

Deixis in Hadiyya

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Abstract

This study describes Deixis in Hadiyya. Specifically, it focuses on types of deixis and uses of deictic elements.

In Hadiyya person deixis is indicated by personal pronouns (nominative, accusative, genitive) and bound subject pronouns within the verb.

Place deixis is shown fundamentally using demonstratives. This demonstrative is classified into two: adnominal demonstratives which have attributive function vs. independent demonstratives which stand alone. And based on spatial location each of these has three distances: proximal, medial and distal. In addition to demonstrative, place deixis is shown by deictic motion verbs that are used to indicate an action toward and away from the speaker who is the deictic center, as well as by other deictic expressions of location and direction.

Time deixis in Hadiyya is indicated by a number of basic and derived lexical time adverbs, time adverbs based on the notion of movement, and tense/aspect (simple past, present perfect, past perfect, past habitual, future and progressive). In Hadiyya, in addition to future tense, future time reference is expressed by jussive and imperative moods.

Manner deixis in Hadiyya is shown by the proximal and distal deictic elements *kaʔisa* 'like this' and *eeʔisa* 'like that' accompanied by ostensive demonstration.

Some proximal and medial demonstratives show discourse deixis in Hadiyya. In addition to this, discourse deixis is shown by some sentence adverbs like *eebikkina* 'therefore' and *eelasage* 'after that' and adverbial demonstratives *kaʔisa* 'like this' and *eeʔisa* 'like that' without ostensive demonstration.

In the language, social deixis is expressed by both relational (age, marriage, circumcision status, kinship) and absolute (office-related respect and *mahaaraano* 'people who have socio-cultural respect') deictic terms.

Recognitional deixis is reflected by some specific demonstratives: medial *oo/ee*, and distal *ʔo/ʔe*, *ʔokk/ʔekka* 'that'.

Finally, uses of deictic elements (situational, tracking, discourse, recognitional) in Hadiyya are discussed using different demonstratives.

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Abbreviations

*	Ungrammatical
-	Morpheme boundary
.	Portmanteau morphemes
[]	Phonetic transcription
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
CONV	Converb
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DISD	Distal demonstrative
EPN	Epenthetic
F	Feminine
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
HEC	Highland East Cushitic
HON	Honorific
IMP	Imperative
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
MEDD	Medial demonstrative
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
PL	Plural
PP	Present perfect
PROG	Progressive
PRXD	Proximal demonstrative
SG	Singular
SGV	Singulative
SIMV	Similative ('like')
SP	Simple past

Hadiyya Orthography

Hadiyya has standard orthography. Here are the non-obvious Hadiyya graphemes with their equivalent phonetic transcription.

Table 1. *Orthographic information in Hadiyya*

SOUND	PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY
[ʔ]	ʔ	ʔ
[š]	š	sh
[č]	č	ch
[čʼ]	čʼ	c
[pʼ]	pʼ	ph
[tʼ]	tʼ	x
[kʼ]	kʼ	q

For these sounds, in this thesis, I used phonetic transcription; all other sounds are transcribed straightforwardly.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The People

The term Hadiyya stands not only for the language, but also for the people. According to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission (2008), the total number of Hadiyya speakers is 1,243,776. The majority of Hadiyya people are Protestants. Only a few follow the Islamic and Catholic and/or Orthodox Christian religion, and many of these are converting to Protestantism. The majority of Hadiyya people lives in rural areas and practices agriculture. Agriculture is the primary sources of their economy. A few people go to South Africa to seek work. Of agricultural crops the drought-resistant plant *enset* “false banana” is well known; there are also cereal crops like maize, wheat, sorghum. In addition, the Hadiyya breed cattle.

The zonal capital of Hadiyya, Hosaina, is located 232 km southwest of the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa.

Hadiyya is surrounded by different languages: the Semitic Gurage in the north and Silt'e in the northeast, the Cushitic Kambaata in the south and Alaaba in the southeast. On the west the boundary is the Gibe River.

1.2 The Language

Hadiyya is classified under the Highland East Cushitic group of languages and thus a member of the Afro-asiatic family (Perrett 2000:39). Now Hadiyya is spoken in Hadiyya zone in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPR). According to Perrett (2000: 39-40), the classification of Hadiyya is shown in the following diagram.

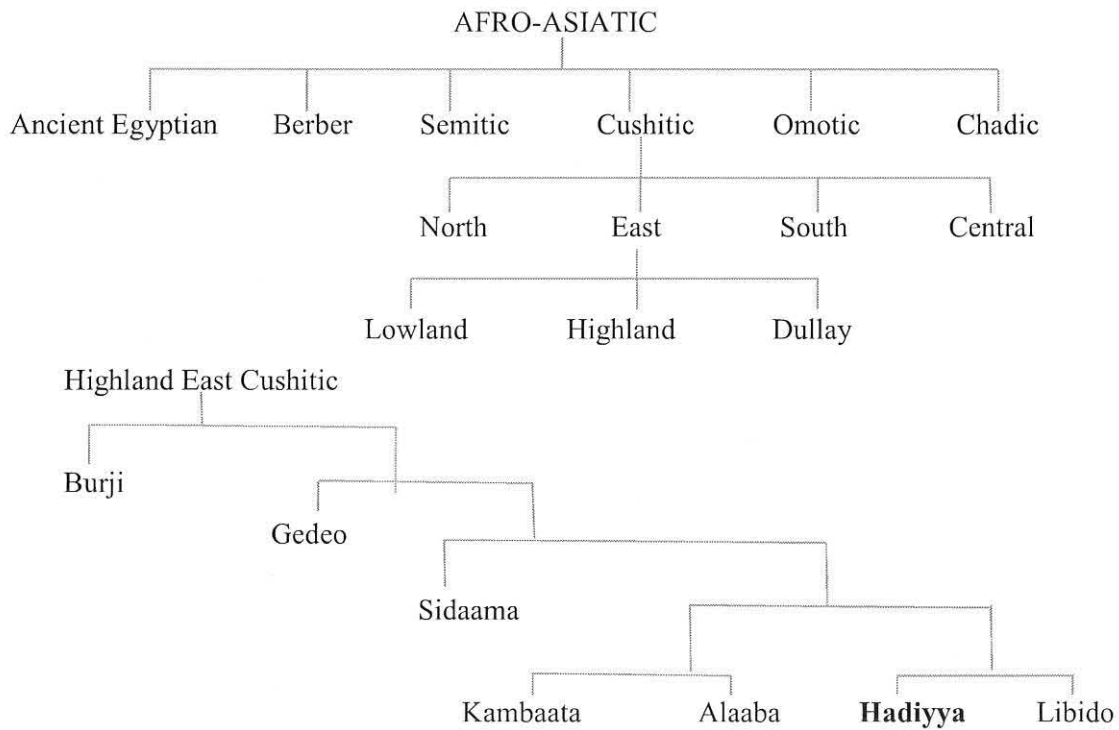


Diagram 1: *Classification of Cushitic languages*

Perrett says that this specific subclassification of HEC is taken from Sim (1989).

Perrett (2000:40) says “The close affinity of Alaba with Kambaata, and Libido with Hadiyya, and to a lesser extent of these two pairs of languages with each other, along with their northern location when compared to Sidamo, Derassa (Gedeo) and Burji, led Korhonen et al. (1986) to propose a cover term 'northern Highland East Cushitic (nHEC)' for this group.”

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to describe and analyze the deictic features of Hadiyya language. Specifically, the study aims to provide a comprehensive description of deixis classification and to discuss the demonstratives and deictic uses in Hadiyya.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

In research conducted on the language previously, almost nothing has been said about deixis. However, it is one of the important linguistic features of the language.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research will add to our knowledge about Cushitic languages in general, and Highland East Cushitic particularly. The study will also help for typological study in the specific area of deixis.

In Hadiyya zone the language serves as a medium of instruction from grade one up to four and as a subject matter up to grade ten, including grade ten national examination as a subject. At the college level, a curriculum is being planned to give the Hadiyya language as a diploma level program in Hosaina Teacher Training College (TTC). For all these levels, teaching materials are insufficient. So, this study may help as a resource in preparing such teaching materials.

1.6 Research Methodology

For this research qualitative research methodology is employed following with different linguistic data elicitation systems as an aid. Since I am a native speaker, my native speaker knowledge is my primary source of data. This awareness and my linguistic knowledge also helped me to cross-check the reliability of other data and to analyze the data. I also analyzed some published tales from the language specifically for discourse deixis.

As a secondary source of data, the existing literature (grammars and articles) on Hadiyya were assessed for any information they have about deictics, and other literature for basic concepts about deixis in general.

In addition, as tools of data collection, I also asked some native speakers of the language and in particular a native-speaker Hadiyya language teacher for further information and cross-checking. And specifically for social deixis analysis, I used a text that gives information about some socio-culturally respected individuals of Hadiyya, and I asked elders who have detailed knowledge about these individuals and the respecting system. The information I got from the individuals

was not via questionnaires, but rather simply through informal interviews. The data presented in the study is transcribed phonetically.

CHAPTER TWO

BASIC CONCEPTS AND REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Definitions of Deixis

According to Lyons (1977: 636), “the term ‘deixis’ (which comes from a Greek word meaning “pointing” or “indicating”) is now used in linguistics to refer to the function of personal and demonstrative pronouns, of tense and of a variety of other grammatical and lexical features which relate utterances to the spatio-temporal co-ordinates of the act of utterance.”

On the same page he adds that participants’ (a single speaker and at least one addressee) usage of certain speech context based on spatio-temporal situation, deixis focuses on the location and persons, objects and events identification.

About deixis coverage, in addition to demonstrative pronouns, Lyons says that tense, person and different contexts of certain utterances are very important (1977: 637).

About deixis Dixon (2003: 63) says “This term is used by modern-day linguists in two entirely different senses. The first—following Bühler (1934), and Lyons (1968, 1977) — is as a cover term for personal pronouns, demonstratives, and time shifters such as “now” and “tomorrow”. The second sense is for the pointing function of demonstratives, when accompanied by a gesture indicating an object or place, or mimicking an action.”

Fillmore (1975: 39) says that deictics are components or parts of an utterance which are interpreted in terms of the participants’ knowledge of some features in the communication. According to Saeed (2009: 191), deictics (from the Greek *deiknymi* ‘to show or point out’) are linguistic elements which are highly context dependent on the ongoing discourse. Deixis is about lexical elements or grammatical distinctions whose interpretation depends on the context of the given utterance (Jaszczolt 2002: 191). Anderson and Keenan (1985: 259) define deictic expressions as linguistic elements that give a clarification of the context of a given utterance.

Yule (1996: 9) says, “Deixis is a technical term (from Greek) for one of the most basic things we do with utterances. It means ‘pointing’ via language. Any linguistic form used to accomplish this ‘pointing’ is called a *deictic expression*.” He observes that proximity is highly connected with speaker’s context; if the deictic expression is near to the speaker, it is proximal, and if the deictic expression is far from the speaker, it is distal.

Deixis has to do with context in a language, and this task of deixis is handled differently in the world’s languages based on their different linguistic nature (Levinson 1983:54). Levinson adds “The term ... has as prototypical or focal exemplars the use of demonstratives, first and second person pronouns, tense, specific time and place adverbs like *now* and *here*, and a variety of other grammatical features tied directly to the circumstances of utterance” (1983:54).

Jaszczolt (2002: 192) and Yule (1996: 9) say that deictic expressions are sometimes called *indexicals* or *indexical expressions*; but citing Larson and Segal (1995: 215), Jaszczolt (2002: 192) says “some philosophers confine the term ‘indexical’ only to pronouns ‘I’ and ‘you’ and adverbs ‘here’ and ‘now’ because their role in a sentence is *constant*.”

According to Bühler (1934), as cited in Cruse (2000: 319), deictic expressions mainly have to do with space and time. That means that a sentence which locates a referent in some place and a sentence which contains a time marker have deictic expressions. To illustrate Bühler’s idea, Cruse (2000: 319) gives an example which has a deictic locative expression and a tense marker, as in (1).

(1) The cat sat on the mat.

In this sentence *on the mat* is an expression showing location and the past tense of *sat* expresses time. He says “Later scholars have mostly restricted the term deixis to cases where the referent is located using the current speech event or one or more of its participants as reference points.” In the above sentence (1) the cat is located on the mat, and the speech event contributes nothing to locating the cat. But in sentence (2) below the identification of the cat has reference to the place and person of the speaker.

(2) That cat sat on the mat. (Cruse 2000: 319)

So *the mat* is the location of the cat, and the demonstrative *that* shows the distance of the cat from the speaker.

The deictic or non-deictic status of definite articles has caused disagreement among scholars. About this disagreement (Cruse 2000: 319) says, “Some scholars consider it [the article] to be deictic, because the current context of situation is involved in referent identification. Others exclude the definite article, because it does not locate the referent on any specific parameter.”

Fillmore (1975:40) and Levinson (1983: 65-67) describe three different usages of deictic expressions as follows:

- a. *Gestural usage*: here we understand that reference of objects will be determined by “a moment by moment physical monitoring of the speech event” (Levinson 1983: 65), for example, demonstrative pronouns used with a selecting gesture, as in (3):

(3) *This* one [pointing] is genuine, but *this* one [pointing] is a fake.

- b. *Symbolic usage*: here, in order to interpret a deictic, participants need only a general background knowledge of the place and time parameters of the speech event, and sometimes also person, discourse and social parameters (Levinson 1983: 65).
- c. *Anaphoric usage*: here a linguistic element is used to refer to an object or person from the preceding portion of the same discourse, as in (4).

(4) John came in and he lit a fire. (Levinson 1983: 67)

Hanks (2009:12, 17) presents two important kinds of evidence that are needed in order to describe deixis in languages around the world. One is the core paradigm(s) within which individual deictics are expressed: paradigms of nominal demonstratives, locative adverbs, etc. The other is the context(s) of speech utterance associated with a particular deictic.

