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SPATIAL DEICTIC EXPRESSIONS IN HAMAR

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Abstract

The current study aims to describe the spatial deictic system of the Hamar language and contribute to the limited linguistic literature on the language. Deictic expressions are linguistic elements with built-in contextual parameters and are traditionally classified into three semantic categories: person, spatial, and temporal (Levinson, 1983). Spatial deictic, the focus of this study, refers to objects, locations, or persons relative to the speaker or addressee during the speech act. The core of spatial deictic constitutes a small class of expressions, such as demonstratives and locational adverbs. Hamar follows a distance-oriented system, and spatial deictics indicate four locations on a distance scale relative to the speaker's location in the speech event. These are: proximal, medial, first-degree distal, and second-degree distal. All deictic words are formed from the deictic root -k-; the deictic stem consists of the deictic root and other morphemes. Spatial deictic elements inflect for gender, number, and case and function as modifiers of nouns. When marked for case, they can function as the head of a noun phrase. Syntactically, demonstratives in Hamar can be classified as nominal demonstratives and adverbial demonstratives. Adverbial demonstratives are deictically contrastive and make a three-way distinction between proximal, medial, and distal. Moreover, demonstratives in Hamar encode other planes of spatial orientations such as visibility, elevation, geography, and movement. Four degrees of elevation (that also combine visibility) have been recognized in the vertical dimension. In the horizontal dimension, two levels of distance are identified in the front-back axis, and three levels of distance in the left-right axis. The spatial deictic elements can also serve as temporal and anaphoric expressions. This study further discusses the source models for deictic expressions, including body-part nomenclature as metaphor and environmental landmarks as spatial deictic expressions.

Keywords: Hamar, demonstratives, spatial expressions, spatial deixis, Omotic

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1. Introduction

Hamar is the self-name of the people who refer to their language as *Hamar Apo*, which means "mouth of the Hamar". *Hamar Apo* (hereafter referred to as Hamar) is a language spoken by approximately 46,000 people (CSA, 2007) in the southwestern corner of Ethiopia, specifically in the South Omo Zone of the Southern Regional State. Linguistically, the language is classified as a member of the South Omotic group of languages under the Omotic family of the Afro-Asiatic phylum (Fleming 1976).

The Hamar are primarily pastoralists, but they also engage in shifting agriculture on the banks of rivers. The Hamar territory stretches from the lower Omo valley in the west across the rift valley of Chew Bahir in the east. While to the south their border coincides with the Dassanach and the Kenyan border, to the north they are bordered by the Benna and the Aari. The Hamar use different names to refer to their neighbors: Murso for the Surmic Mursi, Bume for the Nilotic Nyangatom, Muguji for the Surmic Koegu, Galab for the Cushitic Danssenech, Marale or Ulde for the Cushitic Arbore.

1.1. Review of previous studies

The first contribution to the study of Hamar's grammar was made by Lydall (1976), who provided a wealth of information and has been the primary source on Hamar's grammar for a long time. Later, Lydall published two studies, namely, "Gender, Number and Size in Hamar (1986) and "A socio-linguistic look at Idiophones in Hamar" (2000). These studies were followed by two additional studies: a senior essay by Mary (1987) and an MA thesis by Getahun (1991), entitled "Hamar Phonology" and "The structure of NP in Hamar," respectively. Moges (2005) also provided a preliminary description of Hamar pronouns from a comparative-historical perspective.

Over the past decade, however, linguistic studies on the Hamar language have shown some progress in terms of the quantity and diversity of topics. Cupi et al. (2013) provide a preliminary analysis of the complex verbal system, Binyam and Moges (2014) describe the copula construction, while Moges (2015) clarifies the dialect variation within the Hamar-Benna dialect cluster. In addition, Moges and Binyam (2015) presented the orthography of Hamar, based on Latin script, with an update on the phonology of the language and Moges (2016) published an article on the morphophonology of Hamar that focuses on the syllable structure, phonotactic constraints and word structure conditions that regulate morphophonemic alternations. Binyam (2016) published a work on the negation of the Hamar language. A PhD dissertation by Petrollino (2016) has also been published, providing a comprehensive grammatical description of the Hamar language.

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Nevertheless, the spatial deictic system of Hamar has not been fully described in all previous studies.

1.2. Theoretical Literature on Spatial Deictic

Deictic expressions are generally classified into three semantic categories: person, spatial, and temporal. The core of spatial deictic terms comprises a small class of expressions, including demonstratives, temporal adverbs, and locative adverbs. The referents are usually anchored to the speaker's point of view (Levinson, 1983: 64-85).

Demonstratives are commonly described as one type of place deixis, serving as grammatical functions similar to those of pronouns, determiners, and adverbs. Accordingly, Dixon (2003: 62) classifies demonstratives into three syntactic types:

- Nominal demonstratives, which can occur in a phrase with a noun or a pronoun, or can make a complete NPs by themselves, such as *'this is hot'*. Nominal demonstratives always appear as modifiers to a co-occurring head noun or as independent pronouns representing a complete NP;
- Local adverbial demonstratives modify a verb, and they occur either alone, as in 'put it here', or together with an adpositional NP referring to a location, as in *'put it there on the table'*. According to Dixon (2003:69-70), locative demonstratives deictically indicate place while nominal demonstratives stand for objects.
- Verbal demonstratives can be the only verb in a clause or with a lexical verb. They consist of verbs with the meaning *'like this'* or *'in this way/manner'*, and they are verbs rather than adverbs.

