

## **SPATIAL EXPRESSIONS IN AFAAN OROMOO**

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### **Abstract**

*Afaan Oromoo, a Lowland East Cushitic language, denotes spatial concepts through demonstratives, adverbs, verbs and adpositions, either alone or accompanied by physical manifestations such as gesture. This chapter discusses Oromo demonstratives, including demonstrative pronouns, determiners and identifiers, which are used to describe spatial expressions in the language. Demonstrative pronouns inflect for number, distinguishing singular and plural forms, and they inflect for nominative and absolutive cases. Deictically, demonstratives are always speaker-centered. Proximal and distal forms are phonologically distinguished: /k/ for proximal as in kun/kana 'this', and /s/ for distal as in sun/sana 'this'. The other two classes, determiners and identifiers, have the same phonological and morphological forms as demonstrative pronouns, but they are different in their distribution. I distinguish simple (ʔasi 'here' vs. ʔaʃʃ(i) 'there') and complex forms (ʔaʃʃas 'from there to here', ʔasirra/ʔaʃʃirra 'up here'/'up there', etc.) deictic adverbs and show that (non-)directional motion verbs and locative deictics play significant roles in expressing spatial concepts.*

**Keywords:** *Afaan Oromoo, deictic adverbs, demonstratives, locative deictics, motion verbs*

### **1. Afaan Oromoo: Some Background**

The Oromoo people are the largest ethnic group residing in the Horn of Africa at large (Baxter et al., 1996: 1). According to the official Ethiopian population census of 2007 (CSA, 2007), the population of Oromoo is 27.2 million. In 2019, this number was increased to 38.6 million with the population growth projection rate of 2.89% (CSA, 2013, 2017). This figure accounts for 34.8% of the total population of the country. The Oromoo resided in Ethiopia since antiquity side-by-side with Semitic, Omotic, Nilo-

Saharan and other Cushitic language speaking neighbors (Griegenow-Mewis, 2001: 9). Their homeland is known as Oromia (*Ɔoromijaa*), which is the largest regional state in the country. The region covers much of central, western, eastern and southern as well as northern Ethiopia.

The Oromoo speak Afaan Oromoo<sup>1</sup> (*Ɔafaan Ɔoromoo*, literally “mouth of the Oromoo” or “language of the Oromoo”). The language belongs to Oromoid, a major cluster under Lowland East Cushitic along with Afar-Saho and Omo-Tana in Afroasiatic phylum (Griegenow-Mewis, 2001: 9; Mous, 2012: 345-346). In terms of native speakers, it is the third major language in Africa, next to Hausa and Kiswahili (Mohammed, 2010). Among Afroasiatic languages, it is the third populous language, following Arabic and Hausa. Few speakers reside outside the country, such as Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania and Kenya (Gragg, 1982). Apart from the natives, significant number of speakers of other languages, such as Amharic, Tigrigna, Harari, Af-Soomaali, Sidaamu-Afoo, Gedeo, Kafficho, Borna (Shinasha), Komoo, Dawuro, Yemsa and many more use Afaan Oromoo as their second language as a result of language contact (Kebede, 2005). Significant numbers of Oromoos who became refugees and flew outside Ethiopia due to political, social and economic factors exist in North America, Europe, Australia and South Africa (Asafa, 2002; Mekuria, 2002).

On the basis of geographical location in Ethiopia, the language is recently clustered into six major regional varieties. The main dialect clusters are Maccaa (Wallaga, Jimma, Illubabor, West Shewa/Shoa: Western), Tuulamaa (North and East Shewa, and some parts of West Shewa: Central), Walloo-Raayyaa (Wallo and Southern Tigray: Northern), Arsii (Arsi and Bale: Southeastern), Harargee/Baareentu (East and West Hararge: Eastern) and Booranaa (Borana and Guji: Southern). In spite of its spread and the number of speakers, its dialects display relatively slight variation; hence, there is mutual intelligibility (Baye, 1986: 8). The main differences among the dialects lie on the forms of pronouns, verb conjugations and colloquial lexicons (Debela 2011; Eba 2020: 1; Eba & Girma, 2019: 70-71; Fedaa, 2015; Kebede, 2009).

Afaan Oromoo is among those languages of Ethiopia which are relatively well-studied. Some of the relevant studies on its syntax are Baye (1986, 1988), Gragg (1976), Griegenow-Mewis (2001) and Owens (1985). In these works, the language is described as morphologically rich because it involves several inflectional processes. Simple canonical clause has subject (S) at initial, followed by object (O) or complement at medial, and verb (V)

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1 The name *Afaan Oromoo* will be used throughout this study as it is preferred by the speakers despite the common use of *Oromo* and *Oromiffa* in some linguistics literature.

at final positions, hence SOV word-order typology. This applies to all kinds of simple functional clauses: declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory. Though such word-order is fundamental in clauses, there could be free order between the arguments. On the other hand, there could be consecutive events that are expressed by series of verbs in a clause. In such sentences only the verb that appears last carries the tense,) aspect and affirmative or negative markers of all the coordinated verbs.

The study of deixis is one of the topics that is discussed widely among languages of the world. It is the focus area for several disciplines, such as linguistics, psychology and philosophy. It is the bridge between the linguistic forms and the referents of the extra-linguistic surrounding. There are many studies on (spatial) deixis in languages from cross-linguistic, typological and historical point-of-views (Fillmore 1971, 1997). However, the topic is not comprehensively investigated for the language under consideration. Next to scanty studies on spatial deixis of Afaan Oromoo, either as independent works or as parts of other topics, there are a few studies that have dealt with the semantics of motion events, adpositions as well as demonstratives in the language. The works presented hereunder are Baye (1986), Debela (2006, 2007, 2011), Debela & Meyer (2008), Gragg (1976), Griefenow-Mewis (2001), Mohammed (2008), Owens (1985), Samuel (2007), Stroomer (1987, 1995), Teferi (2019) and Yaachis et al. (2012).

In the language, verbs of motion are semantically complex as some of them conflate path, manner and/or referent/ground in their events (Debela, 2006, 2007; Debela & Meyer, 2008; Samuel, 2007). The verbs mainly consist of *deem-* ‘to go’, which does not conflate manner, path and ground (deictic point) in the meaning of the event. This verb in its basic sense refers only to locomotion of a referent from one place to another, with no clear deictic center. There are other verbs that incorporate manner, path and deictic center. Such verbs conflate the speed of motion, the position of the referent (mover) and the nature of contact between the referent and the ground. These are path-oriented and figure-oriented verbs. Path-oriented verbs conflate path of movement and motion together, which shows movement towards or away from a deictic center, primarily the speaker: for example, *dif-* ‘to come’ and *sokk-* ‘to go away’ (Debela, 2006, 2007; Debela & Meyer, 2008). Figure-oriented verbs conflate the referent with the event of the motion. For instance, the verb *dangala?* ‘pour off’ profiles motion of liquids. It is not used with non-liquids. However, the verb *jaa?* ‘flow’ encodes the movement of liquid, gas or solid substances. Similarly, several verbs can conflate path or referent/figure in their events based on the physical natures of the referents as solid, liquid, or gas.

Preverbs showing path/direction or location of the motion are elements that are used as adverbs. Particles, such as *ɖol-* ‘up’, *gad-* ‘down’, *ɖas-* ‘here’,

*ʔaffif-* ‘there’ and *gargar-* ‘apart’ are preverbs. They are attached to path- and manner-conflating verbs. In motion events, path adpositions and case markers can occur with verbs. For example, the preposition *gara* ‘towards’ and the locative postposition *ʔitti* can occur with the bases of manner-oriented verbs. In addition, a structure can contain combinations of manner and path verbs. Converbs and gerundive forms are used as in *ʔinni ʔutaalee deeme* ‘He jumped and went’, and *ʔinni ʔutaalaa deeme* ‘He went jumping’, respectively (Debela, 2006, 2007; Debela & Meyer, 2008; Samuel, 2007).

Apart from verbs, adpositions, which have been studied so far as a part of Afaan Oromoo grammar, have inseparable connection with space in the language. The classification of adposition is not clearly identified as some scholars categorize them as nouns. Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 52) and Owens (1985: 103-121), on the one hand, claim that adpositions are the subcategories of nouns whereas Baye (1986: 59) and Debela (2011: 186) classify these as independent elements. Basically, adpositions are syntactically associated to NPs or clauses, but they do not occur in the places of nouns, verbs or adjectives. In consequence, they do not show any morphological properties that the other lexical categories owe. They precede (preposition) or follow (postposition) the unit with which they form larger syntactic structure, most notably NPs (Yaachis et al., 2012: 254). From spatial adpositions, *ʔirra* ‘on/over’ is one of those which are semantically complex because of their extended and metaphorical meanings. As its primary sense, this adposition designates a referent located higher than a ground/landmark in contact or without contact with each other. Various extended meanings have been systematically derived: increased amount, addition, sequence, preference, superiority, control/power, repetition, passing over and temporal (location in time) (Mohammed, 2008: 24-78; Yaachis et al., 2012: 276-277).

Spatial adverbs are the other lexical categories which denote referents (object) using a two-way distinction between proximal and distal in the language. They designate distal (remoter) by *ʔaffif(i)* ‘there’ and proximal objects by *ʔas(i)* ‘here’. For both adverbs, the deictic center is the speaker. These words precede verbs or NPs in clause structures (Baye, 1986: 43-74; Griefenow-Mewis, 2001: 96; Owens, 1985: 229-232). In addition to these, Raayyaa variety uses *ʔarma* by exchanging it with *ʔas(i)* ‘here’ (Teferi, 2019: 177).

Demonstratives convey a two-way distinction between referents as proximal and distal, mainly from the speaker’s point-of-view. Several studies (such as Gragg, 1976: 178; Griefenow, 2001: 35; Owens, 1985: 88-89; Stroomer, 1987: 111-118, 1995: 62-65; Teferi, 2019: 108) identified *kun(i)* (m) ‘this’, *tun(i)* (f) ‘this’, *sun(i)* ‘that’, *sanneen* ‘those’ and *kunniin* ‘these’ as subject forms, and *kana* (m) ‘this’, *tana* (f) ‘this’, *kanneen* ‘these’ and

*san(a)* ‘that’ as basic forms of demonstratives with slight differences. Whereas *kun(i)*, *tun(i)*, *kunniin*, *kana*, *tana* and *kanneen* are proximal to the speaker, *sun(i)*, *san(a)* and *sanneen* are distal. The plural forms *kunniin*, *kanneen* and *sanneen* are only utilized in Western (Maaccaa) and Central (Tuulamaa) clusters and in written forms, but not in others. However, all other varieties/clusters use the singular forms of the demonstratives regardless of number. The other grammatical feature detected on the demonstratives is gender distinction. Western (Maaccaa) cluster uses *kun(i)*, *sun(i)*, *kana* and *san(a)* for masculine and feminine, but all other clusters use *tun(i)*, *tana* (f) for feminine and the others for masculine genders (Gragg, 1976; Owens, 1985; Stroomer, 1987, 1995, Teferi, 2019). In phrase or clause structure, demonstratives always follow head noun.