2.2 Subcategories of Deixis

Different scholars subclassify deixis differently. Some scholars argue that there are three basic deictic categories: person, place and time. These are the traditional deictic categories. Levinson (1983: 62) discusses these three traditional categories of deixis, further enhancing them with discourse (text) deixis and social deixis (following Lyons 1968, 1977, and Fillmore 1971, 1975). Anderson and Keenan (1985: 259) also claim that the major deictic categories in language are: person, spatial location and time reference.

Fillmore (1975: 39-40) and Cruse (2000: 324) deal with all five types of deixis: person deixis, place deixis, time deixis, social deixis and discourse deixis. In contrast, Jaszczolt (2002: 198) argues that “Discourse and social deixis seem to differ from the three basic categories of person, place and time deixis. They grammaticalize or lexicalize certain distinctions relative to context, but may not need context for interpreting them.” She elaborates, “When we apply a formal semantic theory to the analysis of deixis, discourse and social deixis naturally fall out. Person, place and time deixis can quite successfully be incorporated into truth-conditional semantics, especially dynamic semantics such as Discourse Representation Theory which assigns reference as discourse progresses.”

One important grammatical subtype of deixis is demonstratives. I will deal with this in section 2.3 below.

2.2.1 Person Deixis

Person deixis has to do with participants in the ongoing speech utterance (Levinson 1983: 62). The participants will be manifested by pronouns: first person singular pronoun refers to the speaker him/herself; second person pronoun stands for the addressee(s); and third person refers to objects or persons which are neither speaker nor addressee(s) (Levinson 1983: 62 and Saeed 2009: 196). “This basic three-way system is the basis of most pronoun systems but once again languages differ in the amount of other contextual information that is included in pronouns” (Saeed 2009: 196).

Pronouns are the fundamental way to encode person deixis (Jaszczolt 2002:193). The pronoun system and its functioning are different across languages; for example, some languages have a dual number in addition to singular and plural.

Like most other scholars, Yule (1996: 10) also presents person deixis as involving a basic three-way division of pronouns (first person, second person, and third person pronouns). Cruse (2000: 319), Jaszczolt (2002:193) and Yule (1996: 10) note that in some languages pronouns also express relative social status, for example, expressions to show higher status (*honorifics*) and expressions to show lower status. (Cf. section 2.2.5 on social deixis.)

2.2.2 Place Deixis

2.2.2.1 Spatial Demonstratives

Place deixis focuses on the participants' place location during the speech event (Levinson 1983: 62). Levinson adds "Probably most languages grammaticalize at least a distinction between proximal (or close to speaker) and distal (or non-proximal, sometimes close to addressee)." Demonstratives (like English *this* vs. *that*) and deictic adverbs of place (like English *here* vs. *there*) are elements that encode the distinction (Levinson 1983:62, Cruse 2000: 320, Jaszczolt 2002: 194). Anderson and Keenan (1985: 277) state that although in many languages there is the possibility of specifying space/location by reference to the addressee, all languages specify space/location by referring to the speaker. Jaszczolt (2002: 196) simply says that both speaker and addressee may serve as a reference point to determine deictic locations.

Jaszczolt (2002: 196) and Saeed (2009: 192) note that the physical distance of the space (or location) is relative to the participants' actual context (or background knowledge). For example, 'here' can refer to a country, a city, a room or an exact point. According to Jaszczolt (2002: 196), the choice of the demonstrative pronouns 'this' and 'that' sometimes has to do with emotional closeness (empathy) and distance. She called this *empathic deixis*.

2.2.2.2 Deictic Motion Verbs

Come/Go

Some motion verbs convey deictic information. For instance, the verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ mark deictic information when their movements are respectively toward the speaker and away from the speaker (Yule 1996: 12). Fillmore (1975: 50) says, “The place to which one speaks of something or somebody ‘coming’ is understood as a place where either the speaker or the addressee is located at either the coding time or the reference time.” By contrast, “the directional complement of the verb ‘go’ indicates a place where the speaker (or encoder) is not located at coding time.”

Bring/Take

Like the deictic motion verb “come”, “bring” also has to do with motion towards the speaker, whereas the verb “take”, like the deictic motion verb “go”, shows motion away from the speaker (Fillmore 1975:54). These verbs are essentially causatives of “come” and “go”.

2.2.3 Time Deixis

Time deixis is used to identify a point in time or a time interval, with respect to the time of utterance as a reference point (Cruse 2000: 321). Cruse divides the time axis into three divisions: (1) before the time of utterance, (2) at the exact time of utterance and (3) after the moment of utterance. According to him, the most basic temporal deictics in English are *now* and *then*.

As with other deictics, participants are important in time deixis too (Jaszczolt 2002: 194-5). Time deixis is specifically speaker-oriented: it encodes time relative to the moment at which an utterance took place (which usually, but not always, is the moment at which it is received). In addition to temporal deictic elements like *now*, *then*, *yesterday*, *this year* etc., tense also has deictic function (e.g. Levinson 1983: 62).

2.2.4 Discourse Deixis

Discourse deixis has to do with reference to some part of the previous discourse (Fillmore 1975: 70). Usually, he says, “the terms of discourse deixis are taken from systems of deictic and non-deictic **time** semantics, for the very good reason that any point in a discourse can be thought of as a point in time --- the time at which that portion of the discourse is encoded or decoded --- with preceding portions of the discourse conceived as occurring earlier in time, later portions thought of as occurring later in time.” Instances of discourse deixis taken from that of non-deictic semantics are ‘earlier’, ‘later’, ‘the preceding X’, ‘the following X’ (ibid.). Discourse deictic elements, conceived as time deictics, are specified with respect to the *coding time* of the discourse as the deictic center. Different kinds of coding time are possible. For example, “in the last paragraph we saw...” is a discourse instance of *general* coding time; “in the next paragraph I will show...” involves *encoding* time; and “in the last chapter you saw that...” is an example of *de-coding* time (ibid.).

On the same page Fillmore mentions *this*, *next* and *later* as relevant discourse deictic expression elements, and they are analogous to references to calendar units of time semantics: ‘in the last paragraph’ is analogous to ‘last week’; ‘in the next chapter’ is analogous to ‘during the next month’; and ‘this sentence’ is analogous to ‘this week’. He also mentions English *above* and *below* as discourse deictic elements that occur in written texts (ibid.).

Levinson (1983: 85) notes that the demonstrative *this* can function to refer to an immediate following part of the discourse, as in (5), and *that* functions to refer to a previous part of the discourse, as in (6).

(5) I bet you haven’t heard *this* story?

(6) *That* was the funniest story I have ever heard.

Cruse (2000: 323) makes the same point:

(7) Listen to *this*, it will kill you! (future reference)

(8) *That* was not a very nice thing to say. (past reference)

(This is oversimplified, however; *this* often can refer to an immediately preceding part of the discourse as well (Orin Gensler, p.c.).)

Cruse (ibid.) also observes that the current discourse can be pointed to by the word *hereby* (in an explicit performative sentence), as in (9).

(9) Notice is *hereby* served that if payment is further delayed, appropriate legal action will be taken.

He also notes (2000: 324) that some sentence adverbs plausibly involve discourse deictic elements: *therefore* and *furthermore* are such instances, because their interpretation requires information from the previous discourse.

2.2.5 Social Deixis

Jaszczolt (2002: 197) says, “Social deixis concerns social relationships between participants, their status and relations to the topic of discourse. Relationships that are relevant in this type of deixis include [those] between the speaker and the addressee, between other participants, the speaker and the object spoken about and so on.” Levinson (1983: 89) and Jaszczolt (2002: 197) state that some of the grammatical devices that are used for the purpose of social deixis include pronouns of politeness, titles of addressee, kinship terms, and honorifics.

According to Traugolt and Dasher (2002: 228), there are various approaches to politeness. One involves conversational maxims (cf. Leech 1983). Another is to view politeness “in terms of universal strategies that diffuse ‘face threatening acts’”, as discussed by Brown and Levinson (1987).

There are two basic kinds of social deictic information which can occur in language (Levinson 1983: 90-91). The first conveys *relational* information. This may be between:

- i. Speaker and referent (e.g. referent honorifics)
- ii. Speaker and addressee (e.g. addressee honorifics)
- iii. Speaker and bystander (e.g. bystander or audience honorifics)
- iv. Speaker and setting (e.g. formality levels)” (1983: 90)

Such relational social deixis can be expressed by honorifics, but Levinson notes that there are other possibilities of social deixis which can be grammaticalized, e.g. via totemic relations, clan membership and so on.

The second type of social deixis is *absolute* (Levinson 1983: 91). Here there are forms which are absolutely reserved for certain speakers (cf. Fillmore 1975) or forms which are absolutely reserved for certain *authorized recipients*. The prototypical case involves speech by, or to, a royal person.

2.3 Demonstratives

2.3.1 General Overview

Demonstratives (pronouns, adjectives and adverbs) are fundamentally deictics (Lyons 1977: 646, Diessel 1999: 35). Demonstrative elements of English are *this*, *that* and the demonstrative adverbs *here* and *there* (Lyons 1977: 646). Proximity to the deictic center is what differentiates these demonstratives: *this book* has a proximal demonstrative to indicate that the book is near the speaker, and *that book* has a distal demonstrative to indicate that the book is located at some distance from the speaker.

To locate the referent Diessel (1999: 36) argues that in all languages there are at least two demonstrative locations based on deictic center. These demonstrative locations are proximal and distal, yielding a system of at least two demonstratives. The former refers to things near to the deictic center/speaker and the latter refers to things not near to the deictic center (Diessel 1999: 36).

2.3.2 Types of Demonstratives

In Dixon's definition (2010: 224), "The class of the shifters with deictic reference to some person (or some thing) other than speaker or addressee is 'demonstratives'." He subclassifies demonstratives into three types:

- a. 'Nominal demonstratives — can occur in an NP with a noun or pronoun (e.g. '[this stone] is hot') or, in most languages, can make up a complete NP (e.g. '[this] is hot')' (2010: 224). He asserts that there is at least one nominal demonstrative universally (2010:225). A nominal demonstrative is used to point to a target object in the discourse (2010: 228).
- b. 'Local adverbial demonstratives — occur either alone (e.g. 'put it here') or with a noun taking local marking (e.g. 'put it (on the table) there')' (2010: 224). Unlike nominal

demonstratives, a local adverbial demonstrative is used to point to a place (2010: 228). Dixon adds ‘There are languages with [only] a single nominal demonstrative ..., but no language is known which lacks two adverbial demonstratives, contrasting in terms of spatial function (like English *here* and *there*) or in terms of visibility’ (2010: 228).

- c. The third demonstrative type is ‘verbal demonstratives ‘do it like this’, with an accompanying mimicking action — can occur as the only verb in a predicate, or together with a lexical verb’ (2010: 224).

2.3.3 Functions of Demonstratives

Basically Dixon (2010: 234-7) discusses two functions (deictic and syntactic) of demonstratives, although he further presents identification, new information and discourse organization under the same topic (functions). Here I focus on the first function, the deictic function, which is relevant to my topic. Dixon (2010: 234) takes English *this* and *that* as an instance of the deictic function by contrasting them in terms of their reference to different spatial locations.

2.3.4 Demonstrative Reference

Dixon (2010: 239) identifies three major parameters of reference for demonstratives. These are:

- a. Spatial reference — which has to do with spatial distance of referent object from the speaker, sometimes extended to temporal distance (2010: 239). He observes that the majority of languages use a two-term system: ‘near speaker’ and ‘not near speaker’. A number of languages have a three-term system which is either of the type: near speaker; near addressee; near neither of the two; or of the type: near speaker; mid-distance to speaker; far from speaker (2010: 239).
- b. Height and stance — in which the demonstrative is used to refer to an object in terms of the height of the referent, and/or its stance or motion (standing, lying, coming, going, etc.) (2010: 243).
- c. Visibility — ‘A number of languages have a grammatical system with one or more terms referring to visible objects and also one or more terms referring to something which is not visible’ (2010: 243).

2.3.5 Uses of Deictic Elements

Himmelmann (1996: 218-239) presents four types of demonstrative uses; the classification is based primarily, but not exclusively, on discourse function.

2.3.5.1 Situational Use

In situational use the demonstrative is used for “reference to an entity present in the utterance situation” (Himmelmann 1996: 219). According to him, the situational use of reference to the object is characterized by two features. These are: “First, it involves a deictic center and, correlatively, the phenomenon of “taking a point of view” Second, it serves in establishing a referent in the universe of discourse” (1996: 219-220).

2.3.5.2 Discourse Deictic Use

Referring to Himmelmann (1996: 224-229) and others, Diessel (1999: 101) said that in discourse deictic use, the demonstrative refers to a proposition rather than a preceding NP. To specify he adds “discourse deictic demonstratives focus the hearer’s attention on aspects of meaning, expressed by a clause, a sentence, a paragraph, or an entire story.”

2.3.5.3 Tracking Use

Here the demonstrative points to an already-established participant in the discourse.

Himmelmann (1996: 226) describes the tracking usage as follows: “tracking use makes reference to (usually major) participants, which helps the hearer keep track of what is happening to whom.” For the tracking use, Himmelmann (1996:226) and Diessel (1999: 103) note that it is sometimes called ‘anaphoric’.

To distinguish the major differences between discourse deictic and anaphoric (tracking) uses, Diessel (1999: 103) presents Table 2 as follows:

Table 2. *Anaphoric and discourse deictic demonstratives*

Anaphoric demonstratives	Discourse deictic demonstratives
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • they are coreferential with a prior NP • they keep track of discourse participants • the referent commonly persists in the subsequent discourse • only anaphoric 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • they refer to propositions/speech acts • they link two discourse units • the referent usually does not persist in the subsequent discourse • anaphoric and cataphoric

(Table quoted from Diessel 1999: 103)

2.3.5.4 Recognitional Use

This is a relatively unfamiliar use of demonstratives. In this recognitional use participants draw upon shared common knowledge rather than upon aspects of the previous discourse (Himmelman 1996: 230). According to Diessel (1999: 93), “recognitional demonstratives do not refer to elements of the surrounding discourse; rather, they are used to indicate that the hearer is able to identify the referent based on specific shared knowledge.” An example cited by Diessel (1999: 106) is: “I couldn’t sleep last night. **That** dog (next door) kept me awake”. Diessel (1999: 105) also notes an additional feature: the exclusively adnominal usage of recognitional demonstratives (“that dog”, not just “that”). (For a violation of this last point see section 3.1.7 below.)

