

LOCATION ENCODING ROLE OF SPATIAL PRONOUNS AND NOUNS IN SIDAAMA

Anbessa Teferra

Abstract

This paper deals with the location encoding function of spatial pronouns and nouns in Sidaama, a Highland East Cushitic (henceforth HEC) language spoken in south-central Ethiopia. Spatial relations in Sidaama are encoded by spatial pronouns and spatial nouns, among other grammatical elements. Spatial pronouns are subdivided into free and bound forms. Both free and bound spatial pronouns have four-way gradations of distance (proximal, medial, mesiodistal, and distal) and do not exhibit gender and number distinctions. However, bound spatial pronouns (unlike their free counterpart) are inflected for case. Bound spatial pronouns can mark movement, location, and direction by encliticizing various formatives. In addition, they can also function as sentential connectors. Although spatial pronouns are categorically nominals, functionally, they are adverbs.

*The other grammatical device Sidaama employs to mark spatial relations (in particular projective spatial relations) is through spatial (locative) nouns that denote the Figure's location in relation to a Ground. The sources of many spatial nouns are body parts such as *ʔalba* 'face', *ʔumo* 'head', *baɗɗe* 'back', etc. whereby a source meaning is extended to a locative use. A body part functions as a locative only after it is grammaticalized by the suffixation of *-ra* 'LOC' or *-nni* 'ABL/INSTR'*

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- 1 The following abbreviations are used in glosses: 1=1st person, 2=second person, 3=third person, ABL=ablative, ACC = accusative, ADDEM=adnominal demonstrative, BD=bound, CAUS1= simple causative, COP=copula, DEM=demonstrative, DIST=distal, EXDIST=extra distal, F=feminine, GEN=genitive, IMP=imperative, IMPERF=imperfect, INF=infinitive, INSTR=instrumental, JUSS=jussive, LOC=locative, M=masculine, MED=medial, NMNLZR=nominalizer, NOM=nominative, PASS=passive, PERF=perfective, PL=plural, PLC=place clitic, PPERF=present perfect,

and the directional marker *-iidi*. Although spatial nouns function as locatives, categorically, they are nominals. For instance, similarly to nominals, they are marked for case. However, spatial nouns cannot be pluralized like regular nouns. Spatial nouns can express location, goal, or source of action by suffixing the locatives *-nni* or *-ra*.

Key Words: Spatial Pronouns, Spatial Nouns, Sidaama, Locative

1. Introduction

Sidaama is a HEC language spoken by people calling themselves Sidaama. The autoglottonym of Sidaama is *Sidaamu ʔafoo* [lit. “the mouth of Sidaama”] or *Sidaamu k’aale* [lit. “the word of Sidaama”] while its ethnonym is Sidaama. Although native speakers label their language *Sidaamu ʔafoo*, the name adopted in this paper and elsewhere is Sidaama since it has a wider use and currency in the linguistic literature.

According to the 2007 national census of Ethiopia, the number of Sidaama mother-tongue speakers was 2,925,171 (CSA 2010: 200). Sidaama is relatively well studied in its group. Nevertheless, various grammatical elements, including deictics, were not treated accurately and in detail. Deixis is a general concept that covers traditional categories such as person, place, and time. The main function of deictic elements is to provide a point of reference for interlocutors in speech events (Lyons 1977; Dixon 2003; Levinson 2004).

Since deictics is a broad topic, this paper will be restricted to spatial deictics (i.e., deixis of place). In particular, it deals with spatial pronouns and spatial nouns. The earliest sketchy work on Sidaama spatial deictics is that of Hudson (1976: 255-256) who presents Sidaama demonstratives side by side with other HEC languages. Anbessa (2012; 2014) briefly treats spatial pronominals, while Kawachi (2007: 189-218) deals with them at some length. Nevertheless, even these works are not complete. Anbessa’s work is sketchy, while Kawachi’s work contains several incorrect analyses, which will be discussed in the relevant section. Dukamo’s (2014) unpublished MA thesis entitled “Documentation of the Form and Function of Sidaama Demonstratives” is an important work. Nevertheless, there are deictic elements that were not treated at all. This includes spatial pronouns and spatial nouns.

PRO=pronominal, PROX=proximal, REL=relativizer, SG=singular,
SGV=singulative, SP= spatial, VRBLZR=verbalizer

This paper aims to provide a detailed morphological and syntactic analysis of Sidaama spatial pronouns and nouns. The author is a native language speaker, so most of the data is based on introspection. Several native speakers were also consulted for clarifications, while various published materials on Sidaama were referred to for relevant examples.

The paper has four sections and is organized as follows: The first is the brief introduction above. The second section deals with spatial pronouns, while the third is devoted to spatial nouns. Toward the end, the fourth section summarizes and concludes the paper.

