ‘She is this one’
- b'.            *ʔərs-u-a* [*ʔəss<sup>w</sup>a*]            *yih-əčč-at*  
 base-3SG-3F                      this-3SG.F-3SG.F.O  
 ‘She, this one (is)’ / ‘She is this one’
- c.            *ʔərs-u* [*ʔəssu*]            *yih-ä*            *nä-u*            > [w]  
 base-3SG                      this-3SG.M            be-3SG.M.O  
 ‘He is this one’

15 A reviewer commented that this kind of derivation is reminiscent of the now obsolete Generative Semantics approach of the late 60’s and early 70’s, to which I strongly disagree because reduction and incorporation of categories is a current morphosyntactic and morpho-lexical approach followed in the derivation of compounds and deverbal nominals (cf. Baker 1988).

c'.	<i>ɔ̄ars-u</i> [ <i>ɔ̄assu</i> ] base-3SG	<i>yih-ä-u</i> this-3SG.M	<i>nä-u</i> > [w] this-3SG.M-3SG.M.O
	‘He, this one (is)’ / ‘He is this one’		

The copula *nä* has no semantic content; its function is to carry a pseudo-object suffix that refers to a subject (Hailu 1972). It (*nä*) is, thus, phonetically reducible to null and the remaining pseudo-object suffix to get encliticized to the predicative deictic preceding it. However, this process applies to clauses with first and third person singular subject pronouns only since structures such as the following with a reduced copula are unacceptable.

(34)	a.	<i>ɔ̄an-t-ä</i> base-2SG-3SG.M	<i>yih-ä</i> this-3SG.M	<i>nä-h</i> be-2SG.M.O
		‘You.M this one’		
	a'.	* <i>ɔ̄an-t-ä</i> base-2SG-3SG.M	<i>yih-ä-h</i> this-3SG.M-2SG.M.O	
		‘You this one’		

The reason for the ungrammaticality of the starred structures is that the suffixes on the demonstratives and the remnant suffixes of the reduced copula are formally the same. Compare the following:

(35)	a.	<i>ɔ̄ars-u-a</i> [ <i>ɔ̄ass<sup>w</sup>a</i> ] base-3SG-3F	<i>yih-čč(-i)</i> [ <i>yihəčč</i> ] this-3SG-F	<i>nä-at</i> be-3SG.F.O
		‘She is this one’		
	a'.	<i>ɔ̄ars-u-a</i> [ <i>ɔ̄ass<sup>w</sup>a</i> ] base-3SG-3F	<i>yih-čč(-i)</i> [ <i>yihəčč</i> ] this-3SG-F	<i>-at</i> -3SG.F.O
		‘She is this one’		
	b.	<i>ɔ̄ars-u-a</i> base-3SG-3F	<i>yih-čč-i</i> [ <i>yihəčč</i> ] this-3SG-F	<i>nä-čč(-i)</i> be-3SG-F
		‘She is this one’		
	b'.	<i>ɔ̄ars-u-a</i> base-3SG-3F	<i>yih-čč-i-čč(-i)</i> [ <i>yihəččət</i> ] this-3SG-F-3SG-F	
		‘She is this one’		

It appears that there is a restriction that disallows two formally identical suffixes of different functions to co-occur.

#### 4. Locative deictics

Amharic shows oppositions between or among objects situated along vertical and horizontal space. Those in vertical space contrast as high and low and those in horizontal relation occur as precedent and subsequent; central and peripheral, while others in containment relations correlate as interior and exterior. The forms of expressions of such spatial oppositions include the following locatives:

##### Vertical

- |      |    |             |         |
|------|----|-------------|---------|
| (36) | a. | <i>lay</i>  | ‘above’ |
|      | b. | <i>tačč</i> | ‘below’ |

##### Horizontal

- |      |    |              |              |
|------|----|--------------|--------------|
| (37) | a. | <i>fit</i>   | ‘front’      |
|      | b. | <i>hwala</i> | ‘back’       |
| (38) | a. | <i>māhal</i> | ‘center’     |
|      | b. | <i>dar</i>   | ‘peripheral’ |

##### Containment

- |      |    |               |           |
|------|----|---------------|-----------|
| (39) | a. | <i>wəst’</i>  | ‘inside’  |
|      | b. | <i>wəč’č’</i> | ‘outside’ |

These forms are nominal in category membership and like other nominals they show inflections for person, gender or number as in the following paradigm for *wəst’*, ‘interior’.