2.4 Previous Works on Hadiyya Deixis

As far as I know there is no research that focuses directly on the deixis of Hadiyya. The present study is the first detailed treatment of the topic. However, there are some works which, although focusing on other grammatical aspects of Hadiyya, are indirectly related with the topic of deixis.

Tadesse (2007:70-79), in his MA thesis on the morphology of Hadiyya, includes some discussion of pronouns: personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, interrogative pronouns, restrictive pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. According to him, in Hadiyya, the demonstrative pronouns have a symmetrical set of paradigms that contrast for masculine and feminine, singular and plural, proximal and distal (masc. *kuk*, *ook*, fem. *tut*, *oot*, plural (common) *kukeen*, *ookeen*). He also

Hudson also gives paradigms of the personal pronouns, which include a 3rd –SG polite form (1976: 256-58).

CHAPTER THREE

DATA DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

3.1 Types of Deixis

3.1.1 Person Deixis: Personal Pronouns

Person deixis has to do with participants in the ongoing speech utterance (Levinson 1983: 62). The participants will be manifested by pronouns: first person singular pronoun refers to the speaker him/herself; second person pronoun stands for the addressee(s); and third person refers to objects or persons which are neither speaker nor addressee(s) (Levinson 1983: 62 and Saeed 2009: 196).

The personal pronouns represent person in sentences, and thus encode person deixis. Hadiyya has three distinct persons (1st, 2nd and 3rd). According to Tadesse (2007: 70), all three persons have singular vs. plural, masculine vs. feminine oppositions. I agree that in Hadiyya all persons have a singular vs. plural opposition. But in Hadiyya as I speak it, 1st and 2nd person do not have a masculine vs. feminine opposition, i.e. personal pronouns of first and second persons are common gender (masculine and feminine). Only 3rd person expresses gender.

Tadesse (2007: 71) further says that “with the exception of third person singular, in the case of other forms [1st and 2nd] there is no special honorific form in the language. In such forms the plural forms are used as honorific form.” Here too I disagree. In my Hadiyya, the 1SG has no honorific form at all. And the honorific form of the 2SG is not the plural form *kiʔn-uwwa*, but rather just *kiʔn* (without the plural marker *-uwwa*).¹

The pronouns of Hadiyya (nominative, accusative, genitive and the bound subject pronouns within the verb) are presented below.

¹ This difference does not exist for the bound subject pronoun inside the verb, where 2SG.HON = 2PL (see 1c, d below).

3.1.1.1 Nominative Pronouns

Nominative pronouns, which express the subject of the sentence, have 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons and as such convey person deixis.

Table 3. *Hadiyya nominative*² *pronouns*

PERSON	GENDER/HONORIFICS	NUMBER	
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	Common	<i>an</i>	<i>nees</i>
2	Common	<i>at</i>	<i>kiʔn-uww</i>
	Honorific	<i>kiʔn</i>	
3	Masculine	<i>itt'</i>	<i>itt'-uww/iss-uww</i>
	Feminine	<i>is</i>	''
	Honorific	<i>iss</i>	

Based on Table 3 let us have a look how these nominative pronouns of Hadiyya express person deixis.

(1) a. *an haraččo iik' – ummo*

I pot break-SP.1SG

'I broke a pot.'

b. *at haraččo iikk' – itto*

you pot break-SP.2SG

'You broke a pot.'

c. *kiʔn-uww haraččo iikk' – akko 'o*

you.HON-PL pot break-SP.2PL

'You (PL) broke a pot.'

² In Hadiyya, most nouns and pronouns lose their final vowel in the nominative. This is not the same as final vowel devoicing, which also occurs in the language.

d. *kiʔn haraččo iikk' – akko'o*
 you.HON pot break-SP.2PL
 'You (HON) broke a pot.'

e. *an eddečča aansš-oommo at buna gaf-e*
 I garment wash-FUT.1SG you coffee boil-2SG.IMP
 'I will wash a garment; you, boil the coffee!'

3.1.1.2 Accusative Pronouns

In Hadiyya, like nominative pronouns, accusative pronouns also show person deixis. Tadesse (2007: 73) says that in Hadiyya, both nouns and pronouns devoice the final vowel in accusative case. This devoicing becomes clearer if we compare the accusative with the citation form of the pronoun, which are the same: i.e. the citation form is identical with the accusative form except that the citation form has a final vowel (*e/o/a*). This final vowel is present underlyingly in both the citation and the accusative form; the vowel survives when the pronoun occurs in isolation (i.e. pausally or utterance-finally), but devoices by regular phonological rule when the pronoun is in non-final position, which is always true for accusative pronouns (always preverbal).

Table 4. *Hadiyya accusative pronouns*

PERSON	GENDER/HONORIFIC	NUMBER	
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	Common	<i>eese</i>	<i>neese</i>
2	Common	<i>keese</i>	<i>kiʔn-uwwa</i>
	Honorific	<i>kiʔne</i>	
3	Masculine	<i>itt'o</i>	<i>itt'-uwwa/iss-uwwa</i>
	Feminine	<i>ise</i>	''
	Honorific	<i>isse</i>	

Nominative and accusative pronouns look similar except for two differences: (i) the nominative has suppletion vis-a-vis the accusative for 1SG and 2SG and (ii) the nominative has zero vowel ending, but the accusative ends with *e, o, a* (voiced or voiceless).

Of the accusative pronouns presented in the Table 4, let us see some examples below.

- (2) a. *lombeeb ees- e weṣ̌ –ukko*
Lombebo me-ACC call-SP.3MSG
'Lombebo called me.'
- b. *an kees- e weṣ̌ –ummo*
I you-ACC call-SP.1SG
'I called you (SG).'
- c. *an kiʔn-uww- a weṣ̌ –ummo*
I you.HON-PL-ACC call-SP.1SG
'I called you (PL).'
- d. *an kiʔn- e weṣ̌ –ummo*
I you.HON-ACC call-SP.1SG
'I called you (HON).'

In the above sentences the final vowels of the accusative have a dot below them to mark devoicing (cf. Tadesse 2007: 73).

3.1.1.3 Genitive Pronouns

In the Hadiyya language, genitive pronouns also show person deixis. "Genitive constructions in Hadiyya are formed by using dependent forms of genitive pronouns. These pronoun forms are bound and have attributive function" (Tadesse 2007: 74). Unlike Semitic languages, these bound genitive pronouns are prefixes, not suffixes.

Table 5. *Hadiyya* genitive pronouns

PERSON	GENDER/HONORIFIC	NUMBER	
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	Common	<i>i-</i>	<i>ni-</i>
2	Common	<i>ki-</i>	<i>kiʔn-uww-</i>
	Honorific	<i>kiʔn-</i>	
3	Masculine	<i>itt'-</i>	<i>itt'-uww-/iss-uww-</i>
	Feminine	<i>is-</i>	''
	Honorific	<i>iss-</i>	

Genitive pronouns are not the same as the nominative for 1SG, 2SG and 1PL, but both have the same form with other pronouns.

I give examples below:

- (3) a. *itt' i-mine* *waar – ukko*
 he GEN.1SG-house come-SP.3MSG
 'He came to my house.'
- b. *itt' ki-mine* *waar – ukko*
 he GEN.2SG-house come-SP.3MSG
 'He came to your (SG) house.'
- c. *itt' kiʔn-uww-mine* *waar – ukko*
 he GEN.2SG.HON-PL-house come-SP.3MSG
 'He came to your (PL) house.'
- d. *itt' kiʔn-mine* *waar – ukko*
 he GEN.2SG.HON-house come-SP.3MSG
 'He came to your (HON) house.'

Note that in these sentences, in addition to speaker and addressee as possessive pronouns, there is also a nominative pronoun (third person *itt* ‘he’).

The above pronouns are used for attributive (adnominal) possession. In (4) below examples are presented to show how genitive pronouns work in predicative possession. Note that the predicative possession examples in (4) have zero copula,³ which is apparently the rule in this possessive construction.

- (4) a. *ku min i-hane*
 PRXD.MSG.NOM house 1SG-top
 ‘This house is mine.’
- b. *ku min ki-hane*
 PRXD.MSG.NOM house 2SG-top
 ‘This house is yours.’
- c. *ku min ki’n-ane*
 PRXD.MSG.NOM house 2HON-top
 ‘This house is yours (HON).’
- d. *ku min is-ane*
 PRXD.MSG.NOM house 3FSG-top
 ‘This house is hers.’

In predicative possession the morphology is the same as for attributive possession, but using *hane* ‘top’ as a dummy head noun; the *h* deletes after a stem-final consonant of the preceding morpheme. Apparently, a grammaticalization of “top” to become a dummy head noun in predicative possession has taken place.⁴ Note that the same dummy element *hane* can combine with a noun: *ku min John (h)ane* ‘This house is John’s.’

³ As far as I know, Hadiyya has copula *-tte*, but also sometimes zero (see e.g. 4 and 6c). I have not investigated when which of these options is used.

⁴ Neither I nor my adviser has ever seen this particular grammaticalization before.

3.1.1.4 The Bound Subject Pronouns within the Verb

In the Hadiyya language, *bound* subject pronouns within the verb also encode person deixis, as in (5). (Object pronouns are never bound forms.) Under this subtopic, simultaneously with bound subject pronouns within the verb, I argue that in Hadiyya, at least on the surface, person and tense in the verb are portmanteau morpheme (following Hudson 1976: 263-265). Consider the following examples.

- (5)
- a. *waar-ummo*
come-SP.1SG
'I came.'

 - b. *aanš-i-titto*
wash-EPN-SP.2SG
'You washed.'

 - c. *aanš-i-takkoʔo*⁵
wash-EPN-SP.2PL
'You (PL or HON) washed.'

 - d. *waar-ukko*
come-3MSG
'He came.'

 - e. *waar-amukko*
come-SP.3PL
'They came.'

To clarify the portmanteau of person and tense/aspect, tables (6-10) show verbs paradigms of tenses/aspect (simple past, future, present perfect, progressive) and the endings for each tense.

⁵ As already noted, in Hadiyya, the verb forms for 2PL and 2HON are identical; in such cases the hearer can understand the referent(s) from the context.

Verb paradigms of simple past, future, present perfect and progressive

Table 6. *sab-* 'refuse'

PERSON	SIMPLE PAST	FUTURE	PRESENT PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
1	<i>sab-ummo</i>	<i>sab-oommo</i>	<i>sab-aammo</i>	<i>sab-oommulla</i>
2	<i>sab-bitto</i>	<i>sab-bootto</i>	<i>sab-baatto</i>	<i>sab-boolla</i>
Hon	<i>sab-bakko?o</i>	<i>sab-bakkamo</i>	<i>sab-bakko?ookko</i>	<i>sab-bakkamulla</i>
3M	<i>sab-ukko</i>	<i>sab-ooko</i>	<i>sab-aakko</i>	<i>sab-oolla</i>
F	<i>sab-bo?o</i>	<i>sab-bamo</i>	<i>sab-bo?ookko</i>	<i>sab-bamulla</i>
Hon	<i>sab-akko'o</i>	<i>sab-akkamo</i>	<i>sab-akko?ookko</i>	<i>sab-akkamulla</i>
1PL	<i>samb-ummo</i>	<i>samb-oommo</i>	<i>samb-aammo</i>	<i>samb-oomulla</i>
2PL	<i>sab-bakko?o</i>	<i>sab-bakkamo</i>	<i>sab-bakko?ookko</i>	<i>sab-bakkamulla</i>
3PL	<i>sab-amukko</i>	<i>sab-amookko</i>	<i>sab-amaakko</i>	<i>sab-amoolla</i>

Table 7. *gan-* 'beat' (as punishment)

PERSON	SIMPLE PAST	FUTURE	PRESENT PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
1	<i>gan-ummo</i>	<i>gan-oommo</i>	<i>gan-aammo</i>	<i>gan-oomulla</i>
2	<i>gan-titto</i>	<i>gan-tootto</i>	<i>gan-taatto</i>	<i>gan-toolla</i>
Hon	<i>gan-takko?o</i>	<i>gan-takkamo</i>	<i>gan-takko?ookko</i>	<i>gan-takkamulla</i>
3M	<i>gan-ukko</i>	<i>gan-ookko</i>	<i>gan-aakko</i>	<i>gan-oolla</i>
F	<i>gan-to?o</i>	<i>gan-tamo</i>	<i>gan-to?ookko</i>	<i>gan-tamulla</i>
Hon	<i>gan-akko?o</i>	<i>gan-akkamo</i>	<i>gan-akko?ookko</i>	<i>gan-akkamulla</i>
1PL	<i>gan-nummo</i>	<i>gan-noommo</i>	<i>gan-naammo</i>	<i>gan-noomulla</i>
2PL	<i>gan-takko?o</i>	<i>gan-takkamo</i>	<i>gan-takko?ookko</i>	<i>gan-takkamulla</i>
3PL	<i>gan-amukko</i>	<i>gan-amookko</i>	<i>gan-amaakko</i>	<i>gan-amoolla</i>

Table 8. *aanš-* 'wash'

PERSON	SIMPLE PAST	FUTURE	PRESENT PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
1	<i>aanš-ummo</i>	<i>aanš-oommo</i>	<i>aanš-aammo</i>	<i>aanš-oommulla</i>
2	<i>aanš-i-titto/</i> <i>aanš-i-tto</i>	<i>aanš-i-tootto</i>	<i>aanš-i-taatto</i>	<i>aanš-i-toolla</i>
Hon	<i>aanš-i-takkoʔo</i>	<i>aanš-i-takkamo</i>	<i>aanš-i-takkoʔookko</i>	<i>aanš-i-takkamulla</i>
3M	<i>aanš-ukko</i>	<i>aanš-ookko</i>	<i>aanš-aakko</i>	<i>aanš-oolla</i>
F	<i>aanš-i-toʔo</i>	<i>aanš-i-tamo</i>	<i>aanš-i-toʔookko</i>	<i>aanš-i-tamulla</i>
Hon	<i>aanš-akkoʔo</i>	<i>aanš-akkamo</i>	<i>aanš-akkoʔookko</i>	<i>aanš-akkamulla</i>
1PL	<i>aanš-i-nummo</i>	<i>aanš-i-noommo</i>	<i>aanš-i-naammo</i>	<i>aanš-i-noomulla</i>
2PL	<i>aanš-i-takkoʔo</i>	<i>aanš-i-takkamo</i>	<i>aanš-i-takkoʔookko</i>	<i>aanš-i-takkamulla</i>
3PL	<i>aanš-amukko</i>	<i>aanš-amookko</i>	<i>aanš-amaakko</i>	<i>aanš-amoolla</i>

From the Tables 6-8, we can infer several points: (i) metathesis & assimilation of nasal ending (*-n*) take place, (ii) epenthetic vowel *-i-* comes with *aanš* if the ending starts with a consonant (to break up the triple cluster) and (iii) most importantly, non-segmentability of person: portmanteau with tense, for example, the “m” in *-takkamo* gives information about both tense and person. In Tables 9, 10, I give the portmanteaus verb endings for the four tenses. Table 10 includes the epenthetic *-i-* vowel.