2. Spatial Pronouns

Spatial pronouns in Sidaama can be either independent or bound.

2.1. Independent Spatial Pronouns

Independent spatial pronouns similarly have four-way gradations of distance to demonstrative pronouns (see Anbessa, forthcoming), as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Independent Spatial Pronouns

	Spatial Pronouns	Type of Distance Marked
(i)	<i>keoy-e</i> ‘here’	Proximal, near the speaker
(ii)	<i>hak-k-o</i> ‘there’	Medial, near to the speaker and hearer
(iii)	<i>keooʔ-o</i> ‘there’ (far)	Mesiodistal, far from the speaker and hearer
(iv)	<i>keoʔʔ-o</i> ‘there’ (remote)	Distal, very far from the speaker and hearer

Based on their meaning alone, one can be tempted to label the above words as adverbs, particularly locative adverbs. This is true if we solely consider their function and meaning. However, based on their grammatical properties and phonological shape, the above grammatical elements are similar to demonstrative pronouns, and hence, it is justifiable to label them spatial pronouns. For instance, the independent spatial pronouns under Table 1 are similar to accusative forms of singular masculine pronominal demonstratives. To demonstrate their similarity, accusative pronominal demonstratives of the masculine are presented below.

Table 2. Accusative Singular Masculine Demonstratives of Sidaama

Demonstratives		Type of Distance Marked
<i>konne</i>	'this'	Proximal
<i>bakkonne</i>	'that'	Medial
<i>koɔɔonne</i>	'that' (far)	Mesiodistal
<i>koʔʔee</i>	'that' (remote)	Distal

When the independent spatial pronouns are compared with the above pronominal demonstratives (disregarding the final *-nne* and *-ee*), their phonological similarity is striking. Both sets are almost identical save for the final elements on demonstratives. Despite the above similarity, there are major grammatical differences between independent spatial pronouns and pronominal demonstratives. The former are not inflected either for gender or for number. It is only regarding cases that one observes partial similarities. For instance, all spatial pronouns are marked for accusative. Regarding other cases, there are differences between both groups save for the medial spatial pronoun *bak-k-o* 'there' that takes all case inflections. Thus *bak-ko* 'there' (ACC), *bak-k-i* 'there' (NOM), *bak-k-i* 'of there' (GEN), and *bak-k-i-nni* 'from there' (ABL). The mesiodistal and the distal are inflected for genitive as in *koɔɔ-i* 'of that' (GEN) and *koʔʔ-i* 'of that (remote)' (GEN). This demonstrates that even regarding cases, there are considerable differences.

Although spatial pronouns are nominal in their lexical category, functionally, they are adverbs. That could explain why they are not inflected for many nominal features (save for sporadic case marking). Like typical adverbs, they immediately precede the verb, as the examples under (1) illustrate. Sidaama has very few 'true' adverbs. Hence, the language uses various grammatical strategies to express adverbial relations, and one of these is the use of spatial pronouns, as shown below.

- (1) (a) *kin-ɕ-o* *koɔɔ-e* *tug-i*
stone-SG-ACC IDEM1-ACC drop-3M.SG.PFV
'Drop the stone here!'
- (b) *beett-u* *mat'aaf-a* *bak-k-o* *wor-i*
boy- NOM book-ACC IDEM2-ACC put-3M.SG.PFV
'The boy put the book there.'

- (c) *ka=b-i* [*kaɪi*]
DDEM1.M=PLACE-GEN
'of this place'
- (d) *ka=b-iinni*⁴ [*kaɪiɪnni*]
DDEM1.M=PLACE-ABL
'from here'

The place morpheme =*ba* can be encliticised to a tensed verb and indicates a place as shown in (3).

- (3) *daafur-ummo=ba* *?ofol-eeemo*
be tire-1M.SG.PRFV=PLACE sit-1M.SG.IPRFV
'I will sit where I got tired.'

For humans, location (AT) is expressed by attaching first the genitive suffix (-*u* for masculine nouns and none for feminine) to a noun stem and then suffixing -*nni-ba*. The element -*nni-ba* comprises the locative postposition -*nni*⁵ and the place morpheme =*ba*.

- (4) (a) *mat'aaf-u* *beett-u-nni=ba*⁶ *no*
book-NOM boy-GEN.M-LOC=PLACE exist-3M.SG.PRFV
'The book is with the boy.'
- (b) *mat'aaf-u* *beetto-nni=ba* *no*
book-NOM girl-LOC=PLACE exist-3M.SG.PRFV
'The book is with the girl.'

