SPATIAL DEICTICS IN TIGRINYA

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Abstract

In this chapter, I discuss the morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties of spatial deictic expressions in Tigrinya. Tigrinya uses demonstratives to encode spatial deixis, which can be divided into pronominal forms (e.g., ʔɨzi 'this' and ʔɨti 'that') and adnominal forms (e.g., ʔɨz- and ʔɨt-). The language's demonstratives differentiate between proximal and distal references and show gender and number contrasts. I argue that pronominal demonstratives form the basis for spatial deictic expressions in Tigrinya. Additionally, I demonstrate how location adverbs are derived from demonstratives through the locative preposition ab, as in ab=zi-u 'here' and ab=ti-u 'there,' and how directional adverbs (e.g., nab=zi-u 'over here' and kab=ti-u 'from there') are created by combining demonstratives with prepositions, specifically nab 'to(ward)' and kab 'from'.

Keywords: Ethio-Semitic, Tigrnya, spatial deictics, demonstratives, pronominal, adnominal

1. Introduction

The term deixis comes from Greek, meaning 'pointing' or 'indicating'. In linguistics, it refers to the role of personal pronouns, demonstratives, and various other grammatical features that connect utterances to the spatial and temporal coordinates of the act of speaking (Lyons 1977: 636). According to Dixon (2003: 63), the term is "simply a means of providing a rather special ground or reference point, namely the location of the speech participants" (see also Levinson 2003).

Different scholars classify deixis in various ways. Some argue that three basic deictic categories exist: person, place, and time. Anderson and Keenan (1985: 259), for example, state that the main deictic categories are person, spatial location, and time reference. Conversely, Fillmore (1975: 39-40) and

Cruse (2000: 324) categorize deixis into five types: (i) person deixis, which relates to participants in the speech and is expressed through pronouns; (ii) place deixis, concerning location relative to anchoring points in the speech; (iii) time deixis, used to specify a point or interval in time relative to the utterance (Cruse 2000: 321); (iv) social deixis, which involves social relationships between participants, their status, and their connection to the topic; and (v) discourse deixis, referring to parts of the previous discourse (Fillmore 1975: 70).

Spatial deixis concerns the location of participants during a speech event (Levinson 1983: 62). Fillmore (1982: 37) also describes spatial deixis as the aspect of deixis that involves referencing the locations of communication participants in space, with their bodies serving as key reference points for spatial description.

This chapter explores the form, meaning, and use of spatial deictics in Tigrinya, an Ethio-Semitic language spoken in the Tigray Region of Ethiopia and the highlands of Eritrea.

Currently, Tigrinya serves as the medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools throughout Tigray and Eritrea. It is an official language in Eritrea and the administrative language of the regional state of Tigray. Tesfay (1993, 2002) notes that Tigrinya has been a written language since the 13th century, and many newspapers, magazines, and books are published in Tigrinya.

There are many regional varieties of Tigrinya spoken in both Eritrea and Ethiopia. The most important isoglossal boundaries are not between Eritrea and Tigray, but between the northwestern and southern dialects within Tigray (Voigt 2011). The data for this paper were collected from the northwestern dialect, spoken in areas of the west and central zones of Tigray, especially around Axum and Adwa. The author is a speaker of this dialect.

In this chapter, I demonstrate that Tigrinya spatial deictics serve both exophoric and endophoric functions (i.e., to highlight and draw attention to objects and locations during a speech act). The rest of the chapter is organized into five sections. In §2, I examine nominal demonstratives, exploring their types, functions, and interaction with noun phrases. While §3 focuses on adverbial demonstratives and locational expressions, §4 discusses motion verbs and directional adverbs. In §5, I look into deictic presentatives, and finally, §7 provides the summary and conclusion.

2. Nominal Demonstratives

In Tigrinya, there are two main types of nominal demonstratives: pronominal and adnominal. While the former functions as an exophoric expression, the

latter acts as an endophoric expression. In the following sections, I outline the morphological, syntactic, and semantic features of each type.

2.1 Pronominal Demonstratives

Tigrinya pronominal demonstratives are used to identify entities in space. For instance, choosing between ʔɨzi and ʔɨti highlights the difference between proximal, meaning an entity close to the speaker, and distal, indicating an entity far from the speaker. In Tigrinya, pronominal demonstratives morphologically differentiate gender (masculine and feminine) and number (singular and plural). The demonstratives listed in Table 1 below are based on the North Western dialect.

Table 1. Tigrinya Pronominal Demonstratives

	Proximal		Distal	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
Singular	ʔɨzi / ʔɨzuy	ʔɨziʔa	ʔɨti / ʔɨtuy	ʔɨtiʔa
Plural	ʔɨziʔom / ʔɨziʔatom	ʔɨziʔən / ʔɨziʔatən	ʔɨtiʔom / ʔɨtiʔatom	ʔɨtiʔən / ʔɨtiʔatən

But we may also find some Tigrinya speakers who use ʔɨziyu ' this' and ʔɨtiyu ' that', which is due to dialectal differences. ʔɨziyu 'this (M.SG)' and ʔɨtiyu 'that (M.SG)' are commonly used in the dialect that is spoken in Eritrea.[1] The entities that are identified by the pronominal demonstratives are generally observable in the immediate environment so that pointing them out by gesture is possible.

