

## INTRODUCTION

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Space and place are fundamental concepts for humanity and its existence. This is because our lives are intertwined with these notions in numerous ways. We inhabit and move about in particular, recognizable places/spaces, locate and perceive things in them. Our actions are executed, achievements realized, and plans mapped out or designed in space-time. Space is thus fundamental to human cognition. Given this, it is hardly surprising that expressions of space are so prevalent in language. Our languages are rich with lexemes and expressions related to space and spatial concepts. This encompasses, among others, locations, dimensions, directions, and spatial relations among objects.

The grammar of spatial relations has been researched in many languages around the world. Although aspects of spatial expressions in some Ethiopian languages have been included in published works, no publication has yet brought together analyses of spatial expressions from several Ethiopian languages in one volume. Hence, this volume aims to fill this gap, facilitate typological and formal comparison, and enhance our understanding of spatial expressions in various Ethiopian languages.

The volume comprises 12 chapters, dedicated to various languages that belong to two language phyla: Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan. Most Ethiopian languages in this volume belong to the Afro-Asiatic language phylum, while two languages are from the Nilo-Saharan phylum. Of the Afroasiatic phylum, in alphabetical order of the language family, three chapters of the volume deal with Cushitic (Afaan Oromoo, Konso, and Sidaama); four contributions are on languages of the Omotic family (Hamar, Koorete, Sezo, and Zargula), while three studies are on members of the Ethio-Semitic family (Amharic and Tigrinya). Two chapters are devoted to languages of the Nilo-Saharan phylum (Bilugu Opo and Mursi). Discrepancy in the number of languages from a language family or phylum is not by design; it resulted from responses to our open call and invitation. Furthermore, during the review process, we noticed different methods for

analysing spatial expressions in Tigrinya. Therefore, we allowed two native-speaker linguists to debate the analysis of the language. This explains why there are two papers on Tigrinya covering the same topic.

In the section below, special attributes of spatial expressions in languages that are included in this volume are summarized. The language families and the individual languages within them are arranged in alphabetical order.

## **Cushitic**

### **(1) Spatial Expressions in Afaan Oromoo (Eba Teresa Garoma)**

Demonstratives, adverbs, verbs, and adpositions are linguistic elements in which spatial concepts are expressed in Oromo. Demonstratives are of three types: demonstrative pronouns (pronominals), determiners, and identifiers. All three types have identical phonological and morphological forms. They differ only in their syntactic distribution. Demonstrative pronouns are inflected for number and case, whereas determiners and identifiers are inflected only for case. The distinction between proximal and distal forms can only be made phonologically.

In Oromoo, body parts (such as the index finger, chin, and lip) or extralinguistic forms (like gestures) are used in conjunction with demonstrative determiners to express the proximity-distal contrast. Spatial deictic adverbs create two morphosyntactic categories—simple and complex. Simple deictic adverbs are monomorphemic words that contrast a two-way distance, namely, proximal and distal. They do not inflect for number, gender, or tense/aspect, but the distal spatial deictic adverb form is subject to ablative case marking when indicating the source of the referent in a motion event. Conversely, complex spatial deictic adverbs can be combined to express direction. They may also combine with adpositions to denote place/position or with locative adverbs to show the distance of the referent. In Oromoo, three semantic classes of verbs (source-oriented, goal-oriented, and undefined/undetermined) can specify spatial information, including details about the source, location, goal/destination, direction, and motion with no direction (motion/movement in unbounded space).

An interesting grammatical feature that sets Oromoo apart from some Ethiopian languages is its use of lexical elements and enclitics to mark concepts related to spatial dimension and containment/bounded relations.

