



## Deixis in Kole Variety: Its Conceptualization and Distribution

Samuel Gondare Dashiro

*Department of English Language and Literature, Arba Minch University, Arba Minch, Ethiopia. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Samuel Gondare Email: [samuel.gondere@amu.edu.et](mailto:samuel.gondere@amu.edu.et)*

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### **Abstract**

*This paper deals with the deixis distribution in Kole variety which is grouped under East Omoto language clusters. Since the issue of language cluster is an unsolved problem in Omoto language, we cannot conclude that it is an independent language or variety. The main objective of this study is to identify the conceptualization of deixis and its distribution in Kole. In this paper, five types of deixis were investigated. The deixis under investigation were subtypes. The methodology used to describe the language was elicitation and fieldwork interview based on the experience of the researcher in the language fieldwork.*

**Keywords:** *deixis, spatial deixis, distal demonstrative, proximal demonstrative*

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## Introduction

The Kole people live in Bonke Wereda (district) of the Gamo Zone that is located within the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Regional State. According to th

e local census information given by the Bonke Woreda administrative office, the population of Kole comprises approximately 10,729. The residents are settled in the highland zone, ranging in altitude from 3200 to 3280 meters above sea level. There are three villages in the Kole Kebele namely Kanchame, Zalle, and Doolla. In these villages, there are about 33 major tribes registered. The Kole people share their boundaries with Balta and K'albo people in the West, Laakka Bolla people in the North, Laakka Godda and Garbansa people in the East, and Zaalla people in the South.

Although their variety is different, the Kole people claim that their ethnic identity is Gamo according to the interviewed key informants. Concerning the differences of the varieties, Kole is grouped under East Ometo Cluster and the Gamo language is grouped under North Ometo Language cluster. Thus, we can easily identify the differences between them. The people use the self-name **Kole** or **Kole Gamo** to refer to themselves or their identity, and **Koletstso** or **Kole Biide** 'Kole mouth' to refer their language variety.

## Deixis

Deixis is "pointing language". We use deictic expressions or indexicals to signal a referent and relate that referent to common ground shared by the speaker and the addressee. Anderson and Keenan (1985) distinguish three major categories of deixis: person deixis, spatial deixis and temporal deixis. They also situate the speaker and the addressee with each other and the world around them.

According to the data collected from the field visits, the Kole language has a rich deixis in an organized manner. In this language, several deixis morphemes that are attested to be connected with different references exist. The demonstratives operate as spatial deixis, temporal deixis, recognition deixis, anaphoric deixis, locative deixis and manner deixis. As a result, in the actual speech situation, the references of demonstratives are determined by two parameters: orientation

with the speech act participants and distance to the speaker, distance to the addressee or both of them.

## **1.Spatial Deixis**

Spatial deixis sets up a frame of reference around the speaker. The spatial deixis forms can be categorized into two based on their morpho-syntactic behavior: modifier and nominal demonstratives. The modifier deixes are the basic forms. The corresponding nominal deixes are obtained from the modifier deixis. The nominal demonstratives occur independently while the modifier demonstratives on all occasions occur before a head noun. The modifier demonstratives entirely lack grammatical features such as gender, number, definiteness and case, while the nominal demonstratives mark such features.

Kole language makes a two-way opposition between proximal and distal. Distal deixis differs according to the deixis center. The deixis center is used as a point of reference. It is either the first or the second person or both. Hence, different forms are used in each case. The spatial deixes in Kole language are commonly accompanied by gestures. The two demonstrative groups are presented below.

### **1.1. Modifying Demonstratives**

Five basic modifying demonstratives are attested in Kole language. They are structurally monosyllabic. These five demonstratives always occur preceding a head noun. They do not function as independent phonological words. They don't have the independent access to occur independently. Such elements need a host to which they are attached. They are used as a base of a morphological process. They are always accented irrespective of the tone pattern of their host. Hence, such forms can best be treated as proclitic elements. Modifying deixes do not show agreement with the head noun in gender or number features. Examples of the modifying demonstratives have been given below.