1. a. [ʔɨzi   gəza]NP   nat- a   iyy-u
        PROX.M.SG   house   GEN-3F.SG   be-3M.SG
        'This house is hers.'
    b. [ʔɨzi-ʔa]NP   nat- a   gəza   iyy-u
        PROX-F.SG   GEN-3F.SG   house   be-3M.SG
        'This is her house.'
    c. ʔɨti– ʔa   məs'ħaf   habə-ni
        DIST– F.SG   book   give.IMP.2.SG-1SG.OBJ
        'Give me that book.'
    d. ʔɨti– ʔa   məs'ħaf-əy   iyy-a
        DIST– F.SG   book-my   be-3F.SG
        'That is my book.'

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1   Alleged demonstrative forms such as ʔɨzi-u 'this' and ʔɨti-u 'that' are not acceptable in the language. Generally, Tigrinya doesn't allow sequences of vowels (see Leslau 1941, Buckley 1997, Gebregziabher 2012, among others). The same holds true for hyphtetical demonstratves such as ʔɨzi-a and ʔɨti-a, that do not obey the phonotactic restriction of the language.

The examples in (1a-d) illustrate that the pronominal demonstratives *ʔizi* 'this-3M.SG' and *ʔiti–ʔa.* 'that-3F.SG' can serve both as a modifier and an independent pronoun. In (1a) and (1c), they are modifiers of the nouns *gəza* 'house' and *məs'ħaf* 'book', respectively. In (1b) and (1d), the demonstratives function as independent pronominal subjects. This confirms Dixon's (2010: 224) typological observation: "[**n]ominal demonstratives** – can occur in an NP with a noun or pronoun (e.g., '[this stone] is hot') or, in most languages, can make up a complete NP (e.g., '[this] is hot')." (emphasis in the original text).

Tigrinya demonstratives are inflected for gender and number. In the singular, the masculine and feminine genders are indicated by –*ϕ* and –*ʔa*, respectively. In the plural, –*om* and –*ən* indicate masculine and feminine referents, respectively. Examples are given below.

(2) a. *ʔizi*   *wəddi*
         PROX .M.SG   boy
         'This boy'
     b. *ʔizi-ʔa*   *gʷal*
         PROX – F.SG   girl
         'This girl'
     c. *ʔizi-ʔatom*   *k'olʕu*
         PROX – M.PL   child.PL
         'These children'(M)
     d. *ʔizi –atən*   *k'olʕu*
         PROX – F.PL   child.PL
         'These children'(F)

In (2a) the proximal demonstrative *ʔizi* modifies a masculine singular noun (*wəddi 'boy'*); in (2b) *ʔizi-ʔa* modifies a feminine singular head noun (*gʷal 'girl'*), whereas in (2c) and (2d) a plural head noun *k'olʕu* 'children' is modified by *ʔizi-ʔatom* and *ʔizi–atən*, respectively. The affixes attached to the demonstrative vary according to the gender and number of the head noun.[2]

The plural suffixes *-om* (M) and *- ən* (F) can occur with the singular demonstrative *ʔizi* to indicate social deixis, adding an honorific meaning to the noun phrase (3).

(3) a. *ʔiz-om*   *k'əši*
         PROX – M.PL   priest
         'This priest (honorific)'

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2   Whether in both cases *t* is an epenthetic segment or not needs to be explained (see for e.g., Buckley 1997, Gebregziabher 2013b for discussion on the nature of epenthesis in Tigrinya).

b.   ???ɨzi   k'əši
PROX. M   priest
Intended: 'This priest (honorific)'

In example (3a), the demonstrative *ʔizi-om 'this–MPL'* is used with the singular masculine noun *k'əši* 'priest'. The same noun is pragmatically less acceptable when modified by the singular masculine demonstrative *ʔizi* as shown in (3b).

In some sentences, the occurrence of a demonstrative as a modifier or a pronoun can create ambiguity. Let us consider the following example:

(4) *ʔizi   wəddi   ħaw   ʔabboy   iyy–u*
PROX   son/boy brother father.1SG   be-3M.SG
'This person is my uncle.'
'This is the son of my uncle.'

The expression in (4) is ambiguous because the demonstrative *ʔizi* can be understood either as a modifying constituent or as an independent pronoun. In (5), I show how such an expression can be disambiguated by syntactic analysis, showing the demonstrative as an attributive modifier in (5a) and as an independent pronoun in (5b).

(5) a.   *[ʔizi wəddi]*NP   *ħaw*   *ʔabboy*   *iyy–u*
        PROX. M.SG   boy brother.GEN   father.1SG   be-3M.SG
        'This person is my uncle.'
    b. [*ʔizi*] NP   *wəddi*   *ħaw*   *ʔabboy*   *iyy–u*
        PROX.M.SG   boy   brother.GEN   father.1SG   be-3M.SG
        'This is the son of my uncle.'

The difference between (5a) and (5b) is not structural alone. Suprasegmental differences also accompany it. For instance, there is a pause after the NP ʔɨzi wəddi in (5a), whereas in (5b) the pause occurs after the proximal demonstrative ʔɨzi.