### **(2) Aspects of the Structure of Spatial Expressions in Konso (Ongaye Oda Orkaydo)**

Spatial expressions in Konso are conveyed through locatives, directionals, and postpositions. Interestingly, the language's spatial expressions reflect the

landscape and natural environment where its speakers reside. Accordingly, how Konso speakers conceptualize space primarily depends on a system known as the Absolute Frame of Reference, which is based on landscape features. Consequently, except for four locatives, nearly all spatial terms in Konso are derived forms, and thus, semantically, they correspond with the speakers' natural habitat area.

The linguistic composition of Konso spatial terms exhibits interesting internal structural features, morphophonologically and semantically. For instance, geminating the onset of the second syllable of the underived locative terms is a productive morphological mechanism for deriving locative terms that indicate an increased distance from the deictic center or the speaker. Additionally, all postpositions in this language conclude with a low central vowel /a/. Not only do they end with /a/, but they can also reflect the length qualities of this vowel: short /a/ and long /aa/. The type of vowel duration in the final position of postpositions is linked to the difference in interpretation between the concepts of 'ground' and 'figure'. Hence, postpositions with a short vowel indicate that the speaker is focusing on the ground, while those with a long vowel suggest that the speaker is focusing on the figure.

Motion events are another salient aspect of spatial expressions in the language, and they often utilize position and motion verbs.

### **(3) The Spatial Function of Demonstratives in Sidaama** (Anbessa Teferra)

Distance is encoded in Sidaama primarily through adnominal and pronominal demonstratives and presentatives. An interesting grammatical feature of this language is a four-level gradation of distance distinction. Thus, Sidaama demonstratives and presentatives exhibit a quadripartite distance distinction: proximal, mesiproximal, mesiodistal, and distal. Regarding the distinction in distance, it appears that there is a phonaesthemy, as the type of segmental length seems to be related to the distance. Consequently, proximal and medial demonstratives contain a short vowel, a mesiodistal demonstrative a long vowel, and a distal demonstrative a geminate /ʔʔ/. However, this may also be a mere coincidence.

Pronominal demonstratives are the only ones inflected for all nominal features, including gender, number, and case. Among these nominal features, case marking stands out as particularly interesting. It is marked twice: first through a stem-internal vowel and second with a vowel suffixed to the demonstrative stem. Additionally, the accusative is marked by mid vowels, while high vowels indicate the nominative. The demonstrative roots *k* (m.) and *t* (f.) have been grammaticalized into relativizers, interrogatives, copular elements, and other functions.

Presentatives, too, make a quadripartite distance distinction. All the presentatives are built upon nominative masculine pronominal demonstratives, by suffixing *-ne*. Regarding nominal features, presentatives are inflected neither for gender nor for number. Regarding case, they are marked only for nominative. Hence, presentatives are essentially frozen forms. All presentatives have an exophoric function because they involve a pointing gesture using the index finger.

## Nilo-Saharan

### (1) Aspects of Spatial Relations in Bilugu Opo (Joshua A. G. Smolders)

In Opo, linguistic elements that describe spatial relations can be categorized into three spatial categories: distance, location, and direction. The linguistic elements that indicate distance are demonstrative enclitics. Opo demonstratives semantically exhibit a three-part distance distinction: proximal, medial, and distal. Since demonstratives do not inflect for number, gender, or case, these grammatical categories may be expressed lexically in the noun or an attributive verb functioning as an adjective or modifier, or through prefixing morphology.

Opo displays interesting phonological features related to ATR harmony/assimilation and tone. Additionally, demonstrative enclitics can attach to the base form of third-person pronouns to form two types of demonstrative pronouns: those referring to human and non-human referents. Only the human pronominal bases distinguish number and natural gender. In Opo, the location or position of one entity relative to another is expressed with locative constructions or locative predicates, or simply by locating the ‘figure’ at the ‘ground’ via a locative predicator. Interestingly, one can specify a location relative to the ‘ground’ by adding spatial relators to the base locative construction. The predicator /n/, the locative prefix /à-/, the existential verbs /tò/ and /í/, verbs /wà’/ and /k’ó/, nominalizations of spatial relators, and grammaticalized nominal spatial relators (mostly semantic extensions of body part lexemes) are among the key linguistic elements through which spatial concepts are expressed in the language. The only occasion when a case marker (i.e., the oblique case) is used in spatial expressions is with body part lexemes.