<i>há</i>	proximal demonstrative	'this'
<i>hé</i>	distal from the speaker	'that'
<i>sé</i>	distal from both speaker as well as the addressee	'there'

<i>Jé</i>	distal from both speaker as well as the addressee downward downward'	'there
<i>wó</i>	distal from both speaker as well as the addressee upward upward'	there

### 1.1.1. The Proximal Demonstrative *há*

In Kole language, proximity is shown by **há**; it illustrates near to deixis centre. Near to deixis centre refers to the speaker at the time of speaking. It is equivalent to 'this/these, here'. The form modifies nouns irrespective of gender, number, and case features. Note that, as they lack indicating the number feature of the noun, the demonstratives in Kole language have no equivalents in English. Hence, depending on the context, the English translation varies.

- 1a. *há dor-att-i laak'k'a jel-a-ʔa*  
 this sheep-F:DF- lamb:ABS give birth-NEG-NEG:DCL  
 NOM  
 'This sheep does not bear lamb. (Lit: this sheep does not give birth of lamb)'
- 1b. *há dor-att-o bajs-a-ne*  
 this sheep-3F:DF- sell-IMP-2SG  
 ABS  
 'Sell this sheep.'
- 1c. *há majd--ede famm-a-ne*  
 this ox-PL buy-IMP-2SG  
 'Let you buy this ox'

### 1.1.2. The Distal Demonstrative *hé*

The element **hé** refers to a thing or a person located far away from the speaker, but near to the receiver of the message. This has an equivalent meaning of 'that/those one(s) near to you' in English. It occurs with masculine, feminine, and plural nouns. Examples have been given below.

- 2a *h majdo-z-i pet katf'e-kko haar-e*  
 . *é ti*  
 th ox-M:DF- on horn-FOC own-AFF:DCL  
 at NOM e  
 'The ox over there has one horn.'

- 2c. *h faw s'ejg-a-ne*  
*é*  
 th children:ABS call-IMP-2SG  
 at  
 'Call those children.'

### 1.1.3. The Distal Demonstrative *sé*

The element *sé* means 'that/those/over there' in English. It indicates things remotely located from both the speaker as well as the addressee. Consider the following example.

- 3a. *maffa-z-a sé biff-att-i-ro ?ing-a-ne*  
*h*  
*á*  
 th knife-M:DF- th woman-F:DF- give-IMP-  
 is ABS at NOM-DAT 2SG  
 'Give this knife to that woman.'
- 3b. *bení gerí Sé zumá lank'a-pa*  
 ancient people:NO that mount near-ABL  
 time M ain  
*dendi-kko ha gade-ga jee-d-e*  
 raise-FOC this place- come-PF-AFF:DCL  
 LOC

'Men of ancient time came to this place having risen from that mountain over there.'

The demonstrative *sé* is not gender, number, or case sensitive. As a result, it can specify any noun irrespective of gender and number. The following examples indicate the occurrence of *sé* with feminine and plural nouns respectively.

- 4a. *Sé biff-att-i taa-ko jeett-a-k-isi-d-e*  
 That woman-F:DF- 1SG- come-INF-FOC-3F:SG-PF-  
 NOM DIR AFF:DCL  
 'That woman came to me.'
- 4b. *Sé bitane-z-i taa-ko jeett-a-ko-si-d-e*  
 That man-M:DF- 1SG- come-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-  
 NOM DIR AFF:DCL  
 'That man came to me.'

#### 1.1.4. The Distal Demonstrative *jé* (downward)

The demonstrative **jé** can be interpreted as ‘that/those down there’. It is used to refer to things remotely located in downward from both the speaker as well as the addressee as in (18).

5. *Há dor-att-i je dor-att-i-pa gita-kko*  
 This sheep-F:DF-NOM down there sheep-F:DF-NOM-ABL big-FOC

‘This sheep is bigger than the sheep down there.’

Like the other deixis forms, **jé** does not take gender, number, or case markers. It can specify any noun irrespective of gender and number. The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of **jé** with feminine and plural nouns respectively.

- 6a. *Jé dor-att-o goodd-a-ne*  
 that(down) sheep-F:DF-ABS chase-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Chase the sheep downward.’
- 6b. *Jé doro-z-a goodd-a-ne*  
 that sheep-M:DF:SG-ABS chase-IMP-2SG  
 (downward)  
 ‘Chase the sheep downward.’