Space can also be expressed in the language using cases, such as ablative and locative. In ablatives, the sources of referents or entities are stated. These sources are indicated by suffixes, such as *-daa*, *-tii* and vowel length. These suffixes are attached to nouns with long terminal vowels as in *?amboodaa* ‘from Ambo’ and *baaleetii* ‘from Bale’. In addition, when nouns terminate with short vowels, these are lengthened to serve similar function as in *manaa* ‘from home’ and *lafaa* ‘from earth’. Furthermore, the particle *-rraa*, which is the cliticized form of the postposition *?irraa* ‘from above’, is added to nouns to show ablative case (Griefenow-Mewis, 2001: 48-49; Mohammed, 2008). The referent is in motion of movement from its starting point, such as the source. On the other hand, the referent in locative case indicates its location or destination (goal), or movement to a particular place. It is marked by *-tti* (the cliticized form of the adposition *?itti* ‘to’), *-rra* (the cliticized form of the adposition *?irra* ‘on’) and vowel length with preposition *gara* ‘to, towards’. Different referents attach the suffixes to refer to destination of entities as in *tolaa-n laga-tti deem-e* ‘Tola went to the river’ or location as in *tolaa-n siree-rra f’iis-e* ‘Tola slept in the bed’ and *tolaa-n laga-tti huf’f’uu miif’-e* ‘Tola washed clothes at the river’. However, locative case in *tolaa-n gara mana(a)-tti deeme* ‘Tola went to home’ lengthened its terminal vowel to show direction of referents (Griefenow-Mewis, 2001: 50; Owens, 1985: 99).

Generally, the concept of (spatial) deixis has been touched upon in most studies of the language as a part of grammatical descriptions. They mentioned that verbs of motion are of different kinds in that they may incorporate path, referent/figure, manner or the combination of these features in their semantics. On the other hand, the lexical categories of adpositions, adverbs and demonstratives are used in the grammar of the language to show the proximity or distance of referents or entities. Apart from their huge contributions, the studies did not show the structural, semantic and pragmatic scopes of the proximal or distal deictics. This study, thus, is an attempt to

fill-in such gaps by providing descriptions about the details of spatial deictic system in Afaan Oromoo. The data for this study were obtained from Afaan Oromoo grades 9-12 textbooks, which are currently in use, native speakers of western variety (dialect) and my own introspection. The textbooks are the primary sources as the (clause/sentence) structures in them are usually free of errors and vagueness. The native speakers were provided with the structures from the textbooks for interpretation and evaluation of their intelligibility. The three sources enhance the accuracy level of the data to reach on comprehensive findings and conclusions. With these, the empirical discussions about spatial expressions of Afaan Oromoo are presented in the sections which follow.

## 2. Demonstrative Deictics

Demonstratives are roughly defined as grammatical (lexical and morphological) elements or expressions which denote objects/entities, persons and places. They have strong connections with the actual entities as they specify and determine these from other similar referents in the context of utterances (Dixon, 2003: 61-62; Wolter, 2006: 1). They are (spatial) deictic expressions which commonly depend on the situations around the speaker and/or the hearer. They play fundamental role in combination with extra-linguistic forms, such as gestural acts in order to make the hearers specify the entities under discussion from others. Their main function is to attract the attention or focus of the communicators on the location of referents and relate them with shared background in the discourse/speech situation (Diessel, 1999b: 2; Dixon, 2003: 61; Levinson, 1983: 61-96).

As regards the universality of demonstratives, all languages have at least two demonstratives which distinguish entities located at proximal or distal distances from the speaker/hearer (Diessel, 1999a: 1). In a speech context, the referents located at proximal distance from the speaker/hearer are described by proximal whereas those which are located at distal distance are denoted by distal demonstratives. However, the deictic center may vary across languages as some take the speaker as the deictic center while others consider the hearer/listener as the deictic center (Diessel 1999a: 36). Hence, the morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic structures or functions of demonstratives vary across languages of the world (Diessel, 1999b: 1; Tanz, 1980).

Specific to Afaan Oromoo, as stated in §1 above, its speakers accompany demonstrative by gestures to indicate referents around or far away by different mechanisms, such as using index finger, raising chin, moving forehead, lifting chin and constricting lips. This is the case mainly during oral communication. They use these gestural (extra-linguistic) acts along

with linguistic expressions. The language, however, has several forms which the speakers use in denoting the location, position, place, direction and movement of animate or inanimate objects in the frame of the interlocutors in the discourse.

## 2.1. The Morphosyntax of Demonstratives

In the existing literature, there are four categories of demonstratives. These are demonstrative pronouns (often called pronominals), demonstrative determiners/adjectives (often called adnominals), demonstrative adverbs (often called adverbials) and demonstrative identifiers (often called identificational) (Diessel, 1999b: 1-2). In the grammar of Afaan Oromoo, however, demonstratives represent demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative determiners and demonstrative identifiers. The first occur in argument positions by substituting noun phrases. Demonstrative determiners are those which co-occur with noun phrases as modifiers or co-referential. The third, demonstrative identifiers, appear with copulas in clauses. Despite their syntactic variations, these demonstratives have the same stem forms. These are presented along with their functions, in the section that follows.

### 2.1.1. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Afaan Oromoo are used in argument positions, such as subject and object, in clauses. They occur in the places of noun phrases. There are two points of relative distance to be denoted in the language: proximal and distal. Demonstratives in this language are deictic expressions. Formally, they inflect for number as singular and plural, and for case as nominative and absolutive. Whatever category they belong to, they are always speaker-centered. The table below presents proximal demonstratives with different numbers and cases.

**Table 1: Proximal demonstratives in Afaan Oromoo**

Demonstrative	Proximal	
	Nominative	Absolutive
<b>Singular</b>	<i>kun</i> ‘this’	<i>kana</i> ‘this’
<b>Plural</b>	<i>kunneen</i> ‘these’	<i>kanneen</i> ‘these’

Table 1 shows that Afaan Oromoo has different number and case forms of demonstratives to denote referents on proximal distance from the deictic center, i.e. the speaker. If an object, a person or a place is close (nearer) to the speaker, it is denoted by *kun/kana* ‘this’ for singular and *kunneen/kanneen* ‘these’ for plural. The plural forms are derived from the singular ones through the affixation of *-een* and gemination of the last consonant in the stems. Examples are given below.

- (1) a. *kun*                    *kitaaba*    *gaarii-dā*  
 this.NOM    book            good-COP  
 ‘This is a good book.’
- b. *kun(n)<sup>2</sup>-een*        *kitaab(i)<sup>3</sup>-lee*    *gag-gaarii-dā*  
 this.NOM-PL    book-PL            RDP-good-COP  
 ‘These are good books.’
- c. *ʔan-i*                    *kana*                *hin-dubbis-n-e*  
 1S-NOM    this.ABS            NEG-read-CM-PFV  
 ‘I did not read this.’
- d. *gurb(i)-fffi*            *kan(n)-een*        *arg-e*  
 boy- NOM.SG.DEF    this.ABS-PL        see-PFV  
 ‘The boy saw these.’

In (1), the examples show proximal demonstratives with singular and plural forms. Whereas (1a&c) refer to singular, (1b&d) represent plural forms. Accordingly, the singular and plural forms of demonstratives must agree with the verb as well as other constituents in an utterance (a sentence). Along with variations in number, proximal demonstratives also denote nominative (subject) and absolutive (object) cases differently. The nominative case of proximal entity is denoted by *kun* ‘this’ (singular) as in (1a) and *kunneen* ‘these’ (plural) as in (1b). On the other hand, absolutive case is expressed by *kana* ‘this’ (singular) as in (1c) and *kanneen* ‘these’ (plural) as in (1d). The plural forms are optional when the demonstratives co-occur with noun phrases, as in the following examples.

- (2) a. *kitaab(i)-lee-n*        *kun*                    *gag-gaarii-dā*  
 book-PL-NOM    this.NOM            RDP-good-COP  
 ‘These books are good.’
- b. *dʒar-(r)i*                *kitaab(i)-lee*        *kana*                *bit-ani*  
 they-NOM        book-PL                this.ABS            buy-PFV  
 ‘They bought these books.’

2 The sound in parenthesis, /n/, is geminated only during plural form of the demonstrative.

3 The sound in parenthesis, /i/, is inserted for phonotactic purpose.

As indicated in (2a-b), Afaan Oromoo speakers can use proximal demonstratives as adnominals. Adnominals are in their singular forms whereas the nouns which precede them (*kitaabileen* ‘books’ (2a) and *ḍgarri* ‘they’ (2b)) are in plural forms. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the plural forms of the adnominals never co-occur with noun phrases. Of course, it is not uncommon to say *kitaabileen kunneen* ‘these books’ though the frequency is less among the speakers of Western variety.

The proximity of the distance to the deictic center depends on the conceptualization of the discourse context and comparison of the location of a referent with another similar referent in farther distance from the deictic center. Regarding their visibility, proximal demonstratives denote referents in the vicinity of the speaker, but the expression of the vicinity depends on the order of referents if the context of communication is about abstract (non-concrete) referents; the referent which is stated first is denoted as proximal to the speaker.

Regarding distal demonstratives, Afaan Oromoo denotes remoteness of referents by using slightly different lexical elements. These have phonological difference from the proximal ones in that they use the consonant /s/ (table 2 below) instead of /k/ (table 1 above). The contrast between proximal and distal demonstratives is basically identified when the entities in context are physically visible to the speaker and the hearer/listener. However, the contrast could be different if the discourse situation is about entities which are invisible to them or are imaginary objects. For instance, proximity of a referent can be referred from the co-text or context of the discourse situations. With this, distal demonstratives indicate that a referent is far away from the speaker. The following table shows distal demonstratives in the language.

**Table 2: Distal Demonstratives in Afaan Oromoo**

Demonstrative	Distal	
	Nominative	Absolute
Singular	<i>sun</i> ‘that’	<i>sana</i> ‘that’
Plural	<i>sunneen</i> ‘those’	<i>sanneen</i> ‘those’

As shown in this table, a referent which is located far away from the speaker (deictic center) is expressed by *sun/sana* ‘that’ (singular) and *sunneen/sanneen* ‘those’ (plural). These are also used when the distance of

the referent is invisible or irrelevant (not important to be explained) to the speaker as well as the hearer. Similar to the proximal demonstratives described above, these are inflected for number and case. Below are examples for distal demonstrative pronouns in nominative case.

- (3) a. *sun*                    *kitaaba*                    *gaarii-dā*  
 that.NOM    book                    good-COP  
 ‘That is a good book.’
- b. *sun(n)-een*                    *kitaab(i)-lee*

<i>gag-gaarii-dā</i>
RDP-good-COP

  
 that.NOM-PL                    book-PL  
 ‘Those are good books.’
- c. *ʔinni*                    *sana*                    *fud-at-e*  
 3MS.NOM                    that.ABS                    Take-MID-PFV  
 ‘He took that.’
- d. *nami-fffi*                    *san(n)-een*                    *na(a)-f*

<i>kenn-e</i>
give-PFV

  
 man-NOM    that.ABS-PL                    1S-DAT  
 ‘The man gave me those.’

