LOCATIONALS IN OROMO[1]

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This is a study of the locational structures of Oromo. A range of syntactic constructions types is considered within a single synchronic grammaticalization schema. Speaker choices of particular structures within discourse are also identified and explored. The primary data are drawn from the Guji dialect, with reference to data from other dialects that are attested in the literature. Most of the morphological marking that is found across these locationals is consistent in all Oromo speech communities, and, although there is some variation in some particular lexemes across the dialects, the inventories of locational lexemes are interlocking and nearly entirely overlapping.

In Oromo, a Lowland East Cushitic language of the Afro-asiatic family, there is a range of constructions that speakers use to locate things. This study explores the nature of these constructions, their relationships within Oromo grammar, grammaticalization principles that relate to them, and the correlation between the form of locational structures and the status of referents and information in discourse. An examination of locational structures in the Oromo dialects reveals grammaticalization within the synchronic system. The data illustrate how a speaker's choice of locational structures is driven by pragmatic considerations. Examining locational structures from the perspective of discourse establishes insights into the nature of Oromo grammar that are obscured if these constructions are only considered at a syntactic level. The data provide evidence that the degree to which information is shared between interlocutors within a discourse determines appropriate choices that allow for coherent interpretations of locational messages and show how pragmatic status functions to create grammaticality.

The terminology used for locational structures primarily follows that suggested by Talmy (1975:181-2).[2] The *figure* refers to the object that is located or is moving, and the *ground* the object or place with respect to which the figure is located or moving. The figure and ground are typically nominals. The *site* identifies the location of the figure with respect to the ground, and the *path* specifies the course through which the figure is moving in relationship to the ground.[3] In Oromo, the site or path may be expressed by a postposition, a relational noun in a genitival construction, an affix, a directional, a preposition or some combination of these.
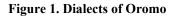
Five major regional dialects of Oromo in Ethiopia and three in Kenya are located in Figure 1. Boraana is the dialect of southeastern Ethiopia and northeastern Kenya. Guji is spoken in the region of Ethiopia northwest of the Boraana. Harar (known also as Ittu) is the dialect of the most northeastern Oromo area of Ethiopia. Tulema (also identified as Shoa) is spoken in the central area surrounding Finfinnee (renamed *Addis Ababa* 'new flower' when the Amhara seized control of the area). Wollegga (sometimes called Macha) is the westernmost variety. Gabra, Orma, and Waata are spoken in Kenya.
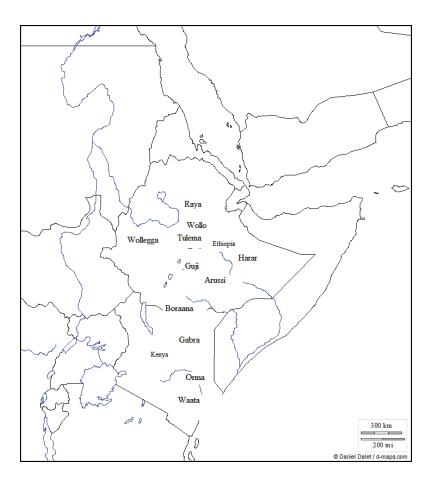
In this study examples of the various types of locational structures are provided, common formal markings found on the different types of constructions are identified, and grammaticalization principles that apply to specific examples and structures are discussed. Finally, the effect of the status of information in the discourse on the choice and form of locational structures is examined. The primary data are from the Guji dialect of Oromo. The data are drawn from the Lowland Guji narrative in Yaachis and Clamons (2009), which is a transcript of a videotaped 'near death' account, and also from data constructed by Mi'eessaa Yaachis, a Lowland Guji speaker, on the basis of native intuitions. Mekonnen Abakore, a Highland Guji, has verified the data from the narrative and the constructed conversation data. Although he is Highland Guji, rather than a Lowland Guji, no differences were found in his intuitions about the locational constructions considered here.

Information about locational structures in the other dialects of Oromo is included when it is attested in the literature. Stroomer (1995) provides descriptions of Boraana Oromo, Ali and Zaborski (1990) and Owens (1982, 1985) describe Harar Oromo, Moreno (1939) and Bender, Eteffa and Stinson (1976) report on Tulema Oromo, and Gragg (1976, 1982) and Griefenow-Mewis and Bitima (1994) and Griefenow-Mewis (2001) portray Wolleggan Oromo. Stroomer (1987) documents Gabra, Orma and Waata Oromo of Kenya.

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[2] This terminology varies among researchers. For example, Svorou (2002) uses *trajectory* to refer to the entity to be located, *landmark* to refer to the entity with respect to which it is being located, and *relator* to indicate the relation between them. Talmy himself states (1978: 628 fn 1) that he is not committed to the terms *figure* and *ground*, and he offers *variable element* and *reference element* as possible alternatives.

[3] We use two separate terms for *site* and *path* because this difference is overtly marked in our Oromo data. Talmy uses *path* for both and (1978:641) an additional notion, *State-of-Motion,* to make this distinction.

Figure 1. Dialects of Oromo

1. Locationals

There are five syntactic locational construction types that function to locate objects in Oromo: postpositions, relational nouns in genitival constructions, affixes, directionals, and the preposition *gara*. Several of the construction types in Oromo illustrate the grammaticalization cline introduced by Lehmann (1995(1982): 25), which he describes as "…a theoretical construct along which functionally similar [sign] types are ordered according to their degree of grammaticality as measured by certain parameters . . ." and suggests the ordering:

relational noun > ... > adposition > … affix

The 'positions' on this cline are not discrete, but represent conventional categories across which the grammatical structures may be ordered, based on certain paradigmatic and syntagmatic parameters. The constructions on the left are most lexical, least grammaticalized; those on the right are most grammaticalized, least lexical. Lehmann's grammaticalization cline and the parameters suggested in Lehmann (1985) and the principles in Hopper (1991) illuminate how certain Oromo locational constructions can be evaluated as more or less grammaticalized and how the relationships that pertain between various construction types may be assessed. For instance, one of the principles introduced in Hopper (1991) is layering. He proposes that "[w]ithin a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers." (1991:22) Scholars working on grammaticalization phenomena often consider language diachronically. Although some lexical origins are noted, this study focuses on the synchronic structure and the grammatical relationships between different construction types across the cline. The data from Oromo, with its five locational construction types, provides illustrations of layering as it is emerging in the current Oromo grammar, without reference to historical processes.