Endings of the verbs

Table 9. *sab-* 'refuse', *gan* 'beat'

PERSON	SIMPLE PAST	FUTURE	PRESENT PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
1	<i>-ummo</i>	<i>-oommo</i>	<i>-aammo</i>	<i>-oomulla</i>
2	<i>-titto</i>	<i>-tootto</i>	<i>-taatto</i>	<i>-toolla</i>
Hon	<i>-takkoʔo</i>	<i>-takkamo</i>	<i>-takkoʔookko</i>	<i>-takkamulla</i>
3M	<i>-ukko</i>	<i>-ooko</i>	<i>-aakko</i>	<i>-oolla</i>
F	<i>-toʔo</i>	<i>-tamo</i>	<i>-toʔookko</i>	<i>-tamulla</i>
Hon	<i>-akko'o</i>	<i>-akkamo</i>	<i>-akko'ookko</i>	<i>-akkamulla</i>
1PL	<i>-nummo</i>	<i>-noommo</i>	<i>-naammo</i>	<i>-noomulla</i>
2PL	<i>-takkoʔo</i>	<i>-takkamo</i>	<i>-takkoʔookko</i>	<i>-takkamulla</i>
3PL	<i>-amukko</i>	<i>-amookko</i>	<i>-amaakko</i>	<i>-amoolla</i>

Table 10. *aanš-* 'wash'

PERSON	SIMPLE PAST	FUTURE	PRESENT PERFECT	PROGRESSIVE
1	<i>-ummo</i>	<i>-oommo</i>	<i>-aammo</i>	<i>-oommulla</i>
2	<i>-i-titto/ -i-tto</i>	<i>-i-tootto</i>	<i>-i-taatto</i>	<i>-i-toolla</i>
Hon	<i>-i-takkoʔo</i>	<i>-i-takkamo</i>	<i>-i-takkoʔookko</i>	<i>-i-takkamulla</i>
3M	<i>-ukko</i>	<i>-ookko</i>	<i>-aakko</i>	<i>-oolla</i>
F	<i>-i-toʔo</i>	<i>-i-tamo</i>	<i>-i-toʔookko</i>	<i>-i-tamulla</i>
Hon	<i>-akkoʔo</i>	<i>-akkamo</i>	<i>-akkoʔookko</i>	<i>-akkamulla</i>
1PL	<i>-i-nummo</i>	<i>-i- noommo</i>	<i>-i- naammo</i>	<i>-i-noomulla</i>
2PL	<i>-i-takkoʔo</i>	<i>-i-takkamo</i>	<i>-i-takkoʔookko</i>	<i>-i-takkamulla</i>
3PL	<i>-amukko</i>	<i>-amookko</i>	<i>-amaakko</i>	<i>-amoolla</i>

As presented in the above tables, in my Hadiyya (dialect), 3FSG and 3PL have different forms. But in Hudson's presentation (1976:263-264), they have the identical form, namely that of the;

3FSG above. However, this is familiar to me from other people's speech. For example, in my dialect, from *waar-* 'come' will be formed *waatto?o* 'she came' and *waaramukko* 'they came', but in Hudson's Hadiyya *waatto?o* occurs for both 'she came' and 'they came'.

Further information about the verb will be found in section 3.1.3 below on "temporal deixis".

3.1.2 Place Deixis

Hadiyya deictics distinguish three distinct distances: proximal, medial and distal. These distinct distances are coded by demonstratives as deictic elements, and they are discussed in section 3.1.2.1 below. Place deixis is also expressed by motion verbs (cf. section 3.1.2.2) and by some other deictic expressions of location and direction (cf. section 3.1.2.3).

3.1.2.1 Demonstratives

Diessel (1999: 6) says, "Demonstratives are primarily used to draw the hearer's attention to entities in the speech situation." About Hadiyya demonstratives, scholars have distinguished proximal vs. distal; masculine vs. feminine; singular vs. plural; and nominative vs. accusative oppositions (see section 2.4). Crass (2005: 961) says that the demonstratives of Hadiyya distinguish three distinct deictic distances, but without presenting details of the system. I agree that Hadiyya has a three-term system of demonstratives, as will be discussed in section 3.1.2.1.1.

3.1.2.1.1 Nominal Demonstrative

Hadiyya has a three-term system of demonstratives: proximal, medial and distal. Earlier studies (Tadesse 2007; Perrett 2000; and Hudson 1976) have presented only proximal and distal demonstratives. However, in this study, I assert that the demonstratives they called distal are really medial, and that there is a distinct distal paradigm (this is a new finding) (see Tables 11 & 12). Phonetically, the medial demonstratives end in a long vowel, whereas the distal demonstratives have a short vowel preceded by a glottal stop; the difference (both vowel length and glottal stop) is easy to hear. Functionally, the three-way distance difference seems to apply only to **visible** referents; invisible referents, even if very far away, appear to take only medial (!) demonstratives, not distal.

The demonstratives also mark other categories: masculine vs. feminine gender, singular vs. plural number, and nominative vs. accusative case. Case is always clearly distinguished. However, very often gender/number is neutralized, as will be seen in Tables 11 and 12. The plural never shows any gender difference. With adnominal demonstratives (Table 11), only the proximal demonstratives show a gender/number distinction, and here the pattern is: Fsg vs. {Msg + Pl}; the medial and distal demonstratives use a single form for all gender/numbers. With independent demonstratives of all three distances (Table 12), there is a consistent three-way distinction: Fsg vs. Msg vs. Pl. Note, however, that feminine gender apparently is only for human referents or sometimes for animals; for [-HUMAN] entities the Hadiyya language uses the masculine demonstrative.

Syntactically, the demonstratives in the following tables have nominal function. Dixon (2010: 224) says that “nominal demonstratives can occur in an NP with a noun or pronoun ... or, in most languages, can make up a complete NP ...” This is indeed the case in Hadiyya. Nominal demonstratives can occur in an NP together with a noun or pronoun (demonstratives in Table 11), and they can also form an NP alone (demonstratives in Table 12 below). Adnominal demonstratives always precede their Head Noun. Let us have a look at the following examples.

Table 11. *Adnominal demonstratives (must occur with noun or pronoun) in Hadiyya*

CASE	GENDER	PROXIMAL		MEDIAL		DISTAL	
		SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
NOMINATIVE	MASCULINE	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>?o</i>	<i>?o</i>
	FEMININE	<i>tu</i>	<i>ku</i>	''	''	''	''
ACCUSATIVE	MASCULINE	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>?e</i>	<i>?e</i>
	FEMININE	<i>ta</i>	<i>ka</i>	''	''	''	''

- (6) a. *ku* *beet sab – aakko*
 PRXD.MSG.NOM boy refuse-PP.3MSG
 ‘This boy has refused.’

- b. *ku* *oos*⁶ *sab* – *amaakko*
 PRXD.MPL.NOM boys refuse-PP.3PL
 ‘These boys have refused.’
- c. *tu* *land* – *i* – *čč*⁷ *danaamo-tte*
 PRXD.FSG.NOM girl-EPN-SGV beautiful-COP
 ‘This girl is beautiful.’
- d. *ku* *land* *t’ummis-ina* *hurbaata* *sar* – *amaakko*
 PRXD.FPL.NOM girls Tummiso-DAT food cook-PP.3PL
 ‘These girls have cooked food for Tummiso.’

In Hadiyya, NPs containing a demonstrative distinguish number and gender in two places: on the demonstrative itself and on the noun which comes after the demonstrative, as shown in (6) and (7). However, demonstrative gender is distinguished only in the singular and only in the proximal. The plural form is based on the MSG form (*-k*). Demonstratives indicate place deixis in analogous way in both the nominative and the accusative. See the examples below.

(7)

- a. *an ka* *beeto* *weeš* – *ummo* – *yyo*
 I PRXD.MSG.ACC boy call-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I did not call this boy.’
- b. *an ka* *ooso* *weeš* – *ummo* – *yyo*
 I PRXD.MPL.ACC boys call-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I did not call these boys.’

⁶ In Hadiyya some nouns have suppletive singular and plural stems, e.g. *beeto* ‘boy’ vs. *ooso* ‘boys’.

⁷ In Hadiyya there are some nouns whose basic (unmarked) form is semantically plural or generic (e.g. *landa* ‘girls’, *halla* ‘donkeys’, *gota* ‘hyenas’). These nouns can indicate singular by adding a singulative marker *-ččo*. Such nouns delete their final vowel when *-ččo* is added, and the epenthetic (EPN) vowel *-i-* comes between noun and singulative marker. (The final *-o* of *ččo* itself deletes regularly in sentence-medial position.)

c. *an ta* *land-i- ččo* *weeš – ummo – yyo*
 I PRXD.FSG.ACC girl-EPN-SGV call-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I did not call this girl.’

d. *an ka* *landa* *weeš – ummo – yyo*
 I PRXD.FPL.ACC girls call-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I did not call these girls.’

All the above forms indicate a place which is near to the speaker.

Having discussed proximal demonstratives above let me now describe medial demonstratives as follows.

(8)

a. *oo* *beet* *bat’ – aakko*
 MEDD.MSG.NOM boy work-PP.3MSG
 ‘That boy has worked.’

b. *oo* *oos* *bat’ – amaakko*
 MEDD.MPL.NOM boys work-PP.3PL
 ‘Those boys have worked.’

c. *oo* *land – i – čč* *danaamo-tte*
 MEDD.FSG.NOM girl-EPN-SGV beautiful-COP
 ‘That girl is beautiful.’

d. *oo* *land* *eddečča* *aansh – amookko*
 MEDD.FPL.NOM girls garment wash-FUT.3PL
 ‘Those girls will wash a garment.’

In Hadiyya the same medial demonstrative element is used for both numbers and both genders. Number and gender are marked on the noun that comes after the demonstrative *oo* ‘that’. In (8),

the medial demonstrative *oo* (nominative) ‘that’ indicates that the referent of the noun that is modified by the demonstrative is a bit far from the speaker; the addressee may be near the speaker or not, and the referent may be near to the addressee(s) or a bit far from both the speaker and the addressee(s). See diagram 2.

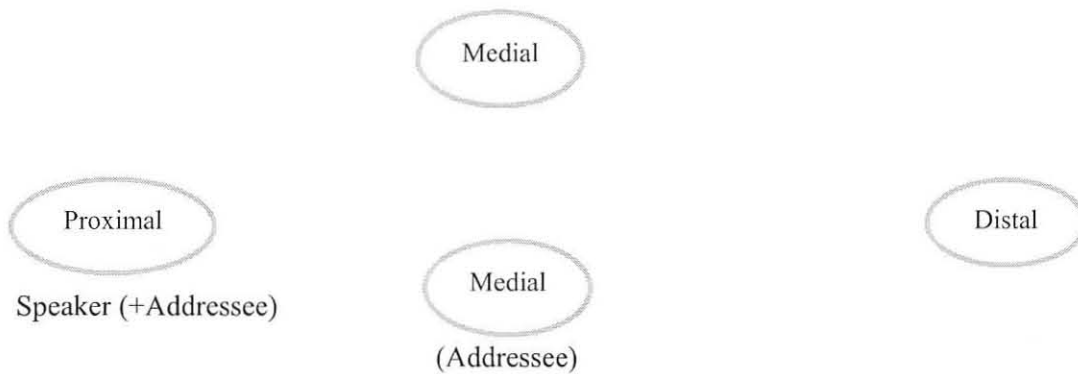


Diagram 2: *Nominal demonstratives to show location*

In (9), we see examples of the medial adnominal demonstrative in the accusative case.

(9)

- a. *an ee* *beeto weeš – ummo – yyo*
 I MEDD.MSG.ACC boy call-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I did not call that boy.’
- b. *an ee* *ooso weeš – ummo – yyo*
 I MEDD.MPL.ACC boys call-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I did not call those boys.’
- c. *an ee* *land-i- ččo weeš – ummo – yyo*
 I MEDD.FSG.ACC girl-EPN-SGV call-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I did not call that girl.’

- d. *an ee landa weš – ummo – yyo*
 I MEDD.FPL.ACC girls call-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I did not call those girls.’

Just as in the nominative, number and gender are not specified on the demonstrative but on the noun that comes next to the demonstrative *ee* ‘that’.

With medial and distal demonstratives (nominative and accusative), a single form is used for both numbers and both genders (cf. Table 11 and examples (10) & (11)).

(10)

- a. *ʔo beet bat’ – aakko*
 DISD.MSG.NOM boy work-PP.3M.SG
 ‘That boy has worked.’
- b. *ʔo oos bat’ – amaakko*
 DISD.MPL.NOM boys work-PP.3PL
 ‘Those boys have worked.’
- c. *ʔo land-i-čč danaamo-tte*
 DISD.FSG.NOM girl-EPN-SGV beautiful-COP
 ‘That girl is beautiful.’
- d. *ʔo land eddečča aanš – amookko*
 DISD.FPL.NOM girls garment wash-FUT.3PL
 ‘Those girls will wash a garment.’

