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Chapter 4 explores Hamar personal, possessive and demonstrative pronouns. Personal pronouns occur as free forms or as clitics, and they can function as subject, object or oblique pronouns depending on syntactic contexts and case suffixes. Hamar has a reflexive third person pronoun and a set of restrictive and inclusive markers on pronouns which are discussed in 4.3 and 4.4 respectively. Interrogative pronouns are discussed in chapter 11.

4.1 Personal pronouns

There are six pronominal forms in Hamar: gender distinction is made only in the third person singular, and third person plural coincides with the third person masculine singular pronoun. The reflexive pronoun yi is a third person pronoun which does not distinguish gender and occurs only as clitic. Honorific pronouns are not attested, nor is there an inclusive/exclusive distinction (but see 4.4 for restrictive and ‘inclusive’ pronouns). Personal pronouns occur as free grammatical words (independent forms) or as clitics (short form I and short form II) depending on their syntactic function. A few verb paradigms require independent subject pronouns if the subject is not overtly expressed, otherwise subject agreement on the majority of verbs is indexed by subject clitic pronouns. Subject clitics on verbs behave as pronominals and agreement markers (see section 4.1.1 and chapter 6) but they will be invariably called ‘clitic pronouns’. The co-occurrence of co-referential independent and clitic pronouns marks contrastiveness and signals emphasis on the subject. There are two sets of clitic pronouns: short form I pronouns are used for person marking on independent verb forms, and they are used to mark possession on kinship terms (cf. chapter 8, section 8.3.4). Moreover, short form I pronouns can be cliticized to case suffixes to form inflected pronouns (accusative, genitive and peripheral cases). These short forms are analysed as clitics because they are syntactically function words but prosodically they depend on their host (hence stress is not always found on the clitic pronoun). Moreover, clitic pronouns attach to any category, including verbs, nouns, case suffixes, and verbal aspectual markers. Short form II pronouns mark subject agreement on some dependent verb forms and are used to form the possessive pronouns and the comitative pronouns (i.e. ‘with you’, ‘with me’ and so on). Table 4.1 below presents the independent and clitic forms of Hamar pronouns. Short form II are always proclitics, whereas short form I can occur as proclitics and enclitics.

Table 4.1 below presents the independent and clitic forms of Hamar pronouns. Short form II are always proclitics, whereas short form I can occur as proclitics and enclitics.

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32 Short form II clitic pronouns are discussed also in chapter 7, where an alternative analysis is proposed. These pronominals are in fact composed of the formative -n which marks nominal dependency relations, see chapter 7, section 7.4.4.
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Table 4.1 Pronominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent form</th>
<th>Short form I</th>
<th>Short form II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG ínta</td>
<td>=í=</td>
<td>in=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG yáa</td>
<td>=ha=</td>
<td>han=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M / PL kidí ~ kisí</td>
<td>=ki=</td>
<td>kin=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F kodí ~ kosí</td>
<td>=ko=</td>
<td>kon=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL wodí ~ wosí</td>
<td>=wo=</td>
<td>won=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL yedí ~ yesí</td>
<td>=ye=</td>
<td>yen=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF contracted</td>
<td>=yi=</td>
<td>yin=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The independent pronouns kidí, kodí, wodí, yedí, have corresponding variant forms kisí, kosí, wosí, and yesí. These alternative forms are due to dialectal variation and are interchangeable with no difference in meaning. Short form I pronouns are cliticized before the verb, but in certain paradigms they are slotted in between verb stems and auxiliaries, see chapter 6. The function and meaning of the reflexive pronoun will be discussed in 4.3.