Diessel (1999) gives an elaborate typology of demonstratives which are classified into four different constructions: (a) pronominal demonstratives, which substitute for an NP in argument positions of verbs and adpositions; (b) adnominal demonstratives, which co-occur with a referential noun; (c) adverbial demonstratives, which modify a co-occurring verb; and (d) identificational demonstratives, which are used in specific copular and nonverbal clauses. He further states that demonstratives serve a specific syntactic function and, semantically, demonstratives can be deictically contrastive: a proximal demonstrative expressing closeness to the deictic center and a distal demonstrative denoting distance from the deictic center.

Although the formal criteria set to define demonstratives are applicable for classificatory and descriptive purposes, they are neither universal nor unique to the demonstratives across languages. Dixon (2003:61) argues that demonstratives' type, form, function, and reference vary from one language to another. It isn't easy to define universal characteristics of demonstratives that can be applied to all languages. Furthermore, Himmelmann (1996:210)

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agrees that "there is occasionally a problem of determination as to what a demonstrative is and what is not a demonstrative in a given language because third person pronouns and definite articles are historically derived from demonstratives in many languages".

Semantically, languages may have demonstratives that are deictically contrastive, distinguishing between proximal, medial, and distal demonstratives, and can be either distance-oriented or person-oriented systems. In addition, demonstratives may encode several special deictic features such as visibility, elevation, geography, and movement. Apart from deictic information, demonstratives usually provide some qualitative information about the referent: whether the referent is a location, object, or person, whether it is animate or inanimate, human or non-human, female or male, and whether it is a single entity or part of a set (Diessel, 1999:50).

Demonstratives also provide some information concerning their pragmatic use. Himmelmann (1996:240) summarizes the universally attested cross-linguistic uses of demonstratives. According to him, "demonstratives are used either in establishing a referent in the universe of discourse for the first time or to single out a certain referent among already established referents".

In the forthcoming sections, the notions and theoretical concepts developed in Dixon (2003) and Diessel (1999) will be utilized to describe and analyze various spatial deictic terms in Hamar, their morpho-syntactic and semantic features, and their pragmatic uses in speech acts, that is, their temporal and anaphoric uses. Furthermore, the source models for these deictic expressions will also be discussed.

1.3. Notes on the phonology

Moges (2016) identified 30 consonant phonemes for the Hamar language. These include: voiceless stops /p, t, k, ʔ/, voiced stops /b, d, ɡ /, ejectives /s'~t', tʃ', q'/, and implosives /ɓ, ɗ, ɠ/ in the stop series. Hamar has also fricatives /ɸ, s, z, ʃ, χ, h / affricates /ts, tʃ, dʒ/ nasals /m, n, ŋ and ɲ/, liquids /r/ and /l/ and approximants /w/ and /j/ as part of its phonemic inventory. The alveolar ejective /t'/ and the alveolar ejective fricative /s'/ are interchangeable. It appears that the two consonants are merging into one in Hamar.

Gemination of a consonant appears to be phonemic, and out of the 30 singleton consonants, seventeen are geminated, while the remaining thirteen consonants (implosives, ejectives, except /q'/, and glottal consonants /ʔ/ and /h/) are not geminated. Also, two sets of ten vowels in Hamar can be distinguished by the [ATR] feature (Moges 2016).

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2. The Demonstrative Root

A demonstrative root is the form of the demonstrative without its inflectional endings (Diessel 1999, 28). In other words, the demonstrative root is the deictic element from which all the other deictic expressions are derived. The demonstrative root, the basis for all deictic expressions in Hamar, is *k-*, and all the forms used to express various levels of distance, number of the referent, gender of the referent, etc., are derived from the root *k-*.

Examine the morphologically simpler pronominal demonstratives given in (1) below, which are commonly characterized in spatial terms based on their relationship to the deictic center in the speech act. Deissel (1999, p. 2) refers to these as proximal demonstratives, which refer to an entity near the deictic center, and distal demonstratives, which refer to an entity located at some distance from the deictic center.

(1) *ka* 'this'
aga 'that'

The proximal and distal demonstratives in (1) are morphologically distinct and deictically contrastive. The proximal demonstrative is formed from a demonstrative root k- and the gender marker *-a*, whereas the distal demonstrative consists of the distal prefix *a*, the demonstrative root *-g-* (voiced intervocalically as *g-*), and the masculine gender marker *-a*. Likewise, demonstrative adverbs illustrated in (2) are formed from a demonstrative root k-, the gender marker, and the locative suffix.

(2) *kaʃ* 'here' (proximal)
saa agaʃ 'there' (medial)

The proximal demonstrative adverb *kaʃ* 'here' consists of three morphemes: the demonstrative root *k-*, the masculine marker *–a,* and the locative marker *-ʃ*. The medial demonstrative adverb is composed of a compound form; the second member of the compound comprises the distal demonstrative *aga* 'that' (which consists of three morphemes as shown in example (1)) plus the locative marker *-ʃ*.

The third-person subject and object pronouns share the same deictic root as the proximal demonstrative. In a subject pronoun, a gender marker follows the deictic root. Similarly, in the object pronoun forms, the demonstrative root k- is followed by gender and accusative markers.

