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## 4 Pronouns and pronominal clitics

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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).<sup>32</sup> 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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<sup>32</sup> 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.

Table 4.1 Pronominals

	Independent form	Short form I	Short form II
1SG	ínta	= i =	in =
2SG	yáa	= ha =	han =
3M / PL	kidí ~ kisí	= ki =	kin =
3F	kodí ~ kosí	= ko =	kon =
1PL	wodí ~ wosí	= wo =	won =
2PL	yedí ~ yesí	= ye =	yen =
REFL	-	= yi =	yin =

The independent pronouns *kidí*, *kodí*, *wodí*, *yedí*, have corresponding variant forms *kisí*, *kosí*, *wosí*, and *yesí*. These alternative forms are due to dialectal variation<sup>33</sup> 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**    **isín**      **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:

<sup>33</sup> The pronouns *kisí*, *kosí*, *wosí* and *yesí* are impressionistically more common among the Bashááda and in the area around Turmi.

(3a) **ooní-n-te kin = de-énka kidí daaqardá-6**  
 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 [...]

Short form II pronouns are cliticized to nominalized verb forms when the subject of a relative clause is expressed pronominally:

(4) **barkotâ in = zag-â táaki ínta aaf-idí-ne**  
 head-rest:M 1SG = want.REL.PAST.M now 1SG see-PF-COP  
 I've now found the head-rest I looked for (lit. the head-rest I wanted now I have seen)

Person marking on independent verb forms in main clauses is indexed by short form I clitic pronouns. These pronouns are usually cliticized directly to verb stems (5), or to the aspect marker preceding the verb stem (6):

(5) **ko = giá-de**  
 3F = tell-PFV  
 she said

(6) **wo = da-yi?-é**  
 1PL = IPFV-go-PRES  
 we go

In complex paradigms such as the future (7a) and the progressive (7b), clitic pronouns can be slotted in between verb stems, auxiliaries and subordinative markers:

(7a) **ni?á ki = ni?-é**  
 come 3 = come-PRES  
 he will come

(7b) **ni?á-te ki = dáa-de**  
 come-SE 3 = exist-PFV  
 he is coming

As illustrated in chapter 2, these subject clitics undergo phonological reduction when they occur between words. In complex paradigms, the initial consonants of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitic pronouns are deleted (morphophonological rule MP2), thus the

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).

- [niʔáti dáade]**  
 (8a) **niʔá-te ʔi = dáa-de**  
 come-SE 1SG = exist-PFV  
 I am coming
- [niʔáta dáade]**  
 (8b) **niʔá-te ha = dáa-de**  
 come-SE 2SG = exist-PFV  
 you are coming
- [niʔáte kidáade]**  
 (8c) **niʔá-te ki = dáa-de**  
 come-SE 3 = exist-PFV  
 he is coming, they are coming
- [niʔáte kodáade]**  
 (8d) **niʔá-te ko = dáa-de**  
 come-SE 3F = exist-PFV  
 she is coming
- [niʔáto dáade]**  
 (8e) **niʔá-te wo = dáa-de**  
 come-SE 1PL = exist-PFV  
 we are coming
- [niʔáte dáade]**  
 (8f) **niʔá-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 1<sup>st</sup> person singular and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular:

- (9a) **ínta parsí wuc'-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 *-dan* to short form I pronouns. Object pronouns can occur in a reduced form: in fast speech the implosive consonant of the accusative suffix *-dan* 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

	Full form	Reduced form
1SG	í = dan	éɛn
2SG	há = dan	háan
3M / 3PL	kí = dan	kéɛn
3F	kó = dan	kóɔn
1PL	wó = dan	wóɔn ~ wóon
2PL	yé = dan	yéɛn ~ yéen

Object pronouns are used as the direct object of verbs:

- (10) **t'álian niʔá-ise wó = dan oit-idí-ne**  
 Italians come-CNV1 1PL = ACC chase-PF-COP  
 the Italians came and chased us
- (11) **yáa gobá-ise éɛn bashá-u ?**  
 2SG run-CNV1 1SG:ACC exceed-INT.COP  
 can you defeat me in the race?
- (12) **ínta háan 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 = ďan qail-idí-ne**  
 1SG 1SG = ACC decorate-PF-COP  
 I have decorated myself
- (14) **t'álian-be somále-be kéen uká-ď**  
 Italians-COM Somalis-COM 3:ACC fight-NARR  
 the Italians and the Somalis fought each other
- (15) **gudirí-be panáq-be kí = ďan bagá-te dáa-da**  
 hyena-COM frog-COM 3 = ACC tease-SE exist-IPFV  
 Hyena and Frog were teasing each other
- (16) **geshóm-be geshó-be untínna kí = ďan**  
 wife.F.OBL-COM husband:M-COM rat:PL 3 = ACC  
**kembá-ise ki = ooní-n-te dáa-de**  
 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