#### 1.1.5. The Distal Demonstrative *wó* (upward)

The demonstrative **wó** means ‘that/those up there’ in English. It refers to things remotely located from the speaker and the addressee as well. Consider the examples (7a) and (7b) below

- 7a. *Wó biff-att-o s'ejg-a-ne*  
 that (upward) woman-F:DF-ABS call-IM-2SG  
 ‘Call the woman from the upward.’
- 7b. *Wó ʔade-z-i hantso tunga-pa*  
 that (upward) man-M:DF-NOM today addis ababa-ABL  
  
*jeett-a-ko-si-d-e*  
 come-INF-FOC-3MSG-PF-AFF:DCL  
 ‘That man over there (up) came today from Addis Ababa.’

## 1.2. Nominal Demonstratives (Clitics are marked by the ‘=’ sign)

In Kole language, nominal demonstratives are formed from **há**, **hé**, **sé**, **je** and **wó** which are proclitic demonstratives. Nominal demonstratives can be derived by suffixing **-j-** and **-nn-** which refer to masculine and feminine referents. In Kole language, the nominal demonstratives can be marked for definiteness. The elliptic markers are followed by a definite marker suffix **-z-** or **-att-** with masculine or feminine forms respectively. A case-marking vowel occurs at the final position. The absolutive case is marked by the suffixes **-a**, and **-o** for masculine and feminine forms respectively. The nominative case is marked by **-i**. In this case, demonstratives are not accompanied by nouns that refer to the object or person referred to. All the grammatical features of the excluded noun occur with the demonstratives to characterize what the referent is. In addition, gesture, the context of the utterance, and presuppositions of the speaker play a great role for the addressee to give meaning to the form as imparted by the speaker.

### 1.1.6. Nominal Demonstratives Referring to Person/Objects near the Speaker

Absolutive and nominative forms of nominal demonstratives refer to things or persons near to the speaker. The base involved in such structures is **há**, and then follows the elliptic marker, the definite marker, and the case marker respectively. Absolutive and nominative forms of nominal demonstratives are presented in the following table.

Table 1: Inventory of demonstrative nominals referring to persons/ things near to the speaker

		ABSOLUTIVE		NOMINATIVE	
		MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
SG	IDF	<i>ha-ja</i>	<i>ha-nn-o</i>	<i>ha-ji</i>	<i>ha-nn-i</i>
	DF	<i>ha-ja-z-a</i>	<i>ha-nn-att-o</i>	<i>ha-ja-z-i</i>	<i>ha-nn-att-i</i>
PL	IDF	<i>ha-j-edē</i>	<i>ha-nn-edē</i>	<i>ha-j-edē-i</i>	<i>ha-nn-edē-i</i>
	DF	<i>ha-j-edē-z-a</i>	<i>ha-nn-edē</i>	<i>ha-j-edē-z-i</i>	<i>ha-nn-edē-i</i>

Sentential examples have been given for some of the forms given in the table above.

- 8a. *há-j-a* *gadd-a-ne*  
 this-M:ELP-ABS put-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Put this one (M:IDF).’
- 8b. *há-ja-z-a* *gadd -a-ne*  
 this-M:ELP-M:DF-ABS put-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Put this one (M:DF).’

- 8c. *há-j-edē-z-a* *gadd -a-ne*  
 this-M:ELP-PL-M:DF- put-IMP-2SG  
 ABS  
 ‘Put these ones (M:PL)’
- 8d. *ha-nn-o* *gadd -a-ne*  
 this-F:ELP-F:ABS put-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Put this one(F:IDF)’
- 8e. *ha-nn-edē* *gadd -a-ne*  
 this-F:ELP-PL put-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Put these ones (F:PL)’

The demonstrative nominals and the elliptic elements listed above occur in a similar form in their occurrence as the subject of a copula predicate. However, the second alternate plural marker lacks elliptic phrase markers in its construction. Consider the following examples:

- 9a. *hé-j-i* *daanna-kko*  
 that-M:ELP-NOM boss-FOC  
 ‘This is a boss.’
- 9b. *há-nn-i* *né-* *mitfo-kko*  
 this-F:ELP-NOM 2SG- sister-FOC  
 ‘This is your sister.’
- 9c. *ha-j-edē-i* *né-* *ʔoos’s’u-kko*  
 this-M:ELP-PL-NOM 2SG sheep-FOC  
 -  
 ‘These are your sheep.’
- 9d. *ha-nn-edē-i* *né-* *ʔoos’s’u-kko*  
 this-F:ELP-PL-NOM 1SG sheep-FOC  
 -  
 ‘These are your sheep.’
- 9e. *ha-ns’-i* *né-* *ʔoos’s’u-kko*  
 this-PL-NOM 2SG sheep-FOC  
 ‘These are your sheep.’