In Tigrinya, pronominal demonstratives can indicate boundedness. According to Diessel (1999: 49), boundedness is a central category of the deictic system, with two series of demonstratives: one indicates a restricted referent, and the other is specifically used to indicate an unbounded or extended referent. In Tigrinya, the unbounded referent is indicated by demonstrative forms which suffix the plural marker *–tat* as in *ʔizi-tat 'this and the like'* and *ʔiti-tat 'that and the like'*. The plural markers are used to locate collective unrestricted objects near or distant to the speaker, respectively. They differ from the plural demonstratives in morphology, syntax, and semantics. Morphologically, the plural marker *–tat* is added to

the singular masculine and feminine base *ʔɨzi* and *ʔɨzi–ʔa*, whereas in the plural demonstratives the base is *ʔɨziʔa–*, to which the plural agreement markers *–om* and *–ən* are attached. Syntactically, they occur as pronominal demonstratives only and show singular agreement on the verb. Semantically, they are used to locate unbounded referents as illustrated below.[3]

(6) a. [ʔɨzi-tat]NP   ab = gəza   ak'əmit'-o
          PROX – M.PL   LOC=house   put.IMP. 2SG -3M.SG
          'Put this and the like at home.'
     b. [ʔɨzi-tom]NP   ab = gəza   ak'əmit'-om
          PROX – M.PL   LOC=house   put.IMP. 2SG -3M.PL
          'Put these at home.'

In (6a) *ʔɨzi-tat* indicates a collective unrestricted object located near the speaker, and it has a singular agreement marker on the verb *-o ' 3MS'*. But in (6b) the plural demonstrative has a plural agreement *-om* '3MPL' on the verb, and it indicates the plural of restricted objects.

In addition, Tigrinya possessive pronominals can be suffixed to demonstrative forms. There are two forms with different referents. These are: *ʔɨziyuyəy* 'this of me' and *ʔɨziyutəy* 'this part of me'. These are blended compound forms from *ʔɨziyu-natəy,* where *ʔɨzi–u* is a demonstrative and *nat-əy* 'my (1S.GEN)' is a possessive pronominal. In *ʔɨziyuyəy* 'this of me' *nat-* is elided and only the pronominal agreement suffixes such as *-əy '1S', -na '1PL', -ka '2SM', -ki '2FS'* etc. are added to the demonstrative. In *ʔɨziyutəy*, *t* and the pronominal suffixes are added to the demonstratives, where *na* is elided from *nat- 'GEN'*. They show two different referents. *ʔɨziyuyəy* 'this of me' has a kinship referent, whereas *ʔɨziyutəy* 'this part of me' indicates a body part referent, as indicated in the following examples.

(7) a. nɨssu   ʔɨzi–yu-yəy   ʔɨyy-u   bələ-na
        He   PROX –3M.SG-1SG.GEN   be.PRES-3M.SG say.JUSS-1PL
        'Tell us that he is such and such relative of mine/what family relation you have with him.'
     b. ʔɨzi–yu-t-əy   a-ħɨmɨm-u-ənni   all-o
        PROX – 3M.SG-GEN- PART-1SG.GEN   CAUS-be.sick-3M.SG -1SG   be.PRES-3M.SG
        'I have pain at this part of my body.'
        Lit: 'This part of me makes me sick.'

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3   In Tigrinya, *ʔɨziʔa–* is the surface form of *ʔɨzi-a–* given Tigrinya doesn't allow sequnces of vowels and that the assumption that the glottal stop is an epenthetic segment (see Berhane 1991, Rose 2000, Gebregziabher 2013b, among others).

In 7 (a) *ʔizi–yu-əy* 'this of me' indicates a kind of relationship that *nissu* 'he' has with the 1S subject or speaker. Thus, *ʔizi–yu* 'this' has a referent like kinship (father, mother, uncle, husband, etc) of me. In 7 (b) *ʔizi–yu-t-əy* 'this part of me' indicates a (location of) specific part in the body.

2.2 Pronoun as a Deictic Reference

Anderson and Keenan (1985:282) point out that languages manifest two types of deictic systems: 'distance-oriented' and 'person-oriented'. In Tigrinya, both the distance-oriented (already afore-mentioned) and person-oriented demonstrative systems are manifested. The person-oriented demonstrative system employs the regular 3rd person pronouns, which have the base stem *niss-*[4]; they are used as deictic demonstratives identifying an entity that is near to the hearer but farther away from the speaker.[5]. According to Dixon (2003: 61-62), demonstratives can include 'any item, other than 1st and 2nd person pronouns, which can have pointing or (deictic) reference.' In Tigrinya, in addition to the distance-oriented system discussed above, there is a person-oriented system in which the location of the hearer serves as another reference point. Similar to the distance-oriented demonstratives, the third-person pronouns inflect for gender and number as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Person-Oriented Tigrinya Demonstrative Pronouns

Pronouns	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	*niss–u* PRN-3M.SG 'That there (M.)'	*niss–a* PRN-3F.SG 'That there (F.)'
Plural	*niss-atom* PRN-3M.PL 'Those there (M.PL)'	*niss-atən* PRN-3F.PL 'Those there (F.PL)'

As shown in Table 2 the base is *niss-* for all 3rd prson pronouns. In the singular masculine and feminine gender are indicated by –u and –a, respectively while in the plural–*tom* and –*tən* indicate masculine plural and feminine plural respectively.

These pronominal demonstratives can be used as modifiers of a head noun or they can occur as independent pronouns. Here are some examples.

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4 Tigrinya personal pronouns show distinction between 1st person *anə* 'I', *niħna* 'we', and non 1st person, which have *niss-* as a base form for both 2nd and 3rd person pronouns as in *niss-ka* '2SM'and *niss-u* '3MS', respectively.