1.1 Postpositions. In Guji, as well as in all other attested dialects of Oromo, there is a set of postpositions that mark the site in locational structures. The members of this set of locationals always follow the nominal construction that instantiates the figure. In the example in (1), the postposition *jala* 'under' is the site, and *ifi* 'myself' is the ground where the figure, *ani* 'I', did not look. [4]

(1)   ani   waan ifi   <u>jala</u>   hin   laalatinii-   f …[5]
       I+ni   since myself under   not   look   self …
       'Since I didn't look under myself…'   (20)

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[4] The data examples drawn from the narrative in the Appendix in Yaachis and Clamons (2009: 182-192) are indexed in this paper parenthetically to the right of the examples. The data throughout are represented phonemically, following the conventions: Long vowels and consonants are represented with double letters or digraphs, the intermediate length vowel with an acute accent, the dental ejective with *x,* the retroflex implosive is represented with *dh*, the alveopalatal fricative with *sh,* the alveopalatal affricate with *c*, the alveopalatal affricate ejective with *ch*, the velar ejective with *q*, and the palatal nasal with *ny*. Other abbreviations: PATH path, SUB subject, OBJ object, SEP separator, TOP topic, INDEF indefinite, GEN genitive, S singular, PL plural, 1-2-3 first-second-third person.

[5] The final *–f* is glossed as 'self' on the basis of contextual intuition. Gragg (1976:183, 194) analyses *-f* as a dative case marker, and Stroomer (1995:112-113) as a benefactive on the verb. Bender, Eteffa, and Stinson (1976:140) identify this *–f* more generally as a particle with multiple functions that is found on nouns and verbs. Further study of *–f* is indicated.

In the next example in (2), the postposition *keessa* 'in' provides the site and *loon* 'cattle' names the ground where the figure, *nuuti…* 'we…', is located.

(2)   nuuti … ani ijoollee obboleeyyan tiyyaa woliin
        we   … I+ni children siblings   my   together

        loon <u>keessa</u> kama tissiisatti   jirru…
        cattle in   while pasturing   were

        '….while the children, me and my brothers and sisters, were pasturing the cattle…'(11)

The postpositions of Guji are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Postpostions of Guji Oromo

ala	outside of, abroad	*gama*	opposite from, on/to the other side
bira	with, close to, near, at, beside	*gubbaa*	above, on, on top of
bukkee	near, beside	*gula*	after, with, afterwards, behind
dura	before, in front of, against	*haga*	until, up to
duuba	behind, after	*jala*	under, from under
duudii	until	*keessa*	in, inside, among
faana	after	*male(e)*	except, without
fuuldura	before, in front of	*woliin*	together, with

The postpositions listed here are also attested in the other dialects with the following exceptions: *duudii* and *faana* are not attested as postpositions in dialects other than Guji, although *faana* occurs as 'track' or footprint' in Harar and Boraana; *gula* and *haga* are not attested in Wollegga or Tulema; *jala* is not attested in Orma and Waata.   The compound *fuuldura* is also found in Wollegga, but is not attested in the other dialects, but *dura* and *fuula* 'front' are. In Boraana, *duduuba* is the lexeme for 'behind'.   Not found in Guji, but attested in Harar, Tulema, and Wollegga is *booda* 'after', in Harar and in Wollegga is *teella* 'after, behind', and in Wollegga is *duukaa* 'after'.   The reciprocal form *woliin* 'together' is also found in Guji and Boraana as a postposition, 'between' and is attested in the Harar and Wollegga as *wajjiin*. *Bukkee* is attested only in Wollegga and Guji. Although historical work on the dialects has yet to be done, these few variations found in the inventory of postpositions across the different groups of the Oromo speech community may reflect emerging grammaticality as contact with other speech communities and creative language activity shape the grammar of the language uniquely in the various regional communities.

1.1.1 Path Marking on Postpositions. Postpositions that indicate movement along a path are marked with a long final vowel. For example, *jala-a* 'from under', that represents the path of 'escape from' in the example in (3), has a long final *a*, while in example (1), *jala* 'under', that represents the site, has only a short vowel.

(3)   Tanaaf… makaraa adda addaa waan hedduu jala-a   baana.
       therefore hardship front front since many   under PATH escape
       'Therefore….. we escape…. many different kinds of hardship.'   (29)

Similarly, *keessa-a* 'into' in (4), representing the path through which 'I' dropped, is marked with a final long vowel, while *keessa*, denoting the site in example (2) has a short final vowel.

(4)   Tanaaf… utaalee   obbaa   keessa-a bu'e.
       therefore   jump   reeds   into.PATH dropped
       'Therefore... I dropped into the reeds.'   (17)

The more metaphorical path by which sight cannot be gained in example (5) is also marked *keessa-a* with a long vowel.

(5)   Obbaan   kun   daggala   marraa   gudda'aa,
       reeds   this   bulrushes grass   high
       nami   keessa-a hin   mudhdhatu.
       person+ni in PATH   not   be.seen
       'These reeds, the bulrushes are so high you can't be seen.'   (18)

Griefenow-Mewis and Bitima (1994:128-129) analyze this lengthening on locationals as 'von, aus, or heraus (from, out, or out of)', but our data suggests a less specific, more contextualized path. Owens (1985:116-17, 127) analyzes this lengthening as dative case form. Stroomer (1995:99) describes it as a 'linker clitic' denoting ablative. Although lengthening of a final vowel is found across multiple construction types with a number of distinct functions in Oromo, as analyzed extensively in Stroomer (1995:94-118), what is of note here is that it indicates motion across a contextually determined path type in all of the locational construction types, across the cline.