In this section, the nominal demonstratives refer to things or persons distantly located from the speaker but near to the addressee. As shown in the following table and examples, these forms of demonstratives are formed from the modifying proclitic deixis **hé**.

		ABSOLUTIVE		NOMINATIVE			
		MASCULINE		FEMININ	MASCULI	FEMININ	
examples given				E	NE	E	Sentential
	S	IDF	<i>he-ja</i>	<i>hi-nn-o</i>	<i>he-ji</i>	<i>hi-nn-i</i>	have been
	G						below.
		DF	<i>he-ja-z-a</i>	<i>hi-nn-att-o</i>	<i>he-ja-z-i</i>	<i>hi-nn-att-i</i>	
	P	IDF	<i>he-j-edē</i>	<i>hi-nn-edē</i>	<i>he-j-edē-i</i>	<i>hi-nn-edē-</i>	
	L					<i>i</i>	
		DF	<i>he-j-edē-z-a</i>	<i>hi-nn-edē</i>	<i>he-j-edē-z-i</i>	<i>hi-nn-edē-i</i>	
	10a.	<i>hi-nn-o</i>	<i>gudʒdʒ-i</i>	<i>ʔekk-i</i>	<i>hamm-a-ne</i>		
	that-F:ELP-ABS	add- CNV	take-CNV	go-IMP-2SG			
		‘Go and take that one (F) (Lit: Having add, take that one and go.)’					
10b.	<i>he-j-a</i>	<i>gudʒdʒ-i</i>	<i>ʔekk-i</i>	<i>hamm-a-ne</i>			
that-M:ELP-ABS	add- CNV	take-CNV	go-IMP-2SG				
	‘Go and take that one. (M).’						
10c.	<i>he-j-edē</i>	<i>gudʒdʒ-i</i>	<i>ʔekk-i</i>	<i>hamm-a-ne</i>			
that-M:ELP-PL	add- CNV	take-CNV	go-IMP-2SG				
	‘Go and take those ones.’						

**11a.** *he-j-i* *majdo-kko*

	that-M:ELP-NOM	ox-FOC
	‘That is an ox.’	
<b>11b.</b>	<i>hi-nn-i</i>	<i>miisu-kko</i>
	that-F:ELP-NOM	cow-FOC
	‘That is a cow.’	
<b>11c.</b>	<i>he-j-edē-i</i>	<i>majd-edē-kko</i>
	that-M:ELP-PL-NOM	ox-PL-FOC
	‘Those are oxen.’	
<b>11d.</b>	<i>hi-nn-edē-i</i>	<i>miis-edē-kko</i>
	that-F:ELP-PL-NOM	cow-PL-FOC
	‘Those are cows.’	

**1.1.8. Nominal demonstratives referring to object far away from both the speaker and addressee horizontally.**

The element **sé** is used to form those referring to the things far away from the speaker but near to the addressee as in the two types of demonstrative nominals presented above.

Table 3: Nominal demonstratives referring to things far away from the speaker and addressee horizontally

ABSOLUTIVE				NOMINATIVE	
MASCULINE		FEMININ		MASCULI	FEMININ
		E		NE	E
S G	ID	<i>sé-ja</i>	<i>sé-nn-o</i>	<i>sé-ji</i>	<i>sé-nn-i</i>
	F				
	DF	<i>sé-ja-z-a</i>	<i>sé-nn-att-o</i>	<i>sé-ja-z-i</i>	<i>sé-nn-att-i</i>
P L	ID	<i>sé-j-edē</i>	<i>sé-nn-edē</i>	<i>sé-j-edē-i</i>	<b><i>sé-nn-</i></b>
	F				<b><i>edē-i</i></b>
	DF	<i>sé-j-edē-</i> <i>z-a</i>	<i>sé-nn-edē</i>	<i>sé-j-edē-z-i</i>	<i>sé-nn-</i> <i>edē-i</i>

The following are some examples illustrating the occurrence of the above demonstratives.

