

# **DEIXIS IN EZHA**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS**

**PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS**

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA**

**OCTOBER 2012**

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

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## ABSTRACT

Based on the cross-linguistic typological observations in Himmelmann (1996) and Diessel (1999), this study is concerned with the form and use of deictic expressions in Ezha, an Ethiosemitic Gurage language. Ezha uses various deictic elements in communication. Spatial deixis is expressed by the proximal demonstrative *zi* ‘this’ and the distal demonstrative *za* ‘that’. Derivations from these spatial deictic elements can refer to the topography, direction and position of the referent, or indicate discourse deixis. Temporal deixis is expressed by different lexical items and by specific aspect/tense/mood forms of the verb. Ezha has, furthermore, a demonstrative for manner deixis, *zikka* ‘like this’. The presentative deictic expression *jaxu* ‘Here it is (2MS)!’ and other inflectional forms accompany the speaker’s activity to present something to the addressee. Person deixis is expressed by independent personal pronouns and/or dependent agreement markers on verbs. These pronouns and agreement markers distinguish between the speaker, the addressee and the other entity (neither speaker nor hearer) as referent, and also between male and female gender, and singular and plural

number in the second and third person. Ezha also employs pronouns and agreement markers to express social deixis which refers to the status of or relationship between the interlocutors. Kinship terms are also included under social deixis in this study.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Ronny Meyer, for his unlimited material support, critical comments, precious approach and advice. His constructive suggestions and useful hints were of great value for me. Without his support, this thesis would not have been accomplished as it is.

I am also grateful to my informants Hayat Mensur, Zeyba Jemal, Abush Alemu, Seada Jemal, Diknesh Negama, Zuriyash Ahmed and Murad Negash who helped me to gather and repeatedly crosschecked and extend the data. They were very sociable and generous to help me. Especially, I thank Hayat and Zeyba who were very supportive throughout the study.

My special thanks goes to Bogale Anbesu for his moral and material support. He has a great place in my heart. May God bless him forever! I am also grateful to all my lovely family and friends. I love all of you for your unlimited support and suggestions. All of you contributed a lot to my achievement. Thanks!!!

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person	JUS	jussive
		LOC	locative
ABL	ablative/comitative	M	masculine
ACC	accusative	MVM	main-verb marker
ADR	addressee	NEG	negation
AUX	auxiliary	NPAST	non-past
CNV	converb	O	object
COP	copula	PL	plural
DEF	definite	PAST	past
DST	distal	POSS	possession
F	feminine	PRX	proximal
FOC	focus	PV	perfective
FUT	future	REL	relative-clause
GEN	genitive		marker
IMP	imperative	S	singular
IPV	imperfective	VIC	vicinity

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### *1.1 The People*

The term *Ezha* refers to the people, their language and the area they live in.

The term Ezha is written variously by different scholars. For instance, Fekede (2002) and Leslau (1992) used *Eža*, while Hetzron (1972, 1977) and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission (2008) utilized Ezha. In this study the researcher used Ezha, the commonly used spelling for this group (cf. Fekede 2006).

The Ezha people are one of the people who live in the Gurage Zone, in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional State (SNNPRS) in southern Ethiopia. The particular area or district of the Ezha people is called Agenna. It is about 235 km from Addis Ababa in the southwest direction.

According to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission (2008), the total number of Ezha speakers is 84,882. Most of them are followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church; the remaining are

Muslims, Catholics or Protestants (see Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission 2008).

Shack (1966: 34) notes that land is the most appreciated possession of Gurage people and that the economy of the Gurage is based on this land. The life of most Ezha people depends on agriculture. They cultivate different kinds of plants and rare cattle. They dominantly cultivate *əssət* ‘false banana’ and chat, besides maize, potato, wheat, barely. They breed cattle, mules, horses, goats and sheep. The most popular food of the Ezha is *wussa*, a kind of bread that is prepared from *əssət* ‘false banana’.

## *1.2 The Language*

The Ezha language is one of the Ethiosemitic languages that are grouped under the so-called Gurage languages. Genetically, it belongs to the Central Western Gurage languages (see Figure 1).

Scholars, like Hetzron (1977) or Leslau (1992), divided the Gurage languages into three different sub-groups, namely, Northern Gurage, Western Gurage and Eastern Gurage. According to Hetzron (1977), Silt’e (with Enneqor and

Urbareg), Wolane, Zay and Harari belong to Eastern Gurage. Mesqan, Ezha, Chaha, Gumer, Gura, Gyeta, Inor, Iner and Endegegn are grouped under Western Gurage and Northern Gurage subsumes Kistane, Dobbi and Muher. The Northern Gurage group in Hetzron's (1972, 1977) classification is a typological not a genetic unit (see Figure 1). Leslau (1992), in contrast, groups the Gurage languages in a slightly different way. He classifies Zay, Wolane and Silt'e under Eastern Gurage; Ezha, Chaha, Gumer, Gyeta, Mesqan, Dobbi, Muher and Endegegn under Western Gurage and Kistane as the only representative of Northern Gurage.

The different ways of classifications of the Gurage languages shows that in-depth studies are still necessary and that scholars have to dig out the relevant data for the genuine classification of the languages.

The following diagram shows the position of Ezha in relation to the other Gurage languages and all other Ethiopian Semitic languages according to Hetzron (1972: 119).

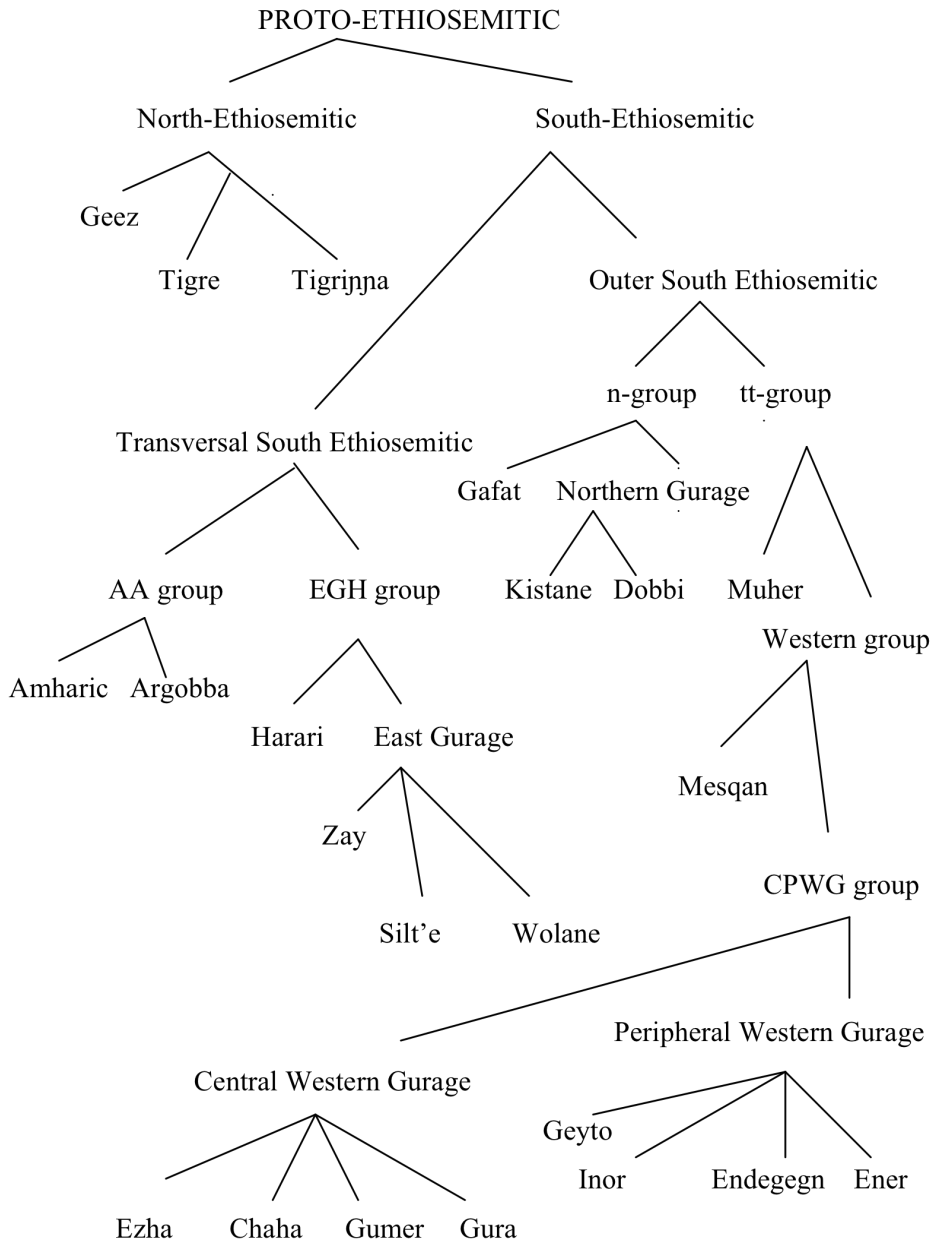


Figure 1: Classification of Ethiosemitic (Adapted from Hetzron 1972: 119)

### *1.3 Objective of the Study*

The main objective of this study is to describe and analyze the deictic elements in the Ezha language. More specifically, this study aims at presenting a classification of deictic elements and their morphosyntactic properties in various discourse-pragmatic uses in Ezha.

