DEMONSTRATIVES IN SPATIAL DEICTIC FUNCTIONS IN KOORETE

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Abstract

This study examines the deictic functions of demonstratives in Koorete, an Omotic language classified under the East Ometo sub-group and spoken in the southwestern part of Ethiopia. The paper provides a thorough description and analysis of the various functions of demonstratives in the language, with a focus on their role as spatial deixis. In this regard, demonstrative determiners and demonstrative pronouns that carry strong locational meaning are analyzed with illustrative examples. The findings show that the language has six demonstrative adjectives and their corresponding pronouns. Their usage is determined by parameters such as distance from the deictic center, reference point, visibility, and vertical axis. In addition to their usage patterns, the morphological structure of deictic expressions is examined in detail. Moreover, the study explores the ongoing grammaticalization process by which demonstratives develop into markers of definiteness, tracing a path of change from the lexical to the grammatical and from the concrete to the abstract. Finally, the chapter also addresses two additional elements in some detail: deictic expressions of location and direction, as well as demonstrative presentatives.

Keywords: Koorete, demonstratives, spatial expressions, spatial deixis, grammaticalization

1. Introduction

1.1 Background Information on Koorete

Koorete is an Omotic language spoken by 156,884[1] (CSA 2007) speakers in the southwestern part of Ethiopia. Currently, the majority of speakers of the language reside in the Amaro zone, located in the South Ethiopia Regional State of Ethiopia, which was established in 2023. Additionally, Brenzinger (1990) reports the presence of some Koorete-speaking families in the Gidicho islands of Lake Abaya. The Amaro zone is a mountainous area located east of Lake Abaya. The administrative capital of the Zone is Amarro-Keele, a small town. The people call themselves *Koore*, and their language is Koorete; the place they live in is *Koorusso*. Previous names in which the language was known include *Koyra*, *Amarro,* and *Baaditu*.

The Koore are predominantly agro-pastoralists, and *enset* (false banana) is their staple agricultural product. Internally, the Koore are subdivided into four major clans, namely *Koorese, Kaana'e, Mana*, and *Gaace*. Koorete is a North Omotic language, classified in the Eastern branch of the Ometo cluster, along with Zayse, Zargulla, Haro, and Gidicho (Fleming 1976). The language has two dialects, *Alga bade* and *Koyra bade*[2]. Some of the languages spoken by the neighboring people of the Koore are Afaan Oromoo, Konso, Burji, Gawwada, and Dirashe.

The last two decades have witnessed the publication of major studies on the language, and its grammar is pretty well known today. Some of the most important studies of the language include Hayward (1982) on major grammatical aspects, Ford (1990) on phonology, and Binyam (2010) on verb morphology. In addition, Theil (2011 and 2013) wrote on segmental phonology and tonology, respectively, and Samuel (2013) on subordinate clauses. Since 2000, Koorete has been written in the Latin script. It has been taught as a school subject in the Zone's primary schools from Grade 1 to 4. Since September 2022, the new education policy has been implemented, which requires the use of the language from Grade 1 to 6 as the language of instruction. Accordingly, the earlier system of teaching Koorete only as a school subject is gradually being phased out. Currently, Grades 1 and 2 in the Amarro zone are taught in Koorete, and this will continue until students

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1   This is based on the last national official census result from 2007. However, the number is expected to double, if not more, in the last two decades.

2   The word *bade* in Koorete means 'towards' and it expresses direction. *Alga* is the Koorete word for the *Burji* people located to the south of the Koore and the word *Koyra* is another word for the Koore people.

reach Grade 6. From Grade 7 onward, English is used as the medium of instruction.

Theil (2011) proposes only 23 consonant phonemes for Koorete, compared with Hayward's (1982) 29 and Ford's (1990) 30. All affricates are missing from the list of consonant phonemes given by Theil (2011) since they are considered allophonic variants of their corresponding fricative consonants. Theil's phonemic chart is employed in this paper. The vowel phonemes of Koorete are identified as five by Theil (2011), Ford (1990), and Hayward (1982). Each of the five vowels has a long counterpart. Koorete is a nominative-accusative language with a marked nominative case. The great majority of nouns in Koorete end in the vowels *a*, *o*, or *e* in their citation form, except a few nouns that end in a consonant (Binyam 2010). Morphologically, Koorete nouns take number and case suffixes. The main morpheme that marks plural number is *-ita*. Nominative case in the language is shown by the morpheme *-i*, and absolutive case is marked by *-o* only in C-final nouns (Binyam 2010).