5 In addition, they could refer to something of a distant past.

(8) a. *at-a*   [*niss–a*   *məs'ħaf*]NP   *hab-ənn⁶i*
          you-M.SG.VOC PRN-3F.SG   book   give.IMP.2SG-1SG
          'You, give me that book.'(by pointing at the book near the addressee)
     b. [*niss–u*]NP   *natəy*   *məs'ħaf iyy–u*
          PRN-3M.SG   1SG.GEN   book   be-3M.SG
          'That is my book'(by pointing at the book near the addressee)

In (8) the third person pronouns have pointing (or deictic) reference to the noun *məs'ħaf* 'book'. In (8a) *nisa* 'PRN.3FS' occurs as a pre-nominal modifier of the noun *məs'ħaf* 'book'. Whereas in (8b) *nisu* 'PRN.3MS' appears as a free pronoun. In both examples, the third-person pronouns are used as exophoric demonstratives to indicate a book that is distant from the speaker but near to the listener/addressee.

2.3 Adnominal Demonstratives

Tigrinya does not have distinct forms to indicate the definiteness of a referent (an object, person, or place). Instead, it uses deictic terms to express definiteness. These are a set of adnominal demonstratives which occur as attributive modifiers only and directly relate an utterance to a place, object, or person(s). These adnominal demonstratives signify **endophoric** reference to entities mentioned in discourse. The adnominal demonstratives of Tigrinya are given in Table 3.

Table 3: Tigrinya Adnominal Demonstratives [7]

	Proximal		Distal		Neutral	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	*ʔiz–i*	*ʔiz–a*	*ʔit-i*	*ʔit–a*	*wəyy–o*	*wəyy–a*
Plural	*ʔiz–om*	*ʔiz–ən*	*ʔit–om*	*ʔit–ən*	*wəyy–om*	*wəyy–ən*

As shown in Table 3, the adnominal demonstratives have three basic forms depending on the distance of the referent with respect to the deictic center, i.e., the speaker. These are *ʔiz-* (definite proximal), *ʔit-* (definite distal), and *wəyy-* (definite neutral). The first two contrast deictically and are commonly characterized as proximal and distal deictic determiners. However, the attributes 'proximal' and 'distal' must not be taken in the

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6   One of the reviewers has pointed out that Tigrinya also uses inflections based on *it-* for the 3rd person pronouns instead of the one based on *niss–*. In such cases *it-* indicates a referent that is not near the speaker or the hearer or is not present at all but about whome bothe the speaker and hearer have a shared information.

7   The adnominal demonstratives *ʔiz-* and *ʔit-* are realized as *z-* and *t-* whereby *ʔi* is elided in the surface form as in *za säbäyti* and *ta säbäyti* 'the woman'

absolute sense because the deictic centre and the referent are not linked to the physical location. Instead, they are used anaphorically to identify entities or ideas in a speech event. Thus, ʔiz- marks a definite referent, which is mentioned not long before during the utterance, whereas ʔit- refers to a definite entity or idea whose prior mention is somewhat remote within the discourse. The last form wəy- can be used as a neutral distance definite referent which marks a referent that is in the interlocutors' current focus of attention. All forms are used to indicate familiar or activated entities in speech; they do not indicate a referent that is immediately available for pointing at.

Syntactically, the demonstratives in Table 3 occur in a noun phrase, as modifiers. The following examples illustrate this.

In a narrative context about a woman and a man (9), the following contrast among the different demonstratives can be made:

(9) ħanti   səbəyti-n   ħadə səbʔay-n nəyɨr-om
    one   woman-and   one man-and exist.PFV-3F.SG
    'There was a man and a woman.'
    a. *ʔiz-a/ʔit-a   səbəyti …
        DEF.PROX-F.SG/ DEF.DIST-F.SG woman
        'The woman (i.e. this woman) … '
    b. ʔit-i/*ʔiz-i   səbʔay …
        DEF.DIST-M.SG/ DEF.PROX-M.SG man
        'The man (i.e. that man)…'
    c. (*)wəyy–a   səbəyti
        DEF.NEUT-FS woman
        'The woman'

In (9a-c), the adnominal demonstratives indicate a definite referent noun səbəyti 'a woman' and sebʔay 'a man'. Sentences (9a) and (9b) illustrate an anaphoric use of the demonstratives that are co-referential with a previously mentioned discourse participant. Thus, in (9a) and (9b) ʔit- 'DIST.FS' but not ʔiz- 'PROX.FS' is used to select a specific woman or man recently introduced into the domain of discourse. The modifier wəyy-a 'NEUT.FS' in (9c), however, is neither proximal nor distal, but it indicates a familiar referent, activated in discourse, and is part of the specific shared knowledge.

Adnominal demonstratives exhibit gender and number distinctions, whereby the masculine is indicated by –u[8] for singular and –om for plural referents. The feminine gender is marked by -a for singular and -ən for plural referents.

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8   One of the reviewers has pointed out that masculine singular is marked by -i and not -u.

Parallel to demonstratives, plural suffixes attached to adnominal pronouns indicate social deixis, i.e., honorific reference when they modify a singular noun. Examples:

(10) a. ʔɨz - ən   səbəyti
      DEF.PROX-F.PL/HON woman
      'The woman (honorific)'

   b. ʔɨz - om   səbʔay
      DEF.PROX-M.PL/HON   man
      'The man (honorific)'

An immediate follow-up question would be: can you do the same with *wəyy-* and get the same honorific interpretation?