Whereas the forms *sun* ‘that’ (singular) and *sunneen* ‘those’ (plural) in (3a&b) express nominative, *sana* ‘that’ (singular) and *sanneen* ‘those’ (those) in (3c&d) are used for absolutive. The plural forms in (3b&d) are inflected by the suffixation of *-een*<sup>4</sup> and gemination of the last consonant in the stem. No matter how far away from the speaker, the referents which are denoted by distal demonstratives are always visible in the context of talking about physical objects. Yet, referents which are definitely known between the speaker and the hearer/listener are represented by distal demonstratives. The plural forms are optional when they appear with noun phrases in utterances, as shown below.

- (4) a. *nam-oot-ni*                    *sun*                    *k’arfii-koo*                    *fud-at-ani*  
 man-PL-NOM                    that.NOM                    money-1s.POSS                    take-MID-PFV  
 ‘Those men took my money.’
- b. *nam(i)-fffi*                    *kitaab(i)-lee*                    *sana*                    *na(a)-f*

<i>kenn-e</i>
Give-PFV

  
 man-NOM                    Book-PL                    That.ABS                    1S-DAT  
 ‘The man gave me those books.’

In (4), the subject (nominative) *nam-oot-ni* and object (absolutive) *kitaab(i)-lee* are in plural forms. The singular demonstratives which co-occur

4 This affix is one of the plural markers in the language; *farda* ‘horse’ → *fard-een* ‘horses’, *laga* ‘river’ → *lag-een* ‘rivers’

with these forms are *sun* ‘that’ (NOM) and *sana* ‘that’ (ABS) respectively. The speakers, in their everyday communication, use these demonstratives, and the message is clearly understood despite number disagreement between the noun phrases and these demonstratives. Another exceptional feature of demonstratives is that speakers often use the plural absolutives (citation forms) instead of the nominative ones in their speeches, as shown in (5) below.

- (5) a. *kan(n)-een*      *kitaab(i)-lee*      *gag-gaarii-da*  
 this.ABS-PL      book-PL      RDP-good-COP  
 ‘These are good books.’
- b. *san(n)-een*      *kitaab(i)-lee*      *gag-gaarii-da*  
 that.ABS-PL      book-PL      RDP-good-COP  
 ‘Those are good books.’

The plural demonstratives *kanneen* ‘these’ and *sanneen* ‘those’ in (5a&b) are lexically in absolutive case, as in (1d&3d) above. However, speakers occasionally use them in subject positions, and the listeners understand the meanings/intentions of the speakers despite the wrong preference of the demonstratives. As regards their meanings, the demonstrative in (5a) denotes proximal referents and the one in (5b) expresses distal referents, as is the case elsewhere.

### 2.1.2. Demonstrative determiners

As already stated, different syntactic categories of demonstratives have the same phonological and morphological forms in the language. Demonstrative determiners follow and determine noun phrases in phrase/clause structures. The same phonological and morphological forms of demonstrative pronouns can co-occur with nouns, pronouns, quantifiers and copula in the language. Despite having the same forms, demonstrative determiners are functionally in different categories with demonstrative pronouns. The examples below show demonstrative determiners with nominative and absolutive cases.

- (6) a. *dubbis-ni*      *kun*      *keejjata*      *sadi*      *k’ab-a*  
 passage-NOM      this.NOM      paragr      three      catch-IMPF  
 aph  
 ‘This passage has three paragraphs.’
- b. *famarr-an*      *kun(n)-een*      *hirij-oota-da*  
 girl-PL      this.NOM-PL      friend-PL-COP  
 ‘These girls are friends.’
- c. *?ati*      *taliila*      *kana*      *hin-boor-ess-(i)n*  
 2S.NOM      spring      this.ABS      NEG-impure-CAUS-CM  
 ‘Don’t make this spring impure.’

- d. *ʔisi-n*      *meeʔaa-lee*      *san(n)-een*      *daaʔim(m)-an-(ii)ʔ*      *kenn-aa*  
 2PL-NOM      device-PL      that.ABS-PL      child-PL-DAT      give-IMPR  
 ‘Give those devices to children.’

As shown above, the first two examples, (6a&b), have demonstrative determiners *kun* ‘this’ and *kunneen* ‘these’ which modify the subject nouns *dubbisni* ‘passage’ and *ʔamarran* ‘girls’. These denote the proximity of the subjects under discussion to the speaker (deictic center). Syntactically, they take the slot of adjective to form noun phrase subject in the clause. Similarly, *kana* ‘this’ and *sanneen* ‘those’ in (6c&d) follow and modify the nouns *taliila* ‘spring’ and *meeʔaalee* ‘devices’, which occur in syntactic object (absolutive) position in the clauses. Altogether, these are formally distinguished from demonstrative pronouns in their syntactic contexts, where they serve as noun modifiers.

Demonstrative determiners can also co-occur with third person definite pronouns. Despite formally being personal pronouns, they modify lexical elements in the examples below. On the other hand, these demonstratives exceptionally modify pronouns, co-occurring in the subject position in the clauses.

- (7) a. *ʔinni*      *kun*      *baajjee*      *barbaa(ʔʔ)-is-aa-da*  
 3MS-NOM      this.NOM      very      find-CAUS-MS-COP  
 ‘This one (male) is very important.’ Lit. ‘This he is very important.’
- b. *ʔifii-n*      *kun*      *barbaa(ʔʔ)-is-tuu-da*  
 3FS-NOM      this.NOM      find-CAUS-FS-COP  
 ‘This one (female) is important.’ Lit. ‘This she is important.’
- c. *ʔgar-(r)i*      *sun*      *na*      *waam-ani*  
 3PL-NOM      that.NOM      1S.ABS      call-PFV  
 ‘Those ones called me.’ Lit. ‘Those they called me.’

In (7), the demonstrative determiners *kun* ‘this’ (7a&b) and *sun* ‘that’ (7c) co-occur with the nominative case of the pronouns *ʔinni* ‘he’, *ʔifiiin* ‘she’ and *ʔgarri* ‘they’, respectively. These demonstratives indicate the focus of the speaker by individuating or specifying the referent that only one from the others in context is targeted. The pronouns *ʔinni* ‘he’, *ʔifiiin* ‘she’ and *ʔgarri* ‘they’ do not necessarily replace personal nouns, but they refer to inanimate objects. Whereas the gender difference between the singular pronouns denotes size of the objects (*ʔinni* for big/normal size, and *ʔifiiin* for small or diminutive size), the plural pronoun refers to collective objects.

As regards the proximity-distality contrast, those in (7) are often supported by extra-linguistic forms, such as gesture, index finger, chin, lips, etc., but the others which are discussed so far are used barely. In a similar

fashion, demonstrative determiners modify the object (absolutive) forms of third person definite pronouns, as exemplified below.

- (8) a. *bantii-n*            *?isa*            *kana*            *barbaad-a*  
 Banti-NOM            3MS            this.ABS            find-IMPF  
 ‘Banti needs this one.’
- b. *bantii-n*            *?ifii*            *kana*            *barbaad-a*  
 Banti-NOM            3FS            this.ABS            find-IMPF  
 ‘Banti needs this one (female).’
- c. *bantii-n*            *ḍgara*            *sana*            *barbaad-a*  
 Banti-NOM            3PL            that.ABS            find-IMPF  
 ‘Banti needs these ones.’

The examples in (8) have demonstrative determiners which co-occur with third person definite pronouns in object (absolutive) position. The forms of these demonstratives are the same as those which are presented so far (tables 1&2) in different examples for absolutive case. When speakers use utterances with the co-occurrence of the demonstratives *kana* ‘this’ (8a&b) and *sana* ‘that’ (8c) with the pronouns *?isa* ‘him’, *?ifii* ‘her’ and *ḍgara* ‘them’ respectively, the meanings of the referents/objects are determined only by their physical presence. Similar to those in (7), the examples in (8a-c) is supported by extra-linguistic forms in order to specifically point the referents. In short, Afaan Oromoo uses demonstrative determiners which are lexically the same as demonstrative pronouns. However, it should be noted that the syntactic function categorically distinguishes the two types. In the same pragmatic token, the language has demonstrative determiners which co-occur with quantifiers, as shown below.

- (9) a. *kun*            *hund-i*            *hin-fajjad-u*  
 this.NOM            all-NOM            NEG-use-IMPF  
 ‘All of this is useless.’
- b. *?ifii-n*            *kana*            *sadan*            *ni-gurgur-t-i*  
 3FS-NOM            this.ABS            three\_of            FOC-sell-3FS-IMPF  
 ‘She will sell these three.’
- c. *barat(t)-oot-ni*            *kan(n)-een*            *hunda*            *baraffiiuu*            *k’ab-u*  
 student-PL-NOM            this.ABS-PL            all            learning            catch-IMPF  
 ‘The students should learn all of these.’

In the language, demonstrative determiners can also co-occur with quantifiers as illustrated in (9a-c). In (9a), the demonstrative determiner *kun* ‘this’ modifies the quantifier *hund-* ‘all’ to occupy the subject (nominative) position as *kun hundi* ‘all of this’ in the clause. Those in (9b&c), *kana* ‘this’ and *kanneen* ‘these’, modify the quantifiers *sadan* ‘three of’ and *hunda* ‘all’, respectively, both of which occur in object (absolutive) position in the

clauses. Note that, not all quantifiers co-occur with demonstrative determiners as some indefinite quantifiers do not give sense when they co-occur with demonstratives. The pragmatic implication of the clauses in (9a-c) is that the communicators have common background about the referents represented by the quantifiers, or the referents are physically in the immediate contexts of the speakers and the listeners. Yet, demonstrative determiners can co-occur with very specific (limited number of adjectives), such as the following.

- (10) a. *bab-bareed-tuu-n*                      *kun*                      *nama*                      *hawwat-t-i*  
 RDP-beautiful-NOM                      this.NOM                      person                      attract-3FS-IMPF  
 ‘These beautiful ones attract people.’
- b. *gag-gabaabaa-n*                      *sun*                      *kan*                      *tolaa-ti*  
 RDP-short-NOM                      that.NOM                      of                      Tolaa-COP  
 ‘Those short ones are Tolaa’s.’
- c. *ḍgar-(r)i*                      *t’i-t’ik’k’oo*                      *kana*                      *hin-fud-at-ani*  
 3PL-NOM                      RDP-small                      this.ABS                      NEG-take-MID-IMPF  
 ‘They do not take these small ones.’
- d. *?ati*                      *gu-gurraafffa*                      *sana*                      *?isa-(a)f*                      *kenn-i*  
 2S.NOM                      RDP-black                      that.ABS                      3MS.ABS-DAT                      give-IMPF  
 ‘(You) give him these black ones.’