In the above section the discussion was centered around the proximal bound spatial pronoun *ka=b-* that differs from the group due to its peculiar composition. Now, we will return to the remaining three bound spatial pronouns. Their basic stems are: *bak-k-* 'medial', *kaaʔ-* 'mesiodistal', and *kaʔʔ-* 'distal'. These three stems are similar to both adnominal and pronominal demonstrative stems. The only

4 Here and elsewhere the -*i* ~ -*ii* preceding various suffixes such as the multipurpose postposition -*nni*, the singulative -*ʔ*, etc. is epenthetic. Highland East Cushitic languages observe a Two Consonant Constraint whereby a sequence of three consonants is prohibited. If a process leads to such sequence, then an epenthetic -*i* is inserted.

5 The suffix -*nni* has various grammatical functions. That is the reason why Hudson (1975: 254) correctly claims, "Sidamo has a multi-purpose postposition -*nni* 'from' / 'at' / 'on' / 'by' / 'with'".

6 In locative and other constructions that involve the postposition -*nni*, it can be optionally shortened to *y* and thus *beett-u-nni-ba* has the variant *beett-u-y-ba* 'with the boy'

difference between the three groups is the stem-internal vowels. If the vowels are stripped off, the remaining consonantal skeleton is identical for the three groups: $bV\bar{k}-k-$ ‘medial’, $kV\bar{V}\bar{?}$ ‘mesiodistal’, and $kV\bar{?}\bar{?}$ ‘distal’. All three bound spatial pronouns contain an internal low central vowel, i.e., /a/ or /aa/. The medial and distal contain /a/ while the mesiodistal contains /aa/.

Similarly, to adnominal and pronominal demonstratives, the bound spatial pronouns of Sidaama exhibit a quadripartite distance distinction. However, unlike demonstratives, they are marked neither for gender nor for number. Case is the only nominal feature for which they are inflected. They are marked for the core cases accusative, nominative, and genitive, and for some peripheral cases, such as ablative, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Bound Spatial Pronouns of Sidaama

	Proximal	Medial	Mesiodistal	Distal
Bound spatial pronoun	$k\bar{a}=b-$	$hak\bar{k}-$	$k\bar{a}a\bar{?}$	$k\bar{a}\bar{?}\bar{?}$
Accusative	$k\bar{a}=b-a$ ‘to here’	$hak\bar{k}-a$ ‘to there’	$k\bar{a}a\bar{?}-a$ ‘to there’ (far)	$k\bar{a}\bar{?}\bar{?}-a$ ‘to there’ (remote)
Nominative	$k\bar{a}=b-i$ ‘here’	$hak\bar{k}-i$ ‘there’	$k\bar{a}a\bar{?}-i$ ‘there’ (far)	$k\bar{a}\bar{?}\bar{?}-i$ ‘there’ (remote)
Genitive	$k\bar{a}=b-i$ ‘of here’	$hak\bar{k}-i$ ‘of there’	$k\bar{a}a\bar{?}-i$ ‘of there’ (far)	$k\bar{a}\bar{?}\bar{?}-i$ ‘of there’ (remote)
Ablative	$k\bar{a}=b-i-nni$ ‘from here’	$hak\bar{k}-i-nni$ ‘from there’	$k\bar{a}a\bar{?}-i-nni$ ‘from there’ (far)	$k\bar{a}\bar{?}\bar{?}-i-nni$ ‘from there’ (remote)

Among bound spatial pronouns, the proximal $k\bar{a}=b-$ is the only one that contains $=b-$, a reduced form of the place morpheme $=ba$.⁷ In addition, its first element, i.e., $k\bar{a}$, is a variant of the masculine proximal adnominal demonstrative $k\bar{o}$. Likewise, the medial $hak\bar{k}-$ has an

7 Based on the bound proximal $k\bar{a}=b-$, I was tempted to propose that the medial $hak\bar{k}-$ was historically $*hak-b$ i.e. composed of the element $hak-$ and the place morpheme $=b$. The synchronic $hak\bar{k}$ could be simply explained as a result of total assimilation of $k\bar{b}$ to $k\bar{k}$. However, there is no independent evidence for this postulation. In addition, based on surface segments alone, nothing can prevent me postulating the same for the extra distal $k\bar{a}\bar{?}\bar{?}$.

identical stem to a medial adnominal. It appears that a single *ʔ* in *kaaʔa* marks a distant place while a geminate *ʔʔ*, as in *kaʔʔa*, marks a very distant (remote) place. Gasparini (1983: 185) too notes this fact and writes, “in the prep. [*si*] **ka’*a***, as in similar cases, the hiatus is often redoubled to stress the distance (**ka’*à***) [the bolding is mine]”. The basic stems of bound spatial pronouns are very similar to pronominal demonstratives because they share the same consonantal segments. The main difference lies in their internal vowels. Bound spatial pronouns invariably contain *a* (save for the distal that contains *aa*).