4.1.1 Subject pronouns

Participant reference marking on verbs is generally indexed by subject pronouns. Some paradigms are uninflected and require independent subject clitics, but most verb forms, including negative and interrogative verbs, either require pronominal subject clitics, or they have incorporated subject clitic pronouns into the paradigm (see chapter 6 for an overview of main verb paradigms and pronominal subject marking). Independent subject pronouns are obligatory for instance with the perfect (1) and in copular sentences (2) when the subject is not overtly expressed:

1) náa ínta ísín shoosh-idí
   yesterday 1SG sorghum roast-PF
   yesterday I roasted sorghum

2) kidí éedi wodímo-ne
   3 person rich-COP
   he is a rich person / they are rich people

Reference to the subject of a verb in dependent clauses can be expressed by short form II clitic pronouns cliticized before verb stems (3). Person marking on some subordinate verbs must be indexed by short form II clitic pronouns even if the subject is already expressed, see example (3b) below and chapter 10 for further details:

33 The pronouns kisí, kosí, wosí and yesí are impressionistically more common among the Basháɗɗa and in the area around Turmi.
(3a)  ooní-n-te  kin=de-énka  kidí  daaqardá-ɓ
house-F.OBL-LOC  3=exist-CNV2  3  be.hungry-NARR
while they were in the house, they became hungry

(3b)  kodí  boqólla  kon=shoosh-énka
3F  corn:PL  3F=roast-CNV2
when she roasted the corn kernels [...]
clitic pronouns surfaces as /i/ (1SG), /a/ (2SG), /o/ (1PL), /e/ (2PL). Third person pronouns are not affected. The examples below show the conjugation of the progressive verb form. Note that after MP2 has deleted the initial consonant of the clitic pronouns, P6 reduces two consecutive vowels at word-boundaries to one segment (phonological rule P6, cf. 2.5.1).

(8a) [nĩá-te dáade]
    [nĩá-te ʔi = dáa-de]
    come-SE 1SG = exist-PFV
    I am coming

(8b) [nĩá-te dáade]
    [nĩá-te ha = dáa-de]
    come-SE 2SG = exist-PFV
    you are coming

(8c) [nĩá-te kidáade]
    [nĩá-te ki = dáa-de]
    come-SE 3 = exist-PFV
    he is coming, they are coming

(8d) [nĩá-te kodáade]
    [nĩá-te ko = dáa-de]
    come-SE 3F = exist-PFV
    she is coming

(8e) [nĩá-te dáade]
    [nĩá-te wo = dáa-de]
    come-SE 1PL = exist-PFV
    we are coming

(8f) [nĩá-te dáade]
    [nĩá-te ye = dáa-de]
    come-SE 2PL = exist-PFV
    you (PL) are coming

In the negative paradigms, subject clitics are phonologically reduced to the extent that they have become part of the verbal inflection: in (9) below the vowel i and the vowel a mark respectively 1st person singular and 2nd person singular:
(9a) ínta parsí wue'-átine
   1SG beer drink-PAST.NEG.1SG
   I didn’t drink parsí beer

(9b) yáa des-átane
   2SG know-PAST.NEG.2SG
   you didn’t know

For an overview of pronominal subject marking on different verbal paradigms see chapter 6.

4.1.2 Object pronouns

Object pronouns are formed by suffixing the accusative marker -ɗan to short form I pronouns. Object pronouns can occur in a reduced form: in fast speech the implosive consonant of the accusative suffix -ɗan can be reduced to glottal stop and to zero, and the low vowel a merges with the vowels of the short form I pronouns (phonological rule P5, cf. 2.5.1). Coalescence always occurs in the first singular and in the third person object pronouns, but it is optional in the first plural and second plural persons.

Table 4.2: Object pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full form</th>
<th>Reduced form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>í = ɗan</td>
<td>én</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>há = ɗan</td>
<td>háan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M / 3PL</td>
<td>kí = ɗan</td>
<td>kēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>kó = ɗan</td>
<td>kɔn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>wó = ɗan</td>
<td>wɔn ~ wöon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>yé = ɗan</td>
<td>yééon ~ yéen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Object pronouns are used as the direct object of verbs:

(10) t’álian niżá-ise wó = ɗan oit-idí-ne
   Italians come-CN1 1PL=ACC chase-PF-COP
   the Italians came and chased us

(11) yáa gobá-ise én bashá-u ?
   2SG run-CN1 1SG:ACC exceed-INT.COP
   can you defeat me in the race?