(3)

Subject Pronouns		**Object Pronouns**	
k-i-di	'he'	*k-i-na*	'him'
k-o-di	'she'	*k-o-na*	'her'
k-i-di	'they'	*k-i-na*	'them'

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Hence, the third-person pronouns consist of the same bare root, *"k," and they are gender-marked* to differentiate between multiple antecedents of the third-person pronouns. Examine third-person personal pronouns within a clause where the pronouns are cliticized before the verb and the shortened forms are used as agreement markers.

(4a) i. *χaa* *ki-niʔ-a*
when 3M.SG-come-IMPF
'When did he come?'

ii. *naa* *ki-niʔa-de*
yesterday 3M.SG-come-PFV
'He came yesterday.'

iii. *χaa* *ko-niʔ-a*
when 3F.SG-come-IMPF
'When did she come'

iv. *naa* *ko-niʔa-de*
yesterday 3F.SG-come-PFV
'She came yesterday''

v. *χaa* *ki-niʔ-a*
when 3PL-come -IMPF
'When did they come?'

vi. *naa* *ki-niʔa-de*
yesterday 3PL-come-PFV
'They came yesterday.'

The same forms of third-person pronouns that contain the deictic root *k-* recur in the imperative expressions using object pronouns, in which the cliticized third-person pronouns are suffixed to an accusative marker *-ɗan*.

(4b) i. *ki-ɗan* *ɛɛl-a*
3M.SG-ACC call-IMPF
'Call him!'

(4b) ii. *ko-ɗan* *ɛɛl-a*
3F.SG- ACC call- IMPF
'Call her!'

(4b) iii. *ki-ɗan* *ɛɛl-a*
3PL- ACC call-IMPF
'Call them!'

The derivation of deictic forms shows that the proximal and distal demonstratives carry gender and number features, marked by affixes attached to the basic root form. Compare the examples in (5):

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(5a)	Proximal forms	
	k-a	'this' (M)
	DR-M	
	k-o-ro	'this' (F)
	DR-EP-F	
	k-i-ra	'these'
	DR-EP- PL	
(5b)	Distal forms	
	a-g-a	'that' (M)
	DIST- DR – M.	
	o-g-o-ro	'that" (F)
	DIST- DR – EP-F	
	i-g-i-ra	'those'
	DIST-DR-EP-PL	

In (5a), the proximal is distinguished by a zero morpheme. In (5b), the distal is marked by the prefix *a-* in the singular and i- in the plural. Gender is marked by the suffix *-a* in the masculine and *-ro* in the feminine. Two phonological processes are involved in the process of derivation. One is the epenthetic vowel, which is inserted to avoid impermissible consonant sequences. The other is voicing of the bare root *–k* when it occurs in intervocalic position, i.e., *k*>*g*/v_v. Accordingly, in the singular feminine form, *k-o-ro* 'this, F..', the basic root *k-* is followed by the feminine marker *-ro*; an epenthetic vowel [o], which is a copy of the final vowel, is inserted to avoid a sequence of impermissible consonants [*-*kr*-].

The distal demonstratives are derived by prefixing vocalic morphemes to the basic root form *k-* and suffixing gender/number marking morphemes. In the process, *k* is changed to *g* by voicing the basic root consonant in the intervocalic position. Hence, the form *a-g-a* 'that (M)' is derived from**a-k-a*. In the feminine distal form, *o-g-o-ro* 'that (F)', three affixes are involved: the prefix *o, which marks distal, the root k-*, and the feminine gender marker *-ro*. An epenthetic vowel is inserted between the root and the gender marker to avoid the consonantal sequence **-gr-*and the consonantal root *k* is changed to *g*, as described above. Similarly, in the plural deictic words *k-i-ra* 'these' and *i-g-i-ra* 'those', the basic root consonant is followed by the plural marker *-ra*. In the process, an epenthetic vowel is inserted because of the language-specific phonotactic constraints **kr-* and **-gr-*.

3. Morpho-syntactic properties

According to Diessel (1999: 2), demonstratives are deictic expressions that serve specific syntactic functions, including those of pronouns, noun

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modifiers, and place adverbs. Following Dixon (2003), the demonstratives in Hamar have been classified into two distinct morpho-syntactic groups: nominal demonstratives and local demonstrative adverbs. Dixon's third category, verbal demonstratives, will not be discussed in this context.

3.1. Nominal demonstratives

Nominal demonstratives make a four-way distinction in the proximal-distal dimension relative to the deictic center and syntactically function as a noun modifier, i.e., adnominal demonstratives. These demonstratives always appear following the head noun, as in the following examples.

(6a) *nasa ka fʌjjʌ-ne*
boy PROX.SG.M good-COP
'This boy is good.'

(6b) *nana kira fʌjjʌ-ne*
boy. PL PROX.PL good-COP
'These boys are good.'

(6c) *borkoto-na igira fʌjjʌ-ne*
headrest-PL DIST.PL good-COP
'Those headrests are good.'

(6d) *jaa-ta aga-ɗan baʔ-a*
sheep-DEF DIST.SG-ACC bring-IMPF
'Bring that sheep!'