(11)

- a. *an ʔe beeto laʔ – ummo – yyo*
 I DISD.MSG.ACC boy know-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I did not know that boy.’

- b. *an ?e* *ooso la? – ummo – yyo*
 I DISD.MPL.ACC boys know-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I did not know those boys.’
- c. *an ?e* *land-i-ččo* *la? – ummo – yyo*
 I DISD.FSG.ACC girls-EPN-SGV know-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I did not know that girl.’
- d. *an ?e* *landa la? – ummo – yyo*
 I DISD.FPL.ACC girls know-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I did not know those girls.’

In (10) and (11), the distal demonstratives *?o* vs. *?e* (nominative/accusative) ‘that’ are serving to indicate the distance of a referent that is located in a far place from both speaker and addressee(s) (cf. diagram 2).

Demonstratives can also stand alone as a full NP. Here they assume a different form. This is shown in Table 12.

Table 12. *Independent demonstratives (full NP) in Hadiyya*

CASE	GENDER	PROXIMAL		MEDIAL		DISTAL	
		SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
NOMINATIVE	MASCULINE	<i>kuk</i>	<i>kukeen</i>	<i>ookk</i>	<i>ookeen</i>	<i>?okk</i>	<i>?okeen</i>
	FEMININE	<i>tut</i>	''	<i>oott</i>	''	<i>?ott</i>	''
ACCUSATIVE	MASCULINE	<i>kaka</i>	<i>kakeeno</i>	<i>eekka</i>	<i>eekeeno</i>	<i>?ekka</i>	<i>?ekeeno</i>
	FEMININE	<i>tata</i>	''	<i>eetta</i>	''	<i>?etta</i>	''

All these forms are built by suffixing the appropriate gender/number marker (*k* or *t*) to the basic adnominal demonstrative. The suffixed *k/t* is geminated in the medial and distal singular demonstratives: *kk*, *tt*. In all distances (proximal, medial and distal) the plural form is marked by the

morpheme *-een* and by non-gemination of the suffixed *k, t*. In the accusative the final vowel *-a* of the singular masculine demonstratives (*kaka*) will be deleted to attach the plural marker *-een* and *-o* is added at the end. Note that the independent demonstratives, unlike the adnominal demonstratives, do show an opposition of MSG vs. FSG, not just in the proximal but also in the medial and distal series. Here are examples showing how these independent demonstratives are used to show place deixis in the language.

(12)

a. *kuk* *bat' – aakko*
 PRXD.MSG.NOM work-PP.3MSG
 'This (person) (M) has worked.'

b. *tut* *danaamo-tte*
 PRXD.FSG.NOM beautiful-COP
 'This (person) (F) is beautiful.'

c. *kukeen* *bat' – amaakko*
 PRXD.PL.NOM work-PP.3PL
 'These (persons) (M/F) have worked.'

(13)

a. *an kaka* *iitt – ummo – yyo*
 I PRXD.MSG.ACC love-SP.1SG-NEG
 'I did not like him/this (one).'

b. *an tata* *iitt – ummo-yyo*
 I PRXD.FSG.ACC love-SP.1SG-NEG
 'I did not like her/this (one).'

c. *an kakeeno* *iitt – ummo – yyo*
 I PRXD.PL.ACC love-SP.1SG-NEG
 'I did not like these (persons) (M/F).'

As before, all these proximal demonstratives, as in (12) and (13), indicate that the referents are near to the speaker, and the addressee either near to or a little far from the speaker. Let us see the medial demonstratives below.

(14)

- a. *ookk* *bat' – aakko*
MEDD.MSG.NOM work-PP.3MSG
'That (person) (M) has worked.'
- b. *oott* *danaamo-tte*
MEDD.FSG.NOM beautiful-COP
'That (person) (F) is beautiful.'
- c. *ookeen* *bat' – amaakko*
MEDD.PL.NOM work-PP.3PL
'Those (persons) (M/F) have worked.'

(15)

- a. *an eekka* *iitt – ummo – yyo*
I MEDD.MSG.ACC love-SP.1SG-NEG
'I did not like him/that (one).'
- b. *an eetta* *iitt – ummo – yyo*
I MEDD.FSG.ACC love-SP.1SG-NEG
'I did not like her/that one.'
- c. *an eekeeno* *iitt – ummo – yyo*
I MEDD.PL.ACC love-SP.1SG-NEG
'I did not like those (persons) (M/F).'

The sentences in (14) and (15) have medial demonstrative function. All these medial demonstratives indicate that the referent is a bit far from the speaker. The location of the addressee(s) seems irrelevant; s/he may be near the speaker or far from the speaker, near the referent or far from the referent (see diagram 2).

Finally the distal demonstrative pronouns are shown below.

(16)

a. *ʔokk* *bat' – aakko*
 DISD.MSG.NOM work-PP.3M.SG
 'That (person) (M) has worked.'

b. *ʔott* *danaamo-tte*
 DISD.FSG.NOM beautiful-COP
 'That (person) (F) is beautiful.'

c. *ʔokeen* *bat' – amaakko*
 DISD.PL.NOM work-PP.3PL
 'Those (persons) (M/F) have worked.'

(17)

a. *an ʔekka* *iitt – ummo – yyo*
 I DISD.MSG.ACC love-SP.1SG-NEG
 'I did not like him/that (one).'

b. *an ʔetta* *iitt – ummo – yyo*
 I DISD.FSG.ACC love-SP.1SG-NEG
 'I did not like her/that (one).'

c. *an ʔekeeno* *iitt – ummo – yyo*
 I DISD.PL.ACC love-SP.1SG-NEG
 'I did not like those (persons) (M/F).'

All these distal demonstratives indicate that the referents are quite far from both speaker and addressee(s) (cf. diagram 2).

It should be noted that, with spatial demonstratives, the deictic center does not always have to be the speaker but can sometimes shift to the hearer if the speaker is taking the hearer's point of view. In this example, there is an axe next to the hearer, who is very far from the speaker; the speaker shouts, "Bring me that axe!" From the speaker's perspective, we would expect the distal demonstrative; but actually the medial demonstrative is preferred. This reflects a deictic center which is neither the speaker nor the hearer but a kind of compromise location between them.

3.1.2.1.2 Local Adverbial Demonstratives

The adverbial demonstratives can function as place deictics. In Hadiyya there are three basic local adverbial demonstratives, corresponding to the three deictic distances: *keyye* 'here', *eekke* 'there' medial and *ʔekke* 'there' distal.⁸ Like nominal demonstratives, the local adverbial demonstratives (both speaker and addressee(s)) are defined with respect a deictic center role, as in (18).

(18)

- a. *keyye* *diss-e*
here put-2SG.IMP
'Put (it) here!'

- b. *eekke* *diss-e*
there (MEDD) put-2SG.IMP
'Put (it) over there!'

- c. *ʔekke* *diss-e*
there (DISD) put-2SG.IMP
'Put (it) over there!'

⁸ Although all three of these have the ending *-e*, I see no strong grounds for segmenting off this *-e* as a "locative morpheme". With nouns, Hadiyya marks locative case with the ending *-me*, not *-e*.

In (18a), the adverbial demonstrative *keyye* ‘here’ necessarily indicates a location close to the speaker. By contrast, in (18b), the medial adverbial demonstrative *eekke* ‘there’ indicates that the location is somewhat far from the speaker; and in (18c), the distal adverbial demonstrative *?ekke* ‘there’ specifies a location quite far from the speaker (cf. again diagram 2).

3.1.2.2 Deictic Motion Verbs

In Hadiyya, there are some deictic motion verbs which basically use the speaker as deictic center. These deictic motion verbs are presented in Table 13.

Table 13. *Deictic motion verbs (speaker as deictic center) in Hadiyya*

VERBS	GLOSS
<i>waar-e</i>	‘come’ [towards the speaker]
<i>mar-e</i>	‘go’ [away from the speaker]
<i>eeb-e</i>	‘bring’ [towards the speaker]
<i>mass-e</i>	‘take’ [away from the speaker]

(19)

- a. *at waar-e*
 you come-2SG.IMP
 ‘You, come!’
- b. *at mar-e*
 you go-2SG.IMP
 ‘You, go!’
- c. *at eeb-e*
 you bring-2SG.IMP
 ‘You, bring!’

- d. *at mass-e*
 you take-2SG.IMP
 ‘You, take!’

In (19a & c) the deictic motion verbs *waar-* ‘come’ and *eeb-* ‘bring’ indicate a command to make an action towards the speaker as deictic center. Both verbs *waar-* and *eeb-* imply that the addressee is located in medial or distal location. By contrast, in (18b & d) *mar-* ‘go’ and *mass-* ‘take’ indicate an action away from the speaker. Typically the addressee will be near to the speaker, but this does not have to be the case; the addressee may be far from the speaker, and the speaker tells him to ‘go’ even farther away.

3.1.2.3 Other Deictic Expressions of Location and Direction

In Hadiyya, there are deictic expressions of location and direction that are not defined with respect to the speaker or hearer, but absolutely with respect to a fixed geographical landmark or orientation. These expressions have a variable deictic center. (Cf. Aweke 2012: 33.) They are presented in Table 14 as follows:

Table 14. *Deictic expressions of locations and directions in Hadiyya (with variable deictic center)*

DEICTIC EXPRESSIONS	GLOSS
<i>aad</i>	‘downward’ [direction]
<i>iim</i>	‘upward’ [direction]
<i>hanaan</i>	‘upper side (of)’ [location]
<i>woroon</i>	‘down side (of)’ [location]
<i>makk kollo</i>	‘at the right side (of)’
<i>k’edd kollo</i>	‘at the left side (of)’
<i>gadano</i>	‘near (to)’

In this table apparently the words *aad* and *iim* are adverbs (and take no object) whereas the other deictic expressions are postpositional. Let us see below how these directional and locational words work in Hadiyya to show place deixis.

(20)

- a. *aad mar-oolla*
 downward go-3SG.PROG
 ‘He is going downward.’
- b. *saayy [makk kollo] got-i-čč geer-oolla*
 cow [right side] hyena-EPN-SGV run-3SG.PROG
 ‘Hyena is running to the cow’s right side.’
- c. *am gadano č’iil wiʔl – oolla*
 mother near child cry-3SG.PROG
 ‘A child is crying near to his mother.’
- d. *hakk’-i-čči hanaan meesaana diss-aammo*
 tree-EPN-SGV upper axe put-PP.1SG
 ‘I have put an axe (in the ground) to the upper (i.e. the uphill) side of the tree.’

In (20a), the deictic center can be either the speaker or something else, but in (20b-d), the deictic center are the cow, the mother and the tree. Note that the cow’s “right side” is an absolute fixed fact about the cow’s anatomy, and has nothing to do with the speaker’s position vis-à-vis the cow. In Hadiyya when the speaker refers to something using absolute location and directional words, the referent can be visible by both speaker and addressee(s) or can be part of a narration by the speaker.

3.1.3 Time Deixis

Time deixis is used to identify a point in time or a time interval, with respect to the time of utterance as a reference point (Cruse 2000: 321). Cruse divides the time axis into three divisions: (1) before the time of utterance, (2) at the exact time of utterance and (3) after the moment of utterance.

In Hadiyya, there are a number of lexical time adverbs and different tense/aspect forms of the verb that establish a specific time reference with the moment of utterance as deictic center. The lexical time adverbs of Hadiyya are presented below in different groups, and we will give examples for each of them. The following table gives the most basic lexical time adverbs of Hadiyya.

Table 15. *Basic lexical time adverbs in Hadiyya*

DEICTIC TERMS	GLOSS
<i>Kaba</i>	'now'
<i>ee ammane</i>	'then'
<i>kaballa</i>	'today'
<i>beeballa</i>	'yesterday'
<i>soodo</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>kahiinčo/kuhiinč</i> ⁹	'this year'

The time adverb *kaba* 'now' refers to the exact time of speech utterance and/or a time span immediately preceding and/or following the moment of utterance. In Hadiyya, *kaba* 'now' refers to exact time of speech utterance with imperfective aspect when the action or activity that is portrayed (which is intended to be known by the hearer) is going on during the speech event. However, the time adverb is optional because the imperfective aspect in the verb can itself convey the equivalent message alone, as in (21a). But *kaba* 'now' can also refer to an action or state or event which took place or will take place immediately preceding or following the time of the utterance, by using a tense (past or future) with the time adverb *kaba* 'now', as in (21b & c).

(21)

⁹ In the table *kahiinčo* and *kuhiinč* are both given for 'this year'; *kuhiinč* is nominative and *kahiinčo* is accusative.

- a. *lombeeb (kaba) weesa kaas-oolla*
 Lombebo (now) false banana plant-3MSG.PROG
 ‘Lombebo is planting false banana (now).’
- b. A: *lombeeb hanno mar-ukko?*
 lombebo where go-SP.3MSG
 ‘Where did Lombebo go?’
 B: *kaba fir – ukko*
 now leave-SP.3MSG
 ‘He left now.’ (i.e. just a moment ago)
- c. A: *lombeeb hanno mar – ukko?*
 lombebo where go-SP.3MSG
 ‘Where did Lombebo go?’
 B: *asse?-aammo beyyo mar-aakko. kaba waar – ookko*
 send-PP.1SG place go.PP.3MSG now come-FUT.3MSG
 ‘He has gone somewhere I have sent him. He will come now.’ (i.e. in a very short time)

The adverbial time *ee-ammane* MEDD.ACC-time ‘then’ is derived from the attributive demonstrative *ee* ‘that’ and *ammane* ‘time’. In contrast to *kaba* ‘now’, the distal time adverb *ee ammane* ‘then’ applies to both past (22a) and future (22b) time relative to the speaker’s present time, but not to the present (cf. Yule 1996: 14).

- (22) a. A: *uull heekke?-ukk*¹⁰ *ammane hanno hee?-litto?*¹¹
 earth shake-SP.3MSG time where exist-SP.2SG
 ‘Where were you when the earth shook?’