### *1.4 Significance of the Study*

As there are no previous works that exhaustively deal with deictic expressions in Ezha from a morphosyntactic and discourse-pragmatic point of view, this study may have the following significance:

- It presents detailed data on the Ezha deictic system and is, thus, a contribution to fundamental research in this language, and for further cross-linguistic comparison, and
- It contributes to the study of pragmatics in Ezha which might probably be extended to other Gurage languages.

## *1.5 Research Methodology*

The present study is descriptive in nature. It is based on primary linguistic data, which were elicited through an initial questionnaire in which deictic expressions were elicited in various example sentences followed by focus groups interviews and group discussions with native speakers. As the researcher is not a native speaker of Ezha, the data were gathered by using Amharic as metalanguage. The responses of the informants were audio recorded. All the informants speak Amharic as a second language. This helped the researcher to get the adequate data without an interpreter. All data gathered were transcribed by using IPA and translated into Amharic and selectively into English.

The data were collected in Addis Ababa and Agenna between October 2011 and April 2012. My language consultants were Zeyba Jemal (21 years old), Hayat Mensur (19 years old), Abush Alemu (30 years old), Seada Jemal (24 years old), Dinkinesh Negama (27 years old), Zuriyash Ahmed (21 years old) and Murad Negash (25 years old). All were born and brought up in the Ezha-speaking town Agenna.

## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### *2.1 Definition of Deixis*

In linguistics, deictic or indexical expressions in a language, like *you, now, today*, are generally referred to as deixis (Levinson 2004: 100). According to Semlali (2006: 60), it was the German Karl Bühler (1879-1963) who employed for the first time the term *deixis* in linguistics in order to account for the pointing function of some lexico-grammatical forms.

Commonly, demonstratives and personal pronouns are deictic elements in a language (Dixon 2003: 61-62, or also Lyons 1977: 636). Deixis is a Greek word which has the meaning of pointing by means of language (Yule 2006: 115), or as Fillmore (1971: 39) puts it: “Deixis is the name given to those formal properties of utterances which are determined by, and which are interpreted by knowing certain aspects of the communication act in which the utterances in question can play a role.”



To understand what the speaker is talking about by using deictic elements, it is obligatory for the hearer to know the context of the utterance, i.e., about the object referred to by a deictic element, the origo or deictic center, and the relation between them. This indicates that the communicating individuals have to have common understanding about the utterance.

Therefore, Hanks (2009: 11) provides the following definition: “Deictic speech establishes a relation between an origo and an object of reference.

Thus it has three parts: a referential focus (the object), an origo from which it is picked out (the indexical ground), and the relation between the two.”

According to Hanks (2009), deixis encodes the distance and the relationship between the referred object, the speaker and the listener. This is to show that whether the referent object is close to or far from the participants of the conversation. The deictic terms can change according to the deictic center.

That means when the deictic center is the speaker or the addressee, the terms used may be different. Deictic expressions can also help know the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes, and activities being talked about (Lyons 1977: 637).

Deictic expressions can only be interpreted when the sentences in which they occur are understood as being anchored in some social context defined in such a way as to identify the participants in the communication act, their location in space, and the time during which the communication act is performed (Fillmore 1971: 38). The communication situation is the core for the clarity of the meaning of deictic expressions. Unless we know the context clearly, it is difficult to get the exact message of the utterance or what the speaker talks about.

Deictic expressions refer to some aspects of the contexts of utterances as essential parts of their meaning to establish a common understanding between the participants of the communication act (Reimer 2010: 98).

Deictic expressions occur as different linguistic terms that are used in the utterance.

Cruse (2000: 319) states that the term deixis is used differently in the linguistic literature. According to him, deixis is used for designating a given referent by certain speech-situational parameters, particularly location in space and time, and the participatory status of the addressee relative to the

speaker. Another linguist, John Saeed, considers deixis to encompass all those elements of language that are contextually bound (Saeed 2003: 182).

Deictic elements are relatively systematic in any language. They make up a closed word class in which oppositions between different forms are relatively easy to mark (Hanks 2009: 12-13), i.e., deictic expressions in a language have always opponents, as illustrated in Hanks (2009: 13) for English: *this* is the opponent of *that* for proximal and distal singular referents, and *these* and *those* are opposite terms for spatial deixis with plural referents. This is to say that deictic words are systematic in a language. Furthermore, the deictic expressions in a language are embedded in a context-dependent descriptive system that shows the status or role of the participants in the communication act (Levinson 2004: 99).

Diessel (1999: 35) mentions that deictic expressions in languages can be formed from demonstratives that display the speech situation or the context of the discourse. According to this definition, deixis has the power to clarify the communication between the speaker and the hearer. In addition to this, as Lyons (1977: 637) points out, “deixis covers not only the characteristic

function of the demonstrative pronouns, but also tense and person, and a number of other systematically relevant features of the context-of-utterance.”

According to Levinson (2004: 98), deictic reference is ontogenetically primary to other kinds of reference in the communication act and shows the status or role of participants in the utterance.

## *2.2 Classification of Deictic Expressions*

Due to the context-bound interpretation of deictic expressions, they can be classified variously by focus on one specific aspect of the communication situation. Regarding this, Hanks (2009: 12) states: “The subtlety of deictic categories is compounded by the fact that actual speech contexts almost always involve several different dimensions at once. Perceptions, proximity, prior knowledge, and the ongoing interaction itself are usually simultaneous features of context.”

For this study, we employed two broad categories that subsume different types of deictic expressions: the referents of deictic expressions and the ground of the deictic centre, also known as *origo*. Yule (2006: 115)

categorizes deixis into person, place and time deixis. All deictic words categorized under these groups refer to the participants of the utterance, the place where the utterance takes place or the time when it is uttered. In addition, social deixis can be included under this category indicating the status, age, sex, or politeness relations of the participants of the utterance.

Fillmore (1971: 40) classifies deictic expressions in three different types according to their use. He distinguishes between gestural, symbolic and anaphoric use of deictic expression. In the gestural use of deictic expression, the deictic utterance is accompanied by physical movement or pointing motion towards the referents. In the symbolic use of deictic expressions, this physical movement is lacking; only some sort of general knowledge about the communication act is required. The anaphoric use of deictic expressions is concerned with the identification of referents that have previously been introduced in the discourse.

Gesture is one obvious way of securing the addressee's attention while the speaker is uttering and pointing at some referents in the communication act (Levinson 2004: 102). This helps the interlocutors to communicate easily

without interruption and misunderstanding. Fillmore (1971: 41) said that gesture is an aid to communication.

With regard to person deixis, based on the participants' roles in the utterance a first person singular pronoun is used for the speaker, second person pronouns are used for addressee(s), and third person pronouns for others (neither speaker nor addressee(s)) (cf. Saeed 2003: 187 and also Fillmore 1971: 40). Thus, personal pronouns are concerned with person deixis to indicate the roles of the participants in the utterance. These distinctions also apply to agreement markers, which are attached to verbs to indicate subject reference.

Languages also commonly have deictic words to denote proximity and distance of an object to the speaker (cf. Fillmore 1971: 42, among others).

The English adverbs *here* and *there*, or the demonstratives *this* and *that*, for instance, indicate the distance of an object with regard to the speaker as the deictic center.

Temporal deixis is concerned with the time of the communication of the utterance. Fillmore (1971: 39-40) defines temporal deixis as the time at which the communication act takes place. According to him, it includes encoding time, i.e., the time at which the message was sent, and decoding time, i.e., the time at which the message was received.

Social deixis is concerned with the lexical elements or morphosyntactic patterns that reflect aspects of the social status and the roles of the participants in the utterance. The social status in the communication act can be shown by pronouns, forms of greetings, thanking, or by identifying oneself or the other in the utterance (Fillmore 1971: 76-77). Some kinship terms, too, can be included under social deixis. Generally, kinship terms can be divided into a reference system and an address system. According to Hale and Shrestha (1996: 403), the kinship terms of the address system have deictic sense in the utterance. Politeness as a linguistic expression can also be treated under social deixis. It has different realizations cross-culturally (Watts 2003: 98). Politeness relations between speaker, addressee and/or a third-person referent can be overtly shown by using specific pronouns or agreement

markers on verbs. Levinson (2004: 120) calls expressions that encode politeness honorifics.

Manner deictic expressions, '(do) like this', are accompanied by an activity which shows the addressee how to perform a specific action or how an action was performed (Dixon 2003: 62). Manner demonstrative modify the activities of the verbs in an utterance and are, therefore, classified as demonstrative adverbs. However, they have not been incorporated in Diessel's (1999) or Himmelmann's (1996) typological studies. Presentative deictics, in contrast, are demonstrative identifiers (Diessel 1999: 79). The speaker uses these demonstratives to present something to the addressee. As Hanks (2009: 19) notes, the speaker must have something in his hand to present to the addressee in the communication act.

The origo or deictic center may include the speaker only, the addressee only, both of them, or it may be transposed to an imaginary indexical ground (Ashmore 2009: 41).



## *2.3 Use of Deixis*

As to Yule (2006: 115), the main use of deixis is pointing linguistically towards things, people, locations or time. This pointing use of deictic expressions can easily clarify certain aspect in the communication to the participants.

Demonstratives have pragmatic functions in language. They make the communication between the speaker and the hearer easy. Diessel (1999: 93) explains that demonstratives serve important pragmatic functions in the communicative interaction between the interlocutors. He divides them into exophoric and endophoric use. Endophoric use is further subdivided into anaphoric use, discourse deictic use, and recognitional use. Demonstratives can also obtain grammatical function in a language. Diessel (1999: 115) illustrates that demonstratives provide a common historical source for a wide variety of grammatical items such as definite articles, relative and third person pronouns, copulas, sentences connectives, complementizers, number markers, and possessives.