Although I have labeled the above grammatical elements bound spatial pronouns based on morphological and syntactic grounds, Kawachi (2007: 189) erroneously labels them demonstrative pronouns and states the following:

Basically, the demonstrative pronouns make a three-way distinction in terms of three degrees of proximity of the referent to the speaker in space: *kawa* ‘here’, *hakka* ‘there’, and *ka’a* ‘over there’; the proximity of the referent to the hearer in space is irrelevant. Reduplication of *kawa* emphasizes the closeness of the location (*kawa kawa* ‘very close’), whereas reduplication of *hakka* and *ka’a* emphasizes the remoteness of the location (*hakka hakka* ‘way over there’ and *ka’a ka’a* ‘way over there’, respectively).

However, I have reservations about Kawachi’s analysis. What I label demonstrative pronouns are altogether different sets of pronouns. In addition, there is no reduplication of what Kawachi labels as ‘demonstrative pronouns’. As a native speaker, I never came across such reduplicated forms. The demonstratives of Sidaama exhibit a very rich paradigm. They have a quadri-partite distance distinction and are inflected for gender, number, and case. For brevity, the demonstrative pronouns are presented only in their nominative form.

Table 4. Demonstrative Pronouns of Sidaama

Masculine	Feminine	Gloss	Plural	Gloss	Distance
<i>kun-i</i>	<i>tin-i</i>	‘this’	<i>kur-i</i>	‘these’	PROX
<i>hakk-u</i>	<i>hatt-i</i>	‘that’	<i>hakkur-i</i>	‘those’	MED
<i>kunʔ-u</i>	<i>tiʔ-i</i>	‘that’ (far)	<i>kunʔ-u-r-i</i>	‘those’ (far)	MDIST
<i>kunʔʔ-u</i>	<i>tiʔʔ-i</i>	‘that’ (remote)	<i>kunʔʔ-u-r-i</i>	‘those’ (remote)	DIST

A genitive is the only case form of bound spatial pronouns that modifies a noun. All the other case forms appear bare, i.e., without modifying a noun. Consider the examples under (5) where the type of the case is indicated within parentheses.

- (5) (a) *hak-k-i* *?iibb-anno* (nominative)
 MED.BD.SP.PRO -NOM become hot-3M.SG.IMPERF
 ‘That place is hot.’
- (b) *kaʔʔ-a⁸* *baʔ-eemmo⁹* [*baʔreemmo*] (accusative)
 DIST. BD.SP.PRO -ACC go-1M.SG.IMPERF
 ‘I will go there (very far place).’
- (c) *ka=b-i* *bun-i,* *danča-bo* (genitive)
 PROX.BD.SP.PRO=PLC-GEN coffee-NOM good-COP.M
 ‘The coffee of this place [lit. ‘here’] is fine.’

The peripheral cases, such as ablative and locative, are built upon the genitive. When *-nni* is suffixed, the genitive marker *-i* is lengthened to *-ii*.¹⁰

- (6) (a) *beett-u* *kaaʔ-ii-nni* *hig-i*
 boy-NOM MDIST.BD.SP.PRO-GEN-LOC return-3M.SG.PERF
 ‘The boy returned from there.’

The above-bound spatial pronouns can optionally suffix the singulativeččo without a semantic change, resulting in the forms listed below.

- (7) (a) *ka=b-iičč-o* (b) *hak-k-iičč-o*
 PROX.BD.SP.PRO=PLC-SGV-ACC MED.BD.SP.PRO-SGV-ACC
 ‘here’ (proximal) ‘there’ (medial)
- (c) *kaaʔ-iičč-o* (d) *kaʔʔ-iičč-o*
 DIST.BD.SP.PRO-SGV-ACC EXDIST.BD.SP.PRO -SGV-ACC
 ‘there’ (distal) ‘there’ (remote)

8 Although this sentence is grammatical, the preferred one is in which the bound spatial locative *kaʔʔ-a* ‘there’ encliticises the directional postposition *-ra* and becomes *kaʔʔ-i-ra* ‘to there’.

9 The underlying form of the verb ‘go’ is /baʔ-/. Intervocalically /d/ becomes [ʔr], so we have [*baʔreemmo*] ‘I will go’ in a phonetic form.

10 The suffixation of *-nni* and the copula *-ti* triggers an automatic lengthening of a final vowel.

The bound spatial pronouns under (7) typically function like adverbs as exemplified under (8).

- (8) *beett-u kab-iič-o ʔofoll-i*
 boy-NOM PROX.BD.SP.PRO-EE.SGV-ACC come.-3M.SG.PERF
 'The boy sat here.'

The bound spatial pronouns in sentence (5) are exactly identical to those listed under (7) and behave identically. For instance, both groups are inflected for the same type of case. Thus, sentences (5a) and (5c) can be rewritten as follows without a change in meaning.