¹⁰ The portmanteau of person and tense will delete the final vowel when they are followed by a noun. It is irrelevant whether this noun starts with a vowel or a consonant.

¹¹ Here *-titto* > *litto*, probably due to the glottal stop.

B: *an ee-ammane nak'amte-nne hee?-ummo*
 I MEDD.ACC-time Nekemte-LOC exist-SP.1SG
 'I was in Nekemte then.'

b. A: *t'ummis - bollocco?-i*¹² *hink ammane?*
 Tummiso.GEN-wedding-NOM which time
 'When is Tummiso's wedding?'

B: *ka hoffa?-i balla*
 PRXD Saturday-NOM day
 'This (next) Saturday.'

A: *ee-ammane waar-oommo*
 MEDD.ACC-time come-FUT.1SG
 'I will come then.'

As presented in Table 15, *beeballa*¹³ 'yesterday', *kabala*¹⁴ 'today', and *soodo* 'tomorrow' are temporal deictic day words. All three have the period of one day (or 24 hours): an event one day before the day of utterance, an event during the day of utterance, and the day after the day of utterance, as in the following examples in (23).

(23) a. *anniitt kaballa waar – ookko*
 Annatto today come-FUT.3MSG
 'Annitto will come today.'

¹² In Hadiyya, most nouns mark nominative by deleting the final vowel. However, some nouns end in the sequence -V?V. In such nouns too final vowel deletion occurs; then after the deletion process, the vowel -i is added to mark the nominative.

¹³ In my opinion, the deictic day word *beeballa* 'yesterday' looks like a combination of *bee?* 'not exist' and *balla* 'day'.

¹⁴ In my opinion, the deictic day word *kaballa* 'today' is a combined form from demonstrative *ka* 'this' and *balla* 'day'.

b. *anniitt beeballa waar – ukko*
 Annitto yesterday come-SP.3M.SG
 ‘Annitto came yesterday.’

c. *anniitt soodo waar – ookko*
 Annatto tomorrow come-FUT.3MSG
 ‘Annitto will come tomorrow.’

The time deictic *kahiinčo* ‘this year’ has the period of one year. The deictic word refers to an event during the year of utterance, as in (24).

(24) *an kahiinčo iitt – ummo – yyo*
 I this year love-SP.1SG-NEG
 ‘I didn’t like this year.’

In Table 16 below we have derived forms of time adverbs from days. This derivation involves the addition of the morphemes *o(o)n-* and *eeʔk’-* to the stems *balla* ‘day’ and *soodo* ‘tomorrow’; see Table 16 and example (25).

Table 16. *Derived lexical time adverbs in Hadiyya*

DEICTIC TERM	GLOSS
<i>oomballa</i>	‘the day before yesterday/ two days before today’
<i>eeʔk’balla</i>	‘three days before today’
<i>onsoodo</i>	‘the day after tomorrow/two days after today’
<i>eeʔk’soodo</i>	‘three days after today’

In these deictic adverbs, we seem to have the meanings *o(o)n-* ‘2 units away from present’, *eeʔk’-* ‘3 units away from present’. The *-n* of *o(o)n-* assimilates to the following labial *b* of *balla*; the vowel length is variable (*oo* vs. *o*) for reasons I cannot explain. Prefixed to *soodo* ‘tomorrow’, these terms refer to future time intervals; prefixed to *balla* ‘day’, they refer to past time intervals. This morphemic analysis, however, is complicated by the form *eeʔk’ hiinčo*, which

Table 17. *Temporal events as object that moves towards the speaker from the future in Hadiyya*

DEICTIC TERM	GLOSS
<i>waar-oo saanta</i>	‘next week (lit. coming week)’
<i>waar-oo agana</i>	‘next month (lit. coming month)’
<i>waar-oo hiinčo</i> ¹⁵	‘next year (lit. coming year)’
<i>waar-oo ammane</i>	‘next time (lit. coming time)’
<i>(*waar-oo balla)</i>	

- (26) a. *hundiitt waaččam-iise waaroo saanta waar – ookko*
 Hunditto Wachchamo-ABL coming week come-FUT.3MSG
 ‘Hunditto will come next week from Wachchamo.’
- b. *hundiitt waaččam-iise waaroo agana waar – ookko*
 Hunditto Wachchamo-ABL coming month come-FUT.3MSG
 ‘Hunditto will come next month from Wachchamo.’
- c. *hundiitt waaččam-iise waaroo hiinčo waar – ookko*
 Hunditto Wachchamo-ABL coming year come-FUT.3MSG
 ‘Hunditto will come next year from Wachchamo.’
- d. *waaroo amman danaamo lab-oolla*
 coming time beautiful seem-3SG.PROG
 ‘Next time seems good.’

In (26), all of the *waaroo* adverbs refer to a time interval which follows the time of the utterance.

¹⁵ *Waar-oo hiinčo* can be equivalently replaced by *la?maarage* ‘next year (lit. second season)’.

Table 18. *Temporal events as object that moves away from the speaker into the past in Hadiyya*

DEICTIC TERMS	GLOSS
<i>hig-u saanta</i>	‘last week (lit. passed week)’
<i>hig-u agana</i>	‘last month (lit. passed month)’
<i>hig-u hiinčo</i> ¹⁶	‘last year (lit. passed year)’
<i>hig-u ammane</i>	‘last time (lit. passed time)’
(* <i>hig-u balla</i>)	

- (27) a. *dilaam waaččam-iinse higu saanta waar – ukko*
 Dilamo Wachchamo-ABL passed week come-SP.3MSG
 ‘Dilamo came last year from Wachchamo.’
- b. *dilaam waaččam-iinse higu agana waar – ukko*
 Dilamo Wachchamo-ABL passed month come-SP.3MSG
 ‘Dilamo came last month from Wachchamo.’
- c. *dilaam waaččam-iinse higu hiinčo waar – ukko*
 Dilamo Wachchamo-ABL passed year come-SP.3MSG
 ‘Dilamo came last year from Wachchamo.’
- d. *higu amman keeʔm – aakko*
 passed time difficult-PP.3MSG
 ‘The last period has been difficult.’

In (27), all the *higu* adverbs refer to a time which precedes the time of the utterance.

Note that the forms *waar-oo* and *hig-u* are both derived from verbs, but the endings are different (*-oo* vs. *-u*). The reason for this must await further research.

¹⁶ *higu hiinčo* can be equivalently replaced by *ludmaarage* ‘last year (lit. last season)’; note in passing that Hadiyya also has *ʔek’maarage* ‘a year before last year (lit. a season before last season)’.

3.1.3.2 Tense as Deictic Feature

In addition to temporal deictic adverbs, temporal deixis is also conveyed through tense (or “tense/aspect”) (e.g. Levinson 1983: 62). Verb tenses are deictic because they are defined with respect to a reference moment which is typically the moment of speaking. In Hadiyya tense/aspect is portmanteau with person, as we saw in detail in section 3.1.1.1.4 and especially Tables 6-10; as a reminder see example (28).

- (28)
- a. *waar-ummo*
come-SP.1SG
‘I came.’
 - b. *waar-ukko*
come-SP.3MSG
‘He came.’
 - c. *waar-amukko*
come-SP.3PL
‘They came.’

Hudson (1976: 262ff.) gives information about tense/aspect in Hadiyya, but his account differs somewhat from mine. Here is a contrastive table of tense/aspect, both according to myself and according to Hudson:

Table 19. *Tense/Aspect terminology*

DEREJE	HUDSON
Simple Past (SP)	= Simple Perfect
Present Perfect (PP)	= Present Perfect
Future (FUT)	= Imperfect
Progressive (PROG)	[not in Hudson]

As already discussed in section 3.1.1.1.4 (see especially Tables 6 - 10), tense/aspect in Hadiyya is portmanteau with person/number/gender. I will not repeat the presentation here.

Simple Past expresses an action that occurred before the reference moment (= before the speech event). Present Perfect (as in English) expresses an action that began in the past and continues up to the reference moment. Future expresses an action that will occur after the reference moment. Progressive expresses an action that is ongoing at the reference moment. Examples: *bat'-ummo* 'I worked', *bat'-aammo* 'I have worked', *bat'-oommo* 'I will work' and *bat'-oommulla* 'I am working'.

We have seen simple past in example (28). Now let us see the present perfect (again, expressed with portmanteau morphemes of present perfect, tense and person).

- (29) a. *it-aammo*
eat-PP.1SG
'I have eaten.'
- b. *it-taatto*
eat-PP.2SG
'You have eaten.'
- c. *it-aakko*
eat-PP.3MSG
'He has eaten.'

Next let us examine the future tense.

- (30) a. *gan-oommo*
beat-FUT.1SG
'I will beat.' (as a punishment)

- b. *gan-takkamo*
 beat-FUT.2PL
 ‘You (PL) will beat.’
- c. *gan-ookko*
 beat-FUT.3MSG
 ‘He will beat.’
- d. *gan-amookko*
 beat-FUT.3PL
 ‘They will beat.’

Future time reference can be expressed not only by the future tense but also by the Jussive and Imperative moods. Because these express (respectively) wishes and commands, they are intrinsically oriented towards the future. Here are paradigms of the Jussive and Imperative. In which various morphophonological processes can be seen here, but I will not go into detail.

Table 20. *The paradigm of jussive of five selected verbs*

‘Let...beat/go/eat/play/wash.’

PERSON	JUSSIVE OF THE VERBS				
3M	<i>gan-ona</i>	<i>mar-ona</i>	<i>it-ona</i>	<i>lell-ona</i>	<i>aanš-ona</i>
F	<i>gan-tona</i>	<i>mat-tona</i>	<i>it-tona</i>	<i>lell-i-tona</i>	<i>aanš-i-tona</i>
Hon	<i>gan-akkona</i>	<i>mar-akkona</i>	<i>it-akkona</i>	<i>lell-akkona</i>	<i>aanš-akkona</i>
1PL	<i>gan-nona</i>	<i>mal-lona</i>	<i>int-ona</i>	<i>lell-i-nona</i>	<i>aanš-i-nona</i>
3PL	<i>gan-amona</i>	<i>mar-amona</i>	<i>it-amona</i>	<i>lell-amona</i>	<i>aanš-amona</i>

Note that in the above table, the 1SG has no jussive form.

Table 21. *The paradigm of imperative*

IMPERATIVE		GLOSS
SINGULAR	PLURAL	
<i>gan-e</i>	<i>gan-nehe</i>	'beat!'
<i>mar-e</i>	<i>mal-lehe</i>	'go!'
<i>waar-e</i>	<i>waal-lehe</i>	'come!'
<i>it-e</i>	<i>it-tehe</i>	'eat!'
<i>bat'-e</i>	<i>bat'-t'ehe</i>	'do!'
<i>sab-e</i>	<i>sab-behe</i>	'refuse!'
<i>iik'-e</i>	<i>iik'-k'ehe</i>	'break!'
<i>ag-e</i>	<i>ag-gehe</i>	'drink!'
<i>t'uf-e</i>	<i>t'uf-fehe</i>	'close/lock!'
<i>iyi-e</i>	<i>iyi-ehe</i>	'carry!'
<i>lell-e</i>	<i>lell-ehe</i>	'play!'
<i>dill-e</i>	<i>dill-ehe</i>	'go down!'
<i>aanš-e</i>	<i>aanš-ehe</i>	'wash!'
<i>anš-e</i>	<i>anš-ehe</i>	'be fat!'
<i>weeš-e</i>	<i>weeš-šehe</i>	'call!'
<i>goš-e</i>	<i>goš-šehe</i>	'milk!'

Finally let us see progressive aspect as follows. (Note that Hudson does not mention the progressive at all.)

- (31)
- a. *gan-oommulla*
beat-1SG.PROG
'I am beating.'
 - b. *gan-toolla*
beat-2SG.PROG
'You are beating.'
 - c. *gan-takkamulla*
beat-2PL.PROG
'You (PL) are beating.'

- d. *gan-amoola*
 beat-3PL.PROG
 ‘They are beating.’

In addition to the above simple tenses, Hadiyya also has compound tenses that express deictic time reference. These are the Past Perfect and Past Habitual. They are formed (as in Amharic) by combining a main verb with the helping verb *hee?* ‘exist’, and conjugating both verbs. Here are the paradigms:

Table 22. *The paradigm of Past Perfect*

‘Had beaten’

PERSON	REMOTE PAST (PAST PERFECT)
1	<i>gan-aa-hee?-ummo</i>
2	<i>gan-taa-hee?-litto</i>
Hon	<i>gan-takkaa-hee?-lakko?o</i>
3M	<i>gan-aa-hee?-ukko</i>
F	<i>gan-taa-hee?-lo?o</i>
Hon	<i>gan-akkaa-hee?-akko?o</i>
1PL	<i>gan-naa-hee?-nummo</i>
2PL	<i>gan-takkaa-hee?-lakko?o</i>
3PL	<i>gan-amaa(kk)-hee?-amukko</i>

Table 23. *The paradigm of Past Habitual*

“When I was a boy, I (used to) beat my friends every day.”

PERSON	PAST HABITUAL
1	<i>gan-am-heeʔ-ummo</i>
2	<i>gan-tam-heeʔ-litto</i>
Hon	<i>gan-takkam-heeʔ-lakkoʔo</i>
3M	<i>gan-am-heeʔ-ukko</i>
F	<i>gan-tam-heeʔ-loʔo</i>
Hon	<i>gan-akkam-heeʔ-akkoʔo</i>
1PL	<i>gan-nam-heeʔ-nummo</i>
2PL	<i>gan-takkam-heeʔ-lakkoʔo</i>
3PL	<i>gan-amookk-heeʔ-amukko</i>

Note that Hadiyya does not have any “Simple Present” tense. English often uses its Simple Present with stative verbs (“I love, I understand, I agree...”). Here Hadiyya sometimes uses the Present Perfect, sometimes the Future and sometimes the Progressive. For example, *aagitt'-aammo* ‘I understand’, *keese iitt-oommo* ‘I love you’ *k'iid-oolla* ‘it is cold’.