In Opo, spatial concepts associated with direction are expressed through two sets of motion verbs corresponding to ‘come’ and ‘go.’ These verbs have suppletive forms that indicate singular and plural numbers. While these motion verbs lexically encode direction, they also convey locative goals. Typically, locative goals in the language may be expressed when these motion verbs are used with proper nouns. The source is almost always marked with the locative prefix /à-/. Another distinctive feature of motion

orientation is deictic directional markers (DD) (aspect directional). Cross-linguistically, DD markers often denote ventive and itive direction. These markers are also standard features of the Koman and Nilo-Saharan languages.

## **(2) Aspects of Spatial Expressions in Mursi** (Bettina Mütze)

Mursi expresses spatial relations using nominal and verbal deictics. Nominal deictics comprise demonstratives, locatives, and relator nouns, while verbal deictics include directional deictics and inherently directional verbs. In Mursi, relators indicate a specific location of the deictic reference point. The relator nouns originate from two sources: body part terms and domains of the universe (e.g., ‘sky’, ‘ground’, ‘border’).

An interesting feature of Mursi is the interaction between demonstratives and cases. A noun in a demonstrative structure cannot take any case, leading to ambiguity. Therefore, case roles can be inferred from person marking on the verb, the context, or the semantics of the utterance.

In the interaction of demonstratives and case, it has been shown that a noun in a demonstrative construction cannot take any case marking. This leaves it to the person evaluating the verb, the context, or the semantics of the utterance to clarify its role, which can lead to possible ambiguity.

Regarding directional deictics, a ventive suffix indicates motion towards the speaker. Contrary to the typical Surmic pattern of directional markers occurring in pairs of ventive and itive, no morphological marking for itive was found. The verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ are inherently directional, suggesting a possible frozen ventive marking in certain forms.

## **Omotic**

### **(1) Spatial Deictic Expressions in Hamar** (Moges Yigezu)

Spatial deictics in Hamar indicate four different locations on a distance scale, distinguishing between proximal, medial, first-degree distal, and second-degree distal. All deictic words are formed from the deictic root *-k-*; the deictic stem consists of the deictic root and other morphemes. Syntactically, a demonstrative can function as a modifier of a noun or as a head noun; in the latter function, the demonstrative has to be marked for case. Accordingly, Hamar demonstratives are classified here as nominal demonstratives and adverbial demonstratives. Morphologically, nominal and adverbial demonstratives inflect for number, gender, and case.

Semantically, Hamar has nominal demonstratives that are deictically contrastive. These are proximal, medial, first-degree distal, and second-degree distal. In all cases, the nominal demonstratives are distance-oriented and are anchored in a relative frame of reference in the speech act. Adverbial demonstratives also make a three-way distinction between proximal, medial,

and distal and are deictically contrastive. They are all defined with respect to a deictic center, which is the speaker.

Moreover, demonstratives in Hamar encode other planes of spatial orientations such as visibility, elevation, geography, and movement. Four degrees of elevation (that also combine visibility) have been recognized in the vertical dimension. In the horizontal dimension, two levels of distance are identified in the front-back axis, and three levels of distance in the left-right axis. Moreover, spatial deictic terms serve as temporal and anaphoric expressions in a discourse. They function to organize the flow of information in ongoing discourse and, more importantly, are used to keep track of prior discourse participants. The standard source models for the various deictic terms are the metaphorical use of body part nomenclature and environmental landmarks.

## **(2) Demonstratives in Spatial Deictic Functions in Koorete (Binyam Sisay Mendisu)**

The study examines the deictic functions of demonstratives in Koorete, an Omotic language classified under the East Omoto sub-group and spoken in southwestern Ethiopia. It provides a comprehensive description and analysis of the various functions of demonstratives in the language, with a focus on their role as spatial deixis. In the study, demonstrative determiners and pronouns are analyzed in detail.