(6e) *jaa-na igira wʌnnʌ-ne*
sheep-PL DIST.PL ours-COP
'Those sheep are ours.'

The minimal pair sentences in example (7) illustrate the use of demonstratives both as modifiers of a noun (7a-b) and as pronouns, without a head noun (7c-d).

(7a) *nasa ka fʌjjʌ-ne*
boy PROX.SG.M good-COP
'This boy is good.'

(7b) *nasa aga-ɗan baʔ-a*
boy DIST.SG-ACC bring-IMPF
'Bring that boy!'

(7c) *ka fʌjjʌ-ne*
PROX.SG.M good-COP
'This (one) is good.'

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(7d) *aga-ɗan* *baʔ-a*
DIST. SG-ACC bring- IMPF
'Bring that one!'

Accordingly, Dixon (2003:65) calls such demonstratives that function either as a modifier to the head noun or as a complete NP in a clause, as nominal demonstratives.

As shown in Section 2, morphologically, nominal demonstratives are inflected for number, gender, and case just like nouns.

Within a noun phrase, nominal demonstratives precede the noun as in (9a) and an adjective as in (9b). They also precede a numeral as in (9c). In all cases, the demonstratives are free forms or independent words.

(9a) *ka q'askɛ* 'this dog (M)'
(9b) *ka gari q'askɛ* 'this big dog (M)'
(9c) *kira laman garra q'askina* 'these two big dogs'

As shown in Section 2, the referent's gender is marked on the demonstrative via suffix *-a* and *-ro* for masculine and feminine, respectively. The head noun is also marked for gender as illustrated in (10):

(10a) *ka* *q'askɛ* 'this dog (M)'
(10b) *koro* *q'askino* 'this dog (F)'
(10c) *nasa* *ka* 'this boy'
(10d) *nano* *koro* 'this girl'
(10e) *nana* *igira* 'those boys'

Hamar shares the general tendency observed in most languages: gender distinction in demonstratives is limited to the singular; in the plural, gender is unmarked (cf. Diessel, 2012:9). Furthermore, demonstratives in Hamar distinguish various case forms. The nominative form, also the basic form, appears as a subject of a verbal or copula clause.

(11a) *ka q'aski-ne* 'This is a dog.'
(11b) *kira t'ija-na-ne* 'These are black ones.'
(11c) *nasa ka fʌjjʌ-ne* 'This boy is good.'
(11d) *borkota ka fʌjjʌ-ne* 'This headrest is good.'

The accusative is marked by suffixing the morpheme -ɗan on the base form as illustrated in (12) below.

(12a) *ka* 'this' *aga* 'that'
(12b) *ka-ɗan* 'this one (ACC)' *aga-ɗan* 'that one (ACC)'

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The suffix *–ɗan* is used elsewhere to mark the accusative case, e.g., on pronouns.

(13a) *ʔinta* *ka-ɗan* *tiid-i-ne*
1SG PROX-SG-ACC take-EP-COP
'I take this one.'

(13b) *aga-ɗan* *ɛɛl-a*
DIST- ACC call-IMPF
'Call that one!'

3.2. Demonstrative adverbs

Like nominal demonstratives, demonstrative adverbs are defined concerning the deictic center. They are deictically contrastive and indicate three different locations on a distance scale: proximal (here), medial (there), and distal (over there). They all agree in number and gender with the noun designating the referent. The semantic equivalents of 'here' and 'there' in Hamar are demonstratives with certain locative case endings.

The proximal demonstrative adverbs refer to a location closer to the speaker, and the medial adverbs indicate the area somewhat far from the speaker. In contrast, the distal demonstrative adverbs denote a location far from the speaker.

Table 1. Demonstrative adverbs indicating three different locations

Gender/Number	Proximal	Medial	Distal
M	*kaʃ*	*saa agaʃ*	*ʔo agaʃ*
F	*koʃ*	*saa ogoʃ*	*ʔo ogoʃ*
PL	*kiʃ*	*saa igiʃ*	*ʔo igiʃ*

The proximal demonstrative adverbs in Table I above consist of three morphemes: the demonstrative root k-, the gender or number marker, and the locative marker *-ʃ*. The medial forms are constructed by combining the particle *saa* 'there' with the medial markers *agaʃ, ogoʃ,* and *igiʃ* for masculine, feminine and plural forms respectively. The distal forms are derived by combining the particle *ʔoo* with *agaʃ, ogoʃ,* and *igiʃ* for masculine, feminine and plural forms respectively. Again, all the medial forms agree in gender and number of the referent. Additional examples of these deictic terms are provided in (14) and (15) below.

(14) *nasa kaʃ* 'this boy, here'
nasa saa agaʃ 'that boy, there'
nano koʃ 'this girl, here'

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nano saa ogoʃ 'that girl, there'
nana kiʃ 'these children, here'
nano saa igiʃ 'those children, there'

(15) (a) *ka-ɗan* *ka-te* *wʌd-a*
PROX-ACC PROX-LOC put-IMPF
'Put (this one) here.'
(b) *ka-ɗan* *saa agaʃ* *wʌd-a*
PROX-ACC MED put-IMPF
'Put (it) there!'
(c) *ka-ɗan* *ʔo agaʃ* *wʌd-a*
PROX-ACC DIST put-IMPF
'Put (it) over there!'