3.1.4 Manner Deixis

In Hadiyya there are two deictic manner adverbs: *ka-ʔ-isa* PRXD-EPN-SIMV ‘like this’ and *ee-ʔ-isa* MEDD-EPN-SIMV ‘like that’. These adverbs are derived from proximal demonstrative *ka* ‘this’ and medial *ee* ‘that’ combined with the postpositional enclitic *-isa*¹⁷ ‘like’ to form one word. They are deictic because they are accompanied by some kind of ostensive physical demonstration which occurs at the moment of speaking and is necessary in order to interpret the manner. This demonstration will be done by the speaker or by a third person. With *kaʔisa* the demonstrator can be the speaker or a third person. Whoever is demonstrating, the action which is demonstrated is necessarily near to the speaker. By contrast, with *eeʔisa* the demonstrator is a

¹⁷ The enclitic *-isa* ‘like’ (glossed SIMV = Similitative) can also occur with nouns, e.g. *Derejj-isa* ‘like Dereje’. The glottal stop *-ʔ* in *ka-ʔ-isa* and *ee-ʔ-isa* comes to break up the impermissible vowel cluster.

third person. This action of doing something occurs somewhat far away from the speaker. See the following examples in (31).

(32) a. *ka-ʔ-isa* *kar-e*
PRXD-EPN-SIMV tie-2SG.IMP
‘Tie like this!’ [while demonstrating how to tie; demonstrator (speaker or not)
is nearby]

b. *ee-ʔ-isa* *kar-e*
MEDD-EPN-SIMV tie-2SG.IMP
‘Tie like that!’ [while demonstrating how to tie; demonstrator (not the speaker)
is further away]

Note that the two manner adverbs are formed from the spatial deictics, but only from the proximal and medial forms, not from the distal. This seems to make sense: if someone is demonstrating anything, it cannot be very far away from the speaker, or s/he will not see the demonstration at all.

3.1.5 Discourse Deixis

Levinson (1983:85) says that “Discourse, or text, deixis concerns the use of expressions within some utterance to refer to some portion of the discourse that contains that utterance (including the utterance itself).” In Hadiyya, some demonstratives (proximal and medial) are used to indicate discourse deixis.¹⁸

¹⁸ In this section the transcriptions of sentences and paragraphs are very long so they are glossed word by word and not morpheme by morpheme. Morpheme by morpheme glossing would contribute nothing to understanding these examples.

(33)

- a. 1989 H.D ni k'abale manni daajj gadannonne wo?o k'okk'obamaa šonkoora
1989 A.D our kebele men river near water irrigating sugarcane
kaasimma ašeeramukko. **kuk** higu lamiyyi hiinčonne moo?amu
planting started **PRXD.MSG.NOM** passed twenty year seen
abuulli ličč mare?uww-iinse lutt'ane.
agriculture development signs-of first

'In 1989, our kebele's people started planting sugarcane by irrigation near the river. **This** is the first sign of agricultural development which has been shown in the last twenty years.'

- b. ... "ni woronne asse?amaančo, gassančo, hara?immaančo aransaančo
... our inside a go-between governor assistant advisor
doo?illinona" yukko. **Ka** wošša galatt'aakka...
let us elect he said **PRXD.MSG.ACC** thing he.acknowledged
'... "among us let us elect a go-between, governor, assistant, and advisor" he said. He appreciated **this** idea and ...' (Faantaaye 2001: 46)

- c. mann hundim kado?i doo?llo doo?illimmi gaassa doo?illoo manna la?eena
men all this.round election electing preceding will.elect men to.know
hasaakko. Doo?illamoo mannimi eese doo?illehe! eese doo?illehe! yimma
have.wanted will.be.elected men.also me elect me elect saying
ašeeraakko. **Ku** mikimikaat deemookraase li?imma
started **PRXD.MSG.NOM** movement democracy developing
hane yoo?isa moo?isookko
top as.it.exist will.show

'Before electing the next round election, all the people want to know the candidates. The candidates have also started saying, Elect me! Elect me! **This** movement shows that democracy is developing.'

- d. *hakk'ičči woroon yookolli harsha. Ookk harshiso*
 tree below location fertile MEDD.MSG.NOM fertilizing
luww issamukkisa mooʔisookko
 thing as.it.is.put will.show

'The part (of the garden) located below the tree is fertile. **That** shows that fertilizer has been added.'

In the above sentences we see proximal and medial demonstratives in discourse deictic function. The (complete NP) demonstrative *kuk* 'this' in (33a) refers to "planting sugarcane...". In (33b), the pronominal demonstrative *ka* 'this' with noun *wošša* 'idea (lit. thing)' refers back to the statement "Let us elect...". In (33c) the pronominal demonstrative *ku* 'this' with noun *mik-mikaato* 'movement' and in (33d) the bare medial demonstrative *ookk* 'that' are referring to the entire preceding statements.

Cruse (2000: 324) says that "It is sometimes claimed that certain sentence adverbs, such as *therefore* and *furthermore*, include an element of discourse deixis in their meaning, as they require the recovery of a piece of previous discourse to be understood." In Hadiyya also there are such instances: *eebikkina* 'therefore' and *eelasage* 'after that', as in (34).¹⁹ Semantically, these words are deictic because they necessarily refer to some or the entire preceding discourse or text.

- (34) a. ... *eebikkina gud-a eger-oommo*
 ... therefore prepare-CONV wait-FUT.1SG
 '... Therefore, I prepare and will wait.'

- b. ... *eelasage beet itt'-gaga laʔ-ukko*
 ... after that boy GEN.3MSG-self know-SP.3MSG
 '... After that, the boy became conscious (regained consciousness).'

In Hadiyya adverbial demonstratives also show discourse deixis. These are the adverbs (already presented under "Manner Deixis" *ka-ʔ-isa* PRXD-EPN-SIMV 'like this' and *ee-ʔ-isa* MEDD-

¹⁹ *eelasage* 'after that' is combined from medial demonstrative *ee* 'that' and *lasage* 'after'. *eebikkina* is harder to analyze; *bike* means "(someone's) part", but "that part" does not obviously mean "therefore".

EPN-SIMV ‘like that’, as in (35). When used as text deictics, however, these adverbs do not show manner of mimicking a certain action, but they refer back to some happening in the preceding text or discourse (cf. section 3.1.5. manner deixis).

(35)

- a. *at t'ulbe?e lellitoolla dutis gubbancca lelloolla. Ka-?-isa*
 you ball playing Dutiso wrestling playing PRXD-EPN-SIMV
ikkakkoname abba?a waarookko
 you (PL).behaving Dad will.come
 ‘You (SG) are playing ball, and Dutiso is playing wrestling. While you (PL) are being **like this**, Dad will come.’ (my example)
- b. *sindir amana soor oos hee?ukko. Uulli abuulli amman*
 Sindiro for.mother four boys had soil plough time
afukkaare soorem oosim ama “uull abuullinoommo” yita?a
 when.it.reached the.four boys.also mother soil we.will.plough they.say
t'a?mmito?o. Amam “abuullehe” yito?aare abuullina
 they.asked mother.also you (PL).plough! when.she.said for.plough
maramukko. Itt'uwwim abuulli beyyo afamoo?innem googonne
 they.went they.also plough place without.reaching on.the.road
lellitu?uuyya hossa?a waatto?aaare “aššammehe”
 playing spend.the.day when.they.come bravo
yita?a itamoo waasa uwwito?o. la?m balli darām abuullina
 she.said they.eat food she.gave second day morning.also for.plough
malleenatte yamaa maramukko. Losamukkisam abuulli beyyo
 to.go they.said they.went as.they.learnt plough place
bat'amoo?innem bat' amman higukkaar angannee lokkonnee
 without.working work time when.it.passed on.hand on.foot
hara lapp'amaa waaramukko. Amam “ooso ashshammehe” yita?a
 mud they.painted they.came she.also boys bravo she.said
hara aanshita?a itamo waasa uwwito?o. Ee-?-isa
 mud she.washed they.eat food she.gave MEDD-EPN-SIMV

ihamonam sire?i wit'i agan afukkaare...
 they.behaving seed sow month when.it.reached (Abarra 2001: 6-7)

'Sindiro's mother had four sons. When the time came to plough, the boys asked their mother to plough the gardens. When their mother told them "plough", they went to plough. Not reaching the gardens, they spent the day playing and came back; she said "Bravo" to them and gave them food to eat. Also on the next morning, saying "We are to go to plough", off they went. As on the previous day, without working in the gardens, they came back having smeared mud on their hands and feet when the working time passed. And their mother said "Bravo" to them, washed them and gave them food to eat. While they were behaving **like that** and when the time came for sowing seeds ...'

In (35a) the adverbial demonstrative *ka?isa* 'like this' is referring to the activities of the two boys. And in (35b) also *ee?isa* 'like that' refers to how the four boys were behaving (their actions in the preceding two paragraphs).

Based on time of event both *ka-ʔ-isa* and *ee-ʔ-isa* are used differently. If the event is going on during the speech the proximal adverbial demonstrative *ka-ʔ-isa* will be used. In contrast, the medial *ee-ʔ-isa* is used when the event happened before the speech. This feature seems to be taken over from place deixis and temporal deixis, because *ka-ʔ-isa* is the manner of doing something that is temporally near to the speaker (just now), while *ee-ʔ-isa* refers to event(s) temporally distant from the speaker (here, on the previous day or two).

3.1.6 Social Deixis

Levinson (1983: 63) says that "social deixis concerns the encoding of social distinctions that are relative to participant-roles, particularly aspects of the social relationship holding between speaker and addressee(s) or speaker and some referent." To study social deixis in Hadiyya as it occurs in the speech between the participants during the communication act, one must have knowledge of the socio-cultural background underlying the linguistic base.

Thus, in Hadiyya, social deixis can be expressed by both relational and absolute deictic terms (cf. section 2.2.5.). Age, marriage status, circumcision status and kinship are social deictic factors that can be grouped under relational social deixis. Office-related respect (e.g. the chief) and *ma-haaraano* ‘people who have socio-cultural respect (a culture-specific term)’ are absolute factors.

3.1.6.1 Relational Social Deixis

Respect to one’s elders is one of the social norms in Hadiyya society. This social value is conveyed via honorific and plural agreement markers on the verbs, which are relational deictic expressions because they are relative to the speaker (cf. Tables 3-5). These indicate that the speaker is respecting the addressee and/or the referent. The verb agreement marker of second person honorific is identical to 2PL (cf. example (1c&d)). However, the third person has a different agreement form to show respect.

Another social norm of Hadiyya society is marriage-related. In Hadiyya marriage culture, a man’s wife should show respect to all the family members of her husband and they respect her too. This respect is not based on their age. She never calls her husband’s father and mother by their names. She cannot even utter the names of other things that start with the same sound(s) as her husband’s father’s name. For example, if her husband’s father’s name is “*hallaama*” his son’s wife may not utter the word *halliččo* ‘donkey’ as it is, but must change the initial sound(s). For example, she may say *iyjamiččo*, which is associated with *iyya* ‘carry’.

In addition to age and marriage, in Hadiyya, circumcision can also give rise to respect. In the culture the person who covers the eyes of the boy while he is being circumcised earns great respect from that boy.

In such cases, as above, this respect is again conveyed via honorific personal pronouns and verb agreement.

Kinship terms show social deixis in Hadiyya. These kinship terms cannot appear as absolute forms (“father” etc.), but must morphologically show a kinship relation to somebody (“my father” etc.) and hence are deictic. The Hadiyya kinship terms are presented in the following table.

Table 24. *The Hadiyya kinship terms*

KINSHIP TERMS	GLOSS	KINSHIP TERMS	GLOSS
<i>iyyumma</i>	‘my mother’	<i>is-ama</i>	‘her mother’
<i>iyyanna</i>	‘my father’	<i>is-anna</i>	‘her father’
<i>lobaayye</i>	‘my eldest sister’	<i>is-lobaayya</i>	‘her eldest sister’
<i>abbaayyo</i>	‘my eldest brother’	<i>is-lobabbayyo</i>	‘her eldest brother’
<i>amaayye</i>	‘my aunt (maternal)’	<i>is-amaayye</i>	‘her aunt (maternal)’
<i>eeše</i>	‘my uncle (maternal)’	<i>is-eešimma</i>	‘her uncle (maternal)’
<i>adaayye</i>	‘my aunt (paternal)’	<i>is-ada</i>	‘her aunt (paternal)’
<i>annabbo</i>	‘my uncle (paternal)’	<i>is-annabbaayyo</i>	‘her uncle (paternal)’

Most of these terms are used both for 3rd-person reference and as terms of address. However, in Hadiyya, *iyyumma* ‘my mother’ and *iyyanna* ‘my father’ are not used as terms of address. Instead, the child calls his/her parents by maternal and paternal substitute nouns.²⁰ In the language the most common substitute nouns are *aačče*, *aayya*, *aadde* for mother and *abba* and *abbaabba* for father. Let us see some examples below.

(36)

- a. *aačče meer-iinse šonkoora eeb-e*
 mom market-ABL sugarcane bring-2SG.IMP
 ‘Mom, bring sugarcane from market!’
- b. *lobaayye eddečča aans-e*
 my older sister garment wash-2SG.IMP
 ‘My older sister, wash the garment!’

²⁰ Note that the speaker may use his/her mother’s or father’s kinship term for 3rd-person reference while talking about them.

- c. *amaayye soodo waar-e*
 aunt tomorrow come-2SG.IMP
 ‘Aunt (maternal), come tomorrow!’
- d. *eeshe t’ulbe?e gob-e*
 uncle ball sew-2SG.IMP
 ‘Uncle (maternal), sew up the ball!’

The kinship terms in (36) above are serving as addressee²¹. The same kinship terms can also appear as a 3rd-person referent, as in (37).

(37)

- a. *an annabbo iitt – oommo*
 I uncle love-FUT.1SG
 ‘I love my uncle (paternal).’
- b. *an adaayye weesh-ummo*
 I aunt call-SG.1SG
 ‘I called my aunt (paternal).’