2.4 Comparing Adnominal with Pronominal Demonstratives

Lyons (1999:18) claims that definite articles and demonstratives are related to each other through the concept of identifiability. Diessel (1999) also states that definite articles in many languages are almost always derived from a demonstrative. In many languages, they have a similar form, but exhibit different morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties.

In Tigrinya, the adnominal demonstratives are derived from pronominal demonstratives. However, unlike the adnominal demonstratives, pronominal demonstratives have longer forms. They can suffix the plural marker *–at* and possessive pronominal suffixes, whereas the adnominal demonstratives cannot. In terms of their syntactic roles, the adnominal demonstratives are almost always used as modifiers. The pronominal demonstratives, on the other hand, can function either as an independent pronoun or as a modifier of a noun. Finally, pronominal demonstratives are used to indicate entities that can be pointed at, but this is not the case with adnominal demonstratives.

There is, however, one unique context/use where the adnominal demonstrative *ʔɨz–u* and the pronominal demonstrative ʔɨzi–*u* can co-occur in a noun phrase as in (11).

(11) a. ʔɨz–u   wəddi   ʔɨzi
      the= MS   boy   this- MS
      'this boy'

   b. ʔɨt–a   səbəyti   ʔɨti–ʔa
      The-FS   woman   that-FS
      'that woman'

As shown in (11a) and (11b), the deictic determiner occurs preceding the head and the demonstrative following it. The function of such an expression is to emphasize the referent noun. Esayas (2003: 42-43) claims that the deictic determiner cannot occur following a head noun, which is a typical

syntactic position for demonstratives (see also Nazareth 2011: 28-30). Therefore, adnominal demonstratives can only be used as pre-nominal determiners, whereas demonstratives can be used both as pre-nominal and post-nominal determiners.[9]

3. Adverbial Demonstratives and Locational Expressions
3.1 Adverbial Demonstratives
Adverbial demonstratives in Tigrinya are used to refer to a location. They are formed by combining nominal demonstratives with the locative preposition *ab* 'LOC'. Adverbial demonstratives show a three way distinction based on the distance of the referent with respect to the speaker and the addressee, as presented in Table:4.

Table 4: **Tigrinya Adverbial Demonstratives**

	Form	Gloss
Proximal location	*ab =zi* LOC=PROX.3M.SG	here
Distal location	*ab=ti* LOC=DIST.3M.SG	there
Neutral location	*ab=u* LOC= 3M.SG	There (near addressee or shared space)

The basic forms of the proximal *abziyu* 'here' and the distal *abtiyu* 'there' are *ab =ʔizi – u* 'at =this–3MS' and *ab=ʔiti–u* 'at=that–3MS', respectively. When the preposition *ab* 'LOC' is proclitisized to *ʔi*, which is part of the basic root of the demonstrative, the glottal stop is elided and *-zi* and *–ti* are coalesced with the locative preposition *ab* into forming a complex expression *ʔabzi-u* and *ʔabti-u*. Similarly, the locative *abʔu* `there' is derived from the third person pronoun *ab = niss –u* 'LOC =PRN-3MS', whereby the pronominal suffix *–u* merges with the locative preposition *ab-*, after the elision of *nis-*. Some sentential examples are given in (12). (See Keffyalew Gebregziabher, this volume, for a different view.)

(12) a. ʔit-a   siʔli   ab=zi-u   all-a
         DEF-F.SG picture   LOC=this-3M.SG   be.Present -3F.SG
         'The picture is here.'
     b. ʔit-a   siʔli   ab=ti-u   all-a
         DEF-F.SG picture   LOC=that-3M.SG   be.Present -3F.SG
         'The picture is there.'

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9   Esayas (2003:42-43) states that "deictic articles do not occur in positions typical of demonstratives or pronouns. But demonstratives can occur in the position of the article." He offers different examples with different grammatical judgements than presented here.

c.   *ʔit-a*   *siʔli*   *ab=u*   *all-a*
     DEF-F.SG   picture   LOC=3M.SG   be.Present -3F.SG
     'The picture is there.'

In addition, the singular adverbial locative demonstratives can suffix the plural marker –*at* 'PL' as in: *abziyutat* 'around here', *abtiyutat* 'around there', and *abʔutat* 'around there' to indicate an extended location of space. Examples in (13) illustrate this.

(13) a.   *nə=ʔit-a*   *məs'ħaf*   *ab=zi-u-tat*   *diləy-a*
      to=the–F.SG   book   LOC=PROX-3F-PL   search. IMP-3F.SG(O)
      'Look for the book around here.'
   b.   *nə=t-a*   *məs'ħaf*   *ab=ti-u-tat*   *diləy-a*
      to=the–F.SG   book   LOC=DIST-3M-PL   search. IMP-3F.SG(O)
      'Look for the book over there.'
   c.   *nə=t-a*   *məs'ħaf*   *ab=-u-tat*   *diləy-a*
      to=the–F.SG   book   LOC=3M-PL   search. IMP-3F.SG(O)
      'Look for the book around there (near you).'

The examples in (13a-c) show that the addition of a plural suffix renders the meaning of unbounded location of space to the locative adverb. The fact that the position through which the demonstrative demarcates is not precise is what is intended to address with the unbounded feature in Tigrinya. (Again, the forms do not stand as is, but see the rejoinder paper in this volume for explanation.)

3.2 Locative Expressions and Spatial Relators

In this subsection, I describe locative expressions in terms of the figure-ground conceptualization of referents. I follow Talmy's (1983) definition of these terms: Figure (F) is the object to be located, and Ground (G) is the object with respect to which the figure is located. First, simple locative expressions will be presented, followed by complex locative expressions.