4. Semantic properties

Generally, the semantic features of demonstratives indicate the kind of referent and its location within a speech act. Diessel (1999:50-52) divides the semantic features of demonstratives into two categories: deictic features, which indicate the location of the referent relative to the deictic center, and qualitative features, which provide some classificatory information about the referent. The deictic features are divided into five sub-categories: distance, visibility, elevation, geography, and movement.

4.1. Distance

Deictic systems can be divided into distance-oriented and person-oriented. In distance-oriented systems, the deictic center is the only point of reference for the location of the referent, and such systems do not have more than three deictic terms. In person-oriented systems, on the other hand, in addition to the deictic center, the location of the hearer serves as another reference point in which the system could have up to four deictic terms (Diessel 1999: 50).

In Hamar, the spatial deictic expressions exhibit four different locations on a proximal-distal scale: proximal, medial, first-degree distal, and second-degree distal relative to the speaker's location, as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Demonstratives used across the four locations in a distance scale

Gender/ Number	Proximal	Medial	1st degree distal	2nd degree distal
SG. M	*ka*	*aga*	*saa agaʃ*	*ʔo agaʃ*
SG. F	*koro*	*ogoro*	*saa ogoro*	*ʔo ogoro*
PL.	*kira*	*igira*	*saa igira*	*ʔo igira*

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The proximal demonstrative ka ‘this’ refers to an entity near the deictic center. A medial demonstrative ‘that’ indicates a referent at some distance from the speaker. The 1st degree distal form is expressed by combining the particle *saa* ‘there’ with the medial marker aga ‘that’ and refers to a distance further away from the deictic center. The 2nd degree distal form, which results from a compounding of the particle *ʔo* and the medial marker *aga*, indicates a distance from the speaker’s location. However, the semantics of the compound words is not compositional, i.e., the meaning of the compound word is not derived from the meaning of the source words.

The Hamar spatial deictic system is speaker-oriented but recognizes four locations. This is in contrast to claims in typological literature that in speaker-oriented systems, “… there are never really more than three distance categories and that all larger systems either involve the hearer as a point of reference or other deictic dimensions such as visibility or elevation” (Diessel 1999: 40).

4.2. Visibility, Elevation, Geography, and Movement

Typological studies have shown that, in addition to distance, demonstratives often encode other special deictic features such as (a) visibility, i.e., whether the referent is visible or out of sight, (b) elevation, whether the referent is at a higher or lower elevation relative to the speaker, (c) geographical location, whether the referent is in uphill or downhill position, and (d) movement, whether the referent is moving toward or away from the deictic center (cf. Diessel, 1999).

In Hamar, some of these deictic features are combined. For instance, visibility and elevation are expressed together as in *ɓaa* ‘high up and visible’, and *ɓaa ʔiint* ‘high up and deep inside and invisible or out of sight’. Examine the deictic terms in (16) and (17) where four degrees of higher elevation and another four degrees of lower elevation are distinguished based on the vertical orientation of the human body.

(16)	*ɓaa ʔiint*	‘deep inside (out of sight)’
	ɓaa	‘high up’
	dɛg	‘over’
	ɓaabar	‘on’
	dʌri	‘level with the speaker’
(17)	*dʌri*	‘level with the speaker’
	jirk	‘below’
	ʧoobar	‘beneath’
	ʔimbar	‘under’
	ʧoobar ʔiint	‘deep beneath (the surface, out of sight)’

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As shown in (16), there are four degrees of higher elevation above *ɗʌri* 'level with the speaker, which is the deictic center. Similarly, the same four-level terms are distinguished in space below the deictic center, which is again anchored to *ɗʌri* 'level with the speaker'. In both categories we find deictic words employing the morpheme *–bar* proximity to the speaker. Some sentential examples illustrating the four degrees of higher elevation concerning the speaker are given in (18-21) below.

(18) *kus'o* *χaq'a-ta-sa* *ɓaabar-ne*
vulture tree-DEF-GEN LOC-COP
'The vulture is on top of the tree.'

(19) *kus'a* *ɓaa-ne*
vulture high up-COP
'The vulture is high up (in the sky).'

(20) *kus'a* *ɗɛg* *χaq'a-ta-ka* *sʌg-de*
vulture over tree-DEF-INST pass-PFV
'The vulture passed over the tree.'

(21) *ɓarija* *ɓaa* *ʧ'aʧ'i-n-sa* *ɓaa* *ʔiinte* *ki-daa-de*
Godhigh up sky-OBL-GEN deep inside 3M.SG-exist-PFV
'God is in heaven (high up deep inside the sky).'

The sentential examples in (22-24) below illustrate some deictic expressions for the lower elevation relative to the deictic center.

(22) *pee-no* *wo-sa* *ʧoobar-ne*
ground-F 1PL-GEN beneath-COP
'The ground is beneath us.'

(23) *lɛpi-no* *pee-n-sa* *ʧoobar ʔiinte-ne*
bone-DEF ground-OBL-GEN underneath deep-COP
'The bone is deep underneath the ground.'

(24) *pee-no* *wo-sa* *ʈoobar-ne*
ground-F 1PL-GEN beneath-COP
'Our country is in (towards) the south.'

Some deictic expressions may not be defined concerning the speaker or hearer but concerning a fixed geographical landmark or orientation.