1.2 Relational Nouns in Genitival Constructions.   Relational nouns in genitival constructions also function to identify site in Guji. This is a common strategy across languages. Heine and Reh (1984:101) find that "[m]ost, if not all, African languages use the transfer strategy to express prepositional concepts by means of genitive constructions." In the

example from the Guji given in (6), the figure, *loon* 'cattle', can be sought at the site, *afaafa* 'edge', of the ground, *laga-a* 'valley, river, stream, water'.

(6)   A: loon   eessa jiran?
            cows   where are
            'Where are the cows?'

      B: <u>afaafa</u>   <u>laga-a</u>   barbaadi!
            Edge   water.GEN   search
            'Search by the edge of the water!'

In example (7), 'he', understood from the verb, is the figure, *horaa* 'salt lake' is the ground and *karaa* 'way, road' is the site.

(7)   yo   worra galu,   <u>karaa</u> <u>hora-a</u>   gale.
          when   group returning way   salt-lick.lake.GEN returned
          'When he was returning home, he returned by way of the salt-lick lake.'

1.2.1 Path Marking on Relational Nouns in Genitival Constructions. The final long vowel to indicate path, as on postpositions, as well as on locational affixes and directionals discussed below, is vacuous in genitival constructions with relational nouns because the final vowel in the genitive form is already long. Although path is marked, because the genitive marking is coexistant with path marking, the actual manifestation of both equates with that of either.

1.3 Locational Affixes. Two affixes, *-tti* 'at, in' and *–rra* 'on, above, over', also serve to identify sites in locational structures. In the following example, *-tti* 'in' functions as the site where the figure, *ulee* 'stick', was in the ground, *harka* 'hand'.

(8)   ka   ulee dheertuu takka harka-   <u>tti</u> qabatee
        who   stick long   INDEF hand   in had
        '…who had a long stick in his hand…'   (11)

In example (9), *-rra* functions as the site where the figure, *simbirreen* 'birds', circle over the ground, *mana* 'house'.

(9)   simbirree- n   mana-   <u>rra</u>   marti
        Birds   SUB TOP   house   above circle
        'Birds circle above the house.'

In Guji, these locationals always occur as affixes, although speakers can identify them as representative of the full forms, *itti* and *irra*, and will cite these as full forms in isolation. In other dialects of Oromo the locationals may appear as full forms. Gragg (1982:227) identifies the full form as a postposition, but indicates that it is usually enclitic. Owens (1985:115) claims that the affix has been derived from the postposition in Harar. In Guji, as well as other Oromo dialects, there are verb particle constructions created with the full forms *itti* and *irra*, as in (10)-(13). Heine and Reh (1984:135-43) point out that verbal derivative extensions are grammaticalized from adpositions and that derivatives such as these in Oromo tend to be on the opposite end from inflections, as they are here.

(10) <u>itti</u>   qaba.
       at/in   have
       'I hit it.' (Lit. 'I have at (it).')

(11) <u>itti</u>   bara.
       at/in   learn
       'I practice.' (Lit. 'I learn at (it).')

(12) <u>irra</u>   jira.
       on/above   is
       'It is bigger.', 'It is newer.' (Lit. 'It is on/above (it).')

(13) <u>irra-a</u>   chab-e.
       off.PATH   broke 1.S
       'I broke away from it.' (Lit. 'I broke off from (it).')

According to Lehmann (1985:306-7), the more grammaticalized a sign is, the less autonomous it is. The less phonological size a sign has, the more bonded it is, the more obligatory it is, and the less able it is to fill a different slot in a construction, i.e., the less autonomous it is. These Oromo data reflect two of the principles of grammaticalization introduced in Hopper (1991): divergence and persistence. By these criteria, *-tti* and *–rra* are more grammaticalized than the postpositions. According to Hopper (1991:22), divergence can be seen when a lexical form is grammaticalized as a clitic or affix and "…the original lexical form [remains] as an autonomous element." The coexistence of the Guji the locational affixes *-tti* and also *-rra* and also the full forms *itti* and *irra*, as shown in the examples above, illustrate this principle of divergence. This reflects the more grammaticalized affix forms as they are related to the full lexical forms which are nevertheless still present in the grammar. Hopper (1991:22) indicates that persistence is demonstrated in a form that is more grammaticalized than a corresponding lexical form when "…some traces of its original lexical meanings … adhere to it." The Guji locational affixes *-tti* and *-rra* carry meanings related to

those of the full forms *itti* and *irra*, as shown in the examples above, and thus illustrate this principle of persistence. Although the affixes are more grammaticalized, both the reduced and full forms share lexical semantic values.

1.3.1 Path Marking on Locational Affixes. As is the case with postpositions, the locational affix *–rra* may also be marked as path by the length of the final vowel, as illustrated in example (14), as opposed to the example in (9).

(14) … ifi   <u>-rra-a</u>   buqqifatiisa hin   dandeennee
      …myself   out.from PATH pull   not   could
      '… I could not… pull (the thorns) out of myself…'   (21)

We have found no instances of lengthening on the *–tti* affix, making it a true exception.

1.4 Directionals. The directionals *gadi* 'down' and *ol* 'up' also locate the site in locational constructions. In the following exchange in (15), the 'donkey' is located 'down the mountain'.

(15) A: Haree-n   eessa jirti?
          where   is
          'Where's the donkey?'

      B: Gaaraa- n[6] <u>gadi</u> jirti.
          mountain *n* down is
          'It's down the mountain.'

   In (16), *ol* and *gadi* establish the location where the figure, *harree* 'donkey' is found ascending and descending on the ground, *gaara* 'mountain'.

(16) Haree-n   gaara   <u>ol</u> baate, gara   kaaniin <u>gadi</u> buut-e.
      donkey SUB TOP mountain up ascend toward that.other down descended
      'The donkey plodded up the mountain and went down the other side.'