- |      |               |               |   |
|------|---------------|---------------|---|
| (40) | <b>Person</b> | <b>Gender</b> |   |
|      | 1             | <i>wəst’</i>  | <i>-e</i>                                   |
|      | 2M            | <i>wəst’</i>  | <i>-h</i>                                   |
|      | 2F            |               | <i>-š</i>                                   |
|      | 3M            | <i>wəst’</i>  | <i>-u</i>                                   |
|      | 3F            |               | <i>-u -a &gt; [wa] [wəst<sup>wa</sup>a]</i> |
|      | PCL           | <i>wəst’</i>  | <i>-ačč -n [-aččən]</i>                     |
|      |               | <i>wəst’</i>  | <i>-ačč-hu [-aččəhu]</i>                    |
|      |               | <i>wəst’</i>  | <i>-ačč-äw [-aččäw]</i>                     |

The plural markers are *-n/* and *-u/* for first and non-first persons, respectively, and that they occur immediately after the person suffixes. *-ačč-* / is a partitive genitive plural marker. Consider the following examples:

- |      |    |              |                     |
|------|----|--------------|---------------------|
| (41) | a. | <i>Ṛəñña</i> | <i>wəst’-ačč-ən</i> |
|      |    | we           | interior-PRT-1PL    |
|      |    | (lit.)       | ‘we, our interior’  |
|      | b. | <i>Ṛəñña</i> | <i>bet-ačč-ən</i>   |
|      |    | we           | home-PRT-1PL        |
|      |    | (lit.)       | ‘we, our home’      |

The relation between the inflected locative nominals and that of the personal deictics in these structures is one of predication, where the former serve as heads and the latter as their genitive/possessive specifiers. The locative head occurs with either a genitive/possessive suffix, or with the genitive preposition *yä*, ‘of’, but not with both, unlike in other Semitic languages such as Hebrew, where this is possible (Shlonsky 2004). Consider the following Amharic structure in (42).

- (42) a. *ɖəne*                      *wəst'-e*  
 I                                      interior-1SG.GEN  
 (lit.) ‘I, my interior’
- b. *yä-ɖəne*                      *wəst'*  
 GEN-I                                      interior  
 ‘my interior’
- c. \**yä-ɖəne*                      *wəst'-e*  
 GEN-I                                      interior-1SG.GEN  
 ‘my interior’

The genitive suffixes in the paradigm in (40) follow the same morpheme ordering rule: base - person - gender or number as in the structures in (43).

- (43) a. *wəst'-u-a* [*wəst'w a*]  
 stem-3SG-F  
 ‘she, her interior’
- b. *wəst'-ačč-ä-u* [*wəst'aččäw*]  
 stem-PRT-3-PL  
 ‘they, their interior’

In the partitive form in (43b), there are two suffixes for number. The first is the partitive *-ačč* which appears immediately after the stem, and the second is *-u* which occurs immediately after the person marker *-ä*, consistent with the morpheme ordering pattern shown earlier on.

This is as regards the affixation pattern of the basic locative stems. Their extended counterparts show affixes for the same adnominal functions of the exclusive and/or diminutive in (44) below.

- | (44)  |  | Person    | EXV          | Person    | Gender    | Number |
|-------|--|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|--------|
| 3SG.M | <i>wəst</i><br>[ <i>wəst'äññaw</i> ]<br>‘The interior one (M)’ | <i>-ä</i> | <i>-äñña</i> | <b>-u</b> | -         | -      |
| 3SG.F | <i>wəst</i>  | <i>-ä</i> | <i>-äñña</i> | <b>-u</b> | <b>-a</b> | -      |

	[wəst'äñña]
	‘The interior one (F)’
3PL	wəst    -ä            -äñña    -            -            -očč
	[wəst'äññaočč]
	‘The interior ones’

The suffix *-ä* is the same third person marker claimed in the preceding section. Its position is preceding the suffix *-äñña* of the exclusive stem /wəst-ä-äñña/, which is in turn followed by person, gender or number affixes. The person marker at this extended level is *-u* and the gender (feminine) suffix is *-a*. The nominal plural marker is *-očč*, which refers to a null paucal head noun. Its (*-očč*) position is immediately after the exclusive stem unlike the proclitic *ʔännä*, which occurs immediately preceding the basic stem in personal and spatial deictics. Consider the following example in (45) for the paucal reading.

- (45) ʔännä- ʔəzzəh -äñña -očč -u (ləǧ-očč) [ʔännäzzəhəññaočču]  
 PCL- this -EXV-PL -3PL child-PL  
 ‘Those children the exclusive ones.’  
 ‘Those children exclusively’

The pattern of affixation in (45) is partly the same as that in the extended stems in (44), where the associative paucal marker *ʔännä* precedes the deictic base itself, and the paucal suffix *-očč* follows the exclusive marker, *-äñña*.

The exclusive stem in (45) can be followed by the diminutive suffix *-it* like in other extended stems, which show affixes for the same nominal features of person and gender as in (46a), but not for number as in the ungrammatical (46b).

- (46) a. wəst'-ä-äñña-it-u-a [wəst'äññayit<sup>u</sup>a]  
 interior-3SG-EXV-DIM-3SG-F  
 ‘The exclusively little interior one’  
 b. \* wəst'-ä-äñña-it-očč-u-a  
 interior-3SG-EXV-DIM-PL-3SG-F  
 ‘The exclusively little one’

The pattern of affixation observed so far replicates itself in locative interrogatives and their corresponding declaratives shown below.

