A grammar of Hamar : a South Omotic language of Ethiopia
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4 Pronouns and pronominal clitics

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).[32] 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.

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[33] 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:

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[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**   **daaqarɗá-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 […]

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

(4)   **bɔrkɔtɔ̂**   **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-yiʔ-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) **niʔá**   **ki = niʔ-é**
      come   3 = come-PRES
      he will come

(7b) **niʔá-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 1st and 2nd 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).

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

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

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

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

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

(8f) **[niʔáte dáade]**
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 1st person singular and 2nd 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	ɛ́ɛn
2SG	há = dan	háan
3M / 3PL	kí = dan	kɛ́ɛn
3F	kó = dan	kɔ́ɔn
1PL	wó = dan	wɔ́ɔn ~ wóon
2PL	yé = dan	yɛ́ɛn ~ 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 ɛ́ɛn 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 = ɗan   qail-idí-ne**
      1SG   1SG = ACC   decorate-PF-COP
      I have decorated myself

(14) **t'álian-be   somále-be   kéɛn   uká-ɓ**
      Italians-COM   Somalis-COM   3:ACC   fight-NARR
      the Italians and the Somalis fought each other

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

(16) **geshóm-be   gɛshɔ́-be   untínna   kí = ɗan**
      wife.F.OBL-COM   husband:M-COM   rat:PL   3 = ACC
      kemɓá-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   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

	M	**F**	**PL**
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 [íntɛ], in others as [ínte]. *-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) **éɛ-na   hánna   mará!**
man-PL   2SG:PL   stop.IMP.2SG
Stop your men!

(19b) **koimɔ̂   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   niʔ-idí-ne,   yáa   í = sa**
2SG   1SG = GEN   house-F.OBL   come-PF-COP   2SG   1SG = GEN
máal-in   innó-n   gidí-n   niʔ-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   yiʔá   ko=yiʔ-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   yiʔá-ise   woɗ-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)   **ɗukâ   hamɓaɗ-ê̂   ɗukâ   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-ɗan   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-ɗan   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 […][34]

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[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) **ɛ́ɛ-sa   píi-n-ɗan   dap,   yinnó-n-te**
      man:M-GEN   faeces-F.OBL-ACC   IDEO.take   REFL:F-F.OBL-LOC
      shuɗí-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=shiɗá-de**
        vervet.monkey   REFL=INTF   3F=be.left-PFV
        ooní-n-ɗan   **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**   **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

	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):[35]

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

(27b)   **káa   bɔrqɔtɔ́-ɗan   ínta   qail-idí-ne**
          DEM1.M   headrest:M-ACC   1SG   decorate-PF-COP
          I have decorated <u>this headrest</u>

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-ise   búno-n   ko=kaɗ-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)   **gɛshɔ̂   waakí   shansh-ánna   ɠé-tte   laii**
          husband:M   cattle   buy:CAUS-OPT   herd-SE   IDEO.far
          kin=yiʔ-énka,   kodí   agá-rra   ɛ́ɛ-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

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[35] 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.