Demonstratives in Silt'e

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Abstract

The main objective of this article is to describe the system of demonstratives in Silt'e. According to their distribution, forms and functions, demonstratives in Silt'e are categorized as pronominal, adverbial and manner. Pronominal demonstratives have two forms: free and complex. The free and complex forms have two distinctions: proximal and distal. The free demonstrative pronouns have neutral and focused forms. The complex demonstrative pronouns occur with preposition *lǝ-, tǝ-* and *bǝ-*, which indicate a dative, ablative or comitative and instrumental or locative case respectively. Adverbial demonstratives are formed by affixing morphemes to free demonstratives. Manner demonstratives are discourse deictic; they are formed by a combination of free demonstrative pronoun and similative morpheme *-ko* 'like' which is changed to *-ku*.

1. Introduction

Demonstratives are deictic. Deictic expressions are linguistic elements whose interpretations make crucial references to some aspects of the speech situation (Diessel 1999: 35). All languages have demonstratives but they defer according to their forms, functions and meaning. Therefore the concept of demonstratives varies from language to language. However, Diessel (1999:2) points out three criteria that are relevant to define the notion of demonstratives. First, demonstratives are deictic expressions serving specific syntactic functions. Second, they serve specific pragmatic functions. (i.e., demonstratives are often used to keep truck of prior discourse participants and to activate specific shared knowledge). Third demonstratives are characterized by specific semantic features.

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This study attempts to describe the morphosyntactic features of Silt'e demonstratives. Demonstratives are categorized as pronominal, adverbial, and manner, according to their distribution, forms and functions.

Silt'e is spoken in Silt'e zone within the Southern Peoples, Nations and Nationalities Regional State (SPNNRS) of Ethiopia. According to 2007 population census, the number of Silt'e people is 940,766. Linguistically Silt'e is classified as East-Gurage, which belongs to the Ethio Semitic language family. The name Silt'e refers to both the people and the language. The Silt'e people call their language *yəslam af* 'language of the Islam' (Drewes 1997:72) and *jəsilt'e af* (Gutt 1983:37), (Bruktawit 2001:45). In addition, the language is called *siltiɲɲa* by Amharic speakers.

2. Pronominal Demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns are used as an independent pronoun and as modifier of a noun. In some languages, demonstratives used as independent pronoun and as a modifier of a noun have the same form; in contrast in some others they have different forms (Diessel 1999:17). In Silt'e, demonstratives used as a subject of a clause and as modifier of nouns have the same forms. Thus, both of them are treated as pronominal demonstratives. The pronominal demonstrative has two forms: free and complex forms.

2.1 Free demonstrative pronouns

Semantically, demonstrative pronouns in Silt'e have two distinctive forms: proximal (i.e. the referent entity is near to the speaker) and distal (i.e. the referent entity is far from the speaker). The proximal and the distal demonstrative pronouns have the free forms (*h*)*ii* and (*h*)*ai* respectively, the occurrence of the initial glottal fricative *h-* is optional. Proximity and distal are indicated by demonstrative root vowels *-i* and *-a* respectively, the last vowel *-i* is marked for definiteness. These forms are considered as neutral forms (cf. Baye and Rawda 2007:142).

Then free forms of demonstrative pronouns may have a focused form by attaching the focus marker –*ttə*- (Baye and Rawda 2007: 140). The focus marker occurs before the definite marker -*i* and the feminine marker -*t(e)*. The free forms of demonstrative pronouns are inflected for number, gender, and case. The paradigms of the neutral and focused form of demonstrative pronouns are illustrated in the following tables.

Table 1 Neutral form of demonstrative pronouns

Proximal		Singular	Plural
	M	*(h)i-i*	*(h)i-i sur*
	F	*(h)i-t(ə)*	*(h)a-i sur*
Distal	M	*(h)a-i*	
	F	*(h)a-t(ə)*	

Table 2 focused form of demonstrative pronoun

Proximal		Singular	Plural
	M	*(h)i-tta- i > (h)ittay*	*(h)i-tta-i sur >(h)ittay sur*
	F	*(h)i-ttə- t(e) > (h)ittət(e)*	
Distal	M	*(h)a-tta-i > (h)attay*	*(h)a-tta-i sur >(h)ittay sur*
	F	*(h)a-ttə –t(e) > (h)attət(e)*	