As indicated in (10), the nominative case of demonstrative determiners *kun* ‘this’ and *sun* ‘that’ in (10a&b) co-occur with the adjectives *babbareedduu* ‘beautiful’ and *gaggabaabaa* ‘short’, respectively. On the other hand, the absolutive forms *kana* ‘this’ and *sana* ‘that’ in (10c&d) co-occur with the adjectives *t’itiik’k’o* ‘small’ and *gugurraafffa* ‘black’, respectively. These utterances are completely meaningless unless they are spoken in a particular context. Thus, physical presence of the referents is mandatory precondition because the speaker shows them by pointing at them using extra-linguistic forms. Here too, as in (9), not all adjectives co-occur with demonstratives despite the importance of context. As shown in all of the above adjectives, reduplication of the first syllables denotes multiple numbers of the same properties/features. Basically, one who uses the language can understand in the discourse context that the adjectives are used in the places of noun phrases. Apart from demonstrative determiners, Afaan Oromoo has demonstrative identifiers which co-occur with copulas, which will be presented in the following section.

### 2.1.3. Demonstrative identifiers

Demonstrative identifiers (often called predicative demonstratives) are the third functional types of demonstratives in Afaan Oromoo. In typological and

theoretical literature, these are described as rare elements or relatively uncommon as compared to demonstrative pronouns and determiners (Diessel, 1997a&b, 1999a&b). They are spatial deictic elements used along with copulas and identificational predicates in clauses to denote the locations, directions or positions of referents in space. They are similar with the other demonstrative types in their phonological and morphological structures (Diessel, 1999a; Terrill, 2003). However, they occur in copula and non-verbal clauses to emphasize the referents for better attention of the hearer.

In Afaan Oromoo, likewise, demonstrative identifiers have identical lexical elements to demonstrative pronouns and determiners. However, there is phonological modification in the case of individuating demonstrative identifiers which are presented in (12) below; hence, there is the syllable – *oo* in word-final position in the demonstratives. Apart from the pragmatic function, the triggering linguistic factor for the affixation of this vowel is not known. The vowel takes its form from the vowel of the first syllable of the pronoun. These demonstratives are attested to occur in pre-copular positions in clauses, as follow.

- (11) a. [*hoolaa tolaa-n bit-e kana-da*  
[sheep Tola-NOM buy-PFV] this.ABS-COP  
'The sheep which Tola bought is this.'
- b. [*barat(t)-oot-ni ?ati barsiis-t-e kan(n)-een(i)-da*  
student-PL-NOM 2S.NOM each-2S-PFV this.ABS-PL-COP  
'The students whom you taught are these.'
- c. [*want-i ?ani barbaad-e sana tur-e*  
[what-NOM 1S find-PFV] that.ABS was-PFV  
'What I needed was that.'
- d. [*huf"fu-wwan ?intal-(l)i gat-t-e kan(n)-een tur-ani*  
[cloth-PL girl-NOM lose-3FS-PFV] this.ABS-PL was-PFV  
'The clothes which she lost were these.'

As shown in (11), demonstrative identifiers have the same forms as demonstrative pronouns and determiners. However, they should be treated in a separate classification since they are distinguished from the others in their canonical or functional categories. The demonstratives, such as *kana* 'this' (11a), *kanneen* 'these' (11b&d) and *sana* 'that' (11c), occur immediately preceding the copulas –*da* and *tur-*. There are a couple of peculiarities as regards demonstrative determiners, such as the above and others, in Afaan Oromoo. First, only absolutive (object) forms of demonstratives are used in copular constructions. Second, they are always used with cleft constructions. In these examples, the structures in square brackets are cleft

clauses which moved to the beginning of the sentences to indicate the focus by the speaker. Concerning proximal-distal contrast, the features of demonstrative identifiers are the same as the others.

There are other demonstrative identifiers which occur only with the dependent copula *-ti* in Afaan Oromoo. This copula often occurs in genitive and any other possession constructions with possessive nouns/pronouns (Eba, 2020: 75-76; Griefenow, 2001: 91, 109). These forms of demonstratives are mainly two, *kunoo* ‘this/over here’ and *kuunnoo* ‘that/over there’. As can be observed, the proximal nominative demonstrative *kun* attaches the long vowel *-oo* at word-final position, preceding the copula. Like those in (11) above, the demonstratives show the location of referents in space. The examples below have these demonstratives.

- (12) a. *kitaab-iffi-i*                      *kunoo-ti*  
 book-SG.DEF-NOM                      this-COP  
 ‘The book is this/over here.’
- b. *teessoo-wwan*                      *kunoo-ti*  
 chair-PL                                      this-COP  
 ‘The chairs are these/over here.’
- c. *kitaab-iffi*                              *kúúnnoo-ti*  
 book-NOM                                      that-COP  
 ‘The book is that/over there.’
- d. *teessoo-wwan*                      *kúúnnoo-ti*  
 chair-PL                                      that-COP  
 ‘The chairs are those/over there.’

The demonstratives *kunoo* ‘this/over here’ (12a&b) and *kuunnoo* ‘over there’ (12c&d) are used in the copular clauses. These employ the stem of nominative (subject) case of demonstrative pronoun with some kind of phonological and morphological modifications. While the structures which express singularity (12a&c) and plurality (12b&d) are exactly the same, the distances of the referents from the deictic centers (the speakers) are denoted differently. The proximal distance is indicated by *kunoo* ‘this/over here’. Phonologically, this form has short first vowel and non-geminated second/final consonant in the stem. On the other hand, distal distances are expressed by *kuunnoo* ‘that/over there’. This is different from the proximal in that it has long first vowel and geminated second/final consonant. In addition, the pitch of the distal demonstrative is indicated by diacritics in the word *kúúnnoo* ‘that/over there’. These demonstratives can only occur in pre-verbal position in copular clauses.

Pragmatically, they are most commonly used utterances to answer the question *ʔinni/ʔifiin/dʒarri meerre* ‘Where is/are he/it/she/they?’ where any subject form can replace the pronouns in the clause. Contrarily, the object form cannot co-occur with the copula *-ti*. These demonstrative identifiers are used to denote referents which the speakers pick out of other similar features in the discourse context, hence individuating demonstratives.

As indicated in (11-12) above, Afaan Oromoo has demonstrative identifiers which are phonologically and morphologically similar though there are slight modifications with those which co-occur with the copula *-ti* (12). It is also shown that demonstrative identifiers occur in clauses. Another point regarding demonstrative identifiers is that number difference (singular or plural) is not detected between the forms, but only proximal-distant contrast is distinguished between the referents which are close to or far away from the deictic center (mainly the speaker). As long as case is concerned, while the demonstrative identifiers which co-occur with the copulas *-da* and *tur-* are in absolutive, those which co-occur with the copula *-ti* are in nominative cases.

Exceptionally, nominative case of demonstrative identifiers occurs in pre-copula positions in copular constructions. Proximal-distal contrast is easily detected by the demonstratives where the stems with /k/ initial are for proximal distances and those with /s/ denote distal positions. Yet, proximal-distal contrast is differently denoted in the case of demonstrative identifiers; proximal nominative demonstrative with short /u/ and non-geminated /n/ (12a&b), and distal nominative demonstrative with long /u/, geminated /n/ and raised pitch (12c&d). The deictic center is always the speaker.

### 3. Spatial Deictic Adverbs

In this section, we describe the forms, distributions and functions of spatial deictic adverbs in Afaan Oromoo. The concept of spatial deictic adverb was introduced by Fillmore (1982: 47) though he used the expression “demonstrative adverb” instead. He used the English words *here* and *there* to refer to the location or place of referents from the speaker’s point-of-view. These are named differently in literature. Demonstrative adverbs, adverbial deictics, locational or locative adverbs, etc. are some of the names for more or less the same concept (Diessel 1999a: 74-78). Afaan Oromoo distinguishes spatial deictic adverbs from demonstratives. In this study, I prefer to use spatial deictic adverbs in order to avoid confusions over terminology. Despite their number and types, these adverbs, similar to demonstrative pronouns, are universal linguistic features (Diessel 1999a; Dixon 2003). Accordingly, Diessel (1999a) and Dixon (2003) argue that no language lacks at least these two contrasting adverbs. Spatial deictic adverbs

primarily modify verbs in their syntactic distributions though the case could vary on language particulars. In Afaan Oromoo, there are two morphosyntactic categories of spatial deictic adverbs. The first includes simple forms, and the other has the combination of different lexical elements. Each will be subsequently dealt with below.

### 3.1. Simple Deictic Adverbs

In Afaan Oromoo, just like in most other languages, such as English, spatial deictic adverbs mark a two-way deictic contrast, proximal and distal. The distance between the deictic center (the speaker) and the referents depends on his/her conceptualization of the location or position of the entity (referent). The adverbs are morphologically simple as they exist in isolation. They do not inflect for gender, number, tense/aspect, but they are subject to case when they co-occur with motion verbs. They distinguish two degrees of deixis, proximal vs. distal, as shown in the table below.

**Table 3: Spatial deictic adverbs**

Proximal	Distal
<i>ʔas(i)</i> ‘here’	<i>ʔafffi(i)</i> ‘there’

The words *ʔas(i)* ‘here’ and *ʔafffi(i)* ‘there’ in the table refer to the area around the deictic center (primarily the speaker). Whereas the former (*ʔas(i)* ‘here’) denotes the proximity of an object to the speaker, *ʔafffi(i)* ‘there’ refers to an area of the referent relatively remote from the speaker. These adverbs mainly modify verb, and always occur in the preverbal position in sentences or utterances. They can be combined with each other, enclitic adpositions, adjectives and their combinations thereof to form complex spatial deictic adverbs (the details will be treated in the next section). They are not only confined to spatially contrastive setting, i.e., proximal vs. distal, but they are also used in temporal deictic expressions. However, the focus here is the former function only. The examples below have simple spatial deictic adverb *ʔas(i)* to denote the proximity of the referents to the speaker.

- (13) a. *gurb-iffi-i*                      *ʔas*      *ɕʔir-a*  
 boy-SG.DEF-NOM                      here      exist-IMPF  
 ‘The boy is here.’ Lit. ‘The boy exists here.’
- b. *keessumm-oot-ni*                      *ʔas*      *duf-an-i*  
 guest-PL-NOM                      here      come-2PL-IMPF  
 ‘The guests came here.’
- c. *famarr-an*                      *ʔas-ii*                      *deem-an-i*  
 girl-PL                      here-ABL                      go-2PL-IMPF  
 ‘The girls went from here.’

In (13), the examples show proximal spatial deictic adverb *ʔas* ‘here’ used as verb modifier. Whereas *ʔas* ‘here’ in (a) co-occurs with the existential verb *ʔʒir-* ‘exist’ to show the place of *gurb-* ‘boy’, the same form in (b) co-occurs with motion verb *duf-* ‘come’ in which the place where the deictic center is the destination of the mover (*keessumm-* ‘guest’). On the other hand, the proximal adverb has ablative case marker *-ii* to refer to deictic center as the source of the movement (*deem-* ‘go’) of the referent (or object), *famarran* ‘girls’. The referent is in motion of movement from its starting point, identified as *ʔas* ‘here’, which is the place/location where the speaker is found. In all of the examples, the deictic adverb is syntactically free and occurs preceding the verbs.