Koorete has six demonstrative adjectives and their corresponding pronouns. Several parameters, including distance from the deictic center, reference point, visibility, and vertical axis, determine the use of these demonstratives. Furthermore, the study explores the morphological structure of deictic expressions and documents the ongoing grammaticalization process through which demonstratives develop into definiteness markers. This change reflects a broader typological shift from lexical to grammatical and from concrete to abstract linguistic units. The study also interrogates two additional elements: deictic expressions of location and direction, and demonstrative presentatives.

## **(3) Spatial Expressions in Sezo (Girma Mengistu)**

Static spatial events are a primary means by which Sezo speakers convey the locations of objects. In Sezo, static spatial expressions fall into two categories: non-angular spatial relations (commonly used to describe spatial relations between a ‘figure’ and ‘ground’) and angular spatial relations (utilizing coordinate systems to locate the ‘figure’ relative to the ‘ground’).

In Sezo, demonstratives are categorized into nominal and local adverbial. Each type consists of three phonologically bound roots: *hèt’*- (proximal, very near), *hí-* (medial, near), and *hí:jàn-* (distal, far). The morphosyntactic

behavior of these three demonstratives is intriguing. For instance, grammatical categories like number and case cannot be specified morphologically but are instead coded syntactically. However, topographic deictics (topographically oriented locations) must be marked by the dative/locative case suffix *-té*. In Sezo locative case-marked nouns specify topological references. Another fascinating grammatical feature of Sezo is the use of deictic SVCs to express non-angular spatial relations. In Sezo, deictic SVCs can indicate direction toward and away from the deictic center. Thus, the verb *kw(a:-)* ‘come’ or *j(á:-)* ‘go’, both minor verbs, can be conjoined with other primary verbs to convey directionality.

Sezo features two frames of reference: intrinsic and relative. In Sezo, body part nouns can be marked by the locative case suffix *-té* to express intrinsic spatial references. Additionally, Sezo speakers may describe a relative frame of reference by using cardinal direction terms, such as *màni* ‘right’ and *wèḡili* ‘left’, which constitute a coordinate system based on the observer’s body.

#### **(4) Spatial Expressions in Zargula (Azeb Amha)**

The chapter on Zargula-Gamo examines locative expressions in nouns and demonstrative pronouns. It begins with a discussion of the role of the general locative marker *a/-á* and the possibly related endings (l) *la/(l)le* in place names, including the name of the area of the speech community under investigation: Zargulá. This is followed by a section analyzing the versatile morpheme (*s*)*so/se*, which denotes designated spaces within a spatial domain and time (of the day). It is hypothesized that these three functions are interconnected, suggesting the morpheme is derived from a noun that designates space or place. The chapter addresses the form and functions of locative demonstratives and how they integrate the expression of distance and elevation in their meaning both in topological spatial relations and in the expression of motion events.

### **Ethio-Semitic**

#### **(1) Deictics in Amharic (Baye Yimam)**

This chapter on the deixis of Amharic examines the morphosyntactic and pragmatic functions of deictics, with a focus on personal, spatial, and locative forms. At the root level, deictics exhibit affixes for nominal features (such as person, gender, or number). In contrast, at the stem level, they show inflections for adnominal features including dimension, exclusive and presentative reference of objects in space, and/or discourse.

According to the findings, personal deictics are based on the roots *ʔən-*, *ʔan-*, and *rəʔs-* for first, second, and third person, respectively. Interestingly,

the former two have no semantic content and serve as hosts for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person suffixes *-e* and *-t*, respectively. On the other hand, *rəʔs-* ‘had/self’ hosts *-u*, which marks a 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

An interesting feature of Amharic deictics is their plural form. Both personal and spatial deictics take the paucal plural *ʔənnä* as a proclitic. In personal deictics, *ʔənnä* renders a reading ‘X and company’, where X stands for someone high in the power hierarchy (social prominence).