- (9) (a) *hakk-iič-i ʔiibb-anno*
 MED.BD.SP.PRO-SGV-NOM become hot-3M.SG.IMPERF
 'That place is hot.'
 (b) *ka=b-iič-i bun-i danča-bo*
 PROX.BD.SP.PRO-PLC-SGV-NOM coffee-NOM good-COP.M
 'The coffee of *this* place [*lit.* 'here'] is fine.'

Bound spatial pronouns convey different spatial interpretations when combined with various grammatical elements or even when combined with each other. The various types of combinations are discussed below.

2.1 Directional Function of Bound Spatial Pronouns

The suffixation of the accusative *-a* or the locative *-ra* conveys the meaning of moving in a certain direction. For instance, *kab-a* or *kab-ira* 'to here' denotes a movement towards the deictic center (speaker), while *hakk-a* or *hakk-ira* 'to there' marks movement away from the deictic center (speaker). By their very nature, such spatial pronouns involve motion verbs such as *dag*—'come' and *had*—'go', as the following examples demonstrate.

- (10) (b) *hakk-a had-i* (also *hakk-ira*)
 MED.BD.SP.PRO-ACC go-3M.SG.PERF
 'Go there!'

- (19)(a) *ka=b-illiččo* (b) *kaaʔ-illiččo*
 PROX.BD.SP.PRO=PLC-DIRECTION MDIST.BD.SP.PRO -DIRECTION
 ‘towards this direction’ ‘towards that (the opposite) direction’
- (20) *man-čč-u ka=b-illiččo day-i*
 man-SGV-NOM PROX.BD.SP.PRO=PLC-DIRECTION come-3M.SG.PERF
 ‘The man came towards here.’

2.2. Bound Spatial Pronouns as Sentential Connectors

Like pronominal demonstratives, the main role of bound spatial pronouns is marking spatial relations. Nevertheless, they can also function as sentential connectors when they collocate with the nouns *woonte* ‘time’ (its variant is *wote*), *daafo* ‘danger’ the verb *saʔ-* ‘pass’ and also other bound spatial pronouns or demonstratives. When bound spatial pronouns are used as sentential connectors, they have an adverbial function similar to pronominal demonstratives. This function could indicate time, reason, additional thought, etc.

Table 5. Sentential Connectors Based on Bound Spatial Pronouns

<p>(i) <i>bakke-a woonte</i> MED.BD.SP.PRO-ACC time ‘immediately’¹⁵ Time of action</p>	<p>(iv) <i>kunn-i¹⁶ kaaʔ-aa-nni</i> PROX-NOM DIST.BD.SP.PRO-DIRECTION-LOC ‘besides this’ (lit. ‘beyond this’) Addition</p>
<p>(ii) <i>bakke-o daaf-ira¹⁷</i> MED.BD.SP.PRO danger-for ‘therefore, because of this’ Reason</p>	<p>(v) <i>bakke-ii-(nni) saʔ-ʔu-t-a</i> MED.BD.SP.PRO-GEN pass-3F.SG.PERF-REL.F-ACC ‘besides that’ (lit. ‘which has passed that’) Addition</p>
<p>(iii) <i>bakke-u-nni kaaʔa</i> MED-GEN-ABL there (remote) ‘moreover, otherwise’ Addition</p>	<p>(vi) <i>bakke-u-nni gedensa-nni</i> MED-GEN end-AT ‘later on, after that’ Sequence</p>

14 The suffix *-lliččo* is presumably composed of *li-ččo* (DIRECTION-SGV-ACC) but is disregarded for the time being.

15 The literal translation of the sentential connector *bakke-a woonte* is ‘there on time’.

16 *kunn-i* has also the variant *konn-i*. In addition, *kaaʔ-aa-nni* can be shortened to *kaaʔ-aa* by an optional deletion of *-nni*.

17 *bakke-nni daaf-i-ra* is a possible variant. This form again has a shortened variant *bakke-y-ra*.

Here is an example based on the sentential connector *bakke-a woonte* ‘immediately’.

- (21) *hilleess-u ke'us'a bakke-a woonte ke'ol'i*
 rabbit-NOM tortoise MED.BD.SP.PRO.M-ACC time outrace-3M.SG.PER
 ‘The rabbit outraced the tortoise immediately.’

3. Spatial Nouns

Spatial constructions specify the location of a given referent in relation to another one. To demonstrate this relationship, Talmy’s (1985, 2000) and Levinson’s (2003) spatial terms “Figure,” “Ground,” and “Path” will be employed. “Figure” refers to a moving entity, while “Ground” refers to a stationary entity that acts as a reference. According to Talmy (1985: 61), “Path” designates the site of the Ground that the Figure occupies. Hence, in the sentence, “The dog is under the table”, “dog” is a Figure, “table” is a Ground, while “under” designates a Path.