(25) *gurma* 'downhill'
mɛɛ 'downwards'
aʃo 'slope'
nukija 'upper side (of)'
mʌʧʧɛ 'downside (of)'
mizaq'a-bar 'at the right side (of)'

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warkata-n-bar	'at the left side (of)'
t'ɛdi	'near (to)'
pɛgɛ	'further away (from)'

Some illustrative sentential examples follow:

(26) *kidi* *mɛɛ* *jiʔi-de*
3M.SG downwards go-PFV
'He went downward (direction).'

(27) *kidi* *tura* *aʃo-n* *ʔuti-di-ne*
3M.SG upwards slope-OBL climb-PF-COP
'He climbed the slope upwards.'

(28) *buska* *ɗuka-n-sa* *nukin*
Buska mountain-OBL-GEN upper side of'
'The upper side of Buska Mountain'
'Literally: the nose of the Buska mountain'

(29) *kidi* *buska* *ɗuka-n-sa* *nukin* *ʔut-idi-ne*
3M.SG Buska mountain-OBL-GEN upper side of climb-PF-COP
'He climbed to the upper side of the Buska Mountain.'

Movement toward or away from the deictic center is expressed by deictic motion verbs such as *niʔ-* 'come' and *baʔ-* 'bring' that denote a motion towards the speaker as well as *jiʔ-* 'go' and *tij-* 'take' which indicate a motion away from the speaker. Hence, all the deictic motion verbs use the speaker as a center.

(30) *ʔora* *ʔi-dar* *niʔ-a*
towards 1SG-P come-IMPF
'Come towards me!'

(31) *ʔora* *ʔi-dar* *baʔ-a*
towards 1SG-P bring-IMPF
'Bring towards me!'

(32) *korra* *ʔi-dar* *jiʔ-a*
away 1SG-P go-IMPF
'Go away from me!'

(33) *korra* *ʔi-dar* *tij-a*
away 1SG-P take-IMPF
'Take away from me!'

(34) *ʔora* *ʔi-dar* *niʔ-ate* *ki-daa-de*
towards 1SG-P come-PROG 3M.SG- exist-PFV
'He was coming here (towards me from far away).'

(35) *kidi* *jinka-ʃetɛ* *ki-jiʔa-de*
3M.SG Jinka-P 3M.SG-go-PFV
'He went off towards Jinka.'

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4.3. Other deictic expressions

Hamar exhibits yet another set of deictic terms used to express locations and directions on the horizontal dimension. Diessel (2012: 17) notes that the deictic treatment of time is based on the time-as-space metaphor, and there are two variants of this metaphor. The first is the 'ego-moving metaphor,' where the observer moves along the timeline, as in the English phrase "We are approaching the east." The second is 'the time-moving metaphor' as in "His birthday is coming up soon". Accordingly, the special orientation involves three dimensions: (a) the front-back axis, (b) the up-down axis, and (c) the left-right axis. The Hamar deictic system displays two levels on the front-back axis and three on the right-left axis. The deictic terms do not express absolute distance measures, but differentiate between two or three locations relative to the deictic center.

(a) Two levels of the front-back axis

(36) (a) *wɔtim* 'face/forehead'
wɔti-n-bar 'in front; on the front'
wɔti-n-bar pɛgɛ 'further away from the front'
front-OBL-LOC further away
(b) buddo 'behind/back'
buddon-bar 'behind'
buddo-n-bar pɛgɛ 'further away behind'
behind –OBL-LOC 'further away'
(c) *tamarin ʔono* *gaba-n-sa* *buddo-n-bar-ne*
student house market-OBL-GEN behind-OBL-LOC-COP
'The school is behind the market.'

(37) (a) *ʔi-sa* *buudo-n-bar*
1SG-GEN behind-OBL-LOC
'behind me'
(b) *ʔi-sa* *buudo-n-bar pɛgɛ*
1SG-GEN behind-OBL-LOC further away
'further away behind me'

(38) *bita-ka* *borkota-sa* *buudo-n-bar*
chief-DEF headrest-GEN behind–OBL-LOC
ɗeɓi-n-sa *demi-n-bar* *ki-daa-de*
bed-OBL-GEN near-OBL-LOC 3M.SG-exist-PFV
'The chief's headrest is in the back, on the side of the bed.'

In example (38), the frame of reference is the intrinsic frame of reference, which involves an object-centered coordinate system evoked by relational terms such as "behind" and "on the side of."

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(b) Three levels of right-left axis

(39) (a) *mizaq'a* 'right'
(b) *mizaq'a-bar* 'right side'
(c) *mizaq'a-bar pɛgɛ* 'further on the right side'
(d) *ʔamo gurda-n-sa mizaq'a-bar-ne*
farm village-OBL-GEN right-LOC–COP
'The farm is on the right side of the village.'

(40) (a) *warkata* 'left'
(b) *warkata-n-bar* 'left side'
(c) *warkata-n-bar pɛgɛ* 'further on the left side'
(d) *ʔi-sa* *warkata-m-bar* *daa* *banq'i-ne*
1SG-GEN left--OBL-LOC exist spear-COP
'The spear is to my left side.'