Himmelmann (1996: 218) divides demonstratives into four types according to their use. These are situational use, discourse deictic use, tracking use and recognitional use. With regard to the discourse function or, more precisely, on interactional goals of demonstratives, he categorizes them into two major subcategories. According to him, situational and discourse deictic uses form one subcategory, and tracking and recognitional form the other subcategory. The former establishes a referent in the universe of the discourse for the first time but the latter singles out a certain referent among already established referents (Himmelmann 1996: 240).

### 2.3.1 Situational Use

Situational use of deixis is referring to an entity present during the time of utterance. According to Himmelmann (1996: 119-120), situational use of deixis is characterized by two features. First, it involves a deictic center and provides, thus, a specific view of the situation, and second, it serves to establish a referent in the universe of the discourse. Himmelmann (1996) also includes self-reference to a linguistic unit within situational use.

Diessel (1999: 94) does not employ the term situational use but uses *exophoric deictic use* to refer to the same phenomenon as described by Himmelmann (1996) above. Diessel (1999) argues that this use of deixis is the basic use from which all other uses are derived. According to him, this deictic use prototypically has the speaker as the deictic center and indicates a deictic contrast on a distance scale accompanied by pointing gesture.

### 2.3.2 Discourse Deictic Use

Deictic elements in the discourse deictic use refer to a whole utterance or proposition. According to Himmelmann (1996: 225), a conspicuous feature of discourse deictic use is the fact that it usually refers only **to** a single time to a proposition/utterance. After it is introduced into the discourse, it is not referred to again in the following discourse. Its use is only restricted for that moment.

According to Diessel (1999: 101), discourse deictic demonstratives attract the hearer's attention on aspects of meaning, expressed by a clause, a sentence, a

paragraph, or an entire story. These kinds of demonstratives refer to larger parts in the surrounding of the discourse.

### 2.3.3 Tracking Use

The tracking use of deixis is also concerned with establishing a reference in discourse but not to an entire utterance. Himmelmann (1996: 26) defines the tracking use of deixis as establishing a reference to (usually major) participants, which helps the hearer to keep track of what is happening to whom. Diessel (1999: 95-96) states that the tracking use of deixis is done by anaphoric demonstratives or pronouns which are co-referential with a noun or noun phrase in the previous discourse as their antecedent. Personal pronouns occur quite frequently in tracking use cross-linguistically. Himmelmann (1996: 213), too, discovers that the most common use of 3rd person pronouns is the anaphoric (tracking) use. He also observed that in many languages the definite article and the 3rd person pronouns are derived from demonstratives (Himmelmann 1996: 210).

### 2.3.4 Recognitional Use

In the recognitional use of deictic expression, the referred entities represent common or shared knowledge between the interlocutors. As to Himmelmann (1996: 30), the speaker uses deictic expression in recognitional use in anticipation of problems with respect to the information in referring to a certain referent. According to Diessel (1999: 93), “recognitional demonstratives do not refer to elements of the surrounding discourse; rather, they are used to indicate that the hearer is able to identify the referent based on shared knowledge.”

### *2.4 Previous Works on Ezha Deixis*

To the best of my knowledge, there are no works that directly focus on the study of deixis in Ezha. The current study is the first in-depth investigation of this topic. However, there are some general works on Ezha which deal with certain aspects of deixis in Ezha. Only one article is indirectly related to this topic, namely Fekede (2006).

Fekede (2006) and Endalew (2010) contain a morphosyntactic description of various pronominal elements in Ezha, namely personal pronouns, possessive suffixes, demonstrative pronouns, reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and various types of emphatic pronouns. These two descriptions of Ezha pronouns, however, do not include a detailed description of the actual pragmatic use of these pronouns in communication. Fekede (2002: 41) illustrated that there are no morphological differences between singular and plural demonstrative pronouns. According to him, demonstratives can be used with both plural and singular nouns as referents (see section 3.1.1 for another analysis).

Hetzron (1977: 56-57) contains a comparative description of demonstratives in the Gunnän-Gurage languages, which also includes Ezha. Hetzron (1977) identifies the following demonstratives for Gunnän-Gurage (which also should occur in Ezha): *zih* ‘this’ vs. *hi* ‘these’, and *zah* ‘that’ vs. *ha* ‘those’. From this, we can conclude that there should be different demonstratives for singular and plural referents. Hetzron’s (1977) analysis, thus, directly contradicts Fekede (2002). According to Fekede (2002: 41), the

demonstrative pronoun *xi(x)*, which represents Hetzron's (1977: 57) proximal plural demonstrative *hi* 'these', is used for distal spatial deixis, i.e., 'that' in English. Furthermore, Fekede (2002: 41) describes that the deictic expression *zotta* (from *zixotta*) 'this one' is used for pointing at a near person or object, while according to Hetzron (1977: 57) the same expression should be *zihota* 'this one' without a geminated *t* but an additional fricative *h*. This shows that there is a gap in the analysis of demonstratives between these two scholars.

In addition, Hetzron (1977: 57) mentions the place adverbs *zihe* 'here' and *zahe* 'there' for Ezha, and Fekede (2002: 42) illustrates that politeness is expressed by using the plural form of the personal pronouns.

## CHAPTER THREE

### DATA DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

#### *3.1 Morphology of Deictic Elements in Ezha*

##### 3.1.1 Spatial Deixis

Deictic expressions that refer to the distance between origo (deictic center) and referent or their location to each other are known as spatial deixis (Cruse 2000, Himmelmann 1996, Fillmore 1971). Ezha distinguishes between two distances, proximal vs. distal, by deictic expressions based on demonstratives, which are discussed in section 3.1.1.1. In a broader sense, spatial deixis may also include movement of the referent (see section 3.1.1.2) or the description of a specific position with regard to an origo other than the speaker (see section 3.1.1.3).



### 3.1.1.1 Demonstratives

#### 3.1.1.1.1 Demonstratives in Nominal Function

Ezha possesses two demonstratives to refer to a proximal or a distal entity with the speaker as deictic center. These demonstratives are *zi~zih* ‘this/these’ for proximity but *za~zah* ‘that/those’ for distance, as in (1).

- (1)
- a.    *zi*    *bet*    *jə-ijja-t<sup>1</sup>-u<sup>2</sup>* [jijjatu]  
      PRX   house GEN-I-FOC-COP.NPAST.3MS  
      ‘This house is mine.’
- b.    *za*    *bet*           *jə-ijja-t-u* [jijjatu]  
      DST   house           GEN-I-FOC-COP.3MS  
      ‘That house is mine.’

The demonstratives occur frequently in the short form without the final fricative *h* but can optionally have a long form ending in the fricative. The

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<sup>1</sup> The morpheme *-t* is a focus marker that obligatory occurs with personal pronouns as complement to the present-tense copula.

<sup>2</sup> The present-tense copula for the 3MS *-u* is irregular because the copula for all other person is based on the inflected element *-n*, i.e. 3FS *-n-ja* [COP-3FS], etc. (see Meyer 2007: 184ff. for details).

use of either form is still unclear. Regarding this alternation, Hetzron (1977: 57) states that the use of forms ending in the fricative *h* is unclear. Fekede (2002: 41), in contrast, provides a phonetic explanation. The demonstratives ending in the fricative *h* predominantly occur in slow, pronounced speech while otherwise the short forms are more common. However, Fekede's (2002) explanation only provides a general tendency but does not account for the exact distribution of the two forms of the demonstratives. Here further research is necessary.

The demonstratives are not inflected for gender or number but occur in an invariable short or long form with an inherent masculine or feminine referent, as shown in (2).

- (2) a.    *zī*    *ərdʒ*   *gobəz-u*  
           PRX   boy    clever-COP.NPAST.3MS  
           'This boy is clever.'
- b.    *za*    *gərəd*       *gobəz-ən-ja*  
           DST   girl       clever-COP.NPAST-3FS  
           'That girl is clever.'

The use of demonstratives in expressions as in (2) above also includes a pointing gesture by the speaker towards the referent (see also section 3.2.1).

In the examples (1) and (2) above, the demonstratives function as adjectival modifier to a head noun. Demonstratives can also function as pronouns that refer to an entire noun phrase (see example (22) below for an illustration). In this case, they are usually marked by the possessive suffixes, as shown in Table 1, and occur in their long form with the final fricative *h* (for an exception see section 3.2.2).

*Table 1: Forms of Demonstrative Pronouns*

DEMONSTRATIVE	ELEMENT	GLOSS
Proximal Deixis		
a. <i>zih-o-tta</i>	(PRX-3MS-POSS)	‘this one (M)’
b. <i>zih-e-tta</i>	(PRX-3FS-POSS)	‘this one (F)’
c. <i>zih-ohn-a</i>	(PRX-POSS-3MPL)	‘these ones (M)’
d. <i>zih-ohnə-ma</i>	(PRX-POSS-3FPL)	‘these ones (F)’
Distal Deixis		
e. <i>zah-o-tta</i>	(DST-3MS-POSS)	‘that one (M)’
f. <i>zah-e-tta</i>	(DST-3FS-POSS)	‘that one (F)’
g. <i>zah-ohn-a</i>	(DST-POSS-3MPL)	‘those ones (M)’
h. <i>zah-ohnə-ma</i>	(DST-POSS-3FPL)	‘those ones (F)’

In contrast to the demonstratives adjectives, the demonstrative pronouns clearly distinguish between male and female gender, and singular and plural number of their referents through the respective possessive suffixes attached to them (see section 3.1.5 for gender/number distinctions).