## (2) Spatial Deixis in Tigrinya (Isayas Tajebe)

This paper deals with the morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties of spatial deictic expressions in Tigrinya. The language distinguishes between pronominal and adnominal demonstratives based on their form, syntactic distribution, and semantic function. For instance, adnominal demonstratives are short while pronominal demonstratives are long. Syntactically, adnominals are almost always used as pre-nominal modifiers, while pronominal demonstratives can function either as an independent pronoun or as a noun modifier. In addition, pronominal demonstratives are used to mark entities immediately available for pointing gestures, which the adnominal demonstratives lack.

Locative adverbs exhibit three-level distinctions similarly to pronominal demonstratives. They are formed by suffixing the prepositional locative enclitic *ab* ‘LOC at’ to demonstratives. Other locative expressions involve a combination of the preposition *ab-* and positional nouns or body part nouns such as *ʔigiri* ‘foot’ and *riʔsi* ‘head’, resulting in phrases such as *abʔigiri* ‘under’, *abriʔsi* ‘on top’, and *abgonni* ‘beside’.

The presentative demonstrative is expressed by *ʔiniho* ‘here he/it is’ and is used to attract the attention of an addressee to a location of the referent. The base form *ʔinih-* can be inflected for gender and number of the subject as in: *ʔinihət* ‘here it/she is’, *ʔinihaku* ‘here I am’, etc.

## (3) Rejoinder: Spatial Deixis in Tigrinya (Keffyalew Gebregziabher)

In Tigrinya, demonstratives are significant linguistic elements that play crucial roles in spatial deixis expressions. Tigrinya exhibits a three-way contrast in expressing spatial deixis: proximal (near the speaker and the addressee), proximal (near both the speaker and the addressee), and distal.

An interesting feature observed in Tigrinya deixis is the pronominals that come with their respective person and number features. Person deixis includes only the 1st and 2nd persons. Semantically, the 1st person deixis refers to the speaker, while the 2nd person deixis refers to the addressee. The third person is treated as a conceptual manifestation of spatial deixis or demonstrative, rather than a real person. In this case, the roles of the pragmatic speech act are ‘speaker’ and ‘addressee.’ Speakers may use a

mixed pronominal system based on the pragmatic and grammatical properties that the Tigrinya pronominal paradigms manifest.

In Tigrinya, demonstratives can function as both adnominal and pronominal. Functionally, there is no significant variation between the adnominal and pronominal forms, regardless of the pragmatic and formal features that might be involved. Demonstratives exhibit obligatory gender and number contrasts; thus, noun phrases (NPs) agree with the nouns they modify. Additionally, demonstratives may function as locational adverbials (adverbial demonstratives). Visibility is another semantic feature in Tigrinya. Interestingly, the demonstrative form *wəy-* ‘the (invisible)’ is used to mark a referent that is both [remote] and [(in)visible], hypothetical, imaginative, or one that is not definite in a given universe of discourse. Such usage of spatial deixis is known as spatial projection (cf. Dixon 2003).

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The publication of this volume was delayed by several unforeseen circumstances, most notably the sudden passing of our esteemed publisher, Mr. Ruediger Koeppel. We dedicate this work to his memory. Although the manuscript was finalized with publication fees generously provided in advance by The African Institute, Global Studies University (Sharjah, UAE) which we remain grateful—his untimely death inevitably stalled our progress. Hence, we were compelled to seek alternative outlets. Finally, Dr. Girma Awgichew Demeke, chief editor of the *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages, History, and Culture*, agreed to publish the volume as a special issue. We express our gratitude for his cooperation, his unparalleled efficiency in the speedy review and publication of the volume, and above all, his commitment to scholarship on Ethiopian languages.