In Tigrinya, simple locative expressions comprise the Figure, which is the constituent that depicts the referent object, followed by the constituent which depicts the Ground and is marked by a locative relator (LR) or a preposition, finally followed by a spatial predicate (SP), as illustrated in (14).

(14) a.   *ħagos*   *ab=gəza*   *allo*
      Hagos   LOC=home   exist.M.SG
      'Hagos is at home'
   b.   *ħagos*   *ab= ʕarat*   *allo*
      Hagos   LOC=bed   exist.M.SG
      'Hagos is on the bed'

In examples (14a) and (14b), Hagos is the Figure, and gəza 'home' and ʕarat 'bed' are the Ground, where ab 'LOC' is a locative relator, and all 'exist' is a Spatial Predicator. These examples do not express details of the location since their meanings do not precisely specify where the Figure (Hagos) is inside the Ground (i.e. house). There are additional lexemes that express specific locations. These are positional terms and they serve as spatial relators, indicating the exact location of the Figure with respect to the Ground. These lexemes are formed from the Locative preposition *ab* plus positional nouns or body parts. Below are some of the most common spatial expressions in Tigrinya.

Table 5: Tigrinya Locative expressions

Positional words	Gloss	spatial relator	Gloss
qɨdmi	front	*abqɨdmi*	in front of
dɨħri	rear, back	*abdɨħri*	behind
wišt'i	inside	*abwišt'i*	inside
tɨħti	low	*abtɨħti*	under, below
liʕli	up	*abliʕli*	above, over,
t'ɨqa	near	*abt'ɨqa*	near, beside
ʔigri,	leg	*abʔigri,*	under
riʔsi	head	*abriʔsi*	above
gonni	side	*abgonni*	beside

As shown in Table 5, the locative preposition *ab* 'LOC' occurs with positional terms such as *wišt'i* 'inside', *liʕli* 'up', *tɨħti* 'low', *qɨdmi* 'front' or body part nouns, such as *ʔigri* 'leg', *risi* 'head' *gonni* 'ventral' etc. In (15), I give sentential examples to illustrate the use of these spatial lexemes.

(15) a.   *makina* *ab=qɨdmi*   *gəza*   *all-a*
     car   LOC=front.GEN   house   exist-F.SG
     'A car is in front of the house.'

   b.   *sant'a*   *ab= dɨħri*   *makina* *all-o*
     bag   LOC=front.GEN   car   exist-MS
     'A bag is behind the car.'

   c.   *ħagos*   *ab=gonni*   *gəza*   *all-o*
     Hagos   LOC=side.GEN   house exist-MS
     'Hagos is by a side of a house.'

   d.   *məs'ħaf* *ab=ʔigɨri*   *ʕarat*   *all-o*
     book   LOC=leg.GEN   bed   exist-MS
     'A book is under the bed.'

In examples 15 (a and b), the special realtor is a positional word, but in 15 (c and d), they are body parts. That body parts are grammaticalized into

locatives has long been observed in the typological literature (see Tamly 2000, Sipöcz 2005, Heine 2014, among others)

4. Motion Verbs and Directional Adverbs

Motion verbs such as *məs'əʔ* 'he came' and *xəd-ə* or *xəyəd-ə* 'he went' convey deictic information. The deictic opposition can be characterized as 'motion-towards-speaker' or 'motion-away-from-speaker'. Direction of movement is expressed by bound morphemes attached to motion verbs or directional adverbs.

4.1 Motion Verbs

Tigrinya deictic motion verbs *məs'ʔ-ə* 'he came' and *xəd-ə* or *xəyəd-ə* 'he went' can be affixed with pronominal forms that indicate the goal or the source of motion. In expressions that involve all-human participants, this can be the speaker, addressee or another participant. Examples:

(16) a. *tɨ-məs'ʔ-ni*   *all-a*
         3F.SG-come.IPF-1SG   exist-3F.SG
         'She is coming towards me.' Lit: 'She is coming me.'
   b. *tɨ -məs'ʔə -ka*   *all-a*
         3F.SG-come.IPF-2SG   exist-3F.SG
         'She is coming towards you.'
   c. *tɨ -məs'ʔ-o*   *all-a*
         3F.SG-come.IPF-3M.SG   exist-3F.SG
         'She is coming towards him.'

(17) a. *yɨ -xədə-na*   *all-o*
         3M.SG-go.IMPERF-1PL exist-3M.SG
         'He is going away from us.'
   b. *yɨ -xədə-kɨn*   all-o
         3M.SG-go.IMPERF-2F.PL   exist-3M.SG
         'He is going away from you (f.pl.).'
   c. *yɨ -xəd-ən*   *all-o*
         3M.SG-go.IMPERF-3F.PL   exist-3M.SG
         'He is going away from them.'

As shown in (16) and (17), the sentences involve a compound construction, containing a lexical verb plus an auxiliary verb. The main verb is in the imperfective form with pronominal affixes that indicate subject and object agreement. The auxiliary *all-* follows this verb 'exist*'*. In (16a), (16b) and (16c), the subject is indicated by pronominal prefix *tɨ -* '3FS' and the goal-oriented referent by object pronominal suffixes, namely *–ni* '1SG, *-ka* '2MS*'*, and *–o* '3MS*'*, attached to the imperfective verb *-məs'ʔ-* 'come*'*.