12a.	<i>sé-nn-o</i>	<i>hang-i</i>	<i>ʔekk-i</i>	<i>jew-a-ne</i>
	that-F:ELP-ABS	go-CNV	take-CNV	come-IMP-2SG
	‘Go and bring that one (Lit: Having gone, take that one and come.)’			
12b.	<i>sé-j-a</i>	<i>hang-i</i>	<i>ʔekk-i</i>	<i>jew-a-ne</i>
	that-M:ELP-ABS	go-CNV	take-CNV	come-IMP-2SG
	‘Go and bring that one. (M).’			
12c.	<i>sé-j-edē</i>	<i>hang-i</i>	<i>ʔekk-i</i>	<i>jew-a-ne</i>

that-M:ELP-PL      go-CNV      take-CNV      come-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Go and bring those ones.’

In its occurrence as a subject of a copula predicate, as in the case of **há** and **hé**, **sé** occurs with all other inflectional suffixes. Consider the following examples:

- 13a. *sé-j-i*                      *majdo-kko*  
       that-M:ELP-NOM          ox-FOC  
       ‘That is an ox.’ (HOR)
- 13b. *sé-nn-i*                     *miisu-kko*  
       that-F:ELP-NOM          cow-FOC  
       ‘That is a cow.’(HOR)
- 13c. *sé-j-edē-i*                 *majd-edē-kko*  
       that-M:ELP-PL-NOM      ox-PL-FOC  
       ‘Those are oxen.’ (HOR)
- 13d. *sé-nn-edē-i*               *miis-edē-kko*  
       that-F:ELP-PL-NOM      cow-PL-FOC  
       ‘Those are cows.’(HOR)

#### 1.1.9. Nominal demonstratives referring to persons/objects far away from both the speaker and addressee downward over there.

As in the three types of demonstrative nominals presented above, those referring to the things far away from the speaker and the addressee down over there are formed from their respective basic **jé**.

Table 4: Nominal demonstratives referring to things far away from the speaker and addressee downward over there

ABSOLUTE			NOMINATIVE		
MASCULINE			FEMININE	MASCULI	FEMININ
				NE	E
S G P L	IDF	<i>jé-ja</i>	<i>Jé-nn-o</i>	<i>jé-ji</i>	<i>jé-nn-i</i>
	DF	<i>jé-ja-z-a</i>	<i>jé-nn-att-o</i>	<i>jé-ja-z-i</i>	<i>jé-nn-att-i</i>
	IDF	<i>jé-j-edē</i>	<i>jé-nn-edē</i>	<i>jé-j-edē-i</i>	<i>jé-nn-edē-i</i>
	DF	<i>jé-j-edē-z-a</i>	<i>je-nn-edē</i>	<i>jé-j-edē-z-i</i>	<i>jé-nn-edē-i</i>

The following are some examples illustrating the occurrence of the above demonstratives.

- 14a.** *jé-nn-o* *hang-i* *ʔekk-i* *jew-a-ne*  
that-F:ELP-ABS go-CNV take-CNV come-IMP-2SG  
‘Go and bring that one (Lit: Having gone, take that one and come.)’
- 14b.** *jé-j-a* *hang-i* *ʔekk-i* *jew-a-ne*  
that-M:ELP-ABS go-CNV take-CNV come-IMP-2SG  
‘Go and bring that one. (M).’
- 14c.** *jé-j-edē* *hang-i* *ʔekk-i* *jew-a-ne*  
that-M:ELP-PL go-CNV take-CNV come-IMP-2SG  
‘Go and bring those ones.’

In its occurrence as a subject of a copula predicate, as in the case of **há**, **hé**, and **sé**, **jé** occurs with all other inflectional suffixes such plural and aspect markers. Consider the following examples:

- 15a.** *jé-j-i* *majdo-kko*  
that-M:ELP-NOM ox-FOC  
‘That is an ox.’ (HOR)
- 15b.** *jé-nn-i* *miisu-kko*  
that-F:ELP-NOM cow-FOC  
‘That is a cow.’ (HOR)
- 15c.** *jé-j-edē-i* *majd-edē-kko*  
that-M:ELP-PL-NOM ox-PL-FOC  
‘Those are oxen.’ (HOR)
- 15d.** *jé-nn-edē-i* *miis-edē-kko*  
that-F:ELP-PL-NOM cow-PL-FOC  
‘Those are cows.’ (HOR)

#### 1.1.10. Nominal demonstratives referring to person/objects far away from both the speaker and addressee upward over there

As in the three types of demonstrative nominals presented above, those referring to the things far away from the speaker and the addressee down over there are formed from their respective basic **wó**.