Most verbs in Koorete are monosyllabic, but the language also exhibits some instances of disyllabic verb roots. The verb root in Koorete cannot stand alone as an independent word; instead, it carries various morphemes, including tense, aspect, person, and mood markers. Typologically, Koorete is an agglutinating language that displays some portmanteau morphemes. Koorete is predominantly an SOV language. In a noun phrase, adjectives and numerals occur following the head, while demonstratives and possessive adjectives precede it. Finally, the language exhibits grammatically determined focus marking (Binyam 2010).

1.2 Basic Information on Demonstratives

A demonstrative is a grammatical word that can have pointing or deictic reference (Dixon 2010:108). Cross-linguistically, demonstratives show different morphological structures. They may have forms that never change, or they may consist of roots combined with various inflectional and derivational morphemes (Diessel 1999). As a result, demonstratives can appear as either particles or (demonstrative) roots. The key difference is that particles are uninflected forms that do not combine with other morphemes, while roots are often marked for grammatical categories such as gender, number, and case and can combine with other free forms (Diessel 1999:13). In many languages, demonstratives are part of a small, closed class of words, often used together with pronouns. Both demonstratives and pronouns serve deictic functions. While demonstratives have references that shift based on spatial location, pronouns come into play when the reference shifts depending on the participants in the speech (cf. Dixon (2010:189). The

reference in both cases is deictic, meaning they are used to point to things or people. According to Levinson (1983: 54), deixis involves two main aspects: (i) how languages encode or grammaticalize features related to the context of the utterance or speech event, and (ii) how understanding of utterances depends on analyzing that context.

According to Diessel (1999), the deictic features specify the location of the referent in the speech situation, such as distance, visibility, elevation, and similar aspects, while the qualitative features describe the referent itself (e.g., whether it is an object, person, or place; whether it is animate or inanimate, human or non-human, male or female, etc.). Morphologically, the deictic features are mainly encoded by demonstrative roots, whereas the qualitative features may be expressed by morphemes attached to these roots. Based on the syntactic context in which demonstratives occur, they can be identified by one of the following functional/distributional statuses: pronominal, adnominal, adverbial, and identificational. Additionally, each of these demonstratives has its own categorical status. Their categorization depends on the combination of two features—(i) a particular distribution and (ii) a specific form. Based on their distribution and form, they are classified into one of four categories: pronouns, determiners, adverbs, and identifiers (Diessel 1999).

Unlike Diessel's four categories of demonstratives, Dixon (2012) groups demonstratives into three main types: nominal, local adverbial, and verbal. Nominal demonstratives can appear within an NP alongside a noun or a pronoun. They can also form a complete NP on their own (cf. Diessel 1997: 72; Dixon 2010: 225). Local adverbial demonstratives specify location within adverbial clauses and are used with local adpositions or case markers. When paired with lexical verbs, verbal demonstratives can act as deictic references to an action and may serve as the head of a predicate.

Based on their form and syntactic function, Koorete has two main types: demonstrative determiners and demonstrative pronouns. Since demonstrative determiners and demonstrative pronouns differ in form and function in the language, Diessel's (1999) separate classification of them is adopted in this study. Furthermore, it was argued that demonstratives serve various pragmatic purposes, with the two main categories being exophoric and endophoric (Diessel 1999). Exophoric demonstratives direct the listener's attention to non-linguistic entities in the speech situation or the outside world. In contrast, the endophoric uses of demonstratives focus on non-situational references, or those that ensure textual cohesion (Himmelmann 1996:219).

Currently, a detailed study of demonstratives in Koorete, including their deictic function and grammaticalization, is unavailable. Hayward (1982), for example, briefly mentions in his sketch grammar of the language that

Koorete has three demonstrative elements, which Binyam (2002) expanded to five. Then, Binyam (2010) further developed the analysis as part of his brief discussion of demonstrative pronouns. The present study[3] differs from previous research by providing an in-depth analysis of spatial deictic expressions in Koorete, encompassing their form, meaning, and deictic functions. Moreover, the chapter presents a detailed account of the synchronic grammaticalization process that demonstratives undergo in their current use, as well as their interesting functional overlap as a definite marker.