3.1. Basic Locatives

The simplest locative construction in Sidaama consists of a Ground (G) followed by a locative predicate, while the Figure can be optional. This holds true if the sentence’s subject is a proper noun, a common or a pronoun. In such instances, Figure (F) will be optional because grammatical features on the verb allow the deciphering of the subject. The locative predicates of Sidaama are *no* ‘verb of presence/existence’ and its variant *heed-* ‘live’.

- (22) *mine no-ommo*
 house exist-1M.SG.PPERF
 ‘I am inside the house.’

In (22), the subject pronoun *?an-i* ‘I’ is optional because it can be recovered from the inflectional suffix *-ommo*, a 1M.SG.PPERF suffix. Note also that there is no overt morpheme to mark location. Nevertheless, the spatial noun *giddo* ‘inside’ is implicit in such a sentence. When the Ground is not a “typical” locative (house, hut, name of a village/town, etc.), the Figure and a spatial noun are obligatory. In such types of sentences, the Ground is marked for gender.

- (23) *č'uŋe* *ke'ubb-i-čč-u* *ʔiima* *no*
 ring finger-EE-SGV-M on exist-3SG.PPERF
 'The ring is on the finger.'

In sentence (23) *č'uŋe* 'ring' is a Figure while *ke'ubbiččo* 'finger' is a Ground which is marked for masculine by the suffix *-u*. The word *ʔiima* 'on' is a spatial noun relator that acts as a spatial relator, and *no* 'present/exist' is a locative predicate.

3.2. Locatives with Spatial Nouns

The spatial projection of languages is three-dimensional and involves a front-back, up-down, and left-right axis (Diesel 2012). In Sidaama, a projective spatial relation (i.e., the position of a Figure vis-à-vis the Ground) is mostly encoded using spatial/locative nouns. Confirming this fact, Hudson (1975: 254) writes, "Sidamo [*sic.*] more than other languages, makes use of nouns for expressing positional relations...". The spatial nouns follow a nominal that marks the Ground, and as such, they occupy the syntactic position of adpositions. These "adpositions," in conjunction with the nouns that precede them, form an adpositional phrase with a locative adverbial function. However, the so-called "adpositions" are not prototypical adpositions since most of them can be marked for cases. Hence, I continue to use the term spatial nouns. Here are some illustrative examples.

- (24)(a) *woš-ičč-u* *min-u* *mule* *no*
 dog-EP.SGV-NOM house-M near exist-3SG.PPERF
 'The dog is near the house.'
- (b) *č'eŋ-iččo* *bakke'-iččo-te* *ʔiima* *ʔofoll-itú*
 dog-SGV tree-SGV-F on sit-3F.SG.PERF
 'The bird sat on the tree.'

For instance, under (24a) *min-u mule* 'near a house' is an adpositional phrase whereby *mule* 'near' functions as its head and *min-u* its complement. The whole phrase has a locative adverbial function since it indicates the place where the dog is found. A list of spatial nouns of Sidaama is presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Spatial Nouns of Sidaama

	locational denotation	original meaning
<i>badd'e</i> ¹⁸	'behind, after'	'back'
<i>dolla</i>	'low'	'buttock'
<i>duumba</i>	'behind, back'	-----
<i>giddo</i>	'inside'	-----
<i>gobba</i> ¹⁹	'outside'	-----
<i>godowa</i> ²⁰	'breadth'	'belly, womb'
<i>gura</i>	'left'	-----
<i>hallo</i>	'middle part, side'	'hip, loins, waist'
<i>bunda</i>	'under', 'near'	'origin'
<i>k'iniite</i> ²¹	'right'	<i>k'in-</i> 'be straight, be correct'
<i>lekka</i>	'lower part'	'foot/leg'
<i>mereero</i>	'among, between'	'middle, center'
<i>midaado</i>	'side, flank'	'rib' (<i>midaššo</i>)
<i>mule</i>	'near'	'kidney'
<i>wido</i> ²²	'side, direction'	-----

18 This word has the synonym *duumba* which is not based on body part.

19 The other meaning of the word *gobba* is 'country'.

20 The spatial expression *godobe* 'mountain side, slope' (Gasparini 1983: 126) or 'edge of a mountain, cliff' (Indrias *et al.* 2007: 184) appears to be derived from *godoba* 'belly, womb'.

21 The additional meaning of *k'iniite* 'right' is 'wealth', 'possessions', and 'advantage' (Indrias *et al.* 2007: 446 and Gasparini (1983: 263). The fact that the word for 'right' has the above positive connotations plus that *k'iniite* is derived from the verb denoting 'straight' and 'correct' has cultural relevance. Among the Sidaama, 'right' always has a positive connotation while 'left' has a negative one. For instance, *gurachebo* 'left handed' besides its basic meaning, denotes the notion of 'crooked, perverse' (Shimelis (ed). 2007: 204). According to Gasparini (1983: 135) the phrase *guràidi* (presumably from *gura* 'left' and *widi* 'direction') indicates the "...west (with one's face to the North)". The positive connotation of 'right' may also characterize other Ethiopian languages. Amharic is one of them as the following sentence from Kane (1990: 780) demonstrates: ቀኝ ያንተ ነው **qāññu yantä nāw** 'luck is with you, things are going well for you'. The word ቀኝ **qāññ** 'right' has a positive connotation in Amharic.