Pragmatically, the utterances in the discourse can optionally be accompanied by gestures to point at the locations around the speaker, but this is not mandatory. In order to understand the utterance with *ʔas* ‘here’, one has to utilize his/her encyclopedic and linguistic knowledge determining the location of the referent. As the deictic center shifts, the meaning of the utterance changes; hence, the utterance depends on the interactions of the two kinds of knowledge. On the other hand, the simple distal spatial deictic adverb is shown in the examples below.

- (14) a. *gurb-iff-i*                      *ʔaff(i)*              *ʔʒir-a*  
 boy-SG.DEF-NOM              there              exist-IMPF  
 ‘The boy is there.’ Lit. ‘The boy exists there.’
- b. *keessumm-oot-ni*              *ʔaff(i)*              *deem-an-i*  
 guest-PL-NOM              there              go-2PL-IMPF  
 ‘The guest went there.’
- c. *famarr-an*              *ʔaff-ii*              *dūuf-an-i*  
 girl-PL              there-ABL              come-2PL-IMPF  
 ‘The girls came from there.’

In (14), the distal spatial deictic adverb *ʔaff(i)* ‘there’ occurs in preverbal positions of predicate structures. In (a), the speaker uses the spatial deictic adverb *ʔaff(i)* ‘there’ to indicate the referent *gurb-* ‘boy’ being on a distant place from him/her. On the other hand, the same spatial deictic adverb appears with motion verb *deem-* ‘go’ in (14b). Unlike in (14a), this adverb denotes the destination or ultimate goal of the referent (*keessumm-* ‘guest’).

Yet, the distal spatial deictic adverb is subject to case marking to indicate the source of the referent in motion event, as in (14c). In this example, the case marker *-ii* refers to the source which is far from the deictic center though length of the distance depends on the conceptualization of the interlocutors in the discourse context. Similar to the proximal spatial deictic adverb stated

above, this adverb can be pragmatically supported or not by gestural elements, such as index finger, chin, etc.

In short, simple spatial deictic adverbs refer to places, locations and positions which are either pragmatically relevant or previously mentioned/stated in the discourse context. In either case, the intention of the speaker is emphasizing the attention of the participants. The main syntactic difference of spatial deictic adverbs from demonstratives in the language is that they occur only with verbs in preverbal position. Except for ablative case, they do not inflect for any grammatical function.

### 3.2. Complex Deictic Adverbs

The syntactic function or distribution, i.e., their co-occurrence with verbs, applies to spatial deictic adverbs of Afaan Oromoo to describe the place/location of the referents. These can combine amongst themselves, as *ʔasii ʔafffi* ‘from here to there’ and *ʔafffas* [*ʔafffi ʔas*] ‘from there to here’, with enclitic adpositions, as *ʔasi-rra* or *ʔafffi-rra* ‘up here or up there’, *ʔasi-rraa* or *ʔafffi-rraa* ‘from here or from there’, and with place adverbs, like *ʔas dihoo* and *ʔafffi fagoo* to denote directions, locations and distances of the referents from the deictic centers. These combinations of adverbs are referred to as complex spatial deictic adverbs. Examples are given below for each.

- (15) a. *ɖʒar-(r)i*      *ʔaff-as*<sup>5</sup>      *duf-uu*      *k'ab-u*  
 they-NOM      there-here      come-VN      catch-IMPF  
 ‘They should come from there to here.’
- b. *loo-wwan*      *kana*      *ʔas-ii*      *ʔaff(i)*      *ʔoof-i*  
 cattle      this      here-ABL      there      ride-IMPR  
 ‘Ride these cattle from here to there.’

The two simple spatial deictic adverbs co-occur with each other in (15a&b) to show the direction of the movement of the referents in the discourse context. In (15a), the adverb *ʔafffas* ‘from there to here’ denotes that the source of the mover (i.e. *ɖʒar-* ‘they’) is distant from the speaker who is the goal (deictic center). Contrarily, the adverbial expression *ʔasii ʔafffi* ‘from here to there’ in (15b) refers to the speaker as the source of the referent *loowwan* ‘cattle’ and the distal position as the goal. In the utterances, the adverbs occur with the motion verbs *duf-* ‘come’ (15a) and *ʔoof-* ‘ride’ (15b). However, non-motion verbs (such as states) cannot co-occur with the combinations of these adverbs.

5 The deep structure of the word is [*ʔaff-i ʔas*] to mean ‘from there to here’.

Another combination of spatial deictic adverbs in Afaan Oromoo is their co-occurrence with enclitic adpositions. In such context, adverbs of proximal and distal locations appear in the syntactic distribution, with the enclitic adpositions, having the same meaning/function, as shown in (16) below.

- (16) a. *saamun-(i)fffi-i*                      *ʔasi-rra/ʔafffi-rra*                      *tur-e*  
 soap-SG.DEF-NOM                      here-LOC/there-LOC                      was-PFV  
 ‘The soap was up here/there.’
- b. *warfaa-n*                      *biiraa*                      *ʔasi-rraa/ʔafffi-rraa*                      *fagoo-da*  
 factory-NOM                      beer                      here-ABL/there-ABL                      far-COP  
 ‘The beer factory is far from here/there.’
- c. *waraabess-(i)fffi-i*                      *ʔasi-tti/ʔafffi-tti*                      *duʔ-e*  
 hyena-SG.DEF-NOM                      here-LOC/there-LOC                      die-PFV  
 ‘The hyena died here/there.’

In (16), the postposition *ʔirra* ‘on’ is conceptualized as the place or position of a referent higher or above the landmark/ground (deictic center). It co-occurs with the spatial deictic adverb *ʔasi/ʔafffi* ‘here’/‘there’ to denote the position of the referent in the discourse context. In (16a), the argument object *saamun-* ‘soap’ appears to exist on the place identified by the speaker as *ʔasi-rra/ʔafffi-rra* ‘up here’/‘up there’. The enclitic postposition *-rra* refers to the position higher than some places denoted by *ʔasi/ʔafffi* ‘here’/‘there’. On the other hand, the vowel on this adposition is lengthened as in *-rraa* ‘from’ (16b) to show the source of the referent. The distance of the referent is measured from the deictic center identified by *ʔasi-rraa/ʔafffi-rraa* ‘from here’/‘from there’. The third example, (16c), refers to the existence of the referent in a specific place. In all of these examples, the postpositions are cliticized to the adverbs.

In the language, spatial deictic adverbs can also combine with locative adverbs to specify the distance of the referent from the deictic center. The examples in (17) below are the cases in point.

- (17) a. *suuk’ii-n*                      *ʔas*                      *dihoo*                      *hin-dzir-u*  
 shop-NOM                      here                      near                      NEG-exist-IMP  
 ‘There is not shop near to here.’
- b. *lag-(i)fffi-i*                      *mana-rraa*                      *ʔafffi*                      *fagoo-da*  
 river-SG.DEF-NOM                      house-ABL                      there                      far-COP  
 ‘The river is far away from home.’

In (17), spatial deictic adverbs have the syntactic distribution of co-occurrence with locative adverbs. The proximal spatial deictic adverb *ʔas* ‘here’ in (17a) co-occurs with adverb of dimension (*dihoo* ‘near’) in the

existential clause. The second utterance, (17b), indicates the distance (*fagoo* ‘far’) between *mana* ‘house’ and *laga* ‘river’, where the first noun is the starting (source) and the later is the referent point. In these utterances, the speakers describe the distance that exists between himself/herself and *suuk’ii* ‘shop’ in (17a), and *mana* ‘house’ and *laga* ‘river’ in (17b).

The complex structure of such spatial deictic adverbs associates the distance between the location or place of the referent and the deictic center. Hence, the dimension is not properly or comprehensively indicated if either the spatial deictic adverb or the locative/dimension adverb is missing from the utterance. The locative adverbs are non-deictic spatial expressions to show the units of measurement or descriptions of direction/location. They interact with the spatial deictic adverbs in complex ways in order to specify the distance of the referents.

As discussed, spatial deictic adverbs are morphologically and syntactically different from demonstratives. They frequently co-occur with other spatial non-deictic words in order to express different spaces. They are interpreted as complex structures which denote conceptualization of different degrees of distance. They have fixed distribution in predicate structure, i.e., preverbal position. Semantically, they refer to the distance of referents with respect to deictic center. Regarding their pragmatics, they are optionally supported by gestural elements.

#### 4. Deictic Verbs of Motion

Motion is basically associated to time and location in space as there are always relationships between these three. Of course, humans have undetached relations with these because their thoughts, acts and languages operate in the three frameworks. Speakers process this event in their cognition to encode it through linguistic expressions. Though motion is a universal feature, there is no universal way of expressing it, so there are significant mechanisms of encoding motion events in different languages (Bowerman & Levinson, 2001). In clause structures, motion verbs have complex semantic features as they involve humans ((self)-agentive) or non-humans (non-agentive). Whereas agentive motion events have transitive verbs, non-agentive and self-agentive events have predicates with intransitive self-propelled verbs. In non-agentive events, the arguments (entities) perform non-volitional and unintentional movements (Levin & Rappaport-Hovav, 1995: 91).

Deictic motion events have the definite points as directional, source or goal phrases which involve the speaker or his/her location. The verbs are primarily represented by the concepts of COME and GO, which are of course fundamental to world languages (Levin & Rappaport-Hovav, 1995: 91). In

Afaan Oromoo, there are different semantic classes of verbs which have deictic components. It has mainly three classes of verbs with deictic points; these are source-oriented, goal-oriented and unidentified/undetermined verbs. We will consider directional and non-directional motion verbs along with their spatial denotations. The clauses below have predicates with motion verbs whose sources are inherently identified.

- (18) a. *loo-wwan*            *jaa?-an-i*  
 cattle-NOM            flow-3PL-PFV  
 ‘The cattle streamed/moved out of their herd.’
- b. *hatt-iffi-i*                            *poolisii*            *harka-a*            *milik’-e*  
 thief-SG.DEF-NOM            police            hand-ABL            escape-PFV  
 ‘The thief escaped from police.’
- c. *bulaa-n*            *?(a)na*            *bak’at-e*  
 bula-NOM            1S.ABS            flee-PFV  
 ‘Bula fled from me.’
- d. *hooggan-iffi-i*                            *waadjira*            *gaddiis-e*  
 manager-SG.DEF-NOM            office            leave-PFV  
 ‘The manager left the office.’
- e. *gurb-iffi-i*                            *karra*            *bah-e*  
 boy-SG.DEF-NOM            gate            exit-PFV  
 ‘The boy exited the gate.’