   Owens (1985:60) and Gragg (1982:159) identify *gadi* and *oli/ol* as adverbs in Harar and Wollega. Griefenow-Mewis and Bitima (1994:95-96) and Griefenow-Mewis (2001:52) treat them as postpositions in Wollega. Although they may both occur in conjunction directly before the verb, we consider them separately from postpositions, because they are otherwise

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[6] When the *-n*, discussed in Yaachis and Clamons (2009) and in section 3.1 below, is attached to any stem, the final vowel is always lengthened.

inseparable from the verb. In examples (17) and (18), the impossibility of moving the adverb between *ol* and the verb is illustrated.

(17) Haree- n   suutaan   gaara   <u>ol</u> baate.
      donkey SUB.TOP slowly   mountain   up ascend
      'The donkey plodded slowly up the mountain'

(18) *Haree-n gaara <u>ol</u> suutaan   baate.

   A postposition may, on the other hand, be separated from the verb, as illustrated in (19).

(19) Haree- n   moonaa   <u>keessa</u>   suutaan   seente.
      donkey SUB.TOP kraal   in   slowly   entered
      'The donkey slowly entered the kraal.'

As with *itti* and *irra*, directionals operate as verb particles, with particular semantic values when in combination with certain verbs across dialects, as illustrated in examples (20)-(23).

(20) Inni   <u>gadi</u>   fulla'e.
      he   down   appeared
      'He appeared all of a sudden.' (Lit. 'He appeared down.')

(21) <u>Gadi</u>   chadiisi!
      down   quiet
      'Shut up!' or 'Settle down!' (Lit. 'Quiet down!')

(22) <u>Ol</u> te'a.
      up be.1S
      'I am more than.' (Lit. 'I am up.')

(23) <u>Ol</u> qaba.
      up have.1.S
      'I glorify/exaggerate something.' (Lit. 'I have up.')

As with the locational affixes, these particles reflect persistence, since the directional displays a semantic value very similar to that of the particles in these particle verb constructions.

1.4.1 Path Marking on Directionals. As with postpositions and locational affixes, *gadi* may be marked with a long vowel that identifies motion along a path, rather than a static locational site, as illustrated in (24), in contrast with the example in (15).

(24) Inni   <u>gadi-i</u>   fulla'e.
     he   from.below PATH appeared
     'He appeared from down below.'

1.5 Preposition *gara*. Guji, like all other Oromo dialects, has the preposition *gara* 'to, toward'.[7] The following examples illustrate the use of *gara*.

(25) <u>gara</u>   mana barumsa-a   deeme
     toward house teaching PATH   came
     'He came to the school.'

(26) Achii-n   duuba   fuudhanii   <u>gara</u> hori-'ii   na deebisanii…
     there+n   behind   they.took   to   cattle PATH me.return
     'Afterwards they took and returned me to the cows…'   (28)

(27) …isaan   biraa   utaalee   dhokatiisaaf <u>gara</u>   laga   bisaan-ii,
     Them   from   jumped   hide.for.to   toward   gully   water PATH
     'I jumped away from them to hide, [toward a gully of water]…'   (17)

This preposition is also used to locate an approximate point in time, as illustrated in (28).

(28) Mani   barumsaa   sun…<u>gara</u>   saatii   afur-ii   fudhata.
     house+*ni* teaching   that about hours   four PATH   take
     'That school is about four hours away...'   (2)

It is extremely rare for a verb-final language such as Oromo with its typologically expected postpositions to also have prepositions, even a very few prepositions.[8] Owens

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[7] *Akka* 'like' also is prepositional in Guji, but since it is not locational we do not discuss it here. In other dialects, *hamma* 'until' and others are also attested as prepositions (Gragg 1982: 226, Ali and Zaborski 1990:18) but are not used in Guji.

[8] Baker and Kramer (2010:2) note that "OV + prepositions is the rarest kind of mixed word order, found in only 10 of 1033 languages surveyed in WALS [the World Atlas of Language Structures]." The language samples considered by Heimstead (1992) and Svorou (1994, 2002) do not include any instances of a language utilizing both postpositions and prepositions in locational structures.

(1982:60-62, 1985:128) analyzes *gara* as a noun, not a preposition, and Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 51) proposes that it be treated as a noun. Bender, Eteffa, and Stinson (1976:139) do suggest that *gara* is probably derived from a noun and Gragg (1976:184) claims that prepositions in Oromo are derived from nominals. But *gara* only appears in locational constructions, never as a noun in subject or object phrases in Guji. It is identified a 'place, side, direction' in Boraana (Stroomer 1995:178) and in Kenyan Boraana, Orma, and Waata (Stroomer 1987: 311). It appears to be chosen on the basis of pragmatic status in Waata, as discussed in section 3.2 below.

Movement is an inherent semantic value of all constuctions with *gara*. Prepositional phrases with *gara* therefore always have a long final vowel. This suggests that path marking is phrase final, rather than lexeme final in all constructions. This phrase final marking is consistent with other suffixes in Oromo, as identified in Owens (1980:155 ff) for oblique case suffixes and also in Clamons, Mulkern, and Sanders (1991, 1993) for the case marking on non-topical subjects. Owens (1985:128) argues that Harar Oromo has no prepositions, but that those lexemes that look like prepositions are nominals in a genitival construction. He analyzes the phrase final marking as genitive, while it is analyzed as path marking here.

2 Combinations of Locationals

In Oromo, as is common in other languages, locationals are frequently used in combination, thus providing a more complex description of path and site. Postpositions and affixes are combined as in the examples in (29) and (30).

(29)   …nulle   eegee <u>duuba'rra</u>   miilumaan   baaddiyaa   keessa worra-tti galle.
        …we.also tail   behind [from] by.foot   country   through family to left
        'finally we also left the school and went behind on foot through the countryside to our
        family.'   (9)

(30)   …jia   lamaa fi   sadi   <u>keessa-tti</u> dhufanii   achitti   na ilaalan.
        …moon   two   and three between.in come   there   me see3PL
        '…they came to see me there every two or three months.'   (3)

   Without the affix, the meaning changes slightly, as in (31).

(31)   …jia   lamaa fi   sadi   <u>keessa</u> dhufanii   achitti   na   ilaalan.
        …moon   two and   three   in   come   there   me   see3PL
        '…they came to see me there within two or three months.'