#### 3.1.1.1.2 Demonstratives as Place Adverbs

The demonstratives can also function as place adverbs that indicate the location of the referent with the addressee as deictic center. In contrast to the nominal demonstratives discussed in 3.1.1.1.1, their referent is neither the subject nor the direct object of the clause but rather represents a modification of the verb with regard to the place where the verbal event is situated. Commonly, the utterance of place adverbs is accompanied by a gesture in which the speaker points at the intended location.

The place adverbs are formed from the short form of the nominal demonstratives to which the suffix *-he* ‘vicinity’ is attached yielding *zi-he* ‘here’ vs. *za-he* ‘there’, as shown in (3).

- (3) a. *k'ulf-we*      [*zi-he*]-*w*  
 key-DEF      [PRX-VIC] = > here-COP.NPAST.3MS  
 'The key is here.' [near to the speaker]
- b. *k'ulf-we*      [*za-he*]-*w*<sup>3</sup>  
 key-DEF      [DST-VIC] = > there-COP.NPAST.3MS  
 'The key is there.' [far from the speaker]

The suffix denoting 'vicinity' is not the vowel *-e*, as indicated in Hetzron (1977: 55), who glosses it with 'towards', but the combination of fricative and vowel *-he*, as can be seen in the examples (7a-b). Consequently, the short forms of the demonstrative have to be assumed in these place adverbs. The concept of 'towards' is expressed by the suffix *-njə* in Ezha (cf. example (5)).

The place adverbs *zihe* 'here' and *zahe* 'there' can further be augmented by the locative prefix *bə-*, as in (4) below, where the speaker orders the addressee to sit down at a specific place.

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<sup>3</sup> The 3MS copula *-u* has an allomorph *-w* after vowels.

- (4) a. *bə-[zi-he]* *tora*  
 LOC-[PRX-VIC] = > here sit.IMP.2MS  
 ‘Sit down here!’
- b. *bə-[za-he]* *tora*  
 LOC-[DST-VIC] = > there sit.IMP.2MS  
 ‘Sit down over there!’

The locative prefix *bə-* in (4) explicitly refers to a static location. It does not involve any change in location, i.e., the addressees in (4) should be seated just at the places where they are, whereby the addressee is near to speaker in (4a) but further afar in (4b). If the addressee should move to a specific place referred to by the speaker, the place adverbs can be augmented by the suffix *-njə* ‘towards’ yielding *zihe-njə* ‘towards here’ or *zahe-njə* ‘towards there’, as in (5).

- (5) a. *zi-he-njə* *nə-hə*  
 [PRX-VIC] = > here-towards come.IMP-2MS  
 ‘Come over here!’ [towards the speaker]
- b. *za-he-njə* *wər*  
 [DST-VIC] = > there -towards go.IMP.2MS  
 ‘Go over there!’ [away from the speaker]

Note that the adverbial expressions *zihenjə* or *zahenjə* refer to a motion towards or away from the speaker as deictic center rather than to a specific distance.

If the adverbial expressions refer to the endpoint of the motion verbs, the suffix *-njə* ‘towards’ is omitted, as in the following example:

- (6) a.    *za-he*                    *wər*  
          [DST-VIC] = > there go.IMP.2MS  
          ‘Go to that place!’ [away from the speaker]
- b.    *zi-he*                    *nə-hə*  
          [PRX-VIC] = > here come.IMP-2MS  
          ‘Come to this place!’ [where the speaker is]

### 3.1.1.2 Deictic Motion Verbs

There are some motion verbs in Ezha whose semantics inherently has the speaker as origo. These verbs are given in Table 2.

Table 2: Motion Verbs with Speaker as Origo

	VERB	GLOSS
a.	<i>tʃənnə(-m)</i>	‘come’ [to the speaker]
b.	<i>wərə(-m)</i>	‘go (plus destination)’ [away from the speaker]
	<i>fəkka(-m)</i>	‘go’ [away from the speaker]
c.	<i>wott’a(-m)</i>	‘go up’ [to a higher level from the speaker’s location]
d.	<i>wondə(-m)</i>	‘go down’ [to a lower level from the speaker’s location]

The verb *tʃənnəm* ‘come’ has a suppletive imperative form based on the element *nə-* followed by agreement suffixes, as in *nə-hə* ‘come (2MS)!’; all other verbs in Table 2 inflect regularly.

The motion verbs *tʃənnəm* and *wərəm* in Table 2a/b form a pair in which the former expresses a motion towards the speaker but the latter a motion away from the speaker, as shown in (7).



- (7) a. *(jijja-he) nə-hə*  
 (GEN.I-VIC) come.IMP-2MS  
 ‘Come (to me)!’
- b. *jə-hut-he wər*  
 GEN-he-VIC go.IMP.2MS  
 ‘Go to him!’
- c. *fika*  
 go.IMP.2MS  
 ‘Go away!’

The place adverbial *jijjahe* ‘(to) my vicinity’ in (7a) is optional. Even if it is omitted, the imperative verb alone indicates that the motion should be towards the speaker. The intransitive verb *fikkam* ‘go’ in (7c) alone denotes a motion away from the speaker and usually occurs without an adverbial modification. The place adverbial in (7b), in contrast, is obligatory because the verb *wərəm* ‘go’ has to specify its goal or a reference point for the motion, as in (6a) or (7b), where the place adverbs denote a certain location.

In addition to the speaker as origo, the motion verbs *wott’am* ‘go up’ and *wondəm* ‘go down’ in Table 2 denote characteristics of the physical appearance of the landscape. According to Hirut (2007: 130), deictic motion

verbs of this type show whether the topography of the land is increasing or declining as compared to the location of the deictic center.

- (8) a.    (*tət-ijə*)            *wurəd*  
          (down-wards)        go\_down.IMP.2MS  
          ‘Go down!’ [to a lower level than the speaker is situated]
- b.    (*nən-jə*)        *wut’a*  
          (up-wards)        go\_up.IMP.2MS  
          ‘Go up!’ [to a higher level than the speaker is situated]

The adverbials *tətijə* ‘down’ and *nənjə* ‘up’ in (8) are optional. The verbs alone clearly denote whether the speaker is on a higher or lower elevation as compared to the motion of the referent.

### 3.1.1.3 Other Deictic Expression of Location or Direction

There are spatial or directional deictic expressions in Ezha that have a variable origo. Some of them are given in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Deictic Expression with Variable Origo

	DEICTIC EXPRESSION	GLOSS
a.	<i>tət-jə</i>	‘down(-wards)’
b.	<i>nən-jə</i>	‘up(-wards)’
c.	<i>tə-iftə</i> [tɪfte]	‘in front of’
d.	<i>tə-ankenə</i> [tankenə]	‘to the backside of’
e.	<i>tə-gura</i>	‘to the left of’
f.	<i>tə-kənə</i>	‘to the right of’

The adverbials in Table 3c-f are preceded by the ablative/comitative prefix *tə-*. Instead of this prefix, the locative prefix *bə-* can be used when reference is to a static location, as in (9).

- (9) *atankirt-we* (*tijja*) *bə-kənə-w*  
 tree<sup>4</sup>-DEF ABL.I LOC-right-COP.NPAST.3MS  
 ‘The tree is right from me.’

In (9), *bə-kənə* ‘at the right (side)’ has relational meaning. It expresses that the tree is standing at the right side from the perspective of the speaker. The

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<sup>4</sup> Ezha has no general term for ‘tree’; instead the noun *atankirt* ‘plant’ is used.

speaker can optionally be overtly marked as origo by the phrase *tə-ijja* [tɪjja] ‘from me’. If no origo is mentioned, it is by default the speaker.

With the expressions in Table 3, the origo can also shift from the speaker to another entity which then must be marked overtly by the ablative prefix *tə-*, as in (10).

- (10) *atankirt-we*    *tə-bet-əna*                    *bə-kənə-w*  
tree-DEF        ABL-house-my                    LOC-right-COP.NPAST.3MS  
‘The tree is at the right side of my house.’

The sentence in (10), the speaker is talking to the hearer about a tree by taking the house as deictic center. According to Lyons (1977: 579), these kinds of deictic words, with variable origo, are known as projective deictics.

### 3.1.2 Temporal Deixis

Temporal deixis indicates the time of the communicated event by taking the moment of the utterance as reference point (Cruse 2000: 321). Temporal deixis is commonly expressed through temporal adverbs from the lexicon, but also demonstratives or different aspects/tenses of the verb can be used

(Anderson and Keenan 1985: 297).<sup>5</sup> According to Cruse (2000: 321), three time references are commonly distinguished in the languages of the world with the moment of utterance as deictic center: present time (at the moment of utterance), past time (before the time of utterance) and future time (after the moment of utterance).

In Ezha, several lexical time adverbs as well as different aspect/tense forms of the verb can establish a specific time reference with the moment of utterance as origo. The lexical time adverbs are given in the following table:

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<sup>5</sup> According to Fillmore (1971: 39-40), two temporal indicators are necessary for the interpretation of temporal adverbs in discourse, namely the coding time of the utterance and its decoding time. In direct face-to-face communication coding and decoding time usually fall together, except for reported speech. In written communication, however, there might be a considerable time span between coding and decoding time.