The intransitive verbs *jaa?*- ‘stream out’/‘flow’, *milik’*- ‘escape’, *bak’at*- ‘flee’, *gaddiis*- ‘leave’ and *bah*- ‘exit’ in (18a-e) inherently indicate the sources, locations or directions of the moving objects or referents on space. The sources of these movements are either semantically explicated from the verbal lexicons or pragmatically inferred from the discourse contexts of the interlocutors. For example, in (18a), speakers know that *loowwan* ‘cattle’ graze outdoors during day and houses in *mooraa* ‘sheds/barns’ during night times. When they move out of their sheds in the morning, it is expressed as *jaa?*- ‘stream out’/‘flow’.

Likewise, the motion verbs in (18b-e) encode the locations, sources or directions from where the movers (referents) change their places of existence. The subjects of all of the clauses leave the places which are inherently implied by the verbs. The noun phrases (which could be adjuncts in the verb phrases), such as *poolisii harkaa* ‘from the police’ (18b), *?(a)na* ‘me’/the speaker (18c), *waadjira* ‘office’ (18d) and *karra* ‘gate’ can be understood as the location of the subjects in the clauses, so they are optional. Thus, the verbs have denotations/indications as the deictic points in the motion events. Contrary to the sources/locations, the semantics of these verbs

excludes the goals or endpoints of the movements, which could be expressed by adpositional phrases.

Similar to those in (18) above, there are other motion events whose sources are implied in the verbs. However, the verbs here are syntactically transitive as they have causers for the moving objects. The subjects are the sources of the motion events and/or the moving entities, which are the direct objects in the predicates, as shown in (19) below.

- (19) a. *boruu-n*            *?eeboo*        *darbat-e*  
 Boru-NOM        spear            throw-PFV  
 ‘Boru threw a spear.’
- b. *mootummaa-n*                    *džara*        *?ari?-e*  
 government-NOM                    them        deport-PFV  
 ‘The government deported them.’
- c. *džar-(r)i*            *?ansaada*        *diib-an-i*  
 3PL-NOM        shelf            push-3PL-PFV  
 ‘They pushed the shelf.’

In (19), the transitive verbs *darbat-* ‘throw’, *?ari?-* ‘deport’ and *diib-* ‘push’ are agentive in which the causers or initiators engage to change the location from static to dynamic state through exertion of force. The deictic point for each event is inherently denoted in the verb. For example, the verb *darbat-* ‘throw’ in (19a) implies that the starting point for the motion is the thrower, i.e., *boruu* ‘Boru’. Similarly, *?ari?-* ‘deport’ (19b) presupposes the place which is governed by *mootummaa* ‘government’. Accordingly, the direct objects *?eeboo* ‘spear’ (19a), *džara* ‘them’ (19b) and *?ansaada* ‘shelf’ (19c) are caused to move in a certain direction across temporal space. However, despite the explication of the sources, which are deictic points, the goals or destinations of the movements are not inherently identified.

Contrary to source-oriented motion events, there are verbs whose goals or destinations are implied. In the examples below, there are self-agentive (intransitive) verbs in the movements with volition and intention.

- (20) a. *džar-(r)i*            *waaree*        *booda*        *gah-an-i*  
 3PL-NOM        noon            after        arrive-PL-PFV  
 ‘They arrived in the afternoon.’
- b. *?abbaa-n*            *koo*            *gaangee*        *jaab-e*  
 father-NOM        1S.POSS        mule            ascend-PFV  
 ‘My father ascended to the back of mule.’
- c. *barsiisaa-n*                    *duf-e*  
 Teacher-NOM                    come-PFV  
 ‘The teacher came.’
- d. *tolaa-n*            *muka-rraa*        *bu?-e*  
 Tolaa-NOM        tree-ABL        descend-PFV  
 ‘Tola descended from tree.’

- |    |                                      |                   |              |
|----|--------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| e. | <i>sang-iff-i</i>                    | <i>dallaa-tti</i> | <i>gal-e</i> |
|    | ox-SG.DEF-NOM                        | compound-LOC      | enter-PFV    |
|    | ‘The ox entered the compound/fence.’ |                   |              |

The motion events in (20) signify that the referents undergo movement in a particular direction. The deictic verbs are *gah-* ‘arrive’ (20a), *jaab-* ‘ascend’ (20b), *duf-* ‘come’ (20c), *buʔ-* ‘descend’ (20d) and *gal-* ‘enter’ (20e). These determine the telic features of the events. From the clause structures, one can easily depict that the endpoints of the movements are either the places where the speaker and/or hearer exists, or are pragmatically detected from the discourse context. One may explicate two meanings from the above events. First, the predicates show that the events are categorized as goal-directed motions. In addition, they reveal the paths which lead to the destinations (telic points). Thus, the movers progress through multiple micro-events in order to reach the deictic (telic) points.

Motion verbs can also describe movement of referents or objects from the locations or positions which are commonly known by the speakers of the language. The movements are related to rolling, revolving or circling around the deictic points, as illustrated in (21) below.

- |         |                   |                         |                    |
|---------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| (21) a. | <i>man-ni</i>     | <i>koo</i>              | <i>ni-dimmis-a</i> |
|         | house-NOM         | 1S.POSS                 | FOC-leak-IMPF      |
|         | ‘My home leaks.’  |                         |                    |
| b.      | <i>gurb-iff-i</i> | <i>ni-mufʔucfʔaat-e</i> |                    |
|         | boy-SG.DEF-NOM    | slide-PFV               |                    |
|         | ‘The boy slid.’   |                         |                    |

The intransitive verbs in (21) imply the movement of referents from upper to lower positions in a space. For example, in (21a), the rain comes down from the cloud, which is above the house that leaks. In the process of leaking, the drops of the rain go down from *kʔinaatʔii* ‘ceiling’ of the house to the ground. Thus, the destination of the water is the floor of the house, which is basically the deictic point in the utterance. On the other hand, a person (*gurbiffi* ‘the boy’ as in (21b)) slides from the upper position in a sloppy space. Therefore, the terminal point for the sliding of the boy is the deictic point. As both verbs express displacement with inherent goals, the clauses are determined to encode motion events.

The other category of motion events contains substance emission verbs. These are different from other verbs in that they are associated to the moving of an entity from its containment/bounded space to outside, as indicated below.

- (22) a. *daa?im-ni*      *finf'aan*      *finf'aa?-e*  
 baby-NOM      urine      urinate-PFV  
 'The baby urinated.'
- b. *ballat'aa-n*      *gorora*      *tuf-e*  
 Belete-NOM      saliva      spit-PFV  
 'Belete spat saliva.'
- c. *gurb-iffi-i*                      *ni-balak'k'am-e*  
 boy-SG.DEF-NOM      FOC-vomit-PFV  
 'The boy vomited.'
- d. *saa-ni*      *keeyna*      *dzabbii*      *ni-dal-t-e*  
 cow-NOM      1PL.POSS      calf      FOC-give\_birth-FS-PFV  
 'Our cow gave birth to calf.'

The clauses in (22) express substance emission events. The verbs *finf'aa?* 'urinate' (22a), *tuf-* 'spit' (22b), *balak'k'am-* 'vomit' (22c) and *dal-* 'give birth' (22d) are syntactically transitive, and hence involve emitters as the sources or deictic points of the movements and emitted entities. The emitters are *daa?ima* 'baby', *ballat'aa* 'Belete', *gurbiffa* 'the boy' and *saa?a* 'cow', respectively, whereas the emitted entities are *finf'aan* 'urine', *gorora* 'saliva', *hook'k'isa* 'vomit' and *dzabbii* 'calf' parallel to the verbs. In (c), the entity *hook'k'isa* 'vomit' is inferred from the nature of the verb and emitter. In addition to the sources, the verbs in all of the above clauses imply the goals/endpoints of the emitted objects, which is commonly the place/ground around the emitters.

Despite the presence of directional motion verbs, there are verbs which denote movements of referents with no direction; thus, non-directional motions. The following illustrate such verbs.

- (23) a. *bulaa-n*      *?obboleettii-saa*      *gaggeess-e*  
 Bula-NOM      sister-3MS.POSS      accompany-PFV  
 'Bula accompanied his sister.'
- b. *dzaars-i*      *?idzoollee*      *k'adzeelf-e*  
 old\_man-NOM      child.PL      guide-PFV  
 'The old man guided the children.'
- c. *tufaa-n*      *horii*      *tiks-e*  
 Tufa-NOM      cattle      herd-PFV  
 'Tufa herded cattle.'

In (23), the non-directional verbs *gaggeess-* 'accompany', *k'ajeelf-* 'guide' and *tiks-* 'herd' show movement in unbounded space. For example, *gaggeess-* 'accompany' in (23a) denotes that an entity (a causer), which is *bulaa* 'Bula' along with a referent, *?obboleettiisaa* 'his sister' move from one place to another. Likewise, the verbs in the other examples express two

entities moving together from one location to another, where the subject of the clause assumes the causing role. Hence, the verbs show the relationship of two moving objects in the same or similar path, not in the form of preceding or leading each other. However, in all of the movements, neither the source nor the goal of the motion/movement is definite or structurally identified. In a similar token, there are non-directional verbs which encode two moving objects which are spatially in a successive/consecutive order, as shown in (24) below.

- (24) a. *saree-n*      *keeyna*      *waraabessa*      *?ari?-e*  
 dog-NOM      1PL.POSS      hyena      Chase-PFV  
 ‘Our dog chased a hyena.’
- b. *f’aaltuu-n*      *barsiis-iffa*      *hordof-t-e*  
 Chaltu-NOM      teacher-SG.DEF      follow-FS-PFV  
 ‘Chaltu followed the teacher.’
- c. *tiksee-wwan*      *sun*      *hatt-iffa*      *faandah-an-i*  
 herd-PL      that      thief-SG-DEF      track-PL-PFV  
 ‘Those herders tracked the thief.’

Some verbs, such as *?ari?-* ‘chase’ (24a), *hordof-* ‘follow’ (24b) and *faandah-* ‘trace’ (24c) denote the movement of two referents, where those in the subject position are the followers and the objects are the foregoers. Yet, the verbs do not specify the sources and endpoints in the displacement of the locations. The interlocutors get the meaning that the referents are in the motion of unidentified direction in a space. Though such verbs unfold along paths, they do not conceptually express any form of deictic points; hence, non-directional motion verbs.

There are more non-directional motion verbs in Afaan Oromoo. In such structures, the starting point or source of the moving objects could be understood by the speakers, but the destinations are unclear unless they are linguistically expressed by adpositional phrases. The examples below are the cases-in-point.

- (25) a. *simbir-(r)i*      *ni-barris-t-e*  
 bird-NOM      FOC-fly-FS-PFV  
 ‘The bird flew.’
- b. *daraartuu-n*      *farda*      *guluf-t-e*  
 Derartu-NOM      horse      gallop-FS-PFV  
 ‘Derartu galloped a horse.’
- c. *?fii-n*      *bifaan*      *daak-t-e*  
 3FS-NOM      water      swim-FS-PFV  
 ‘She swam in the river.’