Similarly, in (17a-c), the motion verb *xəd–* or *xəyəd* 'go' indicates movement away from a source. In (17a), where the first person plural suffix *–na* '1Pl' is affixed to the verb, indicates that the movement is away from the speaker, in 17 (b) the second person feminine plural pronominal suffix *- kɨn* '2FPl' indicates that the source of the movement is from the addressee, and in 17 (c) the third feminine plural pronominal suffix *–ən* '3FPL' indicates that the source of the movement is away from another person which excludes the speaker and the addressee.

4.2 Directional Adverbs

Tigrinya directional adverbs are formed from nominal demonstratives and compound prepositional clitics *nab* 'toward' and *kab* 'from'. The forms *nab* 'toward' and *kab* 'from' are compound prepositions as they are formed from allative- *ni- 'to'* and ablative *ki-* 'from' plus the locative morpheme *ab* 'at'. The vowel *ɨ* is deleted from the allative and ablative markers *ni- 'to'* and *ki- 'from'* due to phonological rules. Table 6 presents a list of Tigrinya directional adverbs, contrasting the goal and source forms in different columns.

Table 6: Tigrinya Directional Adverbs

Directional Adverb of goal	Gloss	Directional Adverb of source	Gloss
nab =zi–u toward =this –3M.SG	toward speaker (here)	*kab =zi–u* from =this-3M.SG	away from speaker
nab =ti–u toward =that-3M.SG	toward goaÏ (there)	*kab =ti–u* from =that-3M.SG	away from speaker and addressee
nab-u toward =3M.SG	toward addressee (there)	*kab =u* from =3M.SG	away from the addressee

As shown in table 5, there are three directional adverbs involving proximal, distal and medial demonstratives. In (18) I give examples illustrating the use of directional adverbs with motion verbs.

(18) a.　*nab =zi-u*　　　　*niʕa*
　　　　toward= PROX-3M.SG　come.IMP.2M.SG
　　　　'Come over here'
　　b.　*kab =(ʔ)u*　　　　*niʕa*
　　　　from= MID-3M.SG　　come.IMP.2M.SG
　　　　'Come from there.' Lit: 'Come from the place you are.'
　　c.　*nab= ti-u*　　　　*kid*
　　　　toward= DIST-3M.SG　go.IMP.2M.SG
　　　　'Go over there'

d. *kab= zi-u*   *kid*
    from= PROX-3M.SG   go.IMP.2M.SG
    'Go away' (Lit' 'Go from here.')

In (18a) and (18b), the motion verb *niʕa* 'come' indicates that the destination is the speaker. In (18a) *nabziyu* 'over here' demarcates the speaker as the goal or destination of the addressee. In (18b), *kabʔu* 'from there' indicates the source of motion from where the addressee departs. The motion verb *kid* 'go' in (18c and d), in contrast, indicates movement away from the deictic centre. In (18c), the directional adverb *kabziyu* 'from here' indicates the speaker is the deictic centre and the source from which the addressee departs. In (18d), the directional adverb *nabtiyu* 'over there' indicates a goal that is distant from where the addressee moves.

There are some directional expressions which describe movement towards or away from the speaker but do not involve the verbs *niʕa* 'come' and *kid* 'go'. These are *nazaw* 'hither' and *niyaw* 'thither' followed by the verb *bəl* 'say'. In (19) are two examples.

(19) a. *nəzəw*   *bəl*
          toward here   say.IMP.2M.SG
          'Move towards here!'
      b. *niyaw*   *bəl*
          toward there say.IMP.2M.SG
          'Move away towards there!'

The forms *nəzəw* and *niyaw* seem to be formed from *ni=ʔizi-a-u* and *ni=ʔ-iti-a-u*. (These examples are unparsable! I would altogether set aside the whole section 4 as I don't see it fit into the discussion.)

5. Presentatives

According to Grenoble & Riley (1996: 820), deictic presentatives are 'canonical deictics in the sense that they are used to point to some object in the extra-linguistic (real world) context and introduce it into the discourse'. This means that, unlike demonstrative pronouns, deictic presentatives are exclusively exophoric. In Tigrinya, there is a dedicated presentative demonstrative that is used to draw the addressee's attention to a location or object. The base form of the presentative is *ʔinih* 'here it is'. It is inflected for person, number, and gender as in *ʔinihət* 'here she is', *ʔinihəku* 'here I am', *ʔinihəwu* 'here they are' etc, where the pronominal suffixes -ət '3FS', -ku '1S', *and -wu* '3MPL' stand for the referent subject. Examples are provided in (20).

(20) a. *misaħ-ka   ʔinih-o*
          lunch-2M.SG be.here-3M.SG
          'Here is your lunch.'
     b. *laħmi-ka   ʔinih-ət*
          cow-2M.SG   be.here-3F.SG
          'Here is your cow.'

In (20a and b) *ʔinih-o* and *ʔinih-ət* are used to attract the attention of the addressee, typically with a hand or head gesture towards the location of the referent *misaħka* 'your lunch (MS)' and *laħmi-ka*' your cow (FS)', respectively. In addition, the beneficiary to whom something is handed over can be optionally marked on the presentative by adding the infix *–l-* immediately followed by object pronominal suffixes for the addressee. Thus, *ʔinih-* takes subject pronominal affixes including -ə/-o '3MS', -ət '3FS', the applicative suffix -l- followed by object pronominal suffixes depicting the beneficiary participant(for a different view, see rejoinder paper on this issue).