2. Demonstratives as spatial deictic expressions

In Koorete, spatial deictic expressions are mainly conveyed through demonstratives and various types of location and direction deictic expressions, which are mostly derived from demonstratives. This study argues that locational meaning is prominent in person and place deictic expressions in Koorete. Although some of these demonstratives primarily identify a participant, they also relate the concept of distance to spatial and locational contexts.

Based on their form and syntactic function, Koorete has two main types: demonstrative determiners and demonstrative pronouns. Koorete demonstratives occur as modifiers of a head noun in a noun phrase and as independent nouns in an argument position.

2.1 Demonstrative determiners

In addition to their form and syntactic function, drawing on the defining semantic functions of demonstratives —also referred to as deictic features in Diessel (1999) and deictic function in Dixon (2010) —semantic distinctions can be made for Koorete demonstratives. Accordingly, in Koorete, a six-way distinction in demonstratives is made based on the following four parameters:

(a) distance from the deictic center or *origo*
(b) reference points (speaker and/or addressee)
(c) visibility vs. non-visibility/out-of-sight
(d) vertical axis (height)/at higher or lower elevation

Based on the visibility, distance, and elevation parameters, the following demonstrative determiners were identified in Koreete as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Demonstrative Determiners in Koorete

Visibility	Distance from origo/reference points	Elevation	Koorete demonstrative determiners
Visible	Proximal		*ha*
	Distal	Higher elevation	*wo*
		Horizontal elevation	*se*
		Lower elevation	*jede*
	Near addressee		*je*
Non-Visible			*je*

The deictic system of Koorete consists of six demonstrative determiner forms. Five of these determiners indicate the relative distance of an entity or referent from the deictic center or the speakers. Four of them specify whether a referent is visible or invisible (with three forms for visible and one for invisible). Additionally, three forms indicate a referent at higher, horizontal, or lower elevation. As shown in Table 1 above, the relative distance from the deictic center (the origin or the speaker) is expressed by *ha*, *se*, and *je*. The demonstrative determiner *ha* refers to an item near the speaker, while *se* indicates an entity relatively far from the speaker, visible, and at a horizontal elevation. The distal demonstrative determiner is either *wo* (above) or *jede* (below), depending on distance and elevation relative to the speaker. When the referent is distal and not visible, the form *je* is used. Furthermore, *je* is employed to indicate an entity near the addressee but relatively far from the speaker.

(1) a. *ha   zawa*
       this house
       'this house'
    b. *ha   zaw-ita*
       this house-PL
       'these houses'

(2) *ha bidzi   ta   miisee   kk-uwa*
    this one   my   cow   take-IMP
    'Take this cow (which is my only one)!'

(3) a. *se   kana*
       that dog
       'that dog'

b. *se   kan-ita*
    that dog-PL
    'those dogs'

(4) *jede   piʃaro   ing-uwa*
    that (below)   book   give-IMP
    'Give me that (below) book!'

The proximity of an entity to the deictic center, such as a house closer to the speaker or deictic center, is expressed by ha (as in (1a-b and 2). In (3a-b), an entity that is not near the deictic center is indicated by *se*. However, note that using see to refer to a far-away entity requires the entity to be visible. An entity at the farthest distance from both the speaker and the hearer, to the point of being non-visible, is expressed by *je*. Additionally, *je* may also refer to an entity that is far from the speaker but relatively close to the addressee. When the referenced entities are visible, these demonstratives are mainly used with lip-pointing rather than finger-pointing. Diessel identifies two types of demonstrative functions: exophoric and endophoric. One key feature of exophoric demonstratives is their use alongside a pointing gesture (Diessel 1999: 94), and the lip-pointing seen in Koorete exemplifies an exophoric use of the demonstrative.