- (47) (i) a. yet-u mäs'haf  
 where-3SG.M book  
 ‘Which specific book?’  
 (lit.) ‘Where one book?’

- b. *yih-ä* *mäs'haf*  
 this-3SG.M book  
 'This-one. This book.'
- (ii) a. *yet-ä-äñña-it-u-a* *mäs'haf*  
 where-3SG.M-EXV-DIM-3SG-F book  
 'Which (one diminutive) book exclusively?'  
 (lit.) 'Where one exclusive diminutive book?'
- b. *wəst'ä-äñña-it-u-a* *mäs'haf*  
 interior-3SG.M-EXV-DIM-3SG-F book  
 'This interior one diminutive book exclusively'
- (iii) a. *yet-ä-äñña-očč-u* *mäs'haf-očč*  
 where-3SG.M-EXV-DIM-3PL book-PL  
 'Which ones books exclusively?'  
 (lit.) 'Where one exclusive ones book?'
- b. *wəst'ä-äñña-očč-u* *mäs'haf-očč*  
 interior-3SG.M-EXV-PL-3PL book-PL  
 'The interior ones'  
 (lit.) (The) interior ones (books) exclusively'

The affixes in the interrogative structures and those in the corresponding declarative responses are the same in form and pattern of occurrence. In all, person precedes gender or number at both the basic and extended levels. The associative proclitic *ʔannä*, is restricted to personal and spatial deictics where it occurs preceding the stem. In all the paucal structures, where *-očč* shows up, the diminutive and the feminine suffixes are excluded because feminine is low in the feature of salience compared to masculine and plural (Comrie 1981).

## 5. Summary

The objective of this paper was to provide a thorough morphosyntactic description and pragmatic functions of deictics in Amharic with focus on personal, spatial and locative forms. Personal deictics are based on the roots *ʔən-*, *ʔan-* and *rəʔs-* for first, second and third person, respectively. The former two have no semantic content; they serve as host for the first and second person suffixes *-e* and *-t*, respectively. The form *rəʔs-* has to do with the notion of head or self, and it also hosts the suffix *-u*, which marks third (person). The gender markers are *-i*, and *-a*, for second and third feminine, respectively, and they follow the second and third person markers, *-t* and *-u*, respectively.

Personal deictics show the paucal plural with *ʔannä*, which renders a reading X and company, where X stands for someone high in the hierarchy

of power (social prominence). The notion of prominence comes into discourse as honorificity and it is indicated by the plural suffix *-u* for second and *-o* for third person in the standard variety. In the Wällo variety, *-u* is used for second, and *-o* for third person honorific reference.

*Ǿannä* occurs as a proclitic with personal and spatial deictics in agreement with a noun that also shows the suffix *-očč* for a paucal reading. Both have the same function but differ in distribution since the proclitic occurs with deictics and proper nouns, whereas the suffix *-očč* occurs with only countable common nouns of social relevance. The paucal reading is based on the masculine, and there is no co-occurrence between the proclitic, *Ǿannä*, the suffix *-očč* on the one hand, and the feminine markers *-i*, and *-a* on the other. The morpheme ordering pattern at the basic level of affixation is as follows:

[proclitic [base-person-gender / paucal]]

The stem level of affixation is based on the basic (root) level, to which suffixes for the exclusive, diminutive, presentative references of objects in discourse are attached. The suffixes are the exclusive *-äñña*, the diminutive *-it*, and the presentative object suffixes. Each of these is followed by person and gender suffixes. The stems can occur with the proclitic *Ǿannä* and the suffix *-očč*, to show plural number in agreement with the head of the noun phrase which the forms specify. In addition, in such contexts, both the diminutive and the feminine morphemes are excluded.

There are two types of relations of morphemes. The first is where the occurrence of one calls for the occurrence of another as in person and gender in: */Ǿäss-u-a/* but not *\*/Ǿäss-a/*; and the second is where the occurrence of one excludes that of the other as in gender and diminutive. Hence */Ǿäss-u-a- /*, but not *\*/Ǿäss-u-a-it- /*.

It is claimed in this paper that *-ä* is a third person masculine marker in the singular demonstratives [*yih-ä*] ‘this one’ and in the pronoun *Ǿant-ä* ‘you’ in both of which it (*-ä*) refers to the head of a complement noun phrase which the deictics agree in person and gender. The suffix *-ä* also occurs in perfective verbs as in */säbbär-ä/* ‘broke-3SG.M’ in which it also refers to a third person singular masculine subject.

## Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	M	masculine
APL	applicative	NEG	negative
DEF	definite	O	object
DIM	diminutive	PCL	paucal
DIS	distal	PF	perfective

ENDR	endearment	PL	plural
EXV	exclusive	PLD	pleading
F	feminine	PRT	partitive
FOC	focus	PRX	proximal
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
H	honorific	SGL	singulative

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