(12) ínta háán isá = i = da is-é
   1SG 2SG:ACC eat = 1SG = IPFV eat-PRES
   I will eat you
Reflexivity and reciprocity are generally not expressed morphologically by verbal derivation (but see chapter 6 for frozen derivation that can have reflexive or reciprocal meaning). Object pronouns are used as reciprocal pronouns as in (14), (15) and (16). Object pronouns can also have a reflexive meaning as in (13), but for the third person the reflexive pronoun yi is used (4.3).

(13) ínta í=dan qal-idí-ne
    1SG 1SG=ACC decorate-PF-COP
    I have decorated myself

(14) t’álian-be somále-be kěm uká-6
    Italians-COM Somalis-COM 3:ACC fight-NARR
    the Italians and the Somalis fought each other

(15) gudírí-be panáq-be kí=dan bagá-te dáa-da
    hyena-COM frog-COM 3=ACC tease-SE exist-IPFV
    Hyena and Frog were teasing each other

(16) geshóm-be geshá-be untínna kí=dan
    wife.F.OBL-COM husband:M-COM rat:PL 3=ACC
    be.married-CNV1 3=house-F.OBL-LOC exist-PFV
    Mr. and Mrs. Rats were married to each other and they were in the house

4.1.3 Oblique pronouns

Case affixes can be suffixed to short form I clitic pronouns to form oblique pronouns (see chapter 8 for an overview of case suffixes). The comitative case -be is affixed to short form II clitic pronouns: the alveolar nasal consonant of the short form II pronouns assimilates to the following bilabial consonant (see last column of table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Oblique pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Affective</th>
<th>Comitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>í = sa</td>
<td>í = na</td>
<td>í = dar</td>
<td>í = xal</td>
<td>ím = be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>há = sa</td>
<td>há = na</td>
<td>há = dar</td>
<td>há = xal</td>
<td>hám = be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M/ 3PL</td>
<td>kí = sa</td>
<td>kí = na</td>
<td>kí = dar/ darán</td>
<td>kí = xal/ kalán</td>
<td>kím = be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>kó = sa</td>
<td>kó = na</td>
<td>kó = dar/ darán</td>
<td>kó = xal/ kalán</td>
<td>kóm = be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>wó = sa</td>
<td>wó = na</td>
<td>wó = dar</td>
<td>wó = xal</td>
<td>wóm = be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>yé = sa</td>
<td>yé = na</td>
<td>yé = dar</td>
<td>yé = xal</td>
<td>yém = be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFIL</td>
<td>yí = sa</td>
<td>yí = na</td>
<td>yí = dar</td>
<td>yí = xal</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The genitive pronoun is used in existential sentences to express predicative possession. The possessive construction has the form of an existential sentence in which the possessed NP functions as the subject of the existential verb and the possessor NP is marked by the genitive case:

(17a) naasí há = sa dá-u?
child 2SG = GEN exist-INT.COP
do you have children?

(17b) wó = sa waakí dáa-ne
1PL = GEN cattle exist-COP
we have cows

The allative and affective pronouns show an alternative form in the third persons, 
darán (18a) and kalán (18b) respectively. The two allomorphs are in free variation with the respective third person allative pronoun kí-dar and kó-dar, and with the third person affective pronoun kí-xal and kó-xal (18c):

(18a) darán zóbo niʔ-idí
3.ALL lion come-PF
Lion came to him/her/them

(18b) kalán qajá ko = qaj-é
3.AFF be.cold 3F = be.cold-PRES
He/She/They will be cold (lit. it will be cold at him/her/them)

(18c) kí=xal qajá ko = qaj-é
3=AFF be.cold 3F = be.cold-PRES
He/They will be cold (lit. it will be cold at him/ them)