In Koorete, demonstratives can be used to indicate the elevation and location of an entity or referent relative to the deictic center. For example, the demonstrative *jede* may be used to indicate an entity that is far from the speaker and located at a lower elevation (as in (4)). It is worth noting that demonstratives encoding semantic features like visibility and elevation might be subject to pragmatic interpretation. For instance, *jede* can only be used to indicate an entity positioned or located at a lower elevation from the speaker's perspective. However, the spatial expression in (4) can be interpreted in two ways: (a) it could mean that the entity referred to by *jede* is at a lower elevation from the speaker at the moment of utterance, and/or (b) it could also mean that the entity is at a lower elevation from the speaker but relatively higher from the addressee. This suggests the speaker served as a point of reference for the addressee during the communication.

Example (1-4) shows that demonstrative determiners act as modifiers of the main noun in a noun phrase, and they always come before the main noun. Comparing examples (1a) and (1b) or (3a) and (3b) reveals that demonstrative determiners do not change form for number or gender. The plural suffix *–ita* in (1b) and (3b) is only added to the main nouns. Aside from *jede*, the form of the Koorete demonstrative determiners is similar, usually in monosyllabic forms. Perhaps *jede* is derived from the demonstrative root *je*, which refers to an object near and visible to the listener, and from the suffix *-jte*. Based on its use in the following examples,

the suffix *-jte* seems to indicate a place or location near or around the reference point. Compare the following examples.

(5) a. *wo-na*
  'there above'
 b. *wo-mpa*
  'over there above'
 c. *wo-jte*
  'that vicinity above'

 The deictic expressions of location in (5a-c) are derived by affixation on the demonstrative determiners. However, the demonstrative root *wo* and the locative-like marker suffix *-jte* 'vicinity' are combined to form the locative adverb that refers to a place that can be identifiable, often from the discourse, or to bear a locative reading 'is in the vicinity of the speaker and the addressee'. In addition, the bound suffix *-kke* has a similar reading, i.e., '-ward', for instance, *je-kke* <down-ward> 'downward' (Beletu 2003:68). Thus, synchronically the demonstrative determiner form *jede* in Koorete is perhaps developed from a demonstrative form *je* and the default locative marker suffix *-jte/-ite>* or the bound suffix *-kke* 'ward, place'.

 First, *jede* and *je* do not contrast in terms of distance deictically because neither form is marked for distance. These two forms indicate the relative distance of the referent to the deictic center, meaning they occur with a deictic expression where the speaker indicates a referent that is farther away. Anderson and Keenan (1985:85) wrote, 'a deictic expression unmarked for distance would be little different from a definite article'. I believe that *jede* is only used to indicate that neither the speaker nor the addressee is closer to the deictic center. Hopper and Traugott (2008:95) argue that the initial phase of grammaticalization involves a shift in meaning, but not a loss of meaning. In such cases, I assume that the meaning of *je* is derived from the original lexical meaning of *jede*.

2.1.1 Grammaticalization of demonstrative determiners

Synchronically, the demonstrative determiner *je* is treated as a homophonous word as it refers both to a visible/near addressee as in (6a) and a non-visible one as in (6b). Yet, it is also a sign of an ongoing grammaticalization process.

(6) a. *je* (Visible, Near Addressee)
 b. *je* (Non-visible)

 For example, the following noun phrase may have two different readings depending on the context:

(7) *je   piʃaro*
    that book
    (a) 'that book' (visible to both the speaker and the hearer and located closer to the addressee)
    (b) 'that book' (non-visible to both the speaker and addressee)

In addition, it has been found that *je* not only functions as a reference to non-visible items, but also serves as a definite article. Examples:

(8) *je   ʔuso   ʔett-e-ʧa   ʔade*
    DEF them   get_married-exist-PSTɪɪ   man

    k'ino-i   puuluntse muʔ-e   ʔe ʔait-o
    hair-NOM gray hair grow-INF 3MS start.PFV.PSTɪ
    'The man who was married to them started to grow grey hairs.'

(9) *hinne-ko   je   puuluntse beese*
    then-FOC.DECL DEF gray_hair herself

    keen-g-i-ʧa   ʔe   maʧ-i
    have-IPFV-EPN-PSTɪɪ 3MS wife-NOM

    "*haballe ta   ʔade-i   taa biʃʃ-o*"
    Wow   1SG husband-NOM me   look_like.PFV.PSTɪ
    hi-d-i   magg-ija   ʔi   je-ʧa
    say- PFV-PFT please-PROG 3FS exist- PSTɪɪ
    'THEN, his wife, who has gray hair, is pleased, having seen that her husband looks more like her.'