Table 5: Nominal demonstratives referring to things far away from the speaker and addressee upward over there

ABSOLUTE		NOMINATIVE	
MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE

S G	IDF	<i>wó-ja</i>	<i>wó-nn-o</i>	<i>wó-ji</i>	<i>wó-nn-i</i>
	DF	<i>wó-ja-z-a</i>	<i>wó-nn-att- o</i>	<i>wó-ja-z-i</i>	<i>wó-nn-att- i</i>
P L	IDF	<i>wó-j-edē</i>	<i>wó-nn-edē</i>	<i>wó-j-edē-i</i>	<i>wó-nn- edē-i</i>
	DF	<i>wó-j-edē- z-a</i>	<i>wó-nn-edē</i>	<i>wó-j-edē-z-i</i>	<i>wó-nn- edē-i</i>

The following are some examples illustrating the occurrence of the above demonstratives.

- 16a. *wó-nn-o*                      *haŋg-i*                      *ʔekk-i*                      *jew-a-ne*  
that-F:ELP-ABS              go-CNV              take-CNV              come-IMP-2SG  
‘Go and bring that one (Lit: Having gone, take that one and come.)’
- 16b. *wó-j-a*                      *haŋg-i*                      *ʔekk-i*                      *jew-a-ne*  
that-M:ELP-ABS              go-CNV              take-CNV              come-IMP-2SG  
‘Go and bring that one. (M).’
- 16c. *wó-j-edē*                      *haŋg-i*                      *ʔekk-i*                      *jew-a-ne*  
that-M:ELP-PL              go-CNV              take-CNV              come-IMP-2SG  
‘Go and bring those ones.’

In its occurrence as a subject of a copula predicate, as in the case of **há**, **hé**, **sé**, and **jé**, **wó** occurs with all other inflectional suffixes like that of aspect marker and plural marker. Consider the following examples:

- 17a. *wó-j-i*    *majdo-kko*  
that-M:ELP-NOM                                      ox-FOC  
‘That is an ox.’ (HOR)
- 17b. *wó-nn-i*    *mīisu-kko*  
that-F:ELP-NOM                                      cow-FOC  
‘That is a cow.’ (HOR)
- 17c. *wó-j-edē-i*    *majd-edē-kko*  
that-M:ELP-PL-NOM                                      ox-PL-FOC  
‘Those are oxen.’ (HOR)

- 17d.    *wó-nn-edē-i*                      *miis-edē-kko*  
          that-F:ELP-PL-NOM              cow-PL-FOC  
          ‘Those are cows.’(HOR)

### 1.3. Locative Deixis

Locative deixis nouns refer to regions or areas. The parameters distinguished by deixis local nouns are similar to those of demonstratives.

In Kole language, the two locative case markers, **-jiga** and **-n(n)a**, represent the locative deixis nouns when the two locative case markers are suffixed to the basic forms of the demonstratives. The element **-ga** functions to indicate physical surroundings or circumstances as well as direction of motion of activity. The locative morpheme **-n(n)a** is equivalent to ‘at the side’ or ‘near’. They are classified as nouns syntactically; they mark case. Consider the following examples:

- 18a.    *ha-ji-ga*    *ha-na*    ‘here’  
 18b.    *hi-ga*       *hi-na*    ‘there’  
 18c.    *se-ji-ga*    *se-na*    ‘over there (far)’  
 18d.    *je-ji-ga*    *je-na*    ‘over there down’  
 18e.    *wo-ji-*       *wo-na*    ‘over there down’  
          *ga*

The use of the locative nouns in Kole language has been illustrated below.

- 19a.    *nun-i*            *há-jiga-kko*            *ʔutt-i-d-e*  
          we-NOM       here-LOC-FOC       sit-INF-PF-AFF:DCL  
          ‘It was here that we sat.’
- 19b.    *nén-i*            *há-na-kko*            *jee-d-e*  
          you-NOM       here-LOC-FOC       come-PF-AFF:DCL  
          ‘It was here that you came.’