4.2 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are independent forms which agree in gender and number with the possessed object and take on nominal inflections in order to show the agreement. Nominal inflections are affixed to short form II pronouns:
Table 4.4: Possessive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ín=te</td>
<td>ín=no</td>
<td>ín=na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>hán=te</td>
<td>hán=no</td>
<td>hán=na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M / 3PL</td>
<td>kín=te</td>
<td>kín=no</td>
<td>kín=na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>kón=te</td>
<td>kón=no</td>
<td>kón=na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>wón=te</td>
<td>wón=no</td>
<td>wón=na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>yén=te</td>
<td>yén=no</td>
<td>yén=na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>yín=te</td>
<td>yín=no</td>
<td>yín=na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The marker for the masculine possessive pronouns is different from the masculine nominal inflection, which is -â or -tâ. I have no explanation why the masculine possessive pronoun has a different masculine marker. The pronunciation of the masculine possessive pronoun, moreover, varies among speakers: in some cases it is realized as [inte], in others as [inte]. -te in Hamar is the locative case and the low vowel [ɛ] could be the result of coalescence between the mid-high vowel of the locative case -te and the low vowel -â of the masculine inflection. However, it is not clear why the masculine possessive pronoun would use the locative case and not the feminine and plural possessive pronouns. In the neighbouring language Aari, the formative -te is attested in possessive pronouns and it is analysed as genitive marker (Bender 2000:164).

The stress of the possessive pronouns shifts to the second syllable if a case marker is suffixed or the copula -ne follows. Possessive pronouns follow their head and take on case markers:

(19a) ɛ́ɛ́ na háñna mará! man-PL 2SG:PL stop.IMP.2SG
Stop your men!

(19b) köimɔ̃ wonté-xa waaki łamá wo=shan-é property:M 1PL=M-INS cow two 1PL=buy-PRES with our property let’s buy two cows!

The genitive pronoun can co-occur with the possessive pronoun to mark contrast and emphasize possession:

(20) yáa f=sa oonì-n niʔ-idí-ne, yáa f=sa 2SG 1SG=GEN house-F.OBL come-PF-COP 2SG 1SG=GEN máal-in innó-n gidi-n niʔ-idí-ne! centre-F.OBL 1SG:F.OBL middle-F.OBL come-PF-COP you came to my own house, you came to the very centre of my own place!
Possession on kinship terms is expressed by means of short form I clitic pronouns, see chapter 8 for further details.

4.3 The reflexive pronoun yi

The reflexive pronoun is a third person pronoun which does not distinguish gender and does not have an independent form: it occurs only in the short form I yi-, which is cliticized to oblique cases, and the short form II yin- which is used to form possessive pronouns and to mark subject agreement on subordinate verb forms. The reflexive pronoun is used when the third person subject and the possessive pronoun (21a,b) or other oblique pronouns (21c,d,e) of the same sentence are coreferential:

(21a) éeno gurdá-n yinnó-n-dar yižá ko=yiʔ-é
    people:F.S village:F.OBL REFL:F.F.OBL-ALL go 3F=go-PRES
the people will go to their own villages

(21b) t’álían pée-n yinnó-n-te yižá-še woď-idí
    Italians land:F.OBL REFL:F.OBL-LOC go-CNVT stay-PF
the Italians went to their own land and stayed there

(21c) ūká hamád-č duká toré-n-te
    mountain:M be.called-REL.PRES.M mountain:M plain-F.OBL-LOC
yí=bar woź-á
    REFL=AD stand-REL.PAST.M
what is called a ‘masculine mountain’ is a small hill which stands on its own in the plain

(21d) kóopíni, kidí tíá-tte yí=dar ooní-n
    squirrel 3 take-SE REFL=ALL1 house-F.OBL
yinnó-n-sa báa-bar meté-m-bar
    REFL:F.F.OBL-GEN UP-AD head-F.OBL-AD
dögge-n-dan dottá-bó
    sorghum.container-F.OBL-ACC sit:CAUS-NARR
squirrel took (it) for himself and put the sorghum container on the very top of his own house

(21e) núu wórqi-n-dan yí=xal yedá-ika yin=ham-énka
    fire gold-F.OBL-ACC REFL=AFF keep-PF.CONT REFL=say-CNVT
after Fire had kept the gold for himself […]³⁴

³⁴ Past perfect continuous in Hamar is expressed by means of a complex predicate which involves the verb hamá ‘say’ marked by the converb suffix -énka, see chapter 10, section 10.1.2.
The pronoun yi is used as a long-distance reflexive, thus it is important for discourse traceability in clause chaining. The following passage shows how both the reflexive form and the regular form of the possessive pronoun can be used in ambiguous syntactic contexts. The excerpt is taken from a folktale about a squirrel who eats the whole harvest of sorghum that the baboon had previously collected. In order to prove his (false) innocence, the squirrel proposes to check the faeces: the faeces containing sorghum belong to the person who stole and ate the harvest. However, the squirrel plays a trick on the baboon and manages to exchange his own faeces with those of the baboon, eventually proving himself innocent:

(22) ɛ́ɛ́ sa püi-n-dan dap, yinnó-te
man:M-GEN faeces-F.OBL-ACC IDEO.take REFL:F-F.OBL-LOC
shuddi-n-dan yer háqa-n áafi-n-dan,
grass-F.OBL-ACC thing tree-F.OBL eye-F.OBL-ACC
hayá-ise, isín déer-in yin = is-óln-dan
do-CNV1 sorghum red-F.OBL REFL = eat-REL.PAST.F-ACC
sáa kinnó-te
SLEV 3:F-F.OBL-LOC
he took the faeces of the guy (the baboon): in his own faeces he put the grass and the fruits of the trees, in the baboon’s faeces he put the red sorghum that he had eaten

The possessive pronoun kinnóte at the end of the sentence refers to the baboon, whereas the reflexive possessive pronoun and the reflexive subject pronoun of the relative verb denote the main actor of the folktale, the squirrel, which is the syntactic subject of the whole clause. However, because of clause-chaining (cf. chapter 10), the fact that the squirrel is the syntactic subject becomes clear only at the end of the folktale, after a long sequence of uninflected dependent clauses which are mostly subjectless. The excerpt illustrated above for instance lacks a fully inflected main verb since the speaker uses the ideophone dap to express the action of ‘grabbing’ and the gerundive uninflected form hayáise ‘doing’. The use of the long-distance reflexive pronoun is crucial to keep track of the subject in story-telling.

The reflexive pronoun can denote identity between the third person subject of a dependent verb in an embedded sentence and the third person subject of an independent verb in main clause, but it never marks subject agreement on main verbs:

(23) ukulí birré-na dóng yinná-dan yin = ut-énka
donkey birr-PL five REFL:PL-ACC REFL = go.up-CNV2
im-idí
give-PF
Donkey, after he got in, gave his own five birr
As shown in chapter 13, the Hamar reflexive pronoun is formally similar to the
logophoric pronoun attested in both Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo languages. In
languages like Ewe, the logophoric pronoun occurs in embedded sentences typically
introduced by verbs of saying, feeling or thinking, such as “Kofi said that he left”
(Clements 1975: 142): Ewe would make use of the logophoric pronoun to denote
identity between Kofi and the third person subject pronoun in the complement
clause. Hamar does not have indirect speech forms (see chapter 10), thus it cannot
be shown whether the reflexive pronoun yi occurs in typical logophoric contexts. In
other Omotic languages a special third person pronoun used anaphorically is often
attested and it is described as a reflexive or logophoric pronoun (Azeb 2001:90;
2012a:471). In Benchnon however, the reflexive pronoun is used in reported speech,
see Rapold (2006).

The reflexive pronoun yin is used as manner adverb or connective particle (see also
chapter 5, section 5.4). It occurs in fixed expressions such as ‘if you say so, if that is
it’ (24a); with verbs such as ‘say’, ‘tell’ (24b), and it introduces direct speech (24c):

(24a) ee, yin desí kónna
    ok so similar 3F:OPT
    ok, if it is like that

(24b) kidí gi-idí; yin gi-à, qáski
    3 tell-PF so tell-REL.PAST.M dog
    he said; Dog is the one who said so

(24c) kin=ois-énka, qáara yin ko=giá-de
    3=ask-CNV2 vervet.monkey so 3F=tell-PFV
    after he asked, Monkey said so […]

The reflexive pronoun is used to form third person restrictive pronouns, see 4.4
below.