(10)
Speaker 1: *ʔaha hintso-i   gumuri-j-a*
          Aha your_house-NOM   Gumure-EPN-FOC:INT
          'Aha, is your house in Gumure?'
Speaker 2: *nuuso-i   gumure-ma*
          our_house- NOM   Gumure-CFOC
          'Our house is in Gumure.'
Speaker 1: *wo je   shoorija-kka*
          ok   DEF river-LOC
          'Ok, inside the river?'

In the present study, the various functions of the demonstrative determiner *je* are accounted for as instances of ongoing grammaticalization. The grammaticalization path can be represented schematically as:

DEM (away from the speaker, lower elevation, in the vicinity of the speaker and addressee, visible) → DEM (near the addressee, visible) → DEM (Non-visible) → DEFINITE MARKING

The grammaticalization analysis path is suggested because:

(a) In line with grammaticalization theory, the change is from lexical to more grammatical items. Cross-linguistically, similar grammaticalization processes have been noted in many languages, and Diessel (1999) states that demonstratives are a common historical source for definite articles.

(b) Koorete does not mark definiteness morphologically. However, traces of an archaic definiteness marking suffix are observed in a few C-final nouns in certain contexts, primarily through alternation or lengthening of the last consonant of such nouns (Binyam 2010). It is possible that the grammaticalization of the demonstrative in the language serves as a compensation for the archaic definiteness marking suffix.

(c) It is also worth mentioning that the language exhibits similar 'uncompleted' grammaticalization processes in connection with the negative suffix *ba-* (still in the process of developing from a lexical verb via existential auxiliary) and the periphrastic aspect markers. (Binyam 2014)

2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Koorete are formed by combining demonstrative determiners with third-person personal pronouns. The template below illustrates the morphological shape of demonstrative pronouns.

DEM   +   3MS/3FS/3PL PRON
{*ha/se/wo*}   {*ʔes-/ʔis-/ʔus-*}
{*jede/je/je*}

The third-person pronouns of Koorete, as indicated above, are *ʔes-* 3MS, *ʔis-*3FS and *ʔus-* 3PL, they serve as a base to form demonstrative pronouns.

Table 2. Demonstrative pronouns in Koorete

Demonstrative determiners	3rd person personal pronouns		Demonstrative pronouns	
	NOM	ABS	NOM	ABS
ha	*ʔes-i*	*ʔes-a*	*ha-ʔes-i*	*ha-ʔes-a*
	ʔis-i	*ʔis-o*	*ha-ʔis-i*	*ha-ʔis-o*
	ʔus-i	*ʔus-o*	*ha-ʔus-i*	*ha-ʔus-o*
se	*ʔes-i*	*ʔes-a*	*se-ʔes-i*	*se-ʔes-a*
	ʔis-i	*ʔis-o*	*se-ʔis-i*	*se-ʔis-o*
	ʔus-i	*ʔus-o*	*se-ʔus-i*	*se-ʔus-o*
wo	*ʔes-i*	*ʔes-a*	*wo-ʔes-i*	*wo-ʔes-a*
	ʔis-i	*ʔis-o*	*wo-ʔis-i*	*wo-ʔis-o*
	ʔus-i	*ʔus-o*	*wo-ʔus-i*	*wo-ʔus-o*
jede	*ʔes-i*	*ʔes-a*	*jede-ʔes-i*	*jede-ʔes-a*
	ʔis-i	*ʔis-o*	*jede-ʔis-i*	*jede-ʔis-o*
	ʔus-i	*ʔus-o*	*jede-ʔus-i*	*jede-ʔus-o*
je	*ʔes-i*	*ʔes-a*	*je-ʔes-i*	*je-ʔes-a*
	ʔis-i	*ʔis-o*	*je-ʔis-i*	*je-ʔis-o*
	ʔus-i	*ʔus-o*	*je-ʔus-i*	*je-ʔus-o*