The free forms of demonstrative pronouns are used as a subject of noun phrase and as a modifier of nouns. The focused form may be used for singling out 'this one, this one here, that one, that one here' as in Amharic - *jiheŋŋaw* (Leslaw1995:68). Consider the following examples:

(1)   *hattaj   bellə   iri alləj*
        ha-tta-j   bəllə   iri   allə-j
        that-FOC-DEF:3SM   many   cattle   has-3SMOj
        'That one has many cattle'

(2)   *hii gaar məɲə*
        hi-i   gaar   məɲ-ə
        this-DEF   house   build:PFV-3SMSj
        'This one built a house'

(3)   *hittət miʃt boozint*
        hi-ttə-t   miʃt   booz-n-it
        this-FOC-DEF:3SF   woman   bad-COP-3SF
        'This woman is bad'

In examples (1) and (2) the demonstrative pronouns are used as subject of noun phrase, while in examples (3) is used as a modifier of a noun phrase. Demonstrative pronouns may occur with the element *sur* to denote associative entities in relation to the addressee. The element *sur* is the association marker which occurs with proper nouns, kinship terms, third persons, and demonstratives. When the demonstrative pronoun occurs with an element *sur,* the demonstrative function is a subject of noun phrase. Consider the following examples:

(4)   *hattaj sur   bellə   iri alləjmu*
        ha-tta-j   sur   bəlla   iri   allə-jmu
        that-FOC-DEF   ASS   many   cattle   have-3PLOj
        'Those have many cattle'

(5)   *hii sur boozinimu*
        hii sur   booz-inimu
        these ASS   bad-COPL:3PL
        'These are bad'

(6)   *hii adəntʃa bəsərəj bəluj*
        hi-i   adən-tʃa   bəsər-ə-j   bəl-u-j
        this-DEF:3SM   cat-PL   meat-ACC-DEF   eat:PFV-S3PL-3SOj
        'Those cats eat the meat'

(7)   *hai iri hullim jəʃəmsuttə*
        ha-i   iri   hullim   jə-ʃəmsu-ttə
        that-DEF:3SM   cattle   all   GEN-ʃəmsu-FOC
        'All those cattle belongs to Shemsu'

(8)   * *hii sur adəntʃa bəsərəj bəlu*
        hi-i   sur   adən-tʃa   bəsər-ə-j   bəl-u
        this-DEF:3SM   ASS   cat-PL   meat-ACC-DEF   eat:PFV-3SPL

As the above examples illustrate the element *sur* occur only in examples (4) and (5) where the demonstrative pronouns are used as a subject, Example (8) is ungrammatical because the element *sur* should be occur only when the demonstrative pronoun is a subject, but in this case it occurs with the modifier demonstrative pronoun.

2.1.1 Third person pronouns

Third person personal pronouns can also be used as demonstrative pronouns to refer entities which are far from the speaker and addressee. The third person personal pronouns are inflected for gender, number and case.

Table 3 Third person pronouns

3SM	*uhə*	He/it	that
3SF	*iʃə*	she	that
3PL	*uhun/uhun sur*	they	those

The following examples illustrate the syntactic context of these pronouns:
(9)   *uhə jaabrar abotin*
        uha ja-abrar   abot-in
        he   GEN-abrar   father-COPL:3SM
        'He/that is Abrar's father

(10)   *iʃə haml awəkəbtaat*
        iʃə   haml   awəkəb-t-aat
        she   cabbage   sell:PFV-3SF-AUX:3SF
        'She/that has sold cabbage'

(11)   *uhun sur gaar meť-u naar*
        uhun sur   gaar   mət-u   naar
        they ASS   house   go:PFV-3PL   be:PFV
        'They/ those had come to the house'

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(12) *uhə ginzo bullin*
      uha ginzo bulli-n
      he   axe   sharp-COPL:3SM
      'He/ that axe is sharp'

In examples (9-10) third person pronouns are used as subject of noun phrase; but in example (12) it is used as a modifier of the noun phrase.

2.1.2 Case of demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are inflected for nominative, accusative, genitive, ablative, dative and instrumental cases.

2.1.2.1 **Nominative case**
A nominative case of demonstrative pronoun in Silt'e is unmarked. In all the above examples, the demonstrative pronouns have unmarked nominative cases.