	Genitive	Dative	Allative	Affective	Comitative
1SG	í = sa	í = na	í = dar	í = xal	ím = be
2SG	há = sa	há = na	há = dar	há = xal	hám = be
3M/ 3PL	kí = sa	kí = na	kí = dar/ darán	kí = xal/ kalán	kím = be
3F	kó = sa	kó = na	kó = dar/ darán	kó = xal/ kalán	kóm = be
1PL	wó = sa	wó = na	wó = dar	wó = xal	wóm = be
2PL	yé = sa	yé = na	yé = dar	yé = xal	yém = be
REFL	yí = sa	yí = na	yí = dar	yí = xal	-



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 ni?-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

	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>PL</b>
1SG	ín = te	ín = no	ín = na
2SG	hán = te	hán = no	hán = na
3M / 3PL	kín = te	kín = no	kín = na
3F	kón = te	kón = no	kón = na
1PL	wón = te	wón = no	wón = na
2PL	yén = te	yén = no	yén = na
REFL	yín = te	yín = no	yín = na

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 [ín̩te], in others as [ín̩te]. *-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) **éé-na hánna mará!**  
 man-PL 2SG:PL stop.IMP.2SG  
 Stop your men!

(19b) **koimô wonté-xa waakí lamá 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 í = sa ooní-n ni?-idí-ne, yáa í = sa**  
 2SG 1SG = GEN house-F.OBL come-PF-COP 2SG 1SG = GEN  
**máal-in innó-n gidí-n ni?-idí-ne!**  
 centre-F.OBL 1SG:F-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 co-referential:

- (21a) **éeno gurdá-n yinnó-n-dar yi?á ko = yi?-é**  
 people:F.S village-F.OBL REFL:F-F.OBL-ALL1 go 3F = go-PRES  
 the people will go to their own villages
- (21b) **t'álian pée-n yinnó-n-te yi?á-ise woɔ-idí**  
 Italians land-F.OBL REFL:F-F.OBL-LOC go-CNV1 stay-PF  
 the Italians went to their own land and stayed there
- (21c) **ɖukâ hambad-ê ɖukâ toré-n-te**  
 mountain:M be.called-REL.PRES.M mountain:M plain-F.OBL-LOC  
**yí = bar woy-â**  
 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) **kóopini, kidí tiá-tte yí = dar ooní-n**  
 squirrel 3 take-SE REFL = ALL1 house-F.OBL  
**yinnó-n-sa ɓáa-bar meté-m-bar**  
 REFL:F-F.OBL-GEN UP-AD head-F.OBL-AD  
**dúgge-n-dan dottá-ɓ**  
 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-CNV2  
 after Fire had kept the gold for himself [...] <sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> 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) **éε-sa**            **píi-n-ɗan**            **dap,**            **yinnó-n-te**  
 man:M-GEN    faeces-F.OBL-ACC    IDEO.take    REFL:F-F.OBL-LOC  
**shudí-n-ɗan**            **yer**            **háqa-n**            **áafi-n-ɗan,**  
 grass-F.OBL-ACC    thing    tree-F.OBL    eye-F.OBL-ACC  
**hayá-ise,**    **isín**            **déer-in**            **yin = is-ón-ɗan**  
 do-CNV1    sorghum    red-F.OBL    REFL = eat-REL.PAST.F-ACC  
**sáa**    **kinnó-n-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 *kinnónte* 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-ɗan**    **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-â, 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 attested, 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

1SG	í = mal
2SG	há = mal
3M/3F/3PL	yí = mal
1PL	wó = mal
2PL	yé = mal

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 = shidá-de**  
 vervet.monkey REFL = INTF 3F = be.left-PFV  
**ooní-n-dán yí = na ko = tiá-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) **kéda há = sa-l gupá 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

	Proximal	Distal
M	káa	agá
F	koró	ogoró ~ ogó
PL	kirá	igirá

Demonstratives occur as free pronominal forms. They usually follow the head they modify, however they can precede their heads to mark contrast (27b):<sup>35</sup>

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

- (27b) **káa b̄rq̄t̄s-d̄an ínta qail-idí-ne**  
 DEM1.M headrest:M-ACC 1SG decorate-PF-COP  
 I have decorated this headrest

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) **noq̄o-n kaá-ise búno-n ko = kaɖ-é,**  
 water-F.OBL pour-CNV1 coffee-F.OBL 3F = pour:PASS-PRES  
**agá-rra, burq-idí kónna**  
 DEM2.M-ABL boil-PF 3F:OPT  
 After pouring the water, the coffee is poured. From that moment, if it boils [...]

- (28b) **ḡesh̄ waakí shansh-ánna ḡé-tte laii**  
 husband:M cattle buy:CAUS-OPT herd-SE IDEO.far  
**kin = yiɖ-énka, 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

<sup>35</sup> 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) **káa-sh,**            **murá-na**    **há = xal,**    **káa-sh**  
 DEM1.M-PRS    gun-PL    2SG = AFF    DEM1.M-PRS  
 here you go, these guns are for you

(29b) **pée-no**    **kínno**    **agá-sh**  
 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.