Demonstrative pronouns, as mentioned earlier, are formed by combining demonstrative determiners and third-person pronouns. In other words, Koorete demonstrative pronouns encompass both deictic and qualitative features. Therefore, unlike demonstrative determiners, demonstrative pronouns indicate person, gender, and case through the use of personal pronouns. As Dixon (2012: 58) observed, in many languages, a pronoun paradigm cannot be separated into distinct person and number morphemes. In Koorete, personal pronouns can be divided into three forms. Accordingly, the initial C- of the pronouns' roots indicates persons: *t-* for 1st person, *n-* for 2nd person, and *j-* for 3rd person (cf. Binyam 2010: 46). However, when person markers share the same form, e.g., *n-* for 2sg/1pl, the first CV- of the pronouns' roots is understood as a combination of person and number markers. For example, the 2sg pronoun (*nen*) is distinguished from the 1pl (incl/excl) (*nin/nun*) by the vowels attached to both pronoun roots. Based on the shape of the 1pl incl/excl forms, it appears these vowels serve a number marking function. Interestingly, the 1pl excl and 2pl pronouns are identical, except that the 2pl pronoun adds a formative-like prefix **ha-*.

Accordingly, we may consider that **ha-* alone as a number marker, but this form cannot be segmented out as a morpheme since it does occur as part of the 2pl pronoun root, e.g., *hinu*(*mba*) (absolutive), *hinuse* (dative), *hinuna* (instrumental), etc. On the other hand, the final -VC of the pronouns indicates gender plus number. As shown in Table 2, the -VC (*-es/-is*) distinguishes the masculine and feminine genders. The vowel is not used alone to indicate gender because the 3PL also has –VC (*-us*), where the V may be the plural marker, but it does not function as a gender marker. While animate nouns take either the 3MS or 3FS form, depending on the biological sex, non-animate nouns invariably take the 3MS. It is the default 3MS that distinguishes between determiners and pronouns, or whether the demonstratives function as a determiner or a pronoun. Unlike person and gender, case markers are indicated by separate and segmentable suffixes. In these pronouns, the nominative case is marked by *–i* while the accusative is marked by *-a* for masculine and *-o* for feminine and plural[4]. As shown in Table 2, Koorete has separate absolute case markers for 3ms and 3fs pronouns, but an identical marker for 3fs and 3PL pronouns.

Demonstrative pronouns can function as core arguments, e.g., the object of a clause (as in (11a).

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4 The case marking described here is mainly for the (demonstrative) pronouns, and it is possible that the pronouns kept an archaic form. The nominative case morpheme *-i* is still used by nouns, but the accusative case is not overtly marked, except for the use of the absolutive case marker *-o* in a few C-final nouns. Refer to Binyam (2010) for more details on this.

(11) a.   *tan-i*   **ha-ʔus-o**   *keen-g-e*
           I-NOM   **DEM:DET-3PL-ABS** want-PF-PRES
           'I want these.'

They also function as verbless clause subjects in verbless clauses, as illustrated by (11b).

(11) b.   **ha-ʔes-i**   *zawa-ko*
           DEM:DET-3MS-NOM   house-AFOC:DEC
           'This is the house.'

2.3 Deictic expression of location and direction

Koorete has several deictic expressions of place that are derived from demonstrative determiners. The affixation of case-like suffixes on the demonstratives accounts for the majority. Since only demonstrative determiners have underived deictic forms, I assume that their use is the prototypical use from which other uses derive. Accordingly, it is possible to refer to a location or direction by suffixing case-like and/or direction-like markers to the demonstrative determiner roots as discussed in the following sections.

2.3.1 Deictic expression of location

In Koorete, deictic adverbs of place are derived from demonstrative determiners. As some of them have case-marked forms, they are not prototypical place adverbs.

The following examples show derived deictic expressions of location from *ha*, *se,* and *wo*.

(12) a.   *ha-ja*   *se-ja*   *wo-ja*
          'right here'   'right there'   'right there above'
    b.   *ha-na*   *se-na*   *wo-na*
          'here'   'there'   'there above'
    c.   *ha-mpa*   *se-mpa*   *wo-mpa*
          'over here'   'over there'   'over there above'
    d.   *ha-jte*   *se-jte*   *wo-jte*
          'this vicinity' 'that vicinity' 'that vicinity above'