Gragg (1976: 184) and Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 51) analyze these as (parapositions).

A directional and an affix may also be combined, as in (32).

(32) Inni   muka- <u>rra-a</u>   <u>gadi</u> bu'e.
    he   tree   from PATH   down dropped
    'He dropped down from the tree.'

Multiple directionals can be used to indicate path and orientation as in (33).

(33) Inni   gadi-i   ol yaabe.
    he   down PATH   up climbed
    'He climbed down from above.'

The preposition *gara* occurs with postpositions, as in (34), an example from Yaachis (n.d.: Mark 1:19), as well as with directionals, as in (35).

(34) ….akkuma   tiyyoo   <u>gara</u>   <u>dura</u> -a   demeen…
      just as   little   towards   in front PATH having gone
    '…having gone a little further thence….'

(35) …<u>gara</u>   laga   kaanii <u>gadi</u> caafamee
    toward   gully   that   down turn
    '…I turned down towards that gully…'   (17)

The preposition may also co-occur with a locational affix, as in (36) and (37). Gragg (1976:184) analyzes this combination as a paraposition in Wollegga Oromo, while Griefenow-Mewis and Bitima (1994:96) analyze *gara…-tti* 'nach (to, the direction to)' as a circumfix.

(36) …isaan   baqatanii <u>gara</u>   badda'aa gosa   dhibii- <u>rra-a</u>
    they   fled   to   forest   area   other   from PATH
    fagaatanii qubatanii jiran…
    far.away   settled   were
    '… they had fled to the highland area far away from the others and settled…'   (9)

(37) …<u>gara</u> teessoo   teennaa-<u>tti</u>…
    in   area   our.in
    '…in that village of ours…'   (5)

2.1. Locationals in idiomatic expressions. Locationals are also found in combination with other elements in idiomatic expressions, as with *irra* and the quantifier in example in (38) and the reduplicated preposition *gara* in (39).

(38)   …yennaa lolaa tana   keessa   <u>irra</u>   <u>caalaa</u>   bidhdhaan...
         during   war   this   in   above   all   suspicion
         '…during this war, very often there was a different kind of suspicion…'   (10)

(39)   …lola <u>gara garaa</u>,   bineensa   <u>gara garaa</u>….
         war   different.kind   wild animals   different.kind
         '…different kinds of war and different kinds of wild animals…'   (29)

This occurrence of these in frozen reflexes again reflects the principle of layering, with both layers coexisting in the grammar. Gragg (1982:167) provides examples for Wollegan Oromo with reduplicates of *gara* as in the examples in (40) and (41).

(40)   *garaagara* as adverbial 'apart'

(41)   *garaagara ta'a* as verbal 'be separated'

This illustrates the principle of persistence, with the semantic value of movement, in these cases 'away from,' incorporated in the semantics of the idiom.

3 Discourse and the Forms of Locationals

Lehmann (1985:314) asserts that "…the linguistic system [is]…created by language activity." Oromo data from Guji illustrate how the status of information in a discourse determines the form, ordering, and privilege of occurrence of elements in locational structures. Locationals are eligible for the phonopragmatic marker *n(V)* that appears phrase-finally on constructions that signal that referents or information are accessible to interlocutors within the domain of a discourse. Also in Guji Oromo, relational nouns in genitival constructions that mark a site or path that can be identified by both speaker and addressee are postnominal, and in this position, they have the grammatical status of postpositions.

3.1 Pragmatic *n* marking on Locationals. Yaachis and Clamons (2009) identify a phonopragmatic marker, *n(V)*, that is found finally across a range of morphological, syntactic, and semantic expressions and reliably signals accessibility of referents or information. Eligible elements of subject noun phrases that establish referents that are at least familiar to the speaker and addressee, pronominal forms for specific referents, spatiotemporal forms that index times and locations that can be identified by interlocutors within a domain of discourse, complementizers that signify recoverable logical relations, and topical arguments are

consistently marked as *n(V)* on the right edge of expressions. The *n(V)* marking on these constructions, with some formal variation, is found across the dialects of Oromo. Example (1), repeated here as (42), exhibits the *n(V)* on *ani,* which is a topic subject, uniquely identifiable to speaker and audience and on *waan*, which follows the accessible information in the sentence.

(42) a<u>ni</u> waa<u>n</u>   ifi   jala   hin   laalatinii- f …
      I+ni since   myself under   not   look   self …
      'Since I didn't look under myself…'   (20)

In Guji Oromo, this pragmeme is also found on the right edge of all types of locational constructions and indexes an anaphor or an identifiable location. Introduced in Yaachis and Clamons (2009) is the notion of a pragmeme as a most simple phonic sign found systematically across syntactic and morphological structures to reliably indicate pragmatic status of referents and information status. This differs from the notion of pragmeme as a matrix of features that Mey (2001:222) uses to characterize both the activity and context of speech. The marking of a locationals with this *n* pragmeme is illustrated in the following examples. The example in (43) represents the meaning of *bira* 'by, near, with' as the site of the ground *isa* 'him', which locates the speaker 'at his home' for the addressee.

(43) isa bira   jira.
       him with   be 1S
       'I am at his home.' (Lit. 'I am with him.')

In the following examples in (44) and (45), there is an *n* marker on the pronouns that represent the ground. Yaachis and Clamons (2009:16:(28)-(29)) point out that this is appropriate for "…referents that are in focus, that is, that are in the central awareness of the interlocutors…" as in these two examples.

(44) isaa-n   bira   jira.
      him <u>TOP</u>   with   be 1S
      'I am with <u>him.</u>'

(45) isaan-<u>iin</u> bira   jira.
      them <u>TOP</u> with   be 1S
      'I am with <u>them</u>.'

Yaachis and Clamons (2009:172) also point out that '… the instrumental object form for an in-focus referent may be an anaphoric *–n* that appears as a clitic on the right edge of the adposition…', as it appears on the postposition *bira* in example (46).

(46) isa   biraa- <u>n</u>   jira.
     him   with   <u>it</u>   be 1S
     'I am with him <u>with it</u>.'
     'I am with him <u>doing it</u>.'