Diessel (2012:4-5) distinguishes between three reference frames for spatial orientation: a relative frame of reference, the absolute frame of reference, and the intrinsic frame of reference. The relative frame of reference presupposes a view point provided by the speaker or some other person and commonly evoked by deictic terms such as I and you as well as here and there; the absolute frame of reference is anchored by landmarks in the environment and is established by expressions such as uphill and downhill; and the intrinsic frame of reference involves an object-centered coordinate system determined by the inherent orientation of an object or person, and is triggered by relational terms as in front of and behind. The intrinsic frame of reference is derived from our bodily experience. It is based on the vertical and horizontal orientation of the human body, which is commonly expressed through relational terms such as "in front of" and "behind," "left" and "right," "up" and "down," and "above" and "below." Like deictic expressions, these expressions may involve the speaker's location at the time of the utterance.

(41) *kidi* *tura* *jinka-ʃetɛ* *ki-jiʔa-de*
3M.SG upwards Jinka-LOC 3 M.SG-go-PFV
'He went off upwards towards Jinka.'
(42) *kidi* *mɛɛ* *gurman* *jiʔi-di-ne*
3M.SG downwards slope go-PF-COP
'He went down the slope.'

5. Pragmatic Uses of Demonstratives

Diessel observes that demonstratives play a crucial role in organizing the information flow in ongoing discourse, often serving to keep track of prior discourse participants and to activate specific shared knowledge. The most basic pragmatic function of demonstratives is, however, "to orient the hearer

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outside of discourse in the surrounding situation" (Diessel 1992:2). Diessel (2012:17) also states that across languages, "time is commonly objectified by the metaphorical structuring of time in terms of special concepts". According to the same author, the conceptual relationship between space and time is reflected in the frequent development of temporal expressions from spatial terms.

Demonstratives serve a variety of functions in communicative interaction. These functions are primarily divided into two major clusters, namely the exophoric use and the endophoric use of demonstratives (Diessel 1999:93). While the term exophoric refers to demonstratives that are used to refer to physically existing entities in the vicinity of the conversation (the situational context), the term endophoric is used as a general term of reference to textual entities, i. e, non-physical entities in the ongoing discourse. Diessel (1999: 95-96) explains that demonstratives in anaphoric use (a) refer to entities from the surrounding discourse, (b) serve as tracing devices to refer back to previously mentioned entities, and (c) are used to shift the focus of attention to the new topic.

5.1. Anaphoric Use

Demonstratives in anaphoric use are co-referential within an NP in the preceding discourse (Diessel, 1999: 95). Himmelmann (1999:226) notes that demonstratives in anaphoric or tracking use commonly refer to major discourse participants to help the hearer to keep track of what is happening to whom. Examine the following Hamar discourse.

(43) (a) *naa* *goji-n-te* *lama nasi aɴi* *ʔi-χaafa-di*
yesterday road-OBL-LOC two child male I-see-PFV
'Yesterday, I saw two boys (male children) on the road.'

(b) *kalaguɗiɓi-ne* *wa* *pir* *ʔorogo-ne*
one tall-COP other also short- COP
'One is tall and the other is short.'

(c) *wa* *aga (gʊɗʊɓa nasa)* *ʔi-ɗan* *ɗʌt-idi-ne*
Other than (tall child) 1SG-ACC talk-PF-COP
'That one (i.e., the tall one) talked to me.'

(d) *wa* *ka* *(ʔorogo nasa)* *ʔi-ɗan* *ɗʌtti-ma jiʔ-idi-ne*
Other than this (short child) 1SG-ACC talk-NEG go-PF-COP
'That one (i.e., the short one) talked to me.'

(e) *wa* *aga nasa* *(bira nasa)* *fʌjjʌ-ne*
other that child (the former child), good-COP
'That one (i.e., the former) is good.'

(f) *wa* *ka* *nasa* *(tuɗɛja nasa)* *sijjʌ-ne*
other that child (the latter child) bad-COP
'This one (i.e., the latter) is bad.'

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As shown in examples (43c-f), shown in italics, the anaphoric demonstratives are co-referential with an NP in the preceding discourse, and keep track of prior participants.

5.2. Temporal use of deictic terms

The temporal use of deictic terms relates the moment of speech to another point expressed by the utterance. Examine the following examples.

(44) *ka* *lʌɛ* *fʌjjʌ-ne*
PROX-SG year good-COP
'This year is good.'

(45) *ka* *lʌɛ-n-ka* *ʔinta* *χoʤa-di-di-ne*
PROX–SG year-OBL-INST 1SG sick-PASS-PF-COP
'This year I felt sick.'

(46) *aga* *woda* *sija-ɗan* *ʔinta* *wala-ti-ne*
that time bad-ACC 1SG forget-NEG-COP
'I don't forget that bad time.'

In the above examples, the demonstratives *ka* and *aga* are used as temporal deictic terms. Hence, the deictic term *aga* 'that' in example (46) above functions as a temporal deictic denoting 'that bad time'. Additionally, various temporal adverbs that refer to the time of an event relative to the moment of speech are also employed. Some of these are:

(47) *taki* 'now'
aga-rra 'from there'
kina 'today'
naa 'yesterday'
saχa 'tomorrow'

6. Source Models

Standard source models for expressing spatial orientation include body parts, landmarks, and dynamic concepts. The most common source model is the use of body-part nomenclature, followed by environmental landmarks. In contrast, dynamic concepts (activities typically expressed by motion verbs) are much less commonly used sources (Heine 1997: 38). The conceptualization of body-part nomenclature has been argued to be 'anthropocentric' because we tend to use human experiences to describe and understand nonhuman relations (Ibid, 40). In Hamar, speakers extend body-part terms to refer to specific spatial reference points as the primary source domain (cf. examples in 48-52), followed by environmental landmarks (example 53).