The locative readings in (12a-d) are formed from the monomorphemic determiner forms and case-like suffixes *–ja*, *-na*, *-mpa,* and *–jte*. The demonstrative roots from which these deictic adverbs of place are formed indicate semantic features as distance, visibility, and elevation. Despite there is no detailed morphophonological account of the form of these four case markers, they are often assumed as case markers: locative, *-a* (following liquid consonants), *-aka* (following non-liquid consonants) and *-aa*;

instrumental, *-na*; and ablative *-pa/-apa* (Hayward 1982; Beletu 2003; Binyam 2010). To substantiate the use of these suffixes as case markers, an illustrative example is provided in (12c). The form *sempa*, which is derived from the determiner root *se* and the ablative case marker suffix *-mpa* (possibly a variant of *-apa/-pa*), has a meaning 'over there; across' (lit. that-from) and indicates location or place. The place adverb *ha-jte* appears to have the same deictic root as the temporal adverb *hatte* 'now' (probably from **hatte*), but it is not clear whether they are made of the same suffix.

Semantically, they are equivalent in function to prototypical place adverbs when they are used as such deictic expressions as in (13).

(13) *ʔes-i   ha-na   joo-d-o*
    he-NOM   this-INST come-PFV.PST₁
    'He came here.' (Lit. 'He came through/along this.')

Honorific reading for deictic adverbs of location with higher elevation. Higher elevation *wo* is understood as an honorific form compared to the lower *jede*. This is because, pragmatically, higher places are reserved for respected and honored people.

(14) a.   *wo-na   ʔutt-uwa*
       there-INST   sit-IMP
       'Sit there (honorific)!'
    b.   *jede-na   ʔutt-uwa*
       there-INST   sit-IMP
       'Sit there (less honorific)!'

Koorete deictic adverbs of place are distinguished from deictic expressions of direction, which often co-occur with directional marking lexical elements and rarely with locative case markers.

(15) *bale   se-i   **se-ina-ko**   kana-ine kato*
    Instead   that-NOM.**that-INST-AFOC:DEC**   dog-NOM your voice
    sii-d-i   joo-w-ija-ka   jes-e
    hear-PF-CNV   come-EPN-PROG-LOC   exist-PRES
    'Instead, having heard your voice, the dog is coming from THAT WAY.'
                        (Source: *Jhi'oy Wodundo* (2003: 25))

As shown in (15), one can use the same demonstrative determiner form twice within a single construction.

2.3.2 Deictic expressions of direction

Koorete has some deictic expressions of direction that are derived from demonstratives. They share the same demonstrative roots as deictic adverbs of place, but they add either one of two directional markers, *-kke* ('-ward')

and *-bade* ('toward'), or they add locative case markers similar to those used with place adverbs.

(16) a. *ha-nke*   *se-kke*   *wo-kke*
       'towards here' 'towards there'   'towards there above'
    b. *ha-bade*   *se-bade*   *wo-bade*
       'this direction' 'that direction'   'that direction above'
    c. *ha-mpa*   *se-mpa*   *wo-mpa*
       'over here'   'over there'   'over there above'

As illustrated above, demonstrative roots can be combined with the directional marker suffixes *–nke/-kke* and *-bade* (as in (16a and b) to encode the direction towards and the direction away from the deictic center. The difference between these two directional markers is that *-kke* attaches to demonstrative roots, whereas *-bade* attaches to nominal roots. In addition, when accompanied by verbs of movement, such as 'come' and 'go', the directional suffix *-kke* can be used to encode whether the referent is moving toward or away from the deictic center, as illustrated in (17a) below.

(17) a. *wo-kke*   *ʔi*   *hando*
      up-ward   she   went
      'She went upwards.' (Lit. 'she went up there.')

In (17a), the directional marker *-kke* 'towards' is suffixed to the demonstrative determiner root *wo* [that:UP.DISTAL:VISIBLE] to indicate the direction of the referent. However, it is the verb *hando* but not the deictic root *wo* that indicates the referent is moving away from the deictic center. The direction marker *–bade*, on the other hand, is combined with nominal forms, particularly with locational nouns.

(17) b. *alga-bade*
      Burji-toward
      'Towards the direction of the Burji'
    c. *koira-bade*
      Koira-toward
      'Towards the direction of the Koira'

In examples (17b-c), the noun *alga* in Koorete refers to the Burji people who live south of the Koore. These two noun forms can also be used to refer to a specific location or place where people reside. Since it provides additional information about the referent, the semantic function of *-bade* differs from that of *-kke*. The two examples above demonstrate that the directional suffix *-bade* is limited to human referents and can only be added to nouns referring to people. Given the semantic role of -bade, I believe there are other noun forms in the language that indicate humanness through this

deictic suffix. Besides directional markers, case markers can also be attached to demonstrative roots to form directional adverbs (as in (12c)). The directional adverb *hampa* 'over here' is created from the proximal demonstrative root ha and the ablative case marker *-mpa*, meaning 'from this/here' or 'from this direction', literally.