22 The word *wido* can follow all of the adverbial deictics, some locative nouns listed above, and the noun *lekka* 'leg/foot'. The word which precedes *wido* encliticizes a genitive suffix *-i* as in *ʔalb-i wido* 'to the front side' or *kab-i wido* 'to this side'. However, in most cases, it is shortened to a single word with concomitant deletion of *w* as in *badd'-iido* 'the back side' (from *badd'-e* 'back').

<i>woro</i>	‘below, down’	<i>wor-</i> ‘put, place’
<i>ʔaana</i>	‘on, upon, over, after’	<i>ʔaan-</i> ‘follow, come after’
<i>ʔalba</i>	‘in front of, before’	‘face, forehead’
<i>ʔale</i>	‘over’	‘up’
<i>ʔim-a</i>	‘on top of, above’	‘upwards’
<i>ʔumo</i>	‘top’	‘head’

One of the most common sources of spatial nouns is body parts, as noted by Svorou (1993: 70-71). This means spatial nouns have a source meaning extended to a locative use. As seen in Table 6, nine of the spatial nouns of Sidaama have body parts as their origins. These are: *ʔalba* ‘face’, *ʔumo* ‘head’, *baɕɕe* ‘back’, *dolla* ‘buttock’, *godowa* ‘belly, womb’, *hallo* ‘hip, loins, waist’, *lekeka* ‘foot/leg’ and *mule* ‘kidney’. The ninth one, i.e., *midaššo* ‘rib’ is not straightforward and needs explanation. This word presumably comprises the stem *midad-* ‘side’ and the singulative *-š*.²³ The stem *midaad-* (with lengthened *a*) and the nominalizer *-o*, yielding the spatial noun *midaado* ‘side’.

Three of the spatial nouns, *ʔaana* ‘on, upon, over, after’, work ‘below, down’, and *ke’iniite* ‘right’, have the source verbs *ʔaan-* ‘follow, come after’, *wor-* ‘put, place’, and *ke’in* ‘be straight/correct’, respectively. The rest of the spatial nouns have a locative denotation without a source meaning and a source verb, as the empty cells demonstrate.

When a body part functions as a locative, it is not used as it is. Instead, it is grammaticalized by the suffixation of oblique case markers *-ra* ‘LOC’ or *-nni* ‘LOC/ABL/INSTR’ and the directional marker *-iidi* as illustrated below.

Table 7. Grammaticalized Spatial Nouns of Sidaama

	original meaning		locational denotation
<i>ʔalba</i>	‘face’	<i>ʔalbaa-nni</i>	‘in front of’

23 There is a productive diachronic process whereby the segment *š* of the singulative *-š* triggered palatalization and then total assimilation (cf. Moreno 1940: 80). Thus, we have *farado* ‘horse’ (basic form) and the singulative *faraššo* ‘horse’ (*farad-š* > *faraššo*). The same holds for *hamaso* ‘snake’ (basic form) and the singulative *hamasššo* ‘snake’ (*hamas-š* > *hamasššo*). Thus, *midaššo* ‘rib’ is presumably derived from *midad-š*.

<i>badde</i>	‘back’	<i>baddee-nni</i>	‘behind’
<i>ʔumo</i>	‘head’	<i>ʔum-iidi</i>	‘top part’
<i>dolla</i>	‘buttock’	<i>doll-iidi</i>	‘lower part’
<i>ʔiima</i>	‘top’	<i>ʔiimaa-nni</i>	‘on top of, above’
<i>woro</i>	‘below, down’	<i>woroo-nni</i>	‘from below, down’

The last two spatial nouns are not based on body parts. Such locatives usually refer to objects situated above or below other entities. For instance, elevation above the deictic center is marked by *ʔiima/ʔale* ‘up’ while location downwards from the deictic center is marked by *word* ‘down.’ The corresponding locatives are *ʔiimaa-nni/ʔalee-nni* ‘on top of, above’ and *woroo-nni* ‘from below’. When location is marked by suffixing *-nni* ‘LOC’ to spatial nouns, the final vowel of the spatial noun is lengthened, and then *-nni* can be deleted optionally.

Here are some illustrative examples based on spatial nouns. Example (25) is from the Sidaama New Testament *Haaro Gondooro* (2001: 7). The morphemic cuts are mine and are indicated by a hyphen.