Table 4: Basic Lexical Time Adverbs

	DEICTIC TERM	GLOSS
a.	<i>əhua</i>	‘now’
b.	<i>əkua</i>	‘today’
c.	<i>trama</i>	‘yesterday’
d.	<i>nəgə</i>	‘tomorrow’
e.	<i>zədrə</i>	‘this year’
f.	<i>emra</i>	‘last year’
g.	<i>məhərə</i>	‘next year’

The time adverb *əhua* ‘now’ refers to a time span immediately preceding or/and following the moment of utterance. The adverbs *əkua* ‘today’, *trama* ‘yesterday’ and *nəgə* ‘tomorrow’ in Table 4 are temporal deictics that refer to the time of the communicated event based on the day of utterance as origo. All three encompass the period of approximately one astronomical day. While *trama* ‘yesterday’ refers to an event one day before the day of utterance, *əkua* ‘today’ refers to an event during the day of utterance, and *nəgə* ‘tomorrow’ refers to the day after the day of utterance.

- (11) a. *trama*        *ərəw*        *bannə*  
yesterday      Wednesday    AUX.PAST.3MS  
‘Yesterday was Wednesday.’
- b. *əkua* *amus-u*  
today    Thursday-COP.NPAST.3MS  
‘Today is Thursday.’
- c. *nəgə*        *dʒimat-u*  
tomorrow      Friday-COP.NPAST.3MS  
‘Tomorrow is Friday.’

In (11), *əkua* ‘today’ refers to the astronomical day at which the sentence was uttered, *trama* ‘yesterday’ refers to the astronomical day before the day the expression was uttered, and *nəgə* ‘tomorrow’ refers to the astronomical day that follows the utterance.

The time adverbs *zədrə* ‘this year’, *emra* ‘last year’ and *məhərə* ‘next year’ in Table 4 have also the time of utterance as origo but encompass a time period of approximately one astronomical year. The adverb *zədrə* ‘this year’ refers to the entire year at which the utterance was done while *emra* ‘last year’ refers to the year before the year of the utterance, and *məhərə* ‘next year’ to the year after the year of utterance.

The time adverbs can also function as nominal modifier. In this case they have to be preceded by the genitive prefix *jə-* when the head noun is a count noun, as in *jəhua ərdz* (GEN.now boy) ‘(the) current boy’ or *jə-trama gərəd* (GEN-yesterday girl) ‘(the) girl from yesterday’. With non-count nouns, like *k’irər* ‘morning’, the genitive prefix is omitted, as in *əkua k’irər* ‘today morning’ or *trama k’irər* ‘yesterday morning’.

The time adverbs in Table 4 encompassing a time period of one astronomical day or year can still be extended in Ezha by employing special forms of derived numerals, as exemplified below:

- (12) a. *səst-ə* *k’idame-w*  
 day-after-tomorrow-FUT Saturday-COP.NPAST.3MS  
 ‘The day after tomorrow is Saturday.’
- b. *səsti-ra* *wut’ət-mərəg bannə*  
 day-before-yesterday-PAST Tuesday AUX.PAST.3MS  
 ‘The day before yesterday was Tuesday.’
- c. *nəbət-ra* *wut’ət bannə*  
 two-days-before-yesterday-PAST Monday AUX.PAST.3MS  
 ‘Two days before yesterday was Monday.’
- d. *nəbat-ə* *wudsənbət-u*  
 two-days-after-tomorrow-FUT Sunday-COP.NPAST.3MS  
 ‘Two days after tomorrow is Sunday.’



These derived time adverbs seem to be restricted to the basic numbers *sost* ‘three’ and *arbət* ‘four’ as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Derived Lexical Time Adverbs

	BASIC NUMBER	TIME PERIOD	TIME ADVERB	GLOSS
a.	<i>sost</i> ‘three’	<i>səst-</i> ‘three days’	<i>səst-ə</i>	‘day after tomorrow (three days after now)’
b.			<i>səsti-ra</i>	‘day before yesterday (three days before now)’
c.		<i>sars-</i> ‘three years’	<i>sars-ə</i>	‘year after next year (three years after now)’
d.			<i>sarsi-ja</i>	‘year before last year (three years before now)’
e.	<i>arbət</i> ‘four’	<i>nəbat-</i> ‘four days’	<i>nəbat-ə</i>	‘two days after tomorrow (four days after now)’
f.			<i>nəbat-ra</i>	‘two days before yesterday (four days before now)’
g.		<i>nab-</i> ‘four years’	<i>nab-ə</i>	‘two years after next year (four years from now)’
h.			<i>nabi-ja</i>	‘two years before last year (four years before now)’

The sound change  $r > n$ , which can be observed with the time adverbs based on *arbət* ‘four’, regularly occurs in Ezha when underlying  $r$  comes in word-initial position (see Hetzron 1977: 50 for further details). The derived time adverbs encompass a period of three or four days/years which are counted

from the moment of utterance starting from the day/year of utterance. Time periods after the moment of utterance, i.e., future time, are characterized by the final vowel *-ə* while time periods preceding the moment of utterance, i.e., past time, are marked by the suffix *-ra* (for days) or *-ja* (for years). This formation is restricted to the numeral bases for “three” and “four”. Note that these two suffixes, *-ra/-ja*, might have the same origin because Ezha may palatalize the sonorant *r* to the approximant *j* (see Hetzron 1977: 47). Thus, the suffix *-ja* might be underlying *-ra + PALATALIZATION*.

In addition to time adverbs, the speaker can also indicate the time of a verbal event by using specific aspect/tense and mood forms of the verb. In (12) above, for instance, time reference to the moment of utterance is indicated by the present-tense copula in (12a, d), while time reference to the past is shown by using the past-tense auxiliary verb *bannə* in (12b, c) and (13) below.

- (13) *zi zəŋga an-asəb-hu-m bannə*  
 PRX affair NEG-think.PV.NEG-1S-CNV AUX.PAST.3MS  
 ‘I did not think about this affair.’

Reference to the future time is also inherently expressed with verbs in the imperative or jussive mood, as in the example below:

- (14) *za mäs'af jə-t'bit'-əm jə-tən*  
DST book 3MS-hold.JUS-CNV 3MS-come.JUS  
'Let him bring that book!'

Commonly, unmodified verbs in the imperfective aspect denote a verbal event taking place at the moment of speech or afterwards (cf. examples (22) and (24) below), while verbs in the perfective aspect commonly refer to a verbal event that occurred before the moment of utterance with dynamic verbs (cf. example (19) below).

### 3.1.3 Manner Deixis

Ezha has one manner adverb, *zikka* 'like this', which seems to be based on the short form of the proximal demonstrative *zi* followed by the suffix *-kka*. This manner adverb is invariable. It is used to modify the verbal event by showing some kind of physical movement, as in (15).

- (15) a. *almaz ərdz-iwe zikka jə-dənnəg-otfi-n*  
 Almaz boy-DEF like-this REL-hit.PV-3FS.O3MS-O3MS<sup>6</sup>  
*jift-otta-w*  
 face-his-COP.NPAST.3MS  
 ‘Almaz hit the boy like this on his face.’ [plus showing manner  
 of hitting]
- b. *za ataŋkirt zikka ərt'i-n*  
 DST tree like-this cut.IMP.2MS-O3MS  
 ‘Cut that tree like this!’ [plus indicating how to cut the tree]

In (15a), the speaker accompanies his utterance by gestures demonstrating the way Almaz hit the boy. Similarly, the utterance in (15b) is accompanied by a demonstration of how to cut the tree.

### 3.1.4 Presentative Deixis

Presentative deictics are used in a situation when the speaker presents or hands over something to the addressee (Hanks 2009: 19). In Ezha,

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<sup>6</sup> The 3MS object marker consists of two elements, namely, a suprasegmental feature <sup>w</sup> that assimilated to the 3FS subject marker *-ətf* and the segmental element *-n*, hence *-<sup>w</sup>n*.

presentative deixis is expressed by the base *jə-* to which the second person agreement markers of the perfective aspect are attached.

*Table 6: Presentative Deixis*

	DEICTIC TERM	GLOSS
a.	<i>jə-xə</i> <sup>7</sup> here.it.is-2MS	‘Here it is (MS)!’ (Lit. Here it is for you)
b.	<i>jə-xi</i> here.it.is-2FS	‘Here it is (FS)!’ (Lit. Here it is for you)
c.	<i>jə-xu</i> here.it.is-2MPL	‘Here it is (MPL)!’ (Lit. Here it is for you)
d.	<i>jə-xma</i> here.it.is-2FPL	‘Here it is (FPL)!’ (Lit. Here it is for you)

Presentative deixis appear as one word utterance (Diessel 1999: 79).

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<sup>7</sup> In the second person, the agreement markers originate probably from diachronically distinct morphemes, i.e., the element *-x* is basically denotes the second person while *-ə* marks MS, *-i* FS, *-u* MPL and *-ma* FPL.

### 3.1.5 Person Deixis

According to Cruse (2000:319) and Anderson and Keenan (1985: 260), person deixis is basically concerned with establishing a reference to the discourse participants, i.e., the speaker and the addressee, but also may include a third party, i.e., neither speaker nor addressee, which might be mentioned in the discourse. Thus, person deixis distinguishes between active and passive participants based on the role of participation in the utterance (cf. Baye and Rawda 2007: 137). The speaker is the active participant while the addressee and the third party are the passive participants in the communication act.