2.3.3 Presentative demonstratives

Presentative demonstratives, also called 'sentential demonstratives,' appear in common presentative constructions such as 'here/there it is' and serve a pragmatic role that makes them almost identical to demonstrative identifiers. Both are used to introduce new discourse topics. However, they differ from identifiers in their syntactic structure and form. Unlike identifiers, which are embedded in specific grammatical constructions like copular or nonverbal clauses, presentatives are syntactically independent (cf. Diessel 1999: 79). Additionally, it is important to note that presentatives are used as single-word utterances in the language. As shown below in (18), Koorete uses demonstrative determiners to create presentative deictic expressions.

(18) *ha-ji*   'here it is!'
    se-ji   'there it is!'
    wo-ji   'there (above) it is!'
    jede-ji   'there (below) it is!'
    je-ji   'there (near addressee) it is!'

The examples in (18) demonstrate that presentative demonstratives are one-word utterances and can therefore be labeled as sentential demonstratives. The suffix *-ji* is added to the demonstrative adjectives, and it is suggested that the morpheme *-ji* marks focus. Koorete presentatives are marked for what Heine & Reh (1984) call a 'weakly grammaticalized focus marker', or for what I call a 'presentational focus marker'. Koorete also has a similar expression, *ha-jja*, which is used as a response to the opening statement a storyteller makes during the narration of a tale.

(19) a.   *mamakko-i*   *jeʧa*
       tale-NOM t   here-was
       'There was a tale.' (Lit. 'There existed a tale')
   b.   *ha-jja*
       this-FOC
       'Go ahead/continue' (Lit. 'here-then…here it goes??")

2.3.4 Derived time adverbs/temporal adverbs

The language also features some time adverbs derived from demonstratives. The development of temporal markers from spatial expressions is a common

phenomenon of grammaticalization (van Gelderen 2008). Due to such grammatical phenomena, in many languages, locational deictics such as 'this/here; that/there' are also used as temporal adverbs 'now; then'. Even then, derived temporal adverbs may gradually add certain grammatical markers that potentially indicate temporal reference points relative to the time of the speech event. Examples are provided below:

(20) *ha-tte*   'now'   >   **ha-de*<this/here temporal+middle/horizontal>
　　 ha-ga   'right now'   >   **ha-ga*<this/here-temporal+focus>
　　 ha-ndzo   'today'   >   **ha-ndzo* <this/here-temporal+sequence.marker>
　　 ha-bere   'this year'

3. Conclusion

This study provides a detailed description and analysis of the various functions of demonstratives in Koorete, with a particular focus on their role as spatial deixis. In this regard, demonstrative determiners and demonstrative pronouns were analyzed with illustrative examples. It has been found that the language has six demonstrative adjectives and their corresponding pronouns. The usage of the demonstratives is determined by the parameters of distance from the deictic center, reference point, visibility, and vertical axis. Furthermore, the study described the morphological structure of deictic expressions and their synchronically observed grammaticalization process. Further research is needed on the pragmatic functions of demonstratives. As Himmelmann (1996) notes, there are two common pragmatic functions of demonstratives, namely exophoric and endophoric. The present study primarily focused on the exophoric uses of demonstratives in language, and further research is needed on their endophoric functions. In particular, it would be interesting to see their pragmatic function in light of the demonstrative *je*, which is used for 'non-visible' referents, and is currently undergoing grammaticalization into a definite marker.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
AFOC	assertive focus
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
CFOC	contrastive focus
CNV	converb
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative

DET   determiner
EPN   epenthetic
F   feminine
FOC   focus
IMP   imperative
INST   instrumental
INT   interrogative
LOC   locative
M   masculine
NOM   nominative
PF   perfect
PFV   perfective
PL   plural
PRES   present
PROG   progressive
PRON   pronoun
PST   past
SG   singular

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