For peripheral cases such as ablative and locative, the place deixis nouns can be marked as in (20a) and (33b).

- 20a.    *bitáne-z-i*            *há-jiga-pa*            *hi-ga*  
          man-M:DF-       here-LOC-ABL       there-LOC  
          NOM  
          *hang-i-kko*            *ʔutt-i-d-e*

go-CNV-FOC      sit-INF-PF-  
AFF:DCL

‘The man went from here to there and sat down.’

- 20b.    *ʔés-i*      *hí-na-pa-ko-si*      *há-na*      *jee-d-e*  
he-      there-LOC-ABL-FOC-      here-      come-PF-  
NOM      3M:SG      LOC      AFF:DCL  
‘He came here from there.’

A reading of directional deixis is given by the suffixation of a locative marker to the locative noun as in (21). On top of that, the **-na** occurs in the geminated form **-nna** as given below.

21.    *hí-ga-nna-ko-ini*      *jee-d-e*  
there-LOC-LOC-FOC-2SG      come-PF-AFF:DCL  
‘You came by that way. (Lit: You came with there.)’

It is attested that reduplicating the locative deixis in Kole language expresses a high degree of remoteness. Consider example (22) below.

22.    *sé-na*      *se-na*      *jes-es-i*      *darota-kko*  
there-      there-LOC      exist-REL-NOM      darota-FOC  
LOC  
That over there (very far) is Darota.

#### 1.4. Manner Deixis

The elements **-ikke** or **-itstso** ‘like/same as’ form manner deixis terms following elliptical phrase, to the demonstrative bases. Consider the examples below:

- |      | <i>M:Manner deixis</i>          | Gloss   |
|------|---------------------------------|---|
| 23a. | <i>ha-ji-kke/ha -ji -tstso</i>  | ‘like this’   |
| 23b. | <i>he-ji-kke/he-ji-tstso</i>    | ‘like that one far from the speaker’                |
| 23c. | <i>se-ji-kke/se-ji-tstso</i>    | ‘like that one far from speaker and addressee’      |
| 23d. | <i>je-ji-kke/je-ji-tstso</i>    | ‘like that one down far from speaker and addressee’ |
| 23e. | <i>wo-ji-kke/wo-ji-tstso</i>    | ‘like that one up far from speaker and addressee’   |
| 23f. | <i>ha-nni-kke/ha-nni-tstsao</i> | ‘like this’   |
| 23g. | <i>hi-nni-kke/hi-nni-tstso</i>  | ‘like that one far from the speaker’                |

- 23h. *se-nni-kke/se-nni-tstso* ‘like that one far from speaker and addressee’  
 23i. *je-nni-kke/je-nni-tstso* ‘like that one down far from speaker and addressee’  
 23j. *wo-nn-ikke/wo-nn-itstso* ‘like that one up far from speaker and addressee’

As it is observed from the actual context, such manner deixes are accompanied by gestures and physical demonstrations and appear in structures like the following.

- 24a. *hé-j-ikke/he-j-itstso* *kaʔ-a-ne*  
 that-M:ELP-MANN play-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Play like that.’  
 24b. *hí-nn-ikke/* *kaʔ-a-ne*  
 that-F:ELP-MANN play-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Play like that.’  
 24c. *sé-j-ikke* *ha-j-itstso* *hi-doppu-na* *ʔutt-a-ne*  
 that-M:ELP-MANN this-M:ELP-MANN say-PRH-2SG sit-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Don’t say like that, like this. Sit down.’  
 24d. *sé-nn-ikke* *ha-nn-ikke* *hi-doppu-na* *ʔutt-a-ne*  
 that-F:ELP-MANN this-F:ELP-MANN say-PRH-2SG sit-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Don’t say like that, like this. Sit down.’

The expression **sé-ji-kke/sé-nni-kke** or **sé-ji-tstso/sé-nni-tstso** can also be used to relate an earlier action to the one at the time of speaking. In such a context, they have an interpretation equivalent to ‘again/as that one earlier’. Consider the following example:

25. *ʔís-i* *se-ji-kke-kko/se-nni-kke-kko*  
 she- that-M:ELP-MANN-FOC/that-F:ELP-MANN-FOC  
 NOM  
*muud-i-k-isi* *mif-i-d-e*  
 eat-INF-FOC- satisfy-INF-PF-AFF:DCL  
 3F:SG  
 ‘Having eaten again and again (like that before) she satisfied.’