2.1.2.2 **Accusative case**
The demonstrative pronouns in the accusative case have the forms *hinnəj* for proximal and *hannəj* for distal. In this construction the *-nn-* is the focus marker not *-tta-* as it is in the free demonstrative (cf. Baye and Rawda, (2007:147). Baye and Rawda (ibid) claimed as the accusative marker is *əj*, but this study argues that the accusative case marker is *-ə*, not *əj*. The morphemes *-j* and *-tə* are definite marker of masculine and feminine as in *hannəj* 'that one (m)' *hannətə* 'that one (f) respectively. The function of demonstrative pronouns in accusative case is illustrated as follows:
(13) *Dawəto hinnəj mərkə ləmərikə ewədej*
      dawəto hi-nn-ə-j   mərkə lə-məri-kə   ewəd-ə-j
      dawoto this-FOC-ACC-DEF:3SM problem PP-friend-POSS tell:PFV-3SM Sj-3 SM Oj
      'Dawoto told this problem to his friend'

(14) *ʃəmsu hannətə laam awəkəbet*
      ʃəmsu ha-nn-ə-tə   laam awəkəb-eet
      ʃəmsu that-FOC-ACC-DEF:3SF cow   sell:PFV-3SMSj-3SFOj
      'shemsu sold that cow'

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The accusative case in third person pronouns is marked by a morpheme *-nə* as in (15)

(15)   *uhanə bert wusəd*
       uha-nə bərt wusəd
       he- ACC stick take:JUSS
       'Take this stick'

2.1.2.3 Genitive case

In Silt'e the genitive case of demonstrative pronoun is marked by the morpheme *jə-* which is prefixed to demonstrative pronouns:

(16)   *jittəte miʃt tʃulo ibətʃaan*
       j-i-ttə-te   miʃt tʃulo i-bətʃ'-aan
       GEN-this-FOC-DEF woman son   IPFV:3SM-cry-AUX:3SM
       'The son of this woman is crying'

The rest of the cases i.e. ablative, dative and instrumental are treated as complex demonstrative pronouns

2.2 Complex demonstrative pronouns

The complex demonstratives pronouns are constructed when the prepositions *lə-, tə-* and *bə-* are affixed to the demonstrative pronouns. Meyer (2000: 168) calls this kind of constructions as complex demonstrative pronouns, and this study also uses this term. Complex demonstratives with *lə-, tə-* and *bə-* denote dative, ablative or comitative and instrumental or locative case respectively. The complex demonstratives have variant forms depending upon the occurrence of the prepositions. The occurrence of the prepositions can be initial or medial. The following table shows complex demonstrative pronouns with their variant forms.

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Table 4 Complex demonstratives in Silt'e

Case	Proximal	distal
Dative	*(h)illii/ illii/ liillii* 'to/for this'	*(h)allii/ lai/ lalli* 'to/for that'
	(h)illitaaj/littaaj/lillitaaj 'to/for this(m)'	*(h)allitaaj/laittaaj/lallitaaj* 'to/for that (m)'
Ablative	*(h)ittii/itii/ tittii* 'with/from this'	*(h)attii/ tai/ tatti/* 'with/from that'
	ittitaaj/tittaaj/tittitaaj 'with/from this(m)'	*hattitaaj/taitaaj/tattitaaj* 'with/from that'
Instrumental/locative	*(h)ibbii/bii/bibbii* 'at/on/in/by/from this'	*(h)abbii/bai/babbi* 'at/on/in/by/from that'
	(h)ibbitaaj/bittaaj/bibbitaaj 'at/on/in/by/from this(m)'	*(h)abbitaaj/baitaaj/ babbitaaj* 'at/on/in/by/from that (m)'

The complex demonstratives in Silt'e syntactically can be subjects of clause or modifiers of noun phrases. These demonstratives are inflected for number and gender, as illustrated in the following examples.

(17)   *lii sur dinət waabə*
      l-i-i   *sur*   *dinət*   *waab-ə*
      to:this-DEF ASS   money   give:PFV-3SMSj
      'He gave money to these'

 (18)   *sirəjəj tattitaaj dʒunjə dibələj*
      sirəj-ə-j   *ta-ttitaa-j*   *dʒunjə*   *dibəl-ə-j*
      wheat-ACC- DEF:3SM   with-that-DEF   sack   put:JUS-3SMSj-3SMOj
      'Put the wheat into that sack'

(19)   *baittəte k'uɲe isetʃ allə*
      baittə-te   *k'uɲe*   *isətʃ'e*   *allə*
      with:that-DEF(F)   jug   butter   there is:3SM
      'There is butter with that jug'

3. Adverbial demonstratives

Adverbial demonstratives are used to express location, direction, movement, and time. Adverbial demonstratives are formed by affixing morphemes to free demonstrative pronouns or complex demonstrative stems. In addition to that, there are lexicalized demonstratives, which function as adverbial demonstratives. The adverbial demonstratives are distinguished as proximal and distal referent of area and time in relation to a deictic center.