Person deixis is expressed by personal pronouns or agreement markers on the verb, which in addition to person also may contain information about the gender, the number, and the social status of the referents, as well as their social and personal relationship. Speaker and addressee are indicating by first and second person pronouns/agreement markers, respectively. The third participant is indicating by third person pronouns. Not all languages have distinctive personal pronouns for all three persons (Siewierska 2004: 5).

Table 7: Ezha Personal Pronouns

PERSON	GENDER	NUMBER	
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	Common	<i>ijja</i>	<i>jina</i>
2	Masculine	<i>ax-ə</i>	<i>ax-u</i>
	Feminine	<i>ax-i</i>	<i>ax-ma</i>
3	Masculine	<i>hut</i>	<i>hino</i> (< * <i>hinə-u</i> )
	Feminine	<i>xit</i>	<i>hinə-ma</i>

As shown in Table 7, the personal pronouns in Ezha indicate the number of referents in all persons, but the gender of referents only for the second and third person. Number distinguishes between singular and plural referents. Gender distinguishes between masculine and feminine referents, whereby this distinction is restricted to human referents. Animals of both gender and all non-human referents are treated like nouns with masculine gender. Thus, in Ezha, the 3MS pronoun, *hut*, and the 3MS agreement on verbs are ambiguous. They can refer to masculine singular referents, like *ərdz* ‘boy’, inanimate singular referents, like *bet* ‘house’, or animals of either gender, like *əram* ‘cow’ or *bora* ‘ox’. Similarly, the referents of the 3MPL pronoun or agreement marker are also ambiguous. They may refer to masculine plural referents, like *dəngja* ‘boys’, plural non-human referents, or a group of people consisting of

men and women, like *Kəbbədə* (a masculine proper name) and *Almaz* (a feminine proper name).

The suffixes *-i* and *-ma* in Table 7 seem to be portmanteau morphemes that indicate feminine gender in singular and plural number, respectively. The suffix *-u* indicates masculine gender for plural referents and the suffix *-ə* in the 2MS might indicate masculine gender for a singular referent in the second person. The marker for second person, subsequently, is the element *ax-*. However, neither the first person nor the third person has a uniform morpheme that clearly indicates person. Therefore, it seems to be best to assume that the personal pronouns in Table 7 are lexicalized items.

In addition to personal pronouns, person, gender and number are also shown morphologically in verb agreement. The suffixes *-ja* in (16a) and *-u* in (16b) indicate the person, gender and number of their referents.



- (16) a. *zi gərəd gobəz-n-ja*  
 PRX girl clever-COP.NPAST-3FS  
 ‘This girl is clever.’
- b. *zi ərdz gobəz-u*  
 PRX boy clever-COP.NPAST.3MPL  
 ‘This boy is clever.’

The nouns *gərəd* ‘girl’ and *ərdz* ‘boy’ in (16) clearly show that the subjects of the clauses are feminine and masculine, respectively. The gender and number of these lexical items can also be deducted from the agreement markers on the copula. Thus, even if the lexical items *gərəd* and *ərdz* were omitted, the gender and number of the referents can still be identified through the agreement markers.

### 3.1.6 Social Deixis and Politeness

Social deixis refers to the social status, or the role and the relationship of the interlocutors (Levinson 1983: 119). Therefore, to understand the speech between the participants in the communication act, it is important to know their cultural background. Politeness is one part of social deixis; its manifestation differs cross-culturally (Mills 2003: 145, see also Helmbrecht

2003: 192). Kinship terms that have deictic meaning are also included under social deixis.

In the Ezha society, respect to elders is one of the social norms. This social value is reflected by the use of specific deictic expressions, in particular personal pronouns and agreement marking on verbs, which indicate that the speaker is respecting the addressee or the referent. In addition to respecting elder people, there is another social norm in Ezha. If a Ezha man marries a woman, his new wife has to show respect to all the members of her husband's family regardless of their age level, i.e., she has to address or speak about her husband's family members by using the polite forms even if they are younger.

Politeness in Ezha does not only concern the addressee but also the third participant, i.e., a third person referent (cf. example 18). According to Levinson (2004: 120), we can call them addressee honorifics and referent honorifics, respectively.

### 3.1.6.1 Addressee Honorifics

Addressee honorifics are expressions by which the speaker verbally pays respect to the addressee. In Ezha, plural personal pronouns/agreement markers of the second person are used to show that the speaker is respecting the addressee. If the addressee is male, the speaker uses the 2MPL pronoun *axu* ‘2MPL’; if the addressee is female, the 2FPL pronoun *axma* ‘you’ is used, with the respective agreement markers on the verb.

- (17) *axu*            *gorəbet-ənda-lo*<sup>8</sup>  
you.MPL        neighbor-our-COP.NPAST.2MPL  
‘You (2MPL = honorific for a man) are our neighbor.’

### 3.1.6.2 Referent Honorifics

Referent honorifics refer to the relation of the speaker with a third person referent. As with addressee honorifics, politeness for third person referents is expressed by using the respective plural pronouns *xino* ‘they

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<sup>8</sup> The element *-l* is an allomorph of the present-tense copula with third person plural subjects (see Meyer 2007:184ff. for further details).

(MPL) = honorific for speaking about a man' or *xinəma* 'they (FPL) = honorific for speaking about a woman' and the associated agreement markers.

- (18) a. *xino*            *jə-aba-na* [jabana]    *ɡuadəna-lo*  
 they.MPL        GEN-father-my        friend-COP.NPAST.3MPL  
 'He (polite) is my father's friend.'
- b. *xinəma*        *ɡorəbet-ənda-lə-ma*  
 they.FPL        neighbor-our-COP.NPAST-3FPL  
 'She (polite) is our neighbor.'

Politeness can also be expressed by verb agreement alone. Based on the agreement marking, the hearer can easily differentiate whether the speaker is referring to the referent in a polite way or not.

- (19) a. *adi*                    *tʃənnə-tʃi-m*  
 mother-in-law        come.PV-3FS-MVM  
 'My mother-in-law came.'
- b. *adi*                    *tʃənnə-ma-m*  
 mother-in-law        come.PV-3FPL-MVM  
 'My mother-in-law came (polite).'

In (19a), the speaker refers to his mother-in-law by using simply 3SF agreement, i.e., the non-polite form, whereas, in (19b), he is speaking by respecting his mother-in-law. Although speaking politely to the members of

the husband's family is expecting from an Ezha wife, it depends on the individual to show this kind of respect.

### 3.1.6.3 Kinship Terms

In Ezha, some kinship terms have deictic features. The use of these kinship terms in an utterance shows whether the referent has a kinship relation with the speaker or not. The term *adi* 'mother-in-law' in example (19) above shows that the speaker has a kinship relation to the referent otherwise he would have used the term *amat* 'mother-in-law' (when referring to someone without a kinship relation). A similar pair is *ammo* '(my) mother' vs. *adot* 'mother':

- (20) a.    *ammo*            *tʃənnə-tʃi-m*  
          mother            come.PV-3FS-MVM  
          'My mother came.'
- b.    *adot-axə*            *tʃənnə-tʃi-m*  
          mother-your(MS)    come.PV-3FS-MVM  
          'Your mother came.'

In (20a), the use of the kinship term *ammo* 'my mother' indicates that the speaker has a direct kinship relationship with the referent, i.e., he is speaking about his own mother (without using possessive suffixes). In (20b), in

contrast, the kinship term *adot* ‘mother’ clearly shows that the speaker has no kinship relation with the referent.

### *3.2 Use of Deictic Elements*

As Diessel (1999: 93-109) and Himmelmann (1996: 219-239) illustrate, there are four different uses of deictic expressions, namely, exophoric use, tracking (or anaphoric) use, discourse deictic use and recognitional use. For this study, I will deal with the discourse deictic and tracking use of deictics in a single section.

#### **3.2.1 Exophoric Use**

The exophoric use of deictic expressions is primarily concerned with demonstratives whose referents can only be determined by the addressee during the ongoing discourse. According to Diessel (1999: 94), the interpretation of deictic expressions in this use involves the deictic centre (the speaker or other participant(s) of the utterance), the distance between the deictic centre and the referent, and a pointing gesture (see also Himmelmann 1996: 220). The addressee has to relate the referent with the

present situation to convey the relevant meaning. According to Levinson (1983: 65), there is gestural and symbolic deixis in the endophoric use that differ only by using a pointing gesture or avoiding it, respectively.

### 3.2.1.1 Gestural Use

In the Ezha-speaking community, demonstratives (cf. section 3.1.1.1) occur most frequently in the exophoric use. In this use, they always have a specific referent in the communication situation that can clearly be identified by the addressee through the pointing gesture towards the intended referent, as in (21).

- (21) *zi atebət-na art'-hu-ni-m*  
PRX finger-my cut.PV-1S-O3MS-MVM  
'I cut this finger of mine.' [plus showing it]

In (21), the speaker shows the addressee which finger he has cut so that the addressee can clearly identify which of the ten possible fingers is the actual referent. It is even possible to refer to two distinct referents by the same

demonstrative, as in (22), without creating ambiguity due to the accompanying use of a pointing gesture.

- (22) *zi*    *t'aj*    *tə-zi*            *t'aj*            *ji-rk'* –  
 PRX    sheep    ABL-PRX            sheep            3MS-be-better.IPV
- zah-ohna*                    *irk'ej*            *k'allo*  
 DST-their.MPL            small            thing.COP.NPAST.3MPL
- ‘This sheep is better than this. Those ones are small.’