4.4 Restrictive and inclusive markers on pronouns

As already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Hamar pronouns do not
distinguish inclusiveness and exclusiveness. However, two suffixes have been at-
tested, the intensifier -mal and the inclusive -l which add an inclusive/exclusive
meaning when suffixed to pronouns. The intensifier -mal has been found only on
pronouns, and it is suffixed to short form I clitic pronouns. The intensifier -mal
translates as ‘alone’ and I refer to this set of pronouns as ‘restrictive’ pronouns after
Azeb (2001:90-91). The third person restrictive pronouns use the reflexive pronoun
yi instead of the regular third person pronouns: forms like *kímal or *kómal are
ungrammatical:
Table 4.5: Restrictive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>í = mal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>há = mal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M/3F/3PL</td>
<td>yí = mal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>wó = mal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>yé = mal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Restrictive pronouns are used in the following way:

(25a) yáa há = mal dá-u?
2SG 2SG = INTF exist-INT.COP
are you alone?

(25b) qáara yí = mal ko = shídá-de
vervet.monkey REFL = INTF 3F = be.left-PFV
ooní-n-dan yí = na ko = tía-de
house-F.OBL-ACC REFL = DAT 3F = take-PFV
Monkey remained alone and took the house for herself.

The inclusive marker -l can be suffixed to both nouns and pronouns and expresses a meaning parallel to the English 'as well, also', see chapter 8 on inclusive coordination for further details. The marker can be suffixed to the independent form of personal pronouns (26a), to oblique pronouns (26b) and to possessive pronouns (26c):

(26a) yáa eef-idi-ánna ínta-l eefá = i = da eef-é
2SG cry-PF-OPT 1SG-INCL cry = 1SG = IPFV cry-PRES
if you cry, I will also cry

(26b) kédá há = sa-l gulpá qolê
then 2SG = GEN-INCL illness exist.not
then also for you there won’t be illness

(26c) ée-na kinná-l banqí da-zagá
man-PL 3:PL-INCL fight IPFV-want
his men as well wanted war

4.5 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns function as both pronouns and modifiers. They are inflected for gender and number, and make a two-way distinction between proximal and distal deixis with respect to the speaker.
Table 4.6: Demonstrative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ká</td>
<td>agá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>koró</td>
<td>ogoró</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>~ ogó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>kirá</td>
<td>igirá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives occur as free pronominal forms. They usually follow the head they modify, however they can precede their heads to mark contrast (27b):

(27a) ínta bɔɾqɔtɔ ká a qail-idí-ne
1SG headrest:M DEM1.M decorate-PF-COP
I have decorated this head rest

(27b) ká bɔɾqɔtɔ-dan ínta qail-idí-ne
DEM1.M headrest:M-ACC 1SG decorate-PF-COP
I have decorated this head rest

In addition to the distal and proximal deictic use, demonstratives can be used anaphorically. In procedural texts and in folktales the distal demonstrative agá is often found in combination with the ablative case to indicate the end of the event mentioned in the previous sentence and the starting point of a new situation:

(28a) noqó-n kaá-isé búno-n ko = kad-é,
water-F.OBL pour-CNV1 coffee-F.OBL 3F = pour:PASS-PRES
agá-rra, bʊq-idí kónna
DEM2.M-ABL boil-PF 3F:OPT
After pouring the water, the coffee is poured. From that moment, if it boils […]

(28b) gesh5 waaɗí shansh-ánnà ɗé-tte laii
husband:M cattle buy:CAUS-OPT herd-SE IDEO.far
kin = yiʔ-éńká, kodí agá-rra ée-na-na qánte
3 = go-CNV2 3F DEM2.M-ABL man-PL-DAT DAT
aafó gi-idí
message tell-PF
when the husband went very far to herd and sell the cattle, from that moment she sent a message to the men

---

25 Focus on the noun phrase ‘this headrest’ in (27b) is signaled also by accusative marking, see chapter 7.
Demonstratives can be followed by the presentational marker -sh: this marker is accompanied always by pointing gestures, and it is used especially when people give or pass objects with their hands:

(29a) \texttt{káa-sh, murá-na há=xal, káa-sh}  
\texttt{DEM1.M-PRS gun-PL 2SG=AFF DEM1.M-PRS}  
here you go, these guns are for you

(29b) \texttt{pée-no kínno agá-sh}  
\texttt{land-F.S 3:F DEM2.M-PRS}  
their land is that one over there

Hamar has a rich system to encode deixis and spatial relation. Locative and directional deictics encode more specific spatial information, and are discussed in chapter 5.