3.1 Locational adverbial demonstrative

The adverbial demonstratives that indicate location are formed by suffixing -*e* and -*ʃ* to the focused form of demonstrative pronouns.

> *hinne* 'here'   *hanne* 'there, yonder'
> *hinniʃ* 'just here'   *hanniʃ* 'there'

The form with -*ʃ* indicate the closeness of location in relation to the speaker or addressee, as in Amharic ɨʒitʃ 'just here' (cf. Leslau, 1995:65). Furthermore, this form may have the concept of diminutive to express smallness or diminutiveness (cf. Baye and Rawda: 2007:145). Consider the following examples.

(20) *hinne nəmu*
    hi-nn-e   nə-mu
    this-FOC-ADV   come:IPFV-2PL
    'Come here!'

(21) *kəltaj hanniʃ naarə*
    kəlta-j   ha-nni-ʃ   allə
    axe:3SM-DEF   That-FOC-ADV   exist:3SM
    'The axe was there '

(22) *hinniʃ   təgubəl*
    hi-nni-ʃ   təgubəl
    this-FOC-ADV   sit:JUSS
    'Sit(2SM) just here!'

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Furthermore, location is expressed by lexicalized demonstratives.

*hinniʃtee*t	'(over) here'	*hanniʃteet*	'(over) there'
hibbiʃteet	'(over) here, at this place here'	*habbiʃteet*	'(over) there'
hibbeet	'(over) here, at this place here'	*habbeet*	'(over) there, at that place'

The first one is a combination of demonstrative adverb and a lexeme *eet* 'place'. The second one is formed by combining complex demonstrative with a lexeme *eet* 'place', which has the variant form *teet*. Consider the following illustrations.

(23)   *hinniʃteet jənaarəj miiʃ ajne heedə*
       hinni-ʃ-teet   jə-naar-ə-j   miʃ ajne   heed-ə
       this-ADV-FOC-place   REL-be:PST-3SM-DEF   man where go:PST-3SM
       'Where did the man go who was here (in this place)?

(24)   *t'ajəj habbiʃteet igədəj*
       t'ajə-j   habbi-ʃ-t-eet   igəd-ə-j
       sheep-DEF   that:LOC-ADV-FOC-place   tie:IPFV:2SM-3SMSj-3SMOj
        'Tie the sheep at that place!'

(25)   *səbi habbeet təsbəsəbaan*
       seb-i   habb-eet   təsbəsəb-aan
       people -DEF   that:LOC-place   gather: PFV-AUX:3SM
       'The people are gathered over there'

3.2 Directional adverbial demonstratives

Adverbial demonstratives are used to indicate that the referent is moving in a certain direction relative to the deictic center (Diesse 1999:45). In Silt'e, movement or direction can be expressed in various forms: by suffixing the morpheme -ʃ to dative of demonstrative pronoun, to accusative of demonstrative pronoun plus *azər* 'side', adverbial demonstrative plus *dʒaango/dʒiingo* 'up to' and adverbial demonstrative plus *fono* 'towards' as it is shown in the following examples.

(26) *Aman gaarəkə hallif heedə*

    aman   gaar-ə-kə   halli-ʃ   heed-ə

    aman   house-3SM-POSS:3SM   that:DAT-ADV go:PST-3SMSj

    'A man went to his house in that way'

(27) *hinnə azər jək'aanənej miʃ randʒin*

    hinnə   azər   jə-k'aanən-ə-j   miʃ   randʒ-in

    this:ACC place   REL-stand-3SM-DEF   man   thief-COPL

    'The man who stands to this side is thief'

(28) *hanne   dʒaango bəməkina hiid*

    hanne   dʒaango bə-məkina hiid

    there   up to   PP-car   go:JUSS

    'Go to there by car!'