In (22), the demonstrative *zi* ‘this’ is used to establish a reference to two distinct referents in the proximity of the speaker. The two referents are distinguished by a pointing gesture towards them. The distal demonstrative pronoun *zahohna* ‘those’ points towards referents that are further afar from the place where speaker and addressee are communicating.

Besides the demonstratives, the personal pronoun for the 3MS *hut* can also serve as an indicator for spatial deixis, as in the following example:



- (23) a. *hut*            *t'aj*    *tət-ijə*   *ordi-n*  
 it/PRX.ADR   sheep   down   take-down.IMP.2MS-O3MS  
 ‘Take down that sheep (near addressee)!’
- b.    *hut*            *t'aj*    *nən-jə*   *ot'a-n*  
 it/PRX.ADR   sheep   up        take.up.IMP.2MS-O3MS  
 ‘Take up that sheep (near addressee)!’

The personal pronoun *hut* in (23), clearly does not function as a pronoun because it occurs as adjectival modifier to the head noun *t'aj* ‘sheep’. When functioning as adjectival modifier to a head noun, *hut* conveys the meaning of a spatial deictic element that establishes reference to an entity which is near to the addressee but relatively far to the speaker. That means, by using *hut* for spatial deixis the speaker changes the origo from himself towards a relation between him, the addressee and the referent, in which the referent must be close to the addressee.

Finally, the manner demonstrative *zikka* ‘like this’ (cf. section 3.1.3) was only recording in gestural use, i.e., it always has to be accompanied by a kind of gesture explaining the denoted verbal activity.

### 3.2.1.2 Symbolic Use

The symbolic use of deictics is restricted to the demonstratives (see section 3.1.1.1.1). In contrast, to the gestural use, the utterance of demonstratives is not accompanied by a pointing gesture. The only need to interpret the referent of the deictic expression is the knowledge of the spatio-temporal parameters of the utterance (Levinson 1983: 65).

- (24) *zi gənn t'ef ejj-abək'ir*  
PRX country teff NEG.3MS-grow.IPV  
'This country does not grow Teff.'

In (24), the demonstrative *zi* 'this' refers to the country where speaker and addressee are situated at the moment of utterance. However, the speaker does not refer to it by a pointing gesture and the hearer is not expected to see the whole country. The discourse setting alone makes it clear what has to be considered as referent.

### 3.2.2 Tracking and Discourse Deictic Use

The tracking and discourse deictic use of deictic expression have in common that the referent of the deictic expression is not a 'real' entity in the physical world but a part of the preceding or ongoing discourse. That means, deictic expressions in tracking or discourse deictic use help the hearer to get the relevant message in the ongoing discourse (Himmelmann 1996: 226 and also Diessel 1999: 101). The hearer can keep track of referents and situations by remembering what was said before and by connecting the current utterance to the relevant information from the speaker's speech. The difference between tracking and discourse deictic use is the nature of the referent. In tracking use, it is always a noun phrase while in discourse-deictic use it is an entire proposition. For both uses, Ezha mainly employs demonstratives (see section 3.1.1.1.1). Tracking reference to a previously established noun phrase is commonly expressed by agreement marker on the verb. However, the distal demonstrative *za* 'that', also occurs in this function, as shown in the following example:

- (25) a. *trama*      [*at mǝrkama gǝrǝd*]<sub>i</sub>      *bǝma*  
 yesterday    one    beautiful    girl      LOC.road  
*nǝkkǝb-hu-m*  
 meet.PV-1S-MVM  
 ‘Yesterday I met a beautiful girl on the road.’
- b. *za*<sub>i</sub>    *gǝrǝd jǝ-kǝbbǝdǝ*    *ǝtǝmu-n-ja*  
 that    girl    GEN-Kebede    sister-COP.NPAST-3FS  
 ‘That girl is Kebede’s sister.’

The distal demonstrative *za* ‘that’ in (25b) establishes a tracking reference to the noun phrase *at mǝrkama gǝrǝd* ‘a beautiful girl’ in (25a), who is not visible at the time of utterance.

In one instance, the demonstrative expression *xihē* ‘there’ was recording in tracking use:

- (26) a. *trama*      [*wǝlk’it’e*]<sub>i</sub>      *wǝnd-hu-m*<sup>9</sup>  
 yesterday    Welkite      go-down.PV-1S-MVM  
 ‘Yesterday I went to Welkite.’
- b. *hudzrǝ-na*    *xihē*<sub>i</sub>    *k’af-hu-m*      *tǝnnǝ-hu-m*  
 clothes-my    there    leave.PV-1S-CNV      come.PV-1S-MVM.  
 ‘When I came back I left my clothes there.’

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<sup>9</sup> The main verb marker *-m* and converb marker *-m* might be diachronically identical but have synchronically different functions (cf. Hetzron 1977).



refer to a proposition that the speaker is going to utter immediately, i.e., it serves as a cataphoric pronoun. The distal demonstrative *za* ‘that’, in contrast, only refers to previously mentioned propositions. Consequently, the demonstrative *zi* ‘this’ must co-occur with verbs in the imperfective aspect or non-past tense, while *za* ‘that’ only co-occurs with verbs in the perfective aspect or past tense. Note that the demonstratives *zi* ‘this’ and *za* ‘that’ syntactically function as pronouns although they are not marked by possessive suffixes (see 3.1.1.1.1).

### 3.2.3 Recognitional Use

According to Himmelmann (1996: 230) the recognitional use of deictics depicts whether the speaker and the hearer have a common understanding or shared knowledge about the referent in the utterance. Even if the referent is presented for the first time, the hearer will know who the referent actually is due to the shared knowledge between the interlocutors. The recognitional deixis in Ezha is indicated by distal demonstrative *za* ‘that’.

- (28) *za kərə təzəbetə a-j-tən* [e-tən]  
 DST day again NEG.3MS-come.IPV  
 ‘May that day not come again!’

In (28), the phrase *za kərə* ‘that day’ is mentioned for the first time. Nevertheless, by using the distal demonstrative the speaker indicates that the addressee should look for the respective referent in the commonly shared knowledge between them (cf. Lyons 1999: 56). Therefore, the utterance is not ambiguous for the addressee although another person which lacks the common knowledge will be unable to find the referent.

A similar effect can be obtained by using the definite marker *-we*, as in (29).

- (29) *t’aj-we asrə-tfi-m*  
 sheep-DEF sell.PV-3FS-MVM  
 ‘She sold the sheep.’

In (29), too, the noun phrase *t’ajwe* ‘the sheep’ occurred the first time in discourse but the addressee clearly understood which sheep has been sold. This indicates that the addressee and speaker must have a commonly shared

knowledge about the referent which is indicated by the use of the definite article -*we*.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The main objective of this thesis was to describe and analyze deictic expressions in Ezha regarding their form and use. The paper consists of four chapters. The first chapter provides a brief introduction about the Ezha people and their language, the objective and significance of the study, as well as the research methodology. The second chapter contains the review of related literature, focusing on a detailed review of descriptive linguistic literature on deixis followed by a summary about previous works on deixis in Ezha. This summary made clear that the few available descriptions of deixis in Ezha are contradictory and cursory. They mainly deal with specific morphological or morphosyntactic aspects but neglect the pragmatic aspect of the deictic expressions. To fill in this gap, was the main objective of this study.

Chapter three contains the data on Ezha deixis, and their analysis and discussion. Based on this chapter, it is possible to conclude that the

demonstratives constitute the major part of Ezha deixis. Basically, demonstrative are used to denote spatial differences. Ezha demonstrative distinguish between two distances with the speaker as origo, namely, *zi~zih* ‘this’ for proximity and *za~zah* ‘that’ for distance. A phonological, morphosyntactic or pragmatic motivation for using either the short or the long form of the demonstrative was not found. The reason for the variation has still to be research. In contrast to Ethiosemitic languages of the Transversal branch, these demonstratives occur in an invariable form and do not mark gender or number of their referents. Morphosyntactically, the demonstratives can function as adjectival modifier to an overt head noun or as a pronoun representing an entire noun phrase. In the latter function, they are usually marked by possessive suffixes. The demonstratives are also inherent part of derived spatial adverbs, in which they combine with the suffix *-he* ‘vicinity’ or *-njə* ‘toward’. Furthermore, the demonstratives are used for tracking referents in discourse and for discourse deixis. For tracking referents usually the distal demonstrative *za* is applied; besides a special demonstrative expression *xihē* ‘there’ to track a place in discourse has been

discovered. The detailed distribution of these two demonstratives (also vis-à-vis agreement marking on verbs) still needs further investigation. For discourse deixis, the two demonstratives *zi* ‘this’ and *za* ‘that’ are used, whereby the proximal demonstrative functions as cataphor but the distal demonstrative as anaphor. The distal demonstrative can, furthermore, be used in recognitional use in which the speaker refers to an entity or event in the shared cultural or social knowledge between her/him and the addressee. The proximal demonstrative is probably part of the manner demonstrative *zikka* ‘like this’, which is used as adverbial modifier.

A spatial relationship between the speaker and the referent in a broader sense is also expressed by a number of motion verbs. The motion verbs *tʃənnəm* ‘come’ vs. *wərəm/fəkkam* ‘go’ inherently have the speaker as origo in their semantics and denote a movement towards or away from him/her. Another group of motion verbs, namely *wott’am* ‘go up’/*wondəm* ‘go down’, also have the speaker inherently as origo in their semantics but denote only a movement to a higher or lower level as compared to him/her. Location and

direction can also be denoted by special lexical entries, often in combination with the locative prefix *bə-* or the ablative prefix *tə-*.