    Hopper and Traugott (1993:2) maintain that "…grammaticalization is primarily a syntactic, discourse pragmatic phenomenon, to be studied from the point of view of fluid patterns of language use." This is illustrated in this example. The *n* pragmeme on referring expressions, spatiotemporal forms, and complementizers across the dialects of Oromo, and on locational constructions in Guji, signals that some referent or information is shared by the interlocutors because it is in the immediate domain, has been mentioned in the domain of the discourse, or is inferable from the immediate or discourse context. Example (46) may carry either the meaning 'I am with him with it.' or the meaning 'I am with him doing it.' The difference in the readings depends on what information is shared by the interlocutors at this point in the discourse. In the first case, the addressee is assumed to be able to retrieve into consciousness what it is that 'I have with me'; in the second, the addressee is assumed to know 'what I am doing'.

    This is further demonstrated in the following examples. In (47), the *n* marker indicates an accessible site. In (48), the *n* on the postposition indicates the accessible site, 'up to them', and the *n* marker on the verb signals an object that can be uniquely identified by both speaker and addressee.

(47) Isaan biraa- <u>n</u>   baye.
     them   near   <u>up.to</u>   get to
     'I caught up to them.'

(48) Isaan biraa- <u>n</u>   bayee- <u>n</u>.
     them   near   <u>up.to</u>   get to <u>obj</u>
     'I caught up to them with it.'

    Example (49) also illustrates the use of multiple *n*'s to signal both locational and referential information that can be retrieved by the interlocutors.

(49) Daa'ima fayyaa hin   qanne baadhee   isaan biraa- <u>n</u>   bayee   <u>-n</u>.
     child   well   not   have   carrying   them   near   <u>up.to</u>   caught1S <u>with.it</u>
     'I was carrying a sick child and caught <u>up to</u> them <u>with it</u>.'

    Directionals may also be marked with *n* to signal the pragmatic status of referents and information. The following exchanges demonstrate how knowledge that is either elicited from an addressee by the speaker, or contrariwise is assumed to be already shared at this point

in the discourse, conditions the presence or absence of this phonopragmatic marking on responses. In the first exchange, in (50) speaker A implies only the knowledge of a referent 'he', that is shared with addressee B, has 'veered off', and requests information about the location. Therefore in the response, the site, *natta gadi* 'down towards me', has no pragmatic marking.

(50) A: Eessa gore?
    where veered 3S
    'Where did he veer off?'

  B: Inni karaa san dhufee natta gadi gore.
    he road that came me.to down veered 3S
    'He veered that way and veered down towards me.'

In this next exchange, in (51), A seeks more information about where exactly 'he' veered off, but includes the explicit anaphoric object marker, *n*, on the question word, signifying that both interlocutors have knowledge that 'he' has 'it', whatever it may be. B therefore marks *natta,* the site, with *n*, anaphoric for 'it'.

(51) A: Eessaa-<u>n</u> gadi gore?
    where it down veered
    'Where did he veer off with it?'

  B: Inni karaa san dhufee nattaa-<u>n</u> gadi gore.
    he road that came me.to OBJ down veer
    'He came down the road towards me with it.'

In the following exchange, in (52), the anaphoric *n* for the object that is assumed by speaker A to be identifiable by the addressee is marked on *gadi* in the question. Thus the anaphoric object is marked on the directional in B's answer.

(52) A: Eessa gadii-<u>n</u> gore?
    where down it veered
    'Where did he turn off with it?'

  B: Inni karaa san dhufee natta gadii-<u>n</u> gore.
    he road that came me.to down it veered3S
    'He veered off down that road towards me with it.'

In this final exchange, in (53), speaker A signals, by the *n* on *essa,* the awareness that 'he' veered off with 'it', but is requesting more specific information about the site. B provides this with *natta gadii-n*, and includes the implicitly shared information that 'he' has 'it' with him, a referent identifiable by both A and B, now marked on the verb.

(53)   A: Inni   essaa-<u>n</u>   gore?
             he   where to   veered3S
             'Where did he veer off to with it?'

       B: Inni karaa san   dhufee   natta gadii-<u>n</u>   gore-   en.
             he   road that   came   me.to down to   veered3S   OBJ
             'He veered down that road towards me with it.'

The final *n* is also found on the temporal constructions in (54) and (55). In both of these examples the narrator has also established time frames against which these temporal sites can be located and signals this to the audience with the final *n* pragmeme.

(54)   Ani   ammoo   <u>gara</u> bulii sadii-afurii   -tii   <u>-n</u> dura-<u>tti</u>, …
       I+*ni*   but   before night three-four.PATH [SEP]   *n*   first.in
       'But I had, just three or four nights before, …'   (16)

(55)   …<u>gara</u> saati   lamaa   -tii   <u>-n</u> duubatti
            for   hour   two.after PATH   [SEP] *n*   said
       '… about two hours after …I said'   (23)

Griefenow-Mewis and Bitima (1994:96) analyze *gara…-tii-n* as 'von…her, aus der richtung (from hence, from out of the direction)' as a circumfix in Wollegga Oromo, where the interlocutors can mutually identify the source location from which the movement is initiated.
    Although there is no attested data showing the final *n* on locational constructions with this anaphoric reading in other dialects of Oromo, it is found anaphorically on the verb in Harar, illustrated in the data in (56) from a story.[9]

(56)   Intal-aa   magaalaa   dhufe. Tokko arka   -<u>n.</u>
       girl SUB   market PATH came   one M sees   OBJ
       'The girl leaves the market. A man sees her.'

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[9] For this Harar Oromo story we are grateful to Roukiya Saad and Amal Osman.