- (25) *caabb-ichch-i'ne* *mann-u* *alba-anni* *xaw-ona* (Mat. 5: 16)
 light-EP.SGV-1.PL.GEN people-OF face-LOC be light-3M.JUSS
 ‘let your light shine before people [others]’

- (26) *Magan-ùmidád-isi-nni* *midassb-isi* *miq-icco* *hâr-i* (Gen 2: 21)
 God-NOM side-3.M.GEN-from rib-3.M.GEN bone-SGV take-3M.S.PERF
 ‘God took from his side [from Adam] his rib bone’.²⁴

Although spatial nouns function as locatives, categorically, they are nominals. Hence, they can be marked both for ‘core’ cases (nominative, accusative, genitive) and ‘peripheral’ ones (ablative). However, there are also differences. For instance, spatial nouns cannot be pluralized like regular nouns. The following examples illustrate case marking in spatial nouns.

- (27) (a) *beett-u* *min-u* *gidd-o* *maat'-am-i*
 boy-NOM house- M inside-ACC hide-PASS-3M.SG.PERF
 ‘The boy hid inside the house.’
 (b) *harak'eess-u* *min-u* *ʔiim-ii-nni* *dirr-i*
 raven-NOM house- M top-GEN-ABL descend-3M.SG.PERF
 ‘The raven descended from the top of the house.’

24 Gasparini (1983: 231) with my addition of hyphens to mark morphemic cuts.

- (c) *maak'k'e-te* *gidd-i* *t'ur-aammo-bo*
 small.clay.vessel-GEN.F inside- NOM be dirty-NMNLZR.M-COP.M
 'The interior of the small clay vessel is dirty.'

Source in spatial nouns is expressed by suffixing *-nni* 'ABL' to a genitive base. During such a process, the formative *-nni* can be deleted optionally, resulting in lengthening of the genitive suffix *-i*.

- (28) (a) *ʔiima* 'above' *ʔiim-i-nni* ~ *ʔiim-ii* 'from above'
 (b) *mereero* 'middle' *mereer-i-nni* ~ *mereer-ii* 'from the middle'

The goal of motion verbs is indicated by suffixing *-ra*, an allative marker, either to a genitive base (marked by *-i*) or to an accusative base of spatial nouns. The suffix *-ra*, unlike *-nni*, is not amenable to optional deletion.

- (29) (a) *ʔiima* 'up' *ʔiim-ira*²⁵ 'upwards'
 (b) *woro* 'outside' *woro-ra* 'downwards'
 (b) *gobba* 'outside' *gobba-ra* 'to outside'

4. Conclusion

In this paper, spatial pronouns and nouns of Sidaama were analyzed in detail. Sidaama makes use of spatial pronouns for encoding location. The language has both free and bound spatial pronouns. The free spatial pronouns are *keye* 'here', *bakke* 'there', *koorɔ* 'there' (far), and *koorɔ* 'there' (far), which have four-way gradations of distance. Although spatial pronouns are nominal categorically and functionally, they are adverbs. The bound spatial pronouns are: *ka=b-* 'proximal', *bakke-* 'medial', *kaaɔ-* 'distal' and, and *kaʔɔ-* 'remote/extra distal'. Bound spatial pronouns do not exhibit gender and number distinction. Case is the only nominal feature for which they are inflected. Bound spatial pronouns can mark movement, location, and direction by encliticizing various formatives. In addition, they can also function as sentential connectors when they are juxtaposed to the nouns *woonte* 'time' and *daafɔ* 'danger' or the verb *saɔ-* 'pass', etc.

The simplest locative construction in Sidaama consists of a Ground followed by a locative predicate, while a Figure can be optional. The other device Sidaama uses to mark projective spatial relations is using spatial

25 *ʔale* suffixes *-ra* only to its genitive base and hence there is only one form: *ʔal-ira* 'upwards'. No other element is suffixed to the basic stem. Hence, the three forms "*ale-ra/al-ira/al-e-e*" which are listed by Kawachi (2007: 103) are non-existent in the language. In addition, his last form *al-e-e* should not have been included because it marks location and not goal.

(locative) nouns. The sources of several spatial nouns are body parts such as *ʔalba* ‘face’, *ʔumo* ‘head’, *badde* ‘back’, etc., whereby a source meaning is extended to a locative use. A body part functions as a locative only after it is grammaticalized by the suffixation of *-ra* ‘LOC’ or *-nni* ‘ABL/INSTR’ and the directional marker *-iidi*. Although spatial nouns function as locative adverbs, categorically, they are nominals. For instance, like nominals, they are marked for case. However, spatial nouns cannot be pluralized like regular nouns. Spatial nouns can express location, goal, or source of action by suffixing the locatives *-nni* or *-ra*.

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Anbessa Teferra
Tel Aviv University
Israel