Temporal deixis is expressed by a number of lexical adverbs that have the moment of speech as *origo*. Except *əhua* ‘now’, these adverbs either refer to a time period of one astronomical day or year. While Ezha has distinct lexemes to refer to concepts like ‘yesterday’, ‘tomorrow’ or ‘last year’, ‘next year’, it uses modified forms of the numerals for ‘three’ and ‘four’ to derive further time adverbs. Interestingly, these derived time adverbs regularly end the vowel *-ə* for future reference but in the suffixes *-ra* (for days) or *-ja* (for years) for past reference.

Presentative deixis is expressed by the inflected base *jə-*, as in *jə-xə* ‘Here it is (by handing something over to a masculine addressee)’, etc.

Person deixis is expressed by personal pronouns and/or agreement markers on verbs. Ezha morphologically distinguishes between singular and plural referents as well as between masculine and feminine referents in the second and third person. In the first person only a singular-plural distinction is

made. The gender distinction only applies to human referents; animals and non-animate referents are referred to by the masculine pronouns or agreement markers. Politeness is also expressed through personal pronouns and agreement marking, whereby the plural forms of the second and third person are used as honorifics.

Finally, a few kinship terms occur in pairs. One item of the pair encodes a kinship relation with the speaker, like *ammo* 'my mother', while the other item of the pair does not have such an implication, like *adot* 'mother (without a kinship relation to the speaker)'. Here, too, more research is necessary to investigate the actual distribution of these pairs and their possible origins.

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# APPENDIX: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DEIXIS IN EZHA

አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ  
ድህረ ምረቃ ትምህርት ቤት  
ስነልሳን ትምህርት ክፍል

## በተጠያቂዎች የሚሞላ መጠይቅ

የዚህ መጠይቅ አላማ በእህድ ቋንቋ ላይ ለሚደረገው ጥናት የተሟላ መረጃ ለማሰባሰብ ነው። በመሆኑም እርስዎ የሚሰጡኝ መረጃ የተሟላና ደረጃውን የጠበቀ መሆኑን ለጥናቱ መሳካት የሚያበረክተው አስተዋፅዖ ከፍተኛ መሆኑን አውቀው ተገቢውን መረጃ እንዲሰጡኝ ስጠይቅ ለሚያደርጉልኝ መልካም ትብብር በቅድሚያ አመሰግናለሁ።

1. የሚከተሉትን ዐረፍተ ነገሮች በእህድኛ ጻፏቸው።

ሀ. ይህ ቤት የኔ ነው።

ለ. ያ ቤት የኔ ነው (መካከለኛ ርቀት ላይ ያለ)።

ሐ. ያ ቤት የኔ ነው (በጣም ሩቅ የሆነ)።

መ. ይህ ቤት የኛ ነው።

ሠ. ያ ቤት የኛ ነው (መካከለኛ ርቀት)።

ረ. ያ ቤት የኛ ነው (በጣም ሩቅ)።

2. ከላይ የተገለፁት ዐረፍተ ነገሮች ተናጋሪው ወንድ ወይም ሴት ሲሆን በእነርሱ እንዴት ይጻፋሉ?

ተናጋሪው ወንድ ሲሆን:-

ሀ.....

ለ.....

ሐ.....

መ.....

ሠ.....

ረ.....

ተናጋሪዋ ሴት ስትሆን:-

ሀ.....

ለ.....

ሐ.....

መ.....

ሠ.....

ረ.....

3. ቀጥሎ የተገለፁት ዐረፍተ ነገሮች ከቁጥርና ከዎታ አንፃር በእነርሱ እንዴት ይገለፃሉ?

ሀ. ይህ ልጅ ጎበዝ ነው።

ለ. ያ ልጅ ጎበዝ ነው።

ሐ. ይቺ ልጅ ጎበዝ ነች።

መ. ያቺ ልጅ ጎበዝ ነች።

ሠ. እነዚህ ልጆች (ለሴቶች) ጎበዞች ናቸው።

ረ. እነዚያ ልጆች (ለሴቶች) ጎበዞች ናቸው።

ሰ. እነዚህ ልጆች (ለወንዶች) ጎበዞች ናቸው።

ሸ. እነዚያ ልጆች (ለወንዶች) ጎበዞች ናቸው።

4. የሚከተሉት ዐረፍተ ነገሮች በእነርሱ እንዴት ይገለፃሉ?

ሀ. ይህን መፅሃፍ ይዘህ ሂድ።

ለ. ያንን መፅሃፍ አምጣ።

5. ከተራራ ላይ ያለ ሰው ከተራራው ስር ያለን ነገር ወደላይ እንዲመጣለት ቢፈልግ በእነርሱ እንዴት ማለት ይችላል?

ለምሳሌ:-

ሀ. እሱን በግ ወደላይ አምጣ።

ለ. እሷን በግ ወደላይ አምጣ።

6. በተቃራኒው ከላይ ወደታች እንዲወሰድ ቢፈልግስ?

ሀ. እሱን በግ ወደታች ይዘህ ሂድ።

ለ. እሷን በግ ወደታች ይዘህ ሂድ።

7. የሚከተሉትን ሀረጎች በእነርሱ ጻፏቸው።

ሀ. የትናንቱ ልጅ

ለ. የዛሬው ልጅ

ሐ. የነገው ልጅ

መ. የትናንቷ ልጅ

ሠ. የዛሬዋ ልጅ

ረ. የነገዋ ልጅ

ሸ. የትናንቶቹ ልጆች (ለሴቶች)

ቀ. የትናንቶቹ ልጆች (ለወንዶች)

8. የሚከተሉት ዐረፍተ ነገሮች በእነርሱ እንዴት ሊገለጹ ይችላሉ?

ሀ. ያ ጊዜ ተመልሶ አይምጣ!

ለ. ይህን ነገር አላሰብኩትም ነበር።

ሐ. ወደዛ ሂድ!

መ. ወደዚህ ና!

ሠ. ወደላይ ውጣ!

ረ. ከዚህ ቤት ውጣ!

ሰ. ወደላይ ውጪ!

ሸ. ከዚህ ቤት ውጪ!

ቀ. ወደላይ ውጡ (ለሴቶች)!

ቤ. ወደላይ ውጡ (ለወንዶች)!

ተ. ከዚህ ቤት ውጡ (ለሴቶች)!

ቸ. ከዚህ ቤት ውጡ (ለወንዶች)!

ነ. ወደላይ ውጡ (ለወንዶችና ለሴቶች አንድ ላይ)!

ኘ. ከዚህ ቤት ውጡ (ለወንዶችና ለሴቶች አንድ ላይ)!

አ. ሳኔ ከኔ በስተቀኝ ነው።

ከ. ሳኔ ከሴቴ በስተቀኝ ነው።

9. ቀጥሎ የቀረቡት ዐረፍተ ነገሮች እንዴት ይገለጻሉ?

ሀ. ይህን አሁን የምነግርህን ነገር ለማንም አትነገር!

ለ. ያንን ትላንት የነገርኩህን ነገር እንዴት አደረከው?

ሐ. እሱን ትላንት የሰጠሁሽን እቃ በደንብ አስቀምጪ!

መ. ይህን አሁን የምነግርሽን ለአባትሽ እንዳትነግሪ!

10. ሀ. ትላንት አንዲት ቆንጆ ልጅ በመንገድ ላይ አገኘሁ።

ለ. ያቺ ልጅ የከበደ እህት ነች።

11. ሀ. ዛሬ ጠዋት የሆነ ልጅ መጥቶ ነበር።

ለ. እሱ ልጅ የከበደ ወንድም ነው።

12. ሀ. ይህን ልብስ እንደዚህ አድርገሽ ልበሺ!

ለ. ያንን በሬ እንደዚህ አድርገህ ግረፈው!

13. ሀ. ያንን ዛፍ እንደዚህ ቁረጠው!

ለ. አልማዝ ልጁን የመታችው እንደዚህ ፊቱ ላይ ነው።

14. ሀ. ይህ አገር ጤፍ አያበቅልም።

ለ. ይህን ጣቴን ቆረጥኩት።

ሐ. ትላንት ወደወልቂጤ ሄጄ ልብሴን እዛው ጥዬው መጣሁ።

15. ሀ. ይሄኛው ፍየል ከነዛኞቹ ይለያል።

ለ. በጉን ሸጠችው።

16. ከበደና አልማዝ ወደቤት ሲሄዱ እሷ ከፊት እሱ ከኋላ ሆነው ነበር።

17. ይህ አሁን የሚመጣው ልጅ ጎበዝ ነው።



18. በእድሜ ትልቅ የሆኑ ሰዎችን (አክብሮትን) በእዥኛ እንዴት ማሳየት ይቻላል?

ሀ. እሳቸው ያባቴ ጓደኛ ናቸው (ለወንድ)።

ለ. እሳቸው ጎረቤታችን ናቸው (ለሴት)።

19. ልጅ (ወንድ፣ ሴት)፣ ዝቅተኛ የኑሮ ደረጃ ያላቸው ሰዎች እንዴት ይገለጻሉ?

20. ያኛው በግ ከዚኛው በግ ይበልጣል። እነዚያኞቹ ትናንሾች ናቸው።

**ላደረጋችሁልኝ ቀና ትብብር በድጋሜ አመሰግናለሁ!**