The examples in this section illustrate how the phonopragmatic *n* marker is used by interlocutors with locational structures in Guji to signal what the status of a referent or site is assumed to be, just as it is used across dialects in the other construction types that are discussed in Yaachis and Clamons (2009). In various contexts, the *n* signals different semantic and grammatical values, but consistently identifies information that is assumed to be accessible to the interlocutors at the point in the discourse that *n* is selected. Yaachis and Clamons (2009:17) point out that this marker is often a portmanteau form, carrying a complex of morphological, syntactic, or semantic information in addition to the indexical meaning it signifies in the domain of discourse. In (42), for example, the *ani* form of the first person personal pronoun signals both the grammatical subject and the uniquely identifiable status of the referent. In (48) the *n* carries the grammatical value of instrumental as well as an anaphoric value. Although this pragmeme carries different information, depending on the grammatical context, it always identifies referents or information that a speaker assumes can be retrieved by the addressee at the point of the discourse where it is used.

3.2 Relational Nouns as Postpositions. As pointed out in section 1.2 above, it is common in African languages for locations to be designated with noun noun genitival constructions. However, in Oromo a subset of relational nouns that signify sites in genitival constructions also are found as postpositions when the site is accessible for all interlocutors at that point in the discourse. The discussion provided below illustrates the genitival construction with the site, *afaafa* 'edge', and the ground, *laga* 'valley, river, stream, water'. In the following example, (57) that repeats example (6) in section 1.2 above, *afaafa* 'edge' is a relational noun in a genitival construction with *laga-a* 'of the water'.

(57) A: loon   eessa jiran?
          cattle where are
          'Where are the cows?'

      B: <u>afaafa</u>   <u>laga-a</u>   barbaadi!
          edge   water GEN   search
          'Search by the edge of the water.'

Hopper and Traugott (1993:67) identify communicative negotiations as one of the factors that drive grammaticalization, and Traugott (2005:634) argues that pragmatic strengthening arises from the cognitive and communicative realities of speaker-hearer interactions. In example (58), a second exchange between A and B illustrates how the more grammaticalized postposition for the site *afaafa* 'edge' is chosen once the ground, *laga* 'valley, river, stream, water' is established for both interlocutors in the domain of the discourse.

(58) A1: loon harkaa   na badan.
        cows hand   me lost
        'I lost the cows.'

    B1: laga   kana   keessa barbaadi!
        valley this   in   search
        'Search in this valley!'

    A2: laga   kana   eessa middee?
        valley this   where exactly
        'Where exactly in the valley?'

    B2: <u>laga</u>   <u>afaafa</u> barbaadi!
        water   near   search
        'Search near the water!'

In the first exchange, in (57), speaker B cannot assume that speaker A knows to look in the 'valley', and appropriately chooses the genitival construction. In the second exchange, in (58), the 'valley, river, stream, water' has already been established as the site for both interlocutors and the use of *afaafa* as a postposition is thus appropriate.

Similarly, in the first exchange below in (59), *jidduu* 'middle' is used in a gentival construction to indicate the site where the dog can be found.

(59) A: saree-n   eessaa jira?
      dog SUB TOP   where is
      'Where is the dog?'

    B: <u>jidduu</u> <u>mana-a</u>   jira.
      middle   houses GEN   is
      'It is in the middle of the houses.'

In the following exchange in (60), however, where the site and ground are both introduced in the question, and therefore are immediately identified by A for both speaker and addressee at this point in the discourse, *jidduu* 'between' occurs as a postposition.

(60) A: maanti   <u>mana</u> <u>jidduu</u>   jira?
      what   houses between   is
      'What is between the houses?'

B: sarree-n   <u>mana</u> <u>jidduu</u>   jira
    dog SUB TOP houses between   is
    'The dog is between the houses.'

In example (61), *wodhakkaa* 'in the center of, in the middle of' precedes *Oromo'ootii* 'of the Oromo', *Guji'iitii* 'of the Guji', and *Somale'ee* 'of the Somali' in noun noun genitival constructions, but is postpositional 'between' following the clarification of *Digoodi'ii* and *Maryana* as 'people who are called Digoodi or Maryaana', referents that have thus been made identifiable for the audience at this point in the narrative.

(61) Gizee   hedduu   ammoo   <u>wodhakkaa</u>   <u>Oromo'ootii</u> <u>fi</u>   <u>yokiin</u>
      Time AMH   many   but   between   Oromo   and   or
      <u>Guji'iitii</u> fi <u>wodhakkaa</u>   <u>Somale'ee</u> yokiin<u>Digoodi'ii,</u>   <u>Maryaana</u>   worra
      Guji   and between   Somali   or   Digoodi   Maryaana   people
      jedhanu   kana   <u>wodhakkaa</u>   lolá   -tti   ka'a.
      called   this   between   fight   SUBJ EMPH   get.up
      'Often between Oromo and or Guji and Somali or those people who are called
      Digoodi or Maryaana, a war breaks out.'   (7)

The relational nouns of Guji that can also occur as postpositions are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Relational Nouns / Postpositions of Guji Oromo

afaafa	N: edge	*irga*	N: gum (of mouth)
	PP: at the edge, near		PP: at the edge, near
afaan	N: mouth	*jidduu*	N: middle
	PP: at the edge or mouth, near		PP: between, in the middle of, among
bitaa	N: left hand	*midda*	N: right hand
	PP: left of		PP: right of
cinaa	N: side pack for donkey	*moggaa*	N: side
	PP: next to, on the side of		PP: beside
dhikoo /dhiyoo	N: side	*qarqara*	N: edge
	PP: near, close by		PP: at the edge, near
eegee	N: tail	*wodhakka*	N: center, middle
	PP: after, behind		PP: together, between

   Critically, although many other relational nouns can occur in genitival constructions, only certain nouns may also occur as postpositions. For example *karaa* 'way, road' in example (7) in section 1.2, cannot occur as a postposition. Eligible relational nouns in Guji Oromo that identify the site in the noun noun genitive constructions are homophonous with the corresponding postpositions and carry a similar conventionalized semantic value. However, marking on the genitival nouns indicates only 'genitive', while the postpositions may be marked with lengthening that indicates path when they occur with verbs of movement, and they may also bear the *n* marking characteristic of expressions with familiar discourse status, as discussed above in 3.1. This difference is consistent with Hopper's notion of de-categorialization, whereby more grammaticalized forms don't have marking of categories such as noun and but do exhibit those of 'secondary categories' such as adpositions (Hopper 1991:22, 30-31).   Furthermore, as nominal forms they are less restricted syntactically, occurring in other nominal constructions, with modifiers, etc. As nouns they are more lexical, as postpositions, more grammaticalized. This critical syntactic difference is illustrated in the following exchange in (62).