(29) *wedʒi hinne fono mət'u*

    wedʒi hinne fono   mət'-u

    children here   towards   came-2PL

    'The children came towards here'

(30) *hinne azər bəllə gaar təməŋŋaan*

    hinne azər bəlle gaar   təməŋŋ-aan

    here   side   many house   build:PST-AUX:3SM

    'Many houses have built to this side'

3.3 Temporal adverbial demonstratives

Adverbial demonstratives of time indicate a temporal reference in relation to the time of speech event. In Silt'e, the accusative form of demonstrative pronoun expresses time of referent, when it occurs with *ayaama* 'day', *nəgə* 'day', *wəktə* 'time', *zəman* 'this year', *ginə* 'time' and *jiingo* 'until'.

(31) *hannə   nəgə ihe tilmətʃ' bəgaari bəllə səb naarə*

    hannə nəgə ihe til-mətʃ' bə-gaar-i bəllə səb   naar-ə

    that:ACC day I when:1SG-came in- house-DEF many people be:PFV-3SM

    'That day when I came there were many people in the house'

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(32) *hinnə zəman ɨkl fəjjəko bək'əlaan*
      hinn-ə   zəman ɨkl   fəjjə-ko bək'əl-aan
      this:ACC year   barley well   grow:PFV-AUX:3SM
      'This year the barley has grown well'

(33) *hinnə dʒaango ləmɨn iɲɲeh*
      hinn-ə   dʒaango ləmɨn   iɲɲe-h
      this:ACC until   why   sleep-2SM
      'Why do you sleep until now?'

In Silt'e, time is also expressed by complex demonstrative which is accompany by *k'ədə* 'before'.

(34) *hinnəj miiʃ hibbi k'edə anʒehujahu*
      hinnə-j   miiʃ   hibbi   k'ədə   anʒe-hu-j-ahu
      this:ACC-DEF   man   this:LOC   before   see:PFV-1SG-3SMOj-aux:1SG
      'I saw this man in the past'

4. Manner demonstratives

Manner demonstratives are discourse deictics. In Silt'e, manner demonstratives have forms *hiinnku* for proximal and *haannku* for distal referents, they are the combinations of the accusative case of demonstrative pronouns plus a similative morpheme –*ko* 'like' which is changed to -*ku*. The function of manner demonstrative is illustrated in the following examples.

(35) *hiinku təgubəl*
      hiin-ku   təgubel
      This-SIM   sit:JUSS
      'Sit here (right here)!/ sit like this'

(36) *hiinku aʃaane wədəroj inz*
      hiin-ku aʃaane wədəro-j   inz
      This-SIM sit   rope-DEF   hold:JUSS
      'Hold the rope like this'

5. Summary

Demonstratives in Silt'e are categorized as pronominal, adverbial, and manner demonstrative. The pronominal demonstratives have two forms: free and complex. The free demonstrative pronouns have the forms *(h)ii* and *(h)ai* for proximity and distance, respectively. These forms can be focused when the focus marker *-ttə-* is attached to them. The demonstrative pronouns inflected for cases, number and gender. The nominative case of demonstrative pronoun is unmarked, while the accusative case is formed by suffixing the accusative marker *-ə* to the focused demonstrative pronoun stem *hinn* and *hann.* In accusative of demonstrative pronoun the focus marker is *-nn-.* Preposition markers *lə-*, *tə-*, and *bə-* indicate the dative, ablative and instrumental cases when attached to the free form of demonstrative pronoun. These forms can be termed as complex demonstrative pronouns.

Adverbial demonstratives are used to express location, direction, movement and time. The adverbial demonstrative that indicates location is formed by suffixing the morpheme *-e* and *- ʃ* to the accusative of demonstrative pronoun. There are also lexicalized demonstrative pronouns that are formed by adding the lexeme *eet* 'place' to adverbial demonstratives and complex demonstrative pronouns. Adverbial demonstratives that indicate direction or movement are expressed in different ways: by suffixing *-ʃ* to the dative of demonstrative pronoun, by adding the lexeme *azer* 'side' to the accusative of demonstrative pronoun, and by adding the lexeme *dʒaango/dʒiingo* 'up to' and *fono* 'towards' to adverbial demonstrative. When the accusative case of demonstrative pronoun occurs with *ayaama* 'day', *nəgə* 'day', *wəktə* 'time', *zaman* 'this year' *ginə* 'time' and *jiingo* 'until' expresses temporal adverbial demonstratives. Manner demonstratives are marked by suffixing similative marker *–ko* 'like' which is changed to *–ku,* to the accusative of demonstrative pronoun.

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