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(a) **Body parts** – its upright position as a model

(48) (a) *ii* 'belly/stomach'
(b) *ʔiinte* 'deep inside'
(c) *ʔiimbar* 'under'
(d) *ɟoobar ʔiinte* 'deep underneath'
(e) *lɛpi-no peen saa ɟoobar ʔiinte-ne*
bone-DEF ground DIST underneath deep-COP
'The bone is deep underneath the ground.'

(49) (a) *wɔti* 'face/forehead'
(b) *wɔti-n-bar* 'in front of'
(c) *wɔti-n-bar (ʔisa) pɛgɛ*
face-OBL-LOC (1SG-GEN) further away
'further away from the front (my face)'

(50) (a) *nuki* 'nose'
(b) *nukija* 'upper side (of)'
(c) *kidi buska ɗuka-n-sa nukija ʔut-idi-ne*
3M.SG Buska mountain-OBL-GEN upper side (of) climb-PF-COP
'He climbed to the upper side (the tip of the nose) of the Buska M.'

(51) (a) *dɛmi* 'side'
(b) *dɛmi-n-bar* 'nearby/close'
(c) *borkoto ki-sa dɛmi-n-bar-ne*
headrest 1SG-ACC near-OBL-LOC-COP
'The headrest is nearby (close) to me'

(52) (a) *buudo* 'behind/back'
(b) *buudo-n-nte* 'on the back side'
(c) *buudo-n-bar* 'in the back, behind'
(d) *buudo-n-bar ʔi-sa pɛgɛ*
behind/back-OBL-LOC 1SG-GEN further away
'further away behind me'
(e) ranq'-o kotɛ buska saa buddo
place-DEF here Buska DIST behind
'Here, the place behind/beyond Buska.'

(b) Landmarks – use of environmental landmarks

(53) (a) *ɟ'ʌɟ'i* 'sky'
ɓaa [ɟ'ʌɟ'i] ʔiinte 'high up deep inside the sky'
high up (sky) deep inside
(b) *ɗuka* 'mountain'
ɗuka-n saabar 'across the mountain'
mountain-OBL over there
(c) *woʔe-n-bar* 'west/sunset'
χalin saa woʔe-n-bar 'sunset'

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sun DIST set-OBL-LOC

(d) *utɛmbar* 'east/sunrise'
χalin saa utɛm-bar 'sunrise'
sun DIST rise-LOC

(e) *ɬoo* 'down'
ɬoobar 'downward/beneath'

(f) *pee-no wo-sa ɬoobar-ne*
ground-DEF 1PL-GEN beneath-COP
'The ground is beneath us'

(g) *ɓaa* 'high up'
ɓaabar 'on (top of)'

(h) *kus'o* χaq'a-ta-sa *ɓaabar-ne*
vulture tree-DEF-GEN on (top of)-COP
'The vulture is on top of the tree.'

7. Summary

Spatial deictics in Hamar indicate four different locations on a distance scale, distinguishing between proximal, medial, first-degree distal, and second-degree distal. The proximal and medial forms are free, and the first- and second-degree distal forms are compound. Syntactically, a demonstrative can function as a modifier of a noun or as a head noun; in the latter function, the demonstrative has to be marked for case. Accordingly, Hamar demonstratives are classified here as nominal demonstratives and adverbial demonstratives. Morphologically, nominal and adverbial demonstratives inflect for number, gender, and case. All deictic forms are derived from a single deictic root, combining the latter with other morphemes. While nominal demonstratives are formed from the deictic root and gender marker, the adverbial demonstratives consist of a deictic root, a number marker, and a locative marker.

Semantically, Hamar has nominal demonstratives that are deictically contrastive. These are: a proximal demonstrative referring to an entity near the deictic center; a medial demonstrative referring to a referent further away from the speaker; a first-degree distal demonstrative signifying a referent that is located in some distance to the speaker; and a second-degree distal demonstrative indicating a referent that is located further away from the speaker. In all cases, the nominal demonstratives are distance-oriented and are anchored in a relative frame of reference in the speech act. Adverbial demonstratives also make a three-way distinction between proximal, medial, and distal and are deictically contrastive. They are all defined with respect to a deictic center, which is the speaker. A proximal demonstrative adverb refers to a location close to the speaker; a medial demonstrative adverb

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indicates a location somewhat far from the speaker; and a distal demonstrative adverb indicates a location quite far away from the speaker.

Moreover, spatial deictic terms serve as temporal and anaphoric expressions in a discourse. They function to organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse, and more importantly, they are used to keep track of prior discourse participants.

The standard source models for the various deictic terms are the metaphorical use of body part nomenclature and environmental landmarks.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ATR	advanced tongue root
AUX	auxiliary
COP	copula
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
DEF	definite
DIST	distal
DR	deictic root
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
INST	instrumental
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MED	medial
NEG	negative
NP	noun phrase
PASS	passive
PF	perfect
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
SG	singular

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