The verbs *barris-* ‘fly’, *guluf-* ‘gallop’ and *daak-* ‘swim’ in (25) express motion using body parts (implied), such as wings (25a), hands and legs (25c), and another moving object, such as *farda* ‘horse’ (25b). Despite the assumption that the speakers may understand the sources of the motions as some flat spaces, the verbs do not inherently indicate the deictic points. They do not even specify the directions of motion, so we call them non-directional motion verbs. In order to identify the deictic points, explicit directions which are stated by adpositional phrases should be added in the predicate positions.

In brief, Afaan Oromoo is lexically rich in its representation of motion events. With all ambiguities and controversies on the heterogeneity of the appropriate representation of meanings of motion verbs, the language has the above categories of directional and non-directional motion events with or without deictic points. As far as structural and functional aspects are concerned, they are syntactically either transitive or intransitive, and semantically (self-)agentive or non-agentive, based on humanness or non-humanness of the participants. The directional verbs are used very frequently to denote the deictic points in communications. However, the deictic centers are not necessarily the speakers or the hearers, but also the sources or the goals of the referents. Yet, this tendency is not recurrent in non-directional motion verbs. Where directions or deictic points are not inherent features, these are added in the predicates as adpositional phrases (adverbials or adjuncts). The verbs and the adjuncts (adverbials) contribute to the meanings of directed-motion constructions.

## 5. Locative Deictics

As a universal feature, all languages have the spatial concepts and their physical manifestations. They also describe the location of referents/objects with respect to others in space. In space, the location or position of the entity to be located is commonly identified with reference to ground objects or landmarks which are either in static or motion situations (Levinson, 2003). Languages have different mechanisms of encoding space due to cultural and geographical view of the speakers (Talmy, 1983). In Afaan Oromoo, likewise, spatial denotations are not only indicated by demonstratives, motion verbs and adverbs, but also by adpositions which are often termed as locative deictics. These locative deictics occur either as lexical elements or as enclitics to mark vertical and horizontal spaces, and containment/bounded relations.

### 5.1. Vertical Dimension

The vertical axis is associated to gravitational force of the earth (Haspelmath 1997: 22). This dimension is described in Afaan Oromoo unambiguously by

adpositions (postpositions) since its meaning is associated to the location of a referent as if it exists at the top or bottom of some referent object (possibly deictic point), or at a geographical location as north or south. For example, *-rra* (cliticized form of *ʔirra*), *gubbaa* and *ʔol(i)* denote something on, above, over and towards up position/direction. These are illustrated in (26) below.

- (26)a. *ʔabbaa-n*            *koo*    *siree-rra*            *ʃ'iis-a*  
 father-NOM            my    bed-LOC            lie-IMPF  
 'My father sleeps in a bed.' Lit. 'My father lies on a bed.'
- b. *ʔallaattii-n*            *k'illeensa-rra*            *balalii-t-i*  
 bird.PL-NOM            air-LOC            fly-FS-IMPF  
 'Birds fly on air.'
- c. *ɕaldeess-i*            *tulluu*            *gubbaa*            *ɕir-(a)at-a*  
 baboon-NOM            hill            top            exist-MID-IMPF  
 'Baboon lives on top of a hill.'
- d. *gurb-iff-i*                            *tulluu-tti*            *ʔol*    *bah-e*  
 boy-SG.DEF-NOM            hill-LOC            up            go\_out-PFV  
 'The boy went up to the hill.'

In (26), the clause in (26a) denotes a situation in which the located entity *ʔabbaa koo* 'my father' and its location *siree* 'bed' are mentioned. The clitics *-rra* shows that there is vertical relationship between the two entities in that *siree* 'bed' is considered to be nearer to the ground, whereas the person is located in the lying position on the upper part of the bed. Similarly, the clause in (26b) has the clitics *-rra* which links *ʔallaattii* 'birds' and *k'illeensa* 'air'. Here, *k'illeensa* 'air' is considered as a flat space stretched, above which *ʔallaattii* 'birds' are located. Due to the clitics *-rra*, the referents *ʔabbaa koo* 'my father' and *ʔallaattii* 'birds' in the examples are expressed as higher than the static locations *siree* 'bed' and *k'illeensa* 'air' in a vertical axis.

In (26c), the lexical element *gubbaa* 'top' shows that *tulluu* 'hill' is a flat space on which *ɕaldeessa* 'baboon' exists. The last example, (26d), has *ʔol* 'up' to express the direction of the movement of the subject *gurbaa* 'boy'. The geographical location *tulluu* 'hill' is conceptualized as the vertical space found at the top of another space.

In all of these examples, the vertical space is indicated by the location of entities or objects above others. These locations are identified as vertical spaces on the basis of their correspondence with gravity. In any physical spaces, referents/objects have dimensions or surfaces. When other referents are placed in relation to the surfaces of these physical spaces, they designate higher or lower positions in the vertical axis, with or without contact to the surfaces.

Contrary to the above examples, there are lexical elements which show vertical relations of referents, where an entity is located beneath or under another. For example, the postpositions *džala*, *gad(i)* and *gadžžallaa* (*gadi džalaa*) show under, towards down and bottom directions of entities, as compared to their locations. This direction is either against the gravity of the earth or north-south poles. The clauses below are instances.

- (27)a. *ʔadurree-n*      *siree*      *džala*      *džir-t-i*  
 cat-NOM            bed            under        exist-FS-IMPF  
 ‘The cat is under the bed.’
- b. *birraa-n*            *laga-tti*            *gadi*                    *buʔ-e*  
 Birraa-NOM        river-LOC        towards\_down        descend-PFV  
 ‘Birraa went down to the river.’
- c. *džabbi-lee-n*        *k'onna*            *gadžžallaa*        *džir-u*  
 calf-PL-NOM        farm            bottom        exist-IMPF  
 ‘The calves are at the bottom of the farm.’

In (27), the clauses show the occurrence of entities nearer to the ground or bottom location as compared to the deictic points. The word *džala* denotes that the location of *ʔadurree* ‘cat’ is nearer to the ground as compared to *siree* ‘bed’ in (27a). From the two dimensions (upper and lower) of the bed, the cat is identified as either in contact or nearer to the lower dimension. On the other hand, (27b&c) are described from geographical location viewpoint, not gravity. Accordingly, the postpositions *gadi* ‘towards down’ and *gadžžallaa* ‘bottom’ encode the locations of *birraa* ‘Birraa’ and *džabbilee* ‘calves’ which are at the lowest geographical positions.

In short, the locative deictics in the above clauses describe objects/referents located at the upper and lower positions as compared to the deictic points they are associated with. The locations of the referents are understood to be upper or lower than the positions of the deictic points. The referents are not necessarily in contact with the visible or accessible relational locations/places.

## 5.2. Horizontal Dimension

Horizontal dimension is quite different from vertical in that the relational locations of referents are seen from side view of the referent/object in erect position, not top-bottom. Accordingly, the axis has front vs. back, left vs. right, and east vs. west orientations in which the location of the viewer plays fundamental role for meanings in the first two pairs, but conventional compass is determinant of the later (Stasiūnaitė, 2016). These relations of objects in horizontal dimensions are expressed in Afaan Oromoo using adpositions, as subsequently illustrated below.

- (28) a. *gurbaa-n*      *nu*      *dura*      *daabbat-e*  
 boy-NOM      1PL.ABS      front      stand-PFV  
 ‘The boy stood in front of us.’
- b. *loo-wwan*      *karra*      *dura*      *djir-u*  
 cattle-PL      gate      front      exist-IMPF  
 ‘The cattle are in front of the gate.’

In (28a), the locational adposition (postposition) *dura* ‘front’/‘before’ relates the referent *gurbaa* ‘boy’ and his location *nu* ‘us’. This postposition indicates that the referent is located in relation to the front side of the location (*nu* ‘us’). In fact, the location is represented by humans who are conceptualized as having front and back sides, which are associated to the body parts, such as face and back. Hence, the located entity is placed in the direction where the face of the location is viewed (as argued by Debela 2011).

In the second example, (28b), the postposition *dura* ‘front’/‘before’ refers to the location which is denoted by an erect physical space having two dimensions, front and back, based on the speaker’s conceptualization about it. The surface of the gate which is found in the direction of the house is its back whereas the one which is found towards outside is its front. With this view of Afaan Oromoo speakers about *karra* ‘gate’, the cattle are located in the direction outside the compound, nearer/closer to the gate.

Contrary to *dura* ‘front’/‘before’, *booda/duuba* ‘after’/‘back’/‘behind’ locates a referent in relation to the location where both are sequentially arranged on horizontal space. This is revealed in (29) below.

- (29)a. *gurbaa-n*      *?abbaa-saa*      *booda*      *djir-a*  
 boy-NOM      father-his      behind      exist-3MS.IMPF  
 ‘The boy is behind his father.’
- b. *hoolaa-n*      *mana*      *duuba*      *deed-t-i [deeddi]*  
 sheep-NOM      house      behind      eat\_grass-3FS-PFV  
 ‘The sheep eats grass at the back of the house.’

The clauses in (29) describe two entities/objects, where those which are considered as deictic or reference points have front and back positions either in dynamic or static position. For example, in (29a), *?abbaa* ‘father’ is somewhere on the ground in dynamic or static position and *gurbaa* ‘boy’ is *booda* ‘behind’/‘at the back of’ the father, no matter how far apart they are from each other. Similarly, (29b) describes two entities in a sequence on a horizontal position. The reference/deictic point is *mana* ‘house, which is in static situation with its door considered as the front part. Accordingly, *hoolaa* ‘sheep’ is found in the location opposite to the front (door), which is *duuba* ‘behind’/‘at the back of’. In both clauses, the postpositions *booda* and *duuba*

‘behind’/’at the back of’ denote entities/referents in a sequence of horizontal position/location.

Afaan Oromoo has some other postpositions for sequential horizontal positions of two or more referents. These are *faana* ‘together’ and *waliin* ‘with’ to express the existence of two or more referents together, not in a sequence, as illustrated below.

- (30)a. *tolaa-n*                      *?ifii*    *faana*                      *deem-e*  
 Tolaa-NOM                      3FS    together                      go-PFV  
 ‘Tolaa went together with her.’
- b. *hintal-(l)i*                      *haada-fii*                      *waliin*                      *dʒir-t-i*  
 girl-NOM                      mother-3FS.POSS                      with                      exist-FS-IMPF  
 ‘The girl is with her mother.’

Unlike in (29) above, the clauses in (30) describe referents which coexist together. In (30a), for example, *tolaa* ‘Tolaa’ and *?ifii* ‘she’ are located close to one another regardless of who stood before/after who. Likewise, (30b) expresses the occurrence of *hintala* ‘girl’ with *haada* ‘mother’ in a place. Hence, it is not clear from the clauses with *faana* (30a) and *waliin* (30b) that one referent is located before or after the other except that they are located together at a place. One peculiar feature is that the referents denoted by these postpositions exist in a place, which is horizontal in its dimension.

Horizontal dimension can further be described using *bitaa-mirga* ‘left-right’ positions, based on the view of the speaker or listener. There are also locative deictics and *baha-diiha* ‘east-west’, which mainly rely on the rising and setting of the sun. The examples in (31) below are the cases-in-point.