(62) A1: bulluk   koon   tiyya   meeti ?
          white   blanket my   where
          'Where is my bullukkoo?'

      B1: afaan   kana   ilaali!
          mouth   this   look
          'Look for it around here!'

      A2: afaan   kana   eessa   middee?
          mouth   this   where   exactly
          'Where exactly?'

      B2: boolla   qaayyaa   afaan (*kana)
          incensing   hollow   mouth * this
          'By the incensing hollow.'

In the response in B1, the noun *afaan* 'mouth' can be modified with the demonstrative. In B2, where *afaan* now is accessible and functions as a postposition, it cannot. Again, as with *afaafa*, this lexeme is only appropriate as a postposition in the discourse once both interlocutors share knowledge of the location already indicated in B1. As Traugott (2005:631) points out, "…grammatical phenomena that 'serve interface functions with discourse' must be in the grammar because they entail structures that occupy syntactic positions." The choice between a noun-noun construction and a noun postposition construction, and the selection of the *n* pragmeme, are dictated by the assumed status of the encoded information for the interlocutors. This provides evidence that the pragmatic status of information at a given point in discourse determines the grammatically appropriate form. Importantly, while the set of relational nouns that may identify location in genitival constructions is open-ended, only a restricted set of these nouns also occur as postpositions.

The examples here are from the Guji dialect, but similar patterns are evidenced in other varieties of Oromo, although these constructions have not been explicitly examined in pragmatic contexts. In Owens (1982:61) the postpositions of Boraana are categorized as variable, that is, found in genitival constructions as well a postnominally, and invariable, only occurring as postpositions. There are some differences in the inventories of these lexemes in Boraana and Guji. Owens identifies *gubba* 'above', *dhaatu* 'next to', *dura* 'in front', *keesa* 'inside', and *duduuba* 'in back' as eligible as either nouns in the genitival construction and *jiddu* 'between', *bira* 'with', *jal* 'under', and *irra* 'on top' as only postpositional. In Guji, *gubbaa, dura, keessa,* and *duuba* are always postpositions.

Owens (1982:61-63 and 1985:127) argues that these are best regarded as a subset of nouns. He identifies the markers found on postpositions as case markers. Since, however,

when occurring as postpositions, they are eligible for morphological markers also found on postpositions and are restricted syntactically in the same ways that postpositions are, while no longer enjoying the privilege of co-occurrence of nouns, the recognition that they are both relational nouns and also members of the class of postpositions is more insightful. This reflects Hopper's principle of layering, and also his principle of divergence (1991:24), which suggests that multiple forms with a common etymology function differently within the grammar of a language.

It seems that *gara*, discussed above in section 1.5, is transitional. It is fixed as a preposition in several dialects; it can only occur before the nominal in Guji. It does, however, occur in Waata, in a narrative from Stroomer (1987:241-242) after the noun, as in (63) line 2, where the site is already accessible to the audience.

(63)   1. yaanii d'eengedda gandiini k'uwatee, mala suu jaarti tokotti jira.
           'Well, once upon a time a village settled (somewhere) and at that time there was an
           old woman.'

       2. d'iisa hink'abdu, ajoollee hink'abdi, hiyeeciaa; <u>wara kaa gara</u> teeci.
           'She had no husband, no children, she was without relatives; she lived in this
           village.'

However, it is found before the noun in (64) line 4, when it functions to identify a new site.

(64)   4. temteecee jaatiini suu taa kaatee guyya tokko, k'oraani d'ece, <u>gara baddaa</u>.
           'She lived like this a long time, (until) one day she went to collect firewood in the
           bush.'

As is the case with relational nouns in Guji, in Waata, *gara* is found as a preposition where the site or path is novel, but postnominally where the site has already been established in the discourse.

4 Conclusion

This study has revealed the rich inventory of Oromo locational structures. Sites or paths may be signaled with postpositions, affixes, directionals, genitival constructions, the preposition *gara*, or some combination of these. Although there are a few unique locationals in some dialects, and some locationals are more grammaticalized in one variety or another, the core of locational elements and constructions is shared across Oromo speech communities. Morphological marking for path with a long final vowel on postpositions, affixes, directionals, and the prepositional phrase is found across dialects. Accessibility of referents

or information that is signaled with the phrase-final *n* pragmeme across varieties is attested on locationals in Guji Oromo.

Grammaticalization has been observed within the synchronic grammar of Oromo. Hopper's principle of layering is illustrated in various locationals as they range across the cline that has been proposed by Lehmann: the relational nouns, such as *afaafa,* that are more grammaticalized as postpositions, and the particles *itti* and *irra* that occur as the more grammaticalized affixes *-tti* and *-rra.* Lehmann's notion of the relativity of autonomy and bondedness in grammar are also evidenced in the reduction of the affixed forms and their obligatory attachment to the preceding nouns. The principle of de-categorialization is realized in restrictions on co-occurrence, as when *afaan* functioning as a noun can be modified with a demonstrative, but not when functioning as a postposition. The principles of divergence and persistence are observed where verb particles *itti* and *irra,* and *gadi* and *ol* retain similar semantic values when they are grammaticalized as affixes or operate as directionals, and when they occur in frozen verb particle constructions and where *gara* is prepositional or reduplicated in idiomatic expressions.

The importance of the pragmatic status of information in motivating grammatical structure of locationals is demonstrated in the data by the choices of ordering that may be made by a speaker within a particular context depending on the status of the information available to the interlocutors at that point of the discourse. The relational nouns in genitive constructions are chosen when locations are not assumed to be accessible to all interlocutors, but the postpositions are selected when locations can already be identified by the discourse participants. The appearance of the *n* pragmeme on locationals in Guji is also determined by the assumed status of referents and information.

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