The reduplication of the deixis form **sé-j-ikke** or **se-nn-ikke** expresses recurrent occurrences of an action. Consider the following example:

- 26a. *he-j-ikke*                      *he-j-ikke-ko-si*                      *harg-us-e*  
 that-M:ELP-                      that-M:ELP-MANN-FOC-                      sick-CAUS-  
 MANN                      3M:SG                      AFF:DCL  
 ‘He is sick again and again. (Lit: he is caused to be sick like that one before like that before)’
- 26b. *hi-nn-ikke*                      *hi-nn-ikke-ko-si*                      *harg-us-e*  
 that-F:ELP-                      that-F:ELP-MANN-FOC-                      sick-CAUS-  
 MANN                      3M:SG                      AFF:DCL  
 ‘He is sick again and again. (Lit: he is caused to be sick like that one before like that)’

#### 1.4. Direction Deixis

Direction deixis expressions are formed by attaching the word **bagga** ‘half’ to the basic demonstrative forms and suffixing the locative marker **-n(n)a**. Consider the following illustrative structures.

- 27a. *hé-bagga-nna*                      *gadd-a-ne*  
 that-half-LOC                      put-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Make it close from that side.’
- 27b. *há-bagga-nna*                      *gadd-a-ne*  
 this-half-LOC                      put-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Put it on this side.’

#### 1.5. Anaphoric Deixis

The demonstrative **há/hé** used to refer to the content of a preceding event in a text. The element **há/hé** is attested to functioning as a non-situational means of expression as illustrated below.

28. *bazo-i*                      *ʔing-unnu*                      *petti*                      *ʃaato*  
 god-                      give-SR                      One                      child:ABS  
 NOM
- jel-i-ko-ti*    *he*                      *ʔe*                      *goʔa*                      *ʔer-are*  
 give                      birth-INF-FOC-                      that                      his                      Benefit                      know-NEG  
 1SG
- hari*                      *ʔatt-i-d-e*  
 empty                      remain-INF-PF-AFF:DCL

‘God gave me one child and I remained without getting that (his benefit).’

In the above example, **jaato** ‘a child’ is the antecedent, **ʔe** ‘his’ is the anaphoric deixis, and **hé** is the anaphoric deixis, which is co-referring to the antecedent.

### 1.5. Recognitional Deixis

The distal deixis **hé** has also a recognitional reference. It is used to refer to a person or an object. When the addressee is believed to recognize who or what the speaker is referring to, it is mentioned for the first time. The intended referent is to be identified via specific shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or references to preceding segments of the ongoing discourse. Consider the following example.

- 29a. *he ʔiita ʔootstso-i dog-utt-i-b-a-ʔa*  
 that Bad work- forget-PASS-NEG:COP-NEG-  
 NOM NEG:DCL  
 ‘That bad work is not being forgotten.’
- 29b. *he naʔa-z-i wake-k-isi-d-e*  
 that boy-M:DF- how-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL  
 NOM  
 ‘How did that boy say?’

### 2. Temporal Deixis

In Kole language, temporal deixis are expressed by spatial demonstrative **há** and **hé**. The spatial demonstrative relates the time of an event to the time of an utterance. Regarding spatial deixis, the element **há** illustrates a temporal proximity of an incident to the time of speaking. Consider the following example.

30. *há Bere kamba hise*  
 this Year kamba say  
*gade ham-a-ko-t-on-e*  
 place go-INF-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL  
 ‘This year I will go to the place called Kamba.’

- The following examples show that Kole variety has other lexical and phrasal temporal expressions. The expressions function like adverbs but are categorically nominal.

The nouns **hátte** ‘now’ and **hántso** ‘today’ contain the element **há** which seems to be the same as the proximity deixis proclitic element.

## 19

In summary, the deixis expressions in Kole variety can appear as independent nominal expressions or as proclitic elements. On top of that, in Kole, demonstratives refer to individual entities. They indicate location in relation to the location of the speaker and addressee. Demonstratives illustrate how events are temporally related to the actual moment of the speech situation. Furthermore, they are used when the addressee is believed to remember who or what the speaker refers to although the person or object is mentioned for the first time.

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