- (31)a. *fard-iff-i*    *mirga-tti*                      *gor-e*  
 horse-SG.DEF-NOM    right-LOC                      turn-PFV  
 ‘The horse turned left.’
- b. *hintal-(l)i*                      *karaa*                      *bitaa*                      *teess-e*  
 girl-NOM                      direction                      left                      sit-PFV  
 ‘The girl sat on the left direction/side.’
- c. *dʒar-(r)i*                      *gara*                      *bahaa-tti*                      *?imal-an-i*  
 they-NOM                      to                      east-LOC                      travel-PL-PFV  
 ‘They traveled to the east.’
- d. *?an-i*                      *gara*                      *diihaa-rraa*                      *fira*                      *k’ab-a*  
 1SG-NOM                      to                      west-ABL                      relative                      catch-IMPF  
 ‘I have a relative from the west.’

The expressions in (31) indicate visual space by using the systems of orthogonal axis on the ground. In (31a), for example, the speaker expresses the turning (*gor-*) of horse (*farda*) to *mirga* ‘right’ direction only from his/her

stand point or perspective. Similarly, in (31b), the speaker says *hintal-* ‘girl’ is to *bitaa* ‘left’ of something or somebody in the horizontal visual dimension, which depends on his/her (the speaker’s) location. Hence, the understanding of such expressions of *bitaa-mirga* ‘left-right’ axis depends on the speaker’s perspective. In relation to this, speakers may add possessive words, such as *koo* ‘my’, *kee* ‘your’, etc. to the locative words, *bitaa* ‘left’ and *mirga* ‘right’ to denote the clear position of referents with respect to the persons represented by the possessive words as deictic points.

On the other hand, the examples in (31c-d) are slightly different from those in (31a-b) in their referent (deictic) points. Whereas the deictic points in (31a-b) depend on the viewpoint of the speakers, those in (31c-d) are constant as they are determined by the horizontal axis of east-west. For example, if a speaker utters the clause in (31c) above, it is understood that wherever the travels be, the destination is somewhere *baha* ‘east’ on the horizontal axis from the starting point. Likewise, if a speaker says *?ani gara dihaarraa fira k’aba* ‘I have a relative from the west’, as in (31d), he/she meant to the west direction where the sun sets; it means that the speaker is obviously found to the east direction.

In the main, the description of locative deixis in the horizontal dimension is associated to the sequence and coexistence of the entities or objects in focus, where one of them serves as reference (deictic) point. In addition, the language employs *bitaa-mirga* ‘left-right’ and *baha-diha* ‘east-west’ denotations to show the locations or positions of the referents. While *bitaa-mirga* location depends on the speaker’s viewpoint, *baha-diha* direction relies on the direction of sun rise and set. Hence, locative deictics in Afaan Oromoo employ lexical elements to show objects existing on horizontal dimension on the ground.

### 5.3. Containment Relations

Afaan Oromoo has the lexical elements, such as *keessa* ‘in’ or ‘through’ and *duuba/?ala* ‘outside’ or ‘out’ to denote the notion of containment (often called boundedness) relation. The concept of containment is related to a space that has internal and external dimensions. From the linguistic viewpoint, Afaan Oromoo speakers do not only consider bounded space as an entity or object that has inside and outside parts, but they also represent unbounded spaces as containments based on their experiences in relation to the space/location in focus. Hence, a two-dimensional space, such as a field may be conceptualized as a bounded space in speech contexts. In the examples below, (32), absolute and relative conceptualizations of bounded spaces among the speakers of the language are illustrated.

- (32) a. *toltuu-n*                      *mana*                      *keessa*                      *djir-t-i*  
 Toltuu-NOM                      house                      in                      exist-3FS-IMPF  
 ‘Toltuu is at home.’ Lit. ‘Toltuu exists in a house.’
- b. *barat(t)-oot-ni*                      *t’ik’k’oo*                      *walgahii*                      *keessa*                      *tur-an-i*  
 student-PL                      few                      meeting                      in                      COP.PST-PL-PFV  
 ‘Few students were in the meeting.’
- c. *tap’at-iffi-i*    *dirree*                      *keessa*                      *djir-a*  
 player-SG.DEF-NOM                      field                      in                      exist-IMPF  
 ‘The player is in the field.’ Lit. ‘The player exists in the field.’
- d. *waraabess-i*                      *maasii*                      *keessa*                      *darb-e*  
 hyena-NOM                      farm                      through                      pass-PFV  
 ‘A hyena passed through the farmland.’

In (32), the postposition *keessa* ‘in’ or ‘through’ occurs in (32a-d) with different senses of containment. In the first sense of *keessa* ‘in’, (32a), *mana* ‘house’ is conceptualized as a bounded space having internal and external surfaces which are separated by its walls and the roof. The areas located outside the walls and roof are *ɖala* ‘outside’ whereas those bounded by the walls and the roof are *keessa* ‘in’. Accordingly, *toltuu* ‘Toltuu’ is founded in the physical location bounded by the walls and the roof. On the other hand, the postposition in (32b) has different aspect; *walgahii* ‘meeting’, the situation in which several individuals come together, is considered as a physical space where *barattoota* ‘students’ are located. The existence of the students during the event makes them be located in a particular metaphorical space. The beginning and the ending times of the meeting are taken as the boundaries for the containment.

In a different scenario, *keessa* ‘in’/‘through’ helps the speakers to describe referents which are located on a flat surface with two dimensions, such as *dirree* ‘field’ (32c) and *maasii* ‘farm’ (32d). Flat surfaces have some kinds of stretched spaces which are bounded by different angles. When a referent enters these angles to the spaces on the flat surfaces, it is described as if the referent is in a particular bounded space. Likewise, *tap’ataa* ‘player’ is located in the middle of the field (32c) and *waraabessa* ‘hyena’ crossed *maasii* ‘farm’ (32d): the interior parts of both flat surfaces are bounded by their angles. When *waraabessa* ‘hyena’ *darb-* ‘pass’ from one side of *maasii* ‘farm’ to another, its walking-in makes it in the bounded space, so the bounded space is considered as a path which is denoted by *keessa* ‘through’.

Yet, Afaan Oromoo has postpositions, such as *duuba/ɖala* ‘out of’/‘outside’ to locate referents which exist in the exterior part of the bounded space. In fact, the postposition *duuba* has the sense of behind/back as already discussed in (29b) above. Here, however, it denotes referents which are located in the external part of a bounded space. Consider the examples in (33) below regarding the external senses of the two postpositions.

- 33(a) *harree-n*                      *kee*                      *dallaa*                      *duuba*                      *djir-a*  
 donkey-NOM                      2S.POSS                      fence                      out\_of                      exist-IMPF  
 ‘Your donkey is out of the fence.’
- b. *daa?im-ni*                      *gara*                      *?ala(a)-tti*                      *bah-e*  
 baby-NOM                      to                      outside-LOC                      exit-PFV  
 ‘The baby exited towards outside.’

The postposition *duuba* ‘out of’ in (33a) denotes that the referent *harree* ‘donkey’ is located out of (*duuba*) the boundary of *dallaa* ‘fence’, which is conceptualized as having interior and exterior. In the same manner, *daa?ima* ‘baby’ in (33b) was located to a particular bounded space, such as house or fence prior to *bah-* ‘exit’ to *?ala* ‘outside’. When it moves out of this space, it is exiting the boundary that separates the interior and exterior parts of the space. In the same manner, a person who is in a container may not see what is in the exterior part because of the intervening boundary. Thus, the inside location and the correspondence between a boundary and an intervening landmark derive the external sense from the concealment implication of *duuba* ‘behind’.

In sum, containment/boundedness in Afaan Oromoo involves three lexical terms (postpositions) with different senses. Whereas *keessa* has ‘in’ and ‘through’ senses, *duuba* has ‘out of’ and *?ala* has ‘outside’ senses. In the case of using *keessa*, the containment is either a bounded space with physical objects or flat surfaces having angles as boundaries to separate the interior and exterior parts, or conceptual bounded space with beginning and ending temporal location.

## 6. Conclusion

In Afaan Oromoo, demonstratives have three morphosyntactic categories, such as pronoun (pronominals), determiners (adnominals) and identifiers (identificationals). With very slight grammatical differences, these have the same phonological and morphological shapes amongst themselves. Whereas demonstrative pronouns replace noun phrases in argument (subject and object) positions, demonstrative determiners co-occur with noun phrases. Demonstrative identifiers occur in copula clauses with the copulas *-da*, *tur-* and *-ti*. Number marking is not a strict property of the three demonstratives in the language, so their singular forms are flexibly used in discourse contexts regardless of the number of referents. However, they are highly sensitive for cases: nominatives and absolutives. One unique feature of demonstrative identifiers is that their nominatives occur in pre-copula positions. Otherwise, proximal-distal contrast is easily identified by the

existence of the phonemes /k/ in the initial position of proximal and /s/ in the initial position of distal demonstratives.

Apart from demonstratives, it has been discussed that the language utilizes two morphosyntactic categories of spatial deictic adverbs in its expressions of space: simple and complex. Simple adverbs are morphologically isolated lexical elements, and do not inflect for gender, number and tense/aspect. However, they distinguish proximal and distal locations. The other classes, complex deictic adverbs are combinations of the simple ones. Both categories co-occur with other spatial non-deictic words to denote different spaces. Syntactically, they have fixed distribution in predicates, i.e., preverbal position. They refer to the distance of referents with respect to deictic center. As far as their pragmatics is concerned, they are optionally supported by gestural elements.

Yet, the language has a means of expressing spaces using transitive or intransitive motion verbs. These may be used in isolation or accompanied with location or direction markers to refer to deictic points. The verbs are (self-)agentive or non-agentive, based on whether the participants are humans or non-humans. The deictic centers are not necessarily the speakers, but also can be the sources or the goals of the referents in the events. If the directions or deictic points are not inherent features of motion verbs, they are added in the predicates as adpositional phrases (adverbials or adjuncts).

The last elements in spatial expressions of Afaan Oromoo are adpositions which are often termed as locative deictics. These occur as lexical elements or as enclitics to mark vertical and horizontal spaces, and containment/bounded relations. Vertical relations show referents located at the upper and lower positions as compared to the deictic points they are associated with. The locations are understood to be upper or lower than the positions of the deictic points, but are not necessarily in contact with the visible relational places. The horizontal dimension is associated to the sequence and coexistence of the entities in focus, where one of them serves as a reference (deictic) point. Containment relations involve three lexical terms (postpositions) with different senses: *keessa* ‘in’/‘through’, *duuba* ‘out of’ and *?ala* ‘outside’.

Altogether, the chapter proves that different classes of lexical elements serve as a balanced system with a complex structure in elaborating several facets of deictic system in Afaan Oromoo. From the descriptions, it can be clear that the concepts of space in the language manifest complex morphological, syntactic, semantic and even pragmatic fields with completely diversified dimensions. Finally, I suggest that there need to be considerable cross-linguistic investigations into the topic in order to evaluate the typological features of deictic systems in the Ethiopian linguistic area.

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