3.1.6.2 Absolute Social Deixis

In Hadiyya absolute social deixis is expressed in two ways: formal or office-position related respect and *mahaaraano* ‘people who have socio-cultural respect’. Formal or office-position respect is expressed by the social deictics in Table 25. These forms are absolutely reserved for the authorized recipients, usually in formal speech for official purposes.

²¹ In Hadiyya, when the addressee is directly called, the final vowel is not devoiced as usual. This is probably because the addressee-noun (vocative) is followed by a pause.

Table 25. *The Hadiyya absolute social deictics*

ABSOLUTE SOCIAL DEICTIC TERMS	GLOSS
1. <i>hibbantakko?oo/haydantakko?oo</i>	‘Your Excellency/Honor’
2. <i>hibbamakko?oo/haydamakko?oo</i>	‘His/Her Excellency/Honor’
3. <i>abbaačč</i>	‘Mister’ (Amharic <i>ato</i>)
4. <i>aayyičč</i>	‘Ma’am’ (Amharic <i>wäyzäro</i>)

In the above table the first two absolute deictics are formed from *hibba* ‘charisma’ and *hayda* ‘honor’. These are used here as verbs (e.g. ‘to give charisma’), and as such are followed by the passivizer *-m-*. Then SP.2HON *-takko?o* and SP.3HON *-akko?o* are attached and the absolute deictics are formed by lengthening the final vowel *-o*. In the language *hibbantakko?oo* and *haydantakko?oo* are used interchangeably, and likewise *hibbamakko?oo* and *haydamakko?oo*.

The usage of these deictics in actual speech is that term 1 or 2 is followed by 3 or 4, based on the addressee’s gender and person.²² For example, for masculine 2nd person you would say *hibbantakko?oo/haydantakko?oo abbaačč* ‘X’ ‘Your Excellency/Honor Mr. ‘X’’. See the following example.

- (38) *hibbamakko?oo abbaačč dilaam soodo waaččamo waar-akkamo*
 his.Excellency Mr. Dilamo tomorrow Wachemo come-FUT.3HON
 ‘His Excellency Mr. Dilamo will come to Wachemo tomorrow.’

The second kind of absolute social deixis is shown by *mahaaraano* ‘people who have socio-cultural respect’. In Hadiyya culture the procedure for being admitted to the status of *mahaallano* is too complex to discuss here. Ruther, my focus here is to show the connection between *mahaaraano* and social deixis. When someone gets *mahaallaano*²³ ‘socio-cultural royalty’, every individual of the Hadiyya people will respect him irrespective of his age. This respect is manifested by their title, honorific personal pronoun and verb agreement. The names of titles and pro-

²² Numbers (1-4) in this context refer to the numerals in Table 25.

²³ In Hadiyya *mahaallano* is given only for males.

cedures for giving the titles are discussed in detail by Eshetu et al. (2011). There are 13 such titles; some of them are: *gadapp' garaada*, *asmaačče*, *daddaaččo*. See the following example.

- (39) *daddaačč* *lopp'is* *beeballa* *waar-akko?o*
 Daddaaččo (title) Lopp'iso yesterday come-SP.3HON
 'Daddach Lopiso came yesterday.'

3.1.7 Recognitional Deixis

In recognitional deixis, the reference of the entities is not known from the discourse but only from the common background of the participants who are involved in the communication. In Hadiyya this deixis is reflected by certain specific demonstratives: medial *oo/ee*, and distal *?o/?e*, *?okk/?ekka* 'that' (NOM vs. ACC). In this recognitional use, these demonstratives have nothing to do with location; instead they take the interlocutors back to their common background knowledge. The examples below are all the first sentence of their respective discourse, and there is nothing in the immediate context that will help to clarify the referent.

(40)

- a. *oo* *k'uut' jor-aakko*
 MEDD.MSG.NOM affair bad-PP.3MSG
 'That affair became bad.' (i.e. the affair we both know about)
- b. *t'ummis ee* *k'uut'o guull - aakko*
 Tummiso MEDD.MSG.ACC affair finish-PP.3MSG
 'Tummiso has finished that affair.'
- c. *?o* *k'uut' jor-aakko*
 DISD.MSG.NOM affair bad-PP.3MSG
 'That affair became bad.'
- d. *t'ummis ?e* *k'uut'o guull - aakko*
 Tummiso DISD.MSG.ACC affair finish-PP.3MSG
 'Tummiso has finished that affair.'

- e. *ʔokk* *jor – aakko*
 DISD.MSG.NOM bad-PP.3MSG
 ‘That has become bad.’ (i.e. some very salient thing we both know about)
- f. *tummis* *ʔekka* *at’is – ukko – yyo*
 Tummiso DISD.MSG.ACC correct-SP.3MSG-NEG
 ‘Tummiso did not correct that.’

In (40), a & c and b & d are almost identical, but their meanings are slightly different. The medial demonstratives *oo* and *ee* ‘that’ indicate that the time of something that occurred in the past (which both participants know about) is in the near past. By contrast, the distal demonstratives *ʔo* and *ʔe* ‘that’ draw the hearer’s attention to common knowledge that has existed for a long time.

In (40 e & f) the interlocutors understand the intended referent just by the bare demonstrative and their common knowledge. These examples are interesting because they violate Diessel’s (but not Himmelmann’s) requirement that recognitional deixis must have a noun. In this example, there must be exactly one very salient thing or issue that the two interlocutors have in common.

3.2 Uses of Deictic Elements

In this section, for the reader’s convenience, I gather together and repeat the various uses of deictic elements that have been presented in the sections above.

3.2.1 Situational/Exophoric Use

Diessel (1999: 94) says that “Exophoric demonstratives focus the hearer’s attention on entities in the situation surrounding the interlocutors.” He distinguishes three distinctive features of exophoric use that cannot be shared by the other three deictic uses. These are: “First, they involve the speaker (or some other person) as the deictic center; second, they indicate a deictic contrast on a distance scale...; and third, they are often accompanied by a pointing gesture.”

Following Fillmore's (1997: 63) distinction between gestural and symbolic uses, Diessel (ibid.) maintains that these two uses are both exophoric. The two uses differ by the presence or absence of gesture: gestural usage uses gesture while symbolic does not (cf. Levinson 1983: 65).

3.2.1.1 Gestural Use

In this use, the speaker specifies the referent via an ostensive gesture in order to clarify what he/she is talking. The referent normally must be a physical object. See the following examples.

(41)

- a. *ku* *bagad* *bok'-aakko*
 PRXD.MSG.NOM spear bend-PP.3MSG
 'This spear has bent.' [the speaker uses gesture]
- b. *oo* *min* *haraara*
 MEDD.MSG.NOM house wide
 'That house is wide.' [the speaker uses gesture]
- c. *ka* *hakk'-i- ččo* *mur-e*
 PRXD.MSG.ACC tree-EPN-SGV cut-2SG.IMP
 'Cut this tree!' [the speaker uses gesture]
- d. *ee* *gooca* *t'uf-e*
 MEDD.MSG.ACC door lock-2SG.IMP
 'Lock that door!' [the speaker uses gesture]

3.2.1.2 Symbolic Use

Unlike gestural use, in symbolic use, the demonstrative does not accompany a pointing gesture during speech utterance. In this use, in order to interpret a deictic, it is sufficient that participants should have general background knowledge of the place and time parameters of the speech event, and sometimes also person, discourse and social parameters (Levinson 1983: 65).

- (42) *gassičč ka beero googo bat' – oolla*
 government PRXD.MSG.ACC city.GEN road work-3MSG.PROG
 'The government is constructing a road (in/of) this city.'

In (42), the demonstrative *ka* 'this' refers to the city where the speaker is located at the moment of the speech utterance. A pointing gesture is not only unnecessary but actually impossible.

3.2.2 Tracking Use

In tracking use the demonstrative refers to an already-established participant in the discourse. Himmelmann (1996:226) and Diessel (1999: 103) note that this use is sometimes called 'anaphoric'. "Anaphoric demonstratives are coreferential with a noun or noun phrase in the previous discourse" (Diessel 1999: 95). For example, in (43) the demonstrative *ku* 'this' is referring to the already-established participant (the boy) in the discourse.

- (43) *lombeeb - beet k'ot'ara. ku beet*
 Lombebo.GEN-boy strong PRXD.MSG.NOM boy
itt' - ama hara?m-ookko
 GEN.2SG-mother help-FUT.3MSG
 'Lombebo's son is strong; this boy will help his mother.'

3.2.3 Discourse Deictic Use

In discourse deictic use, demonstratives refer anaphorically to elements of the surrounding discourse. However, in discourse deictic use the demonstratives refer to propositions/speech acts rather than to a preceding NP. That means the demonstrative prompts the hearer to look at the meaning of the clause, the sentence, the paragraph, or the entire story which is being referred to by that demonstrative. (Cf. Diessel 1999: 100-101.) Consider the following example (see also 3.1.5). In (44), the demonstrative *kuk* refers to the previous sentence as a whole.

- (44) *higu lam hiinch hagayy kee?imaalla. kuk hafachch*
 past two year summer difficult. PRXD.MSG.NOM wind
amatt' dabassanch moo?isookko
 content change will.show
 'The past two years' summer has been difficult. This (will) show a change of air conditions.'

3.2.4 Recognitional Use

According to Himmelmann (1996: 230), in this recognitional use of deictics participants draw upon shared common knowledge rather than upon aspects of the previous discourse. In this use, although the referent is presented for the first time, the hearer knows who/what the referent actually is because of the shared knowledge between the interlocutors (see Aweke 2012: 61). In Had-*iyya* the recognitional use is shown by selective medial and distal demonstratives. (Cf. section 3.1.7 and some examples below.) In example (45a), the sentence is the first sentence the speaker utters. There is no explicit context, and the speaker does not point. Rather, both interlocutors presumably have repeatedly talked about same particular boy, who is the intended referent here. By using the medial and distal demonstratives, the speaker directs the addressee to look for the respective referent in the commonly shared knowledge between them. As a result, the utterance is not confusing for the addressee even though another person who lacks the common knowledge may be unable to find the referent.

- (45)
- a. *oo beet hinkide?*
 MEDD.MSG.NOM boy how
 'How is that boy?'
- b. *ʔokk hinkide?*
 DISD.MSG.NOM how
 'How is that (thing)?'

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The objective of the study is to describe and analyze the deictic features of the Hadiyya language. This thesis has four chapters. The first chapter presents the people, the language, objective of the study, the significance of the study, and the research methodology briefly. The second chapter has a discussion of basic concepts and review of related literature on deixis including previous works on Hadiyya deixis — although previous works on Hadiyya have little discussion on demonstratives.

The third chapter, which is the heart of the thesis, consists of a description of the deictic features in the language. These deictic features yield a number of types of deixis in Hadiyya. These types, in addition to the five deixis types which are presented in chapter two (person, place, time, discourse, and social deixis), include manner and recognitional deixis.

In Hadiyya, person deixis is indicated by independent personal pronouns and by subject agreement in the verb. In the Hadiyya verb person and tense are expressed as a portmanteau.

Place deixis in Hadiyya is expressed basically by using demonstratives. These are classified into two: adnominal demonstratives, which have attributive function, and independent demonstratives which stand alone and function as pronouns. Based on spatial location each of these has three distances: proximal, medial and distal. Previous descriptions of Hadiyya have not described a distal series.

In the adnominal case of feminine proximal demonstrative, Hadiyya distinguishes number and gender on the demonstrative itself and on the noun which comes after the demonstrative in the Noun Phrase. By contrast, with medial (NOM/ACC) *oo* vs. *ee* 'that' and distal (NOM/ACC) *ʔo* vs. *ʔe* 'that' demonstratives, the same element is used for both numbers and both genders. Number and gender are marked on the noun that comes after the demonstrative. Unlike the adnominal demonstratives, independent demonstratives show an opposition of MSG vs. FSG, not only in

the proximal but also in the medial and distal series. Corresponding to the three deictic distances, there are also three local adverbial demonstratives which indicate place deixis.

In addition to demonstratives, motion verbs that are used to indicate an action toward and away from the speaker and other deictic expressions of location and direction are another means to show place deixis.

Time deixis in Hadiyya is indicated by the basic lexical time adverbs *kaba* 'now', *ee ammane* 'then', *kabala* 'today', *beeballa* 'yesterday', *soodo* 'tomorrow' and *kahiinčo* 'this year'. In addition to these adverbs, time adverbs based on the notion of movement and tense/aspect morphemes (simple past, present perfect, past perfect, past habitual, future and progressive) express time deixis.

Manner deixis in Hadiyya is shown by the proximal deictic element *kaʔisa* 'like this' and distal deictic element *eeʔisa* 'like that' with ostensive demonstration. These same deictic adverbs are used for discourse deixis, in which case there is no ostensive demonstration.

Demonstratives also show discourse deixis. Some sentence adverbs like *eebikkina* 'therefore' and *eelasage* 'after that' and adverbial demonstratives *kaʔisa* 'like this' and *eeʔisa* 'like that' without ostensive demonstration are used to indicate discourse deixis.

In the Hadiyya language, social deixis is expressed by relational deictic terms. Social respect has several sources in Hadiyya society. It can come from age: in Hadiyya aged people get respect. Another thing that conveys respect is marriage status and circumcision status. Kinship terms also indicate the status relationship of the referent to the speaker. All these are used to indicate relational social deixis. Absolute deictic terms are also used to express social deixis. This absolute social deixis takes place during formal speech (to show office-related respect) and in any speech of speaker with/about *mahaaraano* 'people who have socio-cultural respect'. These different types of social respect are expressed by honorific personal pronouns and honorific subject agreement on the verb.

Recognitional deixis is reflected by the medial demonstratives *oo/ee* and distal demonstratives *ʔo/ʔe*, *ʔokk/ʔekka* ‘that’. Among these the pronominal use of the independent proximal demonstratives *ʔokk/ʔekka* violates Diessel’s (but not Himmelmann’s) requirement that recognitional deixis must have a noun accompanying the demonstrative.

Finally, in this chapter, the different kinds of deictic uses (situational, tracking, discourse, recognitional) are discussed.

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