Table 7: Tigrinya Presentatives

Subject - presented	Addressee	Singular	Plural
3 Masculine	2 Masculine	*ʔinih-ə-l-ka* be.here-3MS-APL-2MS 'Here it is for you.'	*ʔinih-ə-l-kum* 3M.SG-APL-2M.PL be.here-3M.SG-APL-2M.PL 'Here it is for you'
	2 Feminine	*ʔinih-ə -l-ki* be.here-3MS-APL-2FS 'Here it is for you.'	*ʔinih-ə-l-kin* be.here-exist-3M.SG-APL-2F.PL 'Here it is for you'
3 Feminine	2 Masculine	*ʔinih-ət-l-ka* be.here-3FS-APL-2MS 'Here it is for you'	*ʔinih-ət-l-atkum* be.here-3F.SG-APL-2M.PL 'Here it is for you'
	2 Feminine	*ʔinih-ət -l-ki* be.here-3FS-APL-2FS 'Here it is for you.'	*ʔinih-ət-l-atkin* be.here-3F.SG-APL-2F.PL 'Here it is for you'

The presentatives are used when handing over something to someone (addressee), as in (21), and they may involve a gesture.

(21) Speaker A: *dəbtər-əy   habə-ni*
                 exercise.book-1SG.GEN give IMP-1SG.OBJ
                 'Give me my exercise-book
     Speaker B: *ʔinih-ə-l-ka*
                 be.here-3M.SG-APL-2SG
                 'Here it is for you.'

6. Summary and conclusions

In this paper, the spatial deictic expressions of Tigrinya are analyzed. This includes nominal demonstratives, locational, and directional adverbs. The morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties are discussed. Nominal demonstratives are divided into two classes: pronominal and adnominal demonstratives. Pronominal demonstratives function as a pre-nominal modifier in a noun phrase, and they exhibit gender and number distinctions. The pronominal demonstratives have long forms and involve three deictic terms. The first two are: *ʔizi-* 'this' and *ʔiti-*'that', distinguishing proximal and distal reference with respect to the speaker. The third term is *nɨs*, a third-person pronoun, which is a person-oriented deictic that locates a referent near the addressee and far from the speaker.

Pronominal demonstratives marked by the plural suffix *–at* denote unbounded referents as in: *ʔiziutat* 'this and the like' and *ʔitiutat* 'that and the like'. In addition, they can attach possessive pronominal suffixes to form, for example, *ʔiziyuyəy* 'this of me' and *ʔiziyutəy* 'this part of me', which indicate kinship and body parts, respectively.

The adnominal demonstratives have three basic forms depending on the distance of the referent from the deictic center. These are *ʔiz-* 'DEF.PROX', *ʔit-* 'DEF.DIST', and *wəy-* 'DEF.Neutral'. They are used as attributive modifiers and select a specific referent among already introduced referents.

Distinction has been made between pronominal demonstratives and adnominal demonstratives based on their form, syntactic distribution, and semantic function. Thus, morphologically, the adnominal demonstratives have short forms while pronominal demonstratives have long forms with a vowel *i*. Syntactically, the adnominal demonstratives are almost always used as pre-nominal modifiers, while pronominal demonstratives can function either as an independent pronoun or as a modifier of a noun. Moreover, pronominal demonstratives are used to mark entities that are immediately available for a pointing gesture, which the adnominal demonstratives lack.

In Tigrinya, deictic locative adverbs exhibit three-level distinctions, as do pronominal demonstratives. They are formed by suffixing the prepositional locative enclitic *ab* 'LOC at' to demonstratives. Other locative expressions involve a combination of the preposition ab- and positional nouns to derive abwišt'i 'inside', ablɨʕiyi 'on top/above', abtiħti 'under', and *abqidmi* 'in front'. Similarly, in combination with body part nouns such as *ʔigiri* 'foot' *and ri?si* 'head' ab-, forms phrases such as *abʔigiri* 'under', *abri?si* 'on top' and *abgonni* 'beside'.

In Tigrinya, movement towards or away from a speaker is expressed by motion verbs such as *məs'əʔ-'come'* and *kəyəd- 'go'* and directional adverbs such as *nabziyu* 'toward here' and *kabtiyu* 'from there'. The latter are formed

from nominal demonstratives and prepositional clitics such as *nab* 'toward' and *kab* 'from'.

The presentative demonstrative in Tigrinya is expressed by *ʔiniho*'here he/it is'. It is used to draw the addressee's attention to the location of the referent. This base form can be inflected for gender and number of the subject (i.e., the referent that is presented): *ʔinihət* 'here it/she is', *ʔinihəku* 'here I am', *etc*. In addition, the beneficiary to whom something is presented or handed over can be marked on the presentative by adding the applicative suffix –*l*= followed by object pronominal suffixes as in *ʔinihəlka* 'here it is (M) for you.', *ʔinihətlki* 'here it is (F) for you.'.

List of Abbreviations

1`	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ABL	ablative
ALL	allative
APL	applicative
COM	comitative
CAUS	causative
DC	deictic center
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
DIR	directional preposition
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
IPF	imperfective
IMP	imperative
IMPERF	imperfective
INST	instrumental
JUSS	Jussive
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MID	medium
NEG	negative
NEUT	neuter
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	objective case
PAST	past tense
PFV	perfective

PF	perfect
PL	plural
PRES	present tense
PROX	proximal
PRN	pronoun
SG	singular